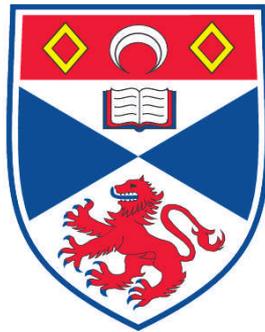


**COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ARAB WORLD AND
INDIA (3RD AND 4TH/9TH AND 10TH CENTURIES)**

Hussain Ali Tahtoo

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ARAB WORLD AND INDIA
(3RD AND 4TH / 9TH AND 10TH CENTURIES)

By

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B.A., Baghdad
M.A., Mosul

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of St. Andrews.

St. Andrews.

December 1986.



ABSTRACT

The present work is mainly concerned with the commercial relations between the Arab world and India in the 3rd and 4th / 9th and 10th centuries.

The thesis consists of an introduction and five chapters. The introduction contains a brief survey of the historical background to the Arab-Indian trade links in the period prior to the period of the research. It also includes the reasons for choosing the subject, and the difficulties with which the research was faced. The introduction also contains the methods of the research and a study of the main sources.

Chapter One deals with the Arab provinces, the main kingdoms of India, the political situation in the Arab world and India, and its effects on the subject. It also deals with the main economic products in the countries concerned. Moreover, the chapter focuses on the factors which encouraged the Arab-Indian trade.

Chapter Two deals with the trade routes (Land and Sea routes), the caravans, ships, the sea ports and the commercial cities in the Arab world and India.

Chapter Three deals with the trade procedures between the Arab world and India. It also deals with the taxes levied in ports and some land posts. The chapter ends by giving some details of the prices of goods in both countries.

Chapter Four gives a detailed account of goods exported and imported by both sides, and the real causes behind the export and import of these goods. The chapter also gives an account of how sometimes goods are imported by one side from the other in order to meet the local demands or to be exported in a process of trading on a world wide scale.

Chapter Five deals with a conclusion of what has been discussed earlier, in addition to some cultural aspects which have not been dealt with in the chapters above.

DEDICATION

To my wife Ghaniyya,
My children 'Ammār, Bashshār
and Shaymā'.

DECLARATIONS

- (A) I, Hussain Ali Tahtoob hereby certify that this thesis which is approximately 87,000 words in length has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

December 1986.

Signature

- (B) I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No. 12 on 10/1/1983 and as a candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on 10/1/1983; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 10/1/1983 - 15/12/86.

Signature

CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of St. Andrews and that he is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Mr. R.A. Kimber.
Supervisor.
December 1986.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to Mr. R.A. Kimber for supervising this thesis, without whose guidance, and very important suggestions it would have been impossible for me to complete this work. I have been indeed fortunate to have him as a supervisor.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. D.E.P. Jackson of the Department of Arabic Studies, for supervising two chapters of this work.

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My thanks are also due to the librarians of the university library for their persistent effort in finding some of the sources for the work, especially Mr. F. Story and Miss S. Rowe.

My thanks also go to the Mosul University (Iraq) for giving me the opportunity to continue my higher study.

Finally, I would like to thank Mrs. E. Kerr for typing this thesis.

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LIST OF TRANSLITERATION

System of transliteration of Arabic characters:

Consonants:

ع = ʿ	(except when initial)	ض = d
ب = b		ط = t
ت = t		ظ = z
ث = th		ع = c
ج = j		غ = gh
ح = h		ف = f
خ = kh		ق = k
د = d		ك = k
ذ = dh		ل = l
ر = r		م = m
ز = z		ن = n
س = s		ه = h
ش = sh		و = w
ص = s		ي = y

Long vowels:

أى = ā
و = ū
ي = ī

Short vowels:

َ = a
ُ = u
ِ = i

Diphthongs:

أو = aw
أى = ay

Double vowels:

أى = ay	(final form ī)
أو = uw	(final form ū)

أ = a	; at (construct state)
أل = (article), al-	and 'l-
	(even before the antero-
	palatals)

ABBREVIATIONS

b.	ibn
d.	died
ed.	edited
CJRGB	The Geographical Journal. The Royal Geographical Society.
IC	Islamic Culture
JAS	Journal of the Asiatic Society
JESH(O)	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JMRAS	Journal of the Malay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
MEJ	Middle East Journal
No.	Number
PHS	The Pakistan History Society
RCIJ	Regional Cultural Institute Journal
RFSEUI	Revue de la Faculte des Sciences Economiques de l'Universite d'Istanbul
Tr.	Translated
Vol.	Volume

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INTRODUCTION

In order to point out the main aspects of the subject "Commercial relations between the Arab world and India in the 3rd and 4th/9th and 10th centuries", to define its historical background and to support the arguments we have put forward when dealing with the main aspects of it, the following will be referred to:

1. Introduction.
2. The reasons for choosing the subject and its importance.
3. The particular difficulties involved.
4. Methods of research.
5. Sources.

1. Introduction

It is known to us that commercial relations between different nations are the oldest and by far the most important means of human contact between them. ⁽¹⁾ It is natural that commercial relations or indeed any other form of contact between more than one ethnic group should be accompanied by an exchange of ideas, customs, traditions and various forms and ways of life, to varying degrees depending on whether the exchange takes place among primitive human communities or when these communities evolve into distinct races and nations and reach a certain level of development in their way of life.

Such social ties and relationships, irrespective of the period in which they are forged, and their immediate economic motives, fall within

the category of human relations, past and present. It would be extremely difficult to understand them in a narrow sense based on a conventional view of commercial relations between nations as simply the exchange of goods.

Commercial relations between the Arabs and Indians have, in fact, fallen within the general human and cultural framework to which we have already referred. The significance of these relations lies not just in the fact that the two nations benefited by them in an economic sense, by the exchange of commodities to meet the immediate needs of their respective populations, but also in the fact that their relations were accompanied by the exchange of ideas and knowledge, beliefs and social customs. Moreover, the positive results of that cultural interaction between the two nations were by no means confined to them but formed one of the sources of cultural interaction in human civilization in general.

To give the research its historical background, we shall refer briefly to the main aspects which demonstrate the close commercial relations between the Arabs, and their predecessors and the Indians. We shall also give examples of imports and exports of goods, which took place prior to the period under review and during it.

The Arabs and their predecessors in the Middle East have always traded with India - before the Christian era and during it - using internationally known trade routes. These were "the land route, which starts from passes on the north-western borders of India, to Balkh,

which is situated on the caravan route to the north of the Kirman desert to Madā'in and Antioch and neighbouring ports. Then the sea route from the west coast of India to the coasts of Oman and Yemen. From there on they proceeded either along the Red Sea or via the caravan route which connects with the ports of Syria and Palestine. The third route also ran from the west coast of India to the Arabian Gulf, then up the Euphrates, and then connects with a land route to Antioch and neighbouring ports." (2)

By and large, the main routes remained unchanged throughout, with the exception of some minor routes, sometimes the approaches to the land routes, and some new routes and harbours which later developed along the coasts of the Indian Ocean and the Gulf.

These same routes may have been used by the Sumerians - in Iraq - in their trading with India which took place from 3000 B.C. onwards.

The Indians' chief imports from Sumer were chariots. (3) Around 2400 B.C. migration from some parts of the Arab region and their predecessors to some parts of India seems to have taken place. At around that time, the Indians adopted from the Arabs and their predecessors the concept of writing when it was still in the form of picture-writing, before it developed into cuneiform. (4) Mesopotamia exported jewellery to the Indus people before the latter knew how to make it locally. There were also similarities between the deities worshipped by both the Arabs and their predecessors and the Indians, as well as

similarities in the planning of cities. ⁽⁵⁾

India, on the other hand, was living through its own civilization known as the Mohenjo-Daro, and exported to Iraq pottery and cylinder seals. ⁽⁶⁾ It also exported cotton fabrics to Pharaonic Egypt during the 26th dynasty. ⁽⁷⁾

All these examples confirm the existence of close trade and cultural ties between the Arabs and their predecessors and the inhabitants of India at a time when centres of civilization were confined to Mesopotamia and the Nile valley on the one hand and the banks of the Indus River on the other, hence the belief that the Sumerians were immigrants from the Sind region. ⁽⁸⁾

During the Babylonian period, commercial relations with India flourished, especially in the period 1820-1817 B.C. Precious stones and perfumes were imported from India. Furthermore, the discovery in the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar (604-562 B.C.) of teak, an Indian wood, in the temple of the God of the Moon which Nebuchadnezzar had re-built in Ur, is further evidence of the existence of trade links with India; so is the widespread use of many Indian goods by the Greeks, trading in which took place via Babylon, whose trade with India contributed in an important way to its economic prosperity. As a result, the Pharaoh of Egypt, Necho (612-596 B.C.), looked at the Babylonia prosperity with envious eyes. ⁽⁹⁾ During this period, the Indians are thought to have adopted from Babylon the system of the phases of the moon, the system of dealing in silver weights that was used by the Babylonians, and also

other weights such as Mannas⁽¹⁰⁾ (1 manna, a weight of 2 ratl).

Commerce with India was not confined to the Babylonian period. The 10th century B.C. witnessed such trading as took place in the time of Solomon, who encouraged Phoenician trade from the port of Akaba with the port of Ophir which is situated on the north-west coast of India, in order to secure the import of rare Indian goods such as ivory, monkeys, peacocks, silver and gold.⁽¹¹⁾

It is possible to give three examples from the Assyrian period in Mesopotamia to prove continued trading with India. Indian Bukhti camels and elephants are depicted on the obelisk of Shalmaneser (858-824 B.C.). Then Indian cotton mentioned in the period of Ashurbanipal (668-626 B.C.)⁽¹²⁾ They are believed to have been transported by land through the north-western boundaries of India.

The afore-mentioned trade links between the Arabs and their predecessors and India seem to have stagnated during the Persian domination of Babylon and the rest of south-west Asia from the 6th century B.C. onwards. That situation continued until the emergence in the 4th century B.C. on the world political scene of Alexander the Great, when commercial activity reached its pre-Persian invasion level and even exceeded it. The stagnation in trade during the Persian domination is attributable to the political strife which marked their rule of those wide regions, and to the fact that the Persians had destroyed the ports of Babylon and oppressed its population.⁽¹³⁾

In spite of the political motives behind Alexander's campaign in the second half of the 4th century B.C. it is certain that the campaign had positive effects on trade and, ultimately, on cultural links not just between the Arabs and their predecessors in the Middle East and Indians but also on a world-wide scale. Alexander invaded and controlled the Middle East and parts of India⁽¹⁴⁾ and attempted to unify the East and West.

The Seleucid period in Iraq and the Ptolemaic period in Egypt⁽¹⁵⁾ witnessed an increase in trade between the Arabs and their predecessors, the Indians and the West, via land routes and sea routes.⁽¹⁶⁾ In addition to the increase in the volume of international trade, Alexander's campaign resulted in the emergence of the Hellenistic civilization which was a mixture of the cultures of nations from the East and West.⁽¹⁷⁾

Under the rule of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids - 323 B.C. onwards, and during the political influence of the Byzantines and the Sassanians in the Middle East in first centuries A.D., who encouraged trade with Iraq, Syria, Egypt, India and the West, there were some cities - in Iraq, Syria and the Arabian peninsula - which played a part in bringing about prosperity of trade with India. In the forefront of these cities were Petra, Tyre, Alexandria, Maysān, and Gerrha, in addition to the area of the Mundhirs and the land of Ghassān.⁽¹⁸⁾ The types of Indian exports to the Arabs and their predecessors and the West during those periods remained virtually unchanged, elephants, rhinoceroses, peacocks, other birds, tamarind, coconuts, bananas, swords, Fānidh - sugar-cane - ,

arrows, spices, precious stones, paints, etc.⁽¹⁹⁾ Many of these goods were re-exported by the Arabs and their predecessors to the Romans and the Greeks who thought they were of Arabian origin.⁽²⁰⁾

The Arabs and their predecessors, however, exported to India at that time - first centuries A.D. - corals, ivory, horses, oil, dates, pearls and coarse cloths.⁽²¹⁾ During the first centuries A.D. period, the

Arabs and their predecessors had their own markets and harbours.⁽²²⁾

The Indians too had harbours.⁽²³⁾ The monsoon had been used by the Arabs and their predecessors for sailing to and from India.⁽²⁴⁾

The commercial activity continued until the emergence of the Islamic faith in the Arabian peninsula. Commercial activity between the Arabs and their predecessors and India resulted not only in meeting the immediate needs of their population but also in the assimilation into Arabic of many names of Indian goods.⁽²⁵⁾

Commercial links under Islam were an extension of those which preceded it, as has already been pointed out. What was new, however, the Arabs became the masters of the whole region politically as well as militarily. They toppled the Sassanian empire⁽²⁶⁾ and annexed its territories. Byzantine political influence was terminated in North Africa as well as in Syria. The Arabs, therefore, became solely responsible for the protection of trade routes. They now had their own tax legislation as dictated by the teachings of Islam.⁽²⁷⁾ Some merchants would, at times, accompany the conquerors.⁽²⁸⁾ Now they were not confined to the conventional methods of trading. Commerce, under Islam, had

acquired a new purpose. It had become one of the means of propagating the new faith outside the caliphate, in India and elsewhere. (29)

Among the factors that assisted trade between the Arabs and India under Islam was the conquest of Sind in A.H. 92-93 / A.D. 711-712 during the reign of al-Walīd b. ^CAbd al-Malik.

The Arabs and their predecessors had known India fairly well before Islam and had been waiting for the right opportunity to conquer it since the period of the Orthodox caliphs, when several attempts were made to achieve that end. (30) However, the opportunity did not arrive until the Umayyad period when the Arab commander, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Thakafī succeeded in conquering it.

The conquest of Sind and the start of direct Arab rule over it that was to last for a long time, (31) the migration of many Arab merchants who settled there, and the fact that Sind had become one of the provinces of the caliphate, all these were bound to have a positive effect on trade between the Arabs and India because of increased contacts between the two sides. The downfall of the Umayyad caliphate and the adoption of Baghdad as a capital of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate further improved trade with India. That improvement could be attributable to the fact that Baghdad, the new capital, was located on the crossroads of international river and land trade routes which connected with sea lanes, to its proximity to India (32) and to the fact that the ^CAbbāsīds were more inclined to trade with the East, including India

than were their predecessors. (33)

Some sources mention the existence of official ties between the early ^CAbbāsīd caliphs and the Kings of India which were marked with the exchange of delegations, men of science and gifts. (34)

Some Indian kings responded favourably to calls by the ^CAbbāsīd caliphs to embrace Islam. (35)

The circumstances which prevailed in the period under investigation clearly favoured continued and improved trade links between the two sides. (36) ^CAbbāsīd civilization began to experience cultural revival in several domains. Campaigns of conquest had come to a halt. (37) India was the most suitable country to deal with the Arabs because of its economic potential in agriculture, livestock, human resources, and its low prices. (38)

These and other factors contributed to the emergence of many works in geography which appeared during the period under review. Those works served to familiarise both sides with the political, economic and social circumstances which prevailed in both India and the Arab world. (39)

It is true that during the period under review, the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate could be politically dominant or militarily strong, (40) and India continued to be considered enemy territory. (41) However, we notice that trade links were not necessarily governed by the political or the military situation. After all, trade with Byzantium, also enemy territory, continued nevertheless.

In the light of the background to the trade links between the Arabs and India prior to the period under review and in order to clarify some points related to this period, we shall now deal with the importance of the subject and the reasons why we chose it.

2. The reasons for choosing the subject and its importance.

When I was studying for the Master's Degree, I came across some significant texts related to trade links between the Arabs and Indians during the ^CAbbāsīd period. The importance of these texts lies in the fact that they date back to that period. They are scattered in many historical, geographical, and literary works. It is possible to point out specific reasons for choosing the subject and to highlight its significance as follows.

1. To the best of my knowledge, this subject has not been thoroughly dealt with. No one has ever dealt with the subject in all its aspects. Some articles on the subject have appeared but they fall short of covering the subject in a detailed manner. These articles did, however, encourage me to follow the subject. For instance, I disagree with Le Strange who, in his book "The lands of the eastern caliphate" maintains that the Arab geographers were not concerned with describing India in a comprehensive way and that they were hardly familiar with Indian ports beyond the eastern coast of the Gulf except Daybul port. ⁽⁴²⁾ We shall prove that the opposite was true.

Also Muḥammad Yūsuf's article " ^CḤalākāt al-^CArab al-Tijāriyya bi-^C'l-Hind Mundhu Aḳdam al-^CUṣūr ilā 'l-^CḲarn al-Rābi^C al-Hijrī," ⁽⁴³⁾

despite its significance, since it makes direct reference to the subject and points to its importance, it would, in my opinion, be unrealistic to claim that an 'article' could cover the subject of trade links "since the earliest times ...". In addition to that, the article fails in some instances to mention the sources on which it is presumably based. Moreover, it mentions only a few imports and exports dating back to various periods.

The same applies to the article "Commercial relations of India with the Arab world (1000 B.C. up to modern times)",⁽⁴⁴⁾ which is no more than a brief review. Among recent works that have dealt with some aspects of the subject are: "A history of Persian navigation in the Indian Ocean,"⁽⁴⁵⁾ "Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean,"⁽⁴⁶⁾ and "Arab navigation."⁽⁴⁷⁾

Significant though these works may be, they deal with navigation in various periods without focusing on any specific period or region. Even al-Dūrī, in his book "Tārīkh al-^CIrāq al-Iktisādī fī 'l-^CḲarn al-Rābi' al-Hijrī," barely touches upon the question of trade with India.⁽⁴⁸⁾

This goes to show that previous work which has dealt directly or indirectly with aspects of the subject has not yet exhausted the possibilities of the subject.

2. The period under review witnessed the emergence of geography as a discipline in its own right at the hands of the Arabs.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The new discipline focussed on illustrating natural and cultural

phenomena throughout the caliphate and also neighbouring countries including India. It also described trade routes, cities, prices, the nature of agricultural and animal products, costumes and eating habits, climates of various regions, types of currency used, etc. Some geographers went as far as making maps of various regions defining their boundaries, and projecting their natural features. This important new discipline characterised the period being researched, and, as a result, enriched the research with a good deal of information and formed a basis for it. One of the main reasons for the composition of such works was to serve merchants and facilitate trade. Some works were composed by merchants themselves, others by those responsible for the mails of the caliphate.⁽⁵⁰⁾ It is, therefore, not difficult to conclude that merchants must have taken great interest in these works and benefitted enormously by them. It is worth mentioning that the trend towards this type of literature was not known prior to the period being researched. Not surprisingly, the earlier works served as a basis for later works.

In other words trade itself contributed to stimulating research which dealt not only with the Arab world and India, but with many other countries in the East and West. Several of these works give details about European and African countries, about China and Russia, and mention Russian, Slav, Byzantine, Rādhānī and Andalusian merchants.⁽⁵¹⁾

3. The cultural significance of the research lies in the fact that it contributes, in our opinion, to reviving an important part of the

Arab and Indian heritage from the period concerned. It is a part of their heritage not well known to the people of the two regions today. On the other hand, those Arabs and Indians who are familiar with it, have constantly drawn attention to its significance. Some have attempted to deal with some of its aspects in the form of brief articles.⁽⁵²⁾ We take the view that discovering ties between the Arabs and Indians and some of their cultural interaction which accompanied their trade with each other during the period with which we are here concerned could form a basis on which both nations could build new and solid ties with each other. The Indians, who were known for their commercial activity and their continuous relations with the Arabs, Khurāsān, Andalusia, and North Africa,⁽⁵³⁾ and the Arabs, whose merchants were known for their spirit of adventure, their trading with India as well as with other parts of the world during that period,⁽⁵⁴⁾ ought to preserve those old trade and some cultural links especially as they now live under similar circumstances. Facilities made possible by modern developments in all fields should help improve and consolidate their relations in the present time.

The Arab world, which in the past demonstrated its unity in various forms⁽⁵⁵⁾ now lives through circumstances similar to those experienced by the Indian sub-continent. The ancient traditions of both nations should be invoked to serve their peoples today.

4. As for choosing the period of time to be researched, the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, it is a fact commercial ties

between the Arabs and Indians did not start in the third/ninth century, nor did they stop by the end of the fourth/tenth century. As we have seen, they date back to ancient times and they continued to the present day. It would, therefore, be difficult to consider the period being researched as crucial on its own in the history of Arab-Indian commercial relations. But as the research is primarily concerned with the ^CAbbāsīd period, most texts at our disposal, which are relevant to the subject throughout the ^CAbbāsīd period have been studied. The period being researched is distinct from the period that preceded it and those that followed it in terms of the availability and suitability of texts and reference works which deal with it.

Mookerji, R., said "from the 9th century we get notices of India by the Arabs. The commerce of the Arabs was at its highest activity under the caliphs of Baghdad ...".⁽⁵⁶⁾ Margoliouth, D.S., said "the 3rd/9th century produced revolution, and in the 4th/10th the wealthy tradesman has become the carrier of civilization, which by then had, from the material point of view, become very pretentious ...," and added "Muhammadan commerce in the 4th/10th century was a proud spectacle. It had become master in its own house, its ships and caravans moved in all directions, it had taken over the lead in world trade; Baghdad and Alexandria fixed the prices at any rate for the luxuries of the contemporary world ...".⁽⁵⁷⁾ Tibbetts, G.R. said "it is possible that the tenth century saw the peak of the Arab trade with south east Asia."⁽⁵⁸⁾ Verma, H.C. said: "Before the establishment of the Turkish in India, India's trade with China and

Europe between the 8th-11th centuries, was in the hands of the Arab." (59) Another modern historian considered the period under review to be the golden age of Indian-Arab trading relations. (60)

Making a comparison between availability of sources and their significance in the period being researched and periods prior to it and those which followed it will show that the period being researched is unique and extremely attractive to research. The period of the research was further enriched by the introduction of the banking system in the Arab world and India. (61)

If we examine the political situation which prevailed in the Arab world (since we decided that the end of the 4th / the end of the 10th century is the end of the period covered by the research), we will find that the ^CAbbāsids and Buwayhids lost their control in the Arab world. Their political weaknesses increased and their rule was marked with trade caravans being looted while on internal routes inside Arab territories. (62) The Fāṭimid caliphate was in its zenith in terms of power, political leverage and extravagance. (63)

If we looked at the political situation in the eastern parts of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate at the time, we would find political anarchy and strife among various petty states and Amīrates situated on overland trade routes to India. (64) In addition to the above aspects, lawlessness was so serious that pilgrimages from the East to Mecca were disrupted. (65) Between A.H. 390-417 Maḥmūd al-Ghaznawī began his seventeenth expedition against India, which brought about a change in the character

of Indian demography, ⁽⁶⁶⁾ and finally, the Seljuk period was about to begin at the heartland of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate. All the above reasons leads us to believe that trade, too, must have been disrupted or affected at about the end of the 4th / the end of the 10th century.

The overland trade route and sea route with Iraq and India may have suffered as a result of unfavourable political circumstances, there is no evidence, however, that the important sea trade route with the Arabian coasts, Egypt and India had suffered a similar fate. There is no evidence of any decline in Arab-Indian relations or any development inside India itself which could have had an adverse effect on India's relation with the Arabs.

Some historians and travellers have observed that Baghdad and other important Iraqi cities had, by the end of the 4th / end of the 10th century onward, lost their earlier position as important centres of trade. ⁽⁶⁷⁾ In our opinion, this is a particular account of the political situation in the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate and Iraq. There is no evidence to indicate a similar deterioration in the other Arab provinces or commercial centres. All this supports our argument at the beginning of this section that the period of the research, despite its significance, falls short of being crucial on its own positive aspects. The period which followed witnessed even strong trade links as, for example, the papers of the Cairo Geniza reveal. ⁽⁶⁸⁾

3. The particular difficulties involved

In spite of the many advantages this subject has, and the value

of the sources the research has been based on as an original record, some difficulties relating to sources and to the nature of the subject have been encountered.

Difficulties relating to the sources can be summarized as follows:

1. Our sources are not consistent with regard to the borders of India, although they generally agree on the borders of the Arab world. There is a tendency to extend the term India to cover many islands of South East Asia. ⁽⁶⁹⁾

2. Our sources do not give details about Arab and Indian ships, their type, size, and sails. ⁽⁷⁰⁾ The unavailability of such details is very unfortunate since we know that the role of ships in trade was far more important than that of land routes.

3. With regard to the prices of goods, our sources do not give sufficient details of the prices of exported and imported goods. As a result, we have not been able to ascertain the price at which exported goods were re-sold in order to determine the amount of profit made in the process. For instance, sources mention that in Sind, goods were cheap. ⁽⁷¹⁾ This; of course, is insufficient. The sources give no detail of the prices of goods in other parts of India. The same is true of the prices of goods in the Arab world. Although some texts do give details of prices of some goods, as has already been mentioned, ⁽⁷²⁾ the details are insufficient and some of the goods referred to, important though they are, fall within inter-Arab trading and are therefore irrelevant

since we are concerned primarily with Arab-Indian trade relations.

4. The coins used within the Arab world are accurately described by some sources. Although coins were an important means of commercial exchange between the Arabs and India, we have found very little information about Arab coins discovered in India. (73)

5. Information about Indian taxation, especially in Indian ports, is not as clear and substantial as information about Arab taxation. As a result, we know very little about taxes levied from Arab and Indian merchants when entering and leaving some ports in Indian Kingdoms. (74)

Difficulties related to the nature of the research can be summarized as follows:

1. The nature of the subject and the importance of the interaction between the two nations in intellectual, cultural and human terms means that our approach to the subject should go beyond mere trade relations between two nations. The subject is concerned with economic, political, cultural and even social circumstances as well as it is concerned with trade. That is where the difficulties lie. We had to study various basic sources; historical, geographical, literary, written accounts of journeys, etc. in order to obtain some direct or indirect texts.

2. There is obviously an important link between the subject of trade relations and other economic aspects such as agriculture, industry, prices, etc. in both India and the Arab world. However, findings of recent studies on this particular aspect are far from being sufficient.

It is true that some recent studies and articles have dealt with economic aspects of parts of the ^CAbbāsīd period. These works have dealt with specific periods and regions of the Arab world⁽⁷⁵⁾ or they have singled out one economic phenomenon.⁽⁷⁶⁾ These works are insufficient since they do not deal with the situation in India. Their failure to deal with India could be attributed to lack of information about the subject and to the fact that to attempt to give a clear impression of the economic life of those periods would prove extremely difficult. This contrasts with later periods about which we know more thanks to a certain amount of commercial correspondence that has survived.⁽⁷⁷⁾

3. Other difficulties are related to the nature of the political situation which prevailed in India and the Arab world at the time. For instance, during the period of the research, the Province of Sind formed a part of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate. It also witnessed political and ideological activity in support of the Fāṭimid caliphate.⁽⁷⁸⁾ But from a geographical and cultural viewpoint, Sind was part of India. Furthermore, some basic sources go as far as to describe various islands in the Indian Ocean as part of Indian territory without mentioning whether this is based on any similarities between the beliefs and religions of the inhabitants of those islands and the inhabitants of mainland India, on linguistic grounds or because royal families which ruled those islands were Indian in their origin and customs.⁽⁷⁹⁾

The same problem is encountered when dealing with the Arab world in the period of the Fāṭimid caliphate, for instance. The problem

is related to whether we should regard it as a caliphate confined to Egypt alone or use the term 'province' when referring to Egypt and its boundaries. Such matters have been dealt with within 'Methods of research'.⁽⁸⁰⁾ As to the attitude of the Indians towards the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate and the Fāṭimid caliphate, and as far as relations between them are concerned, it would appear that ^CAbbāsīd-Indian relations - including the exchange of delegations, gifts, etc. - were different from Fāṭimid-Indian relations.⁽⁸¹⁾ However, if we look at the lives of the ^CAbbāsīd as well as Fāṭimid caliphs in Baghdad and Cairo, we would conclude that extravagance, the lavishing of money and the consumption of Indian goods were common to all of them.⁽⁸²⁾

4. Methods of research. Having drawn up a suitable plan for the research - in the light of the information we have been able to obtain - and divided the subject into chapters and sections, it is necessary to explain the method of research which we have adopted. We shall also explain the foundations on which we have based our research in view of the special nature and characteristics of the subject. The subject is full of ramifications because it transcends mere commercial relations between two nations in the conventional sense and attempts to identify some causes and effects as well.

As the title suggests, the subject is concerned with the Arabs and Indians. These terms, too, need to be clearly defined. How, for instance, should we define "the Arabs"? Should we restrict our

definition to include only those who were racially Arabs? Should the research be confined to the Arabs who lived under the caliphate or should it concern itself with others, the Arabs of Andalusia, for instance, who had their own state at the time? What attitude should the research adopt towards non-Arabs such as Jews, Magians, Indians, etc. who then lived in the Arab world? What other names of provinces should we recognise, especially after the emergence on the scene of the Fāṭimid caliphate?

The same applies to the Indians. How should we treat the province of Sind which was Indian from the geographical and cultural viewpoint but which nevertheless formed a part of the caliphate and was ruled by the Arabs who formed a sizable proportion of the population of its major cities? What about the large numbers of Arabs who lived in other parts of India? How should we treat the inhabitants of kingdoms and islands in the Indian Ocean who are regarded by many sources as Indians, without stating the grounds, if any, for classifying them in this category?

In our opinion, raising such questions and pointing to the way the research has approached them is important in the sense that this provides an outline of the subject.

For the purposes of this research, the following definitions have been adopted:

1 - 'Arabs' refers to the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the six Arab provinces which were part of the caliphate. (83)

2 - 'Indians' refers to the inhabitants of India as defined by reference works on the islands of the Indian Ocean and Indian subcontinent.⁽⁸⁴⁾

We have chosen this method despite the fact that there were Arabs in Andalusia, India, Sind, Khurasan, etc. who must have had some influence on Arab-Indian relations. But they must have formed only a minority of the total population of these countries.

In our opinion, it would be counterproductive to adopt race or religion as a criterion for studying the Arabs who lived in the Arab provinces without taking account of the economic circumstances which prevailed at the time, or indeed the question of commercial relations. On the contrary, dealing with these aspects as a whole is bound to enrich the subject. We can give many examples to support this proposition. Slaves from Sind played a very important role in the money markets of Iraq.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Jews, especially the Rād̄hānī merchants known for their worldwide trading, were active in more than one Arab country.

The same approach has been adopted with regard to India. We have disregarded the then prevailing political situation and considered the province of Sind as part of Indian territory on geographical and cultural grounds.⁽⁸⁶⁾ In fact, a parallel could be drawn between the position of Sind and that of Andalusia. Even if we take account of the spread of Islam there, we still arrive at the same conclusion.

After all, Islam was to be found in other Indian kingdoms. Furthermore, Arabs in Sind and in other parts of India could only have

formed a tiny minority of the total population.⁽⁸⁷⁾ The research concurs with many primary sources⁽⁸⁸⁾ that geographically, islands off the coast of India were Indian territories. The research will, therefore, focus on the Arabs and the Indians as two nations living within historically known boundaries, and will attempt to avoid getting entangled in racial, religious, sectarian or even political details.

3 - The term province has been used in this thesis when referring to the different parts of the Arab world. This is a translation of the term 'lklīm' used by some primary sources when referring to the known provinces of the Arab world.⁽⁸⁹⁾ For the sake of consistency we have not used new terms which take account of political changes in the Arab world. For example, we have continued to use the term 'province' to refer to Egypt even after it had become the centre of the Fāṭimid caliphate in the second stage of the period of the research, while the term 'Fāṭimid' is used only when absolutely necessary. The main aim has been to identify an Arab character without getting enmeshed in political events or terminology.

We have used the term 'Kingdom' when referring to different Indian states. This is the same term used by sources when referring to individual Indian kingdoms.⁽⁹⁰⁾ We use the two terms 'Arab world' and 'India' to draw attention to the fact that the research is concerned with treating them as two nations each of which has a distinct character and history.

4 - Chapter five has two parts: Conclusion and discussion of some cultural effects of Arab-Indian commercial relations.

5 - The majority of main sources on which the research is based are in Arabic. Therefore, Arabic proper names have been transliterated according to the system adopted by the Encyclopaedia of Islam for this purpose. (91)

6 - In addition to the important primary sources that have been used we have also made use of relevant opinions and analyses contained in modern studies in both Arabic and English. Acknowledgements of these works are contained in footnotes, and the bibliography.

5. Sources. Two kinds of sources have been made use of in the preparation of this research, primary sources which date back to the period investigated, and secondary sources such as modern books and articles. Before describing the main sources, the methods adopted in their preparation and their significance to our research, we should like to point out some general features which characterise the sources and explain the causes which gave rise to them.

A number of reasons have caused the research to rely heavily on Arabic primary sources. The period covered by the research is undoubtedly a very long one. The research attempts to investigate not just commercial links between the two nations but also some effects of these links on both societies.

The research covers an extremely wide geographical area which

has been the scene of deep political contradictions not just among the Arabs themselves but also between the Indians. There is a connection between the subject of the research and the economic level of the Arabs and the Indians, and the economic potentials of the two nations differed.

As we have stated in the section "The reasons for choosing the subject, and its importance" many of these sources date back to the period that has been investigated. Some sources were written at a later stage. However, that does not make them any less important. In fact, we have attempted to consider certain aspects of the subject during the period of the research and follow them up at a later stage in order to establish the significance of the period of the research. The primary sources derive their importance from their being authoritative as well as comprehensive in their dealing with the subject. Some authors may have drawn on the knowledge of their predecessors in certain aspects, but this was natural on account of time differences and the diversity of the sources; historical, geographical, literary, sociological, scientific, theological, etc.⁽⁹²⁾ Although the research is as much concerned with the Indians as it is with the Arabs, we have been unable to trace any primary Indian source that dates back to the period of the research. The following discussion supports this point:

A - Some of the Arabic sources talk in detail about India which had been visited by some Arab authors.⁽⁹³⁾ Other sources however, refer to some Indian works which talk about either science or literature. All these Indian works are translated into Arabic.⁽⁹⁴⁾

B - Al-Bīrūnī, who lived in India for a long time and translated some of his information from the Sanskrit language, gives important information about some aspects of the subject under investigation. Unfortunately, neither al-Bīrūnī nor the Arab authors mention any Indian source which deals with the Arab-Indian trade in the period of the present research.

C - Some modern Indian writers⁽⁹⁵⁾ who dealt with some aspects of our subject, mostly used the Arabic and al-Bīrūnī's works as well as some general modern works. However, other Indian modern writers mentioned the Indian inscriptions in their talking about India in various periods as original sources for their subject,⁽⁹⁶⁾ or used some sources which belong to a later period in addition to the Arabic sources.⁽⁹⁷⁾

D - In his book "The history of India as told by its own historians" Professor John Dowson points out that "there is no native Indian Historian." He adds "Of domestic history also we have in our Indian Annalists absolutely nothing." However, Professor John Dowson used some Arabic sources for the period of the present research in addition to other sources which belong to a later period.⁽⁹⁸⁾

E - In his article "Sources for the economic history of the Middle East"⁽⁹⁹⁾ Bernard Lewis mentioned the importance of some Arabic sources for the period under consideration. However, he did not mention any Indian source. We have also been unable to trace some important and much quoted primary sources such as al - Jayhānī's work

and others. (100)

The research has made use of several modern works in Arabic, English, and Arabic translations. Articles and research work which deal with some aspects of the subject directly or indirectly fall within this category. The importance of these sources lies in the fact that they draw attention to the significance of the subject and in the opinions and comment they contain.

We shall try to examine the main sources, their nature, the lives of their authors and the methods adopted by them. We prefer to divide them into categories according to the general nature of every source and each group of sources without ignoring the special characteristics of each source.

Geographical sources and written accounts of voyages are the most important and informative. Ibn Khurdādhba, Abū 'l-Kāsim ^CUbayd Allāh b. ^CAbd Allāh (d. in A.H. 300 / A.D. 912) who worked for the postal service of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate was one of the authors of those sources. His book 'al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik' was apparently commissioned⁽¹⁰¹⁾ by the caliphate. Ibn Khurdādhba was on cordial terms with the ^CAbbāsīd caliph al-Mu^Ctamid in Sāmarrā'. Ibn Khurdādhba claimed to have read Ptolemy's findings. He made Iraq (al-Sawād) the focus of his work and then he described countries, Arab and non-Arab, situated to the east and west of Iraq. He followed land routes, rivers, and sea routes, and described provinces, towns, ports, and products of different countries including the Arab world and some parts of India.

Occasionally Ibn Khurdādhba used such terms as province 'iklīm' when referring to parts of the Arab world, 'Kuwar' when referring to towns or districts within a province and 'Mamlaka' to refer to the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate. (102)

He considers Andalusia as an extension of al-Maghrib. When referring to lengths and distances of roads he alternates between 'parasang' and 'sikka' - Road. Although he devotes whole titles and sections to India his most important contribution results from his tracing of land and sea commercial routes. For instance, he provides some most valuable information on India by tracing, stage by stage, the coastal route from Iraq via India to China. (103) Ibn Khurdādhba mentions some international merchants from his time such as Jewish Rādhānis and Russian merchants. He also mentions land routes and sea routes those merchants used when trading with the Arab world and India.

Ibn Rusta, Abū ^CAlī ^Aḥmad b. ^CUmar (d. around A.H. 300 / A.D. 912) describes in his book 'al-A^Clāḳ al-Nafīsa', towns and land routes inside the Arab and non-Arab provinces of the caliphate and other countries, including some Indian Kingdoms. He reports that Arab merchants were treated very well. He explains the currencies in circulation in some Indian Kingdoms. He describes the important rivers of the world including the Arab world and India and their use for navigation. In this book the author starts by focussing on Mecca and Medina then he moves on to describe other regions, such as Iraq. He

alternates between the parasang and the mile to measure distances of roads. Although he pays attention to overland routes to the east and west - via Iraq - he virtually ignores sea routes.

'Al-Kharāj wa-ṣanʿat al-Kitāba' by Kudāma Abū 'l-Faraj b.

Jaʿfar al-Kātib al-Baghdadi (d. in A.H. 320/A.D. 932) does not differ greatly from its predecessors. In his book he considers the caliphate and its capital Baghdad as a starting-point from which he then moves on to deal with other Arab regions and the rest of the caliphate using land routes which branched off from Baghdad in various directions. He measures the distances of these routes by 'parasang' or mile. This book is characterised by the special importance the author attaches to the mail service. It contains his theories as to how men should be deployed to carry chart on these roads and it also states the duties of those in charge of the mail service and its Dīwān - administration. It also examines the tax yield of various provinces of the caliphate like Makrān and its main cities. ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ However, the subject of India is not very well dealt with.

In 'al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik', al-Iṣṭakhrī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (d. in the first half of the 4th century A.H./A.D. 10th century) provides some very important information on land commercial routes, towns, ways of life, trade with various provinces and countries. Al-Iṣṭakhrī's book is remarkable in its use of maps of individual countries. Furthermore, the author does not use a starting-point but describes the routes of countries separately and uses the 'parasang' to measure distances

between towns. Al-Iṣṭakhrī treats the Arab regions and Persia with greater detail. The same is true of his approach to Sind, its towns, routes, way of life and its main products. He also describes India, its coasts, towns and the circumstances which prevailed alongside Sind. Al-Iṣṭakhrī was very specific in his defining of the boundaries of Arab provinces. Although at the beginning of his book he often uses terms such as 'iqlīm' - province' - when he deals with an individual region, however, he tends to dispense with the term and refers to the region simply as Iraq, Egypt, the Peninsula, Khurāsān, etc. He also regards Andalusia as an extension of al-Maḡhrib. As for its method, the significance of the information contained in it and its relevance to our subject, al-Iṣṭakhrī's book does not differ greatly from ibn Ḥawḳal's 'Ṣurat al-Ard'. Like al-Iṣṭakhrī, ibn Ḥawḳal Abū 'l-Kāsim ibn Ḥawḳal al-Naṣībī (d. in A.H. 367 / A.D. 977) tends to be specific when dealing with the regions of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate and Andalusia, their boundaries and trade routes. He supports his findings with detailed maps of these countries projecting their boundaries ; routes and physical features. The information contained in ibn Ḥawḳal's book about the Arab world and India is more reliable in view of the fact that he himself was a merchant and explorer at the same time who had a first-hand knowledge of several countries including India and who recorded his observations of these countries while touring them.

Al-Maḳḍisī's book 'Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim fī Ma^Crifat al-Aḳālīm' has contributed in an important way to the research. Al-Maḳḍisī - Shams

al-Dīn Abū ^CAbd Allāh Muḥammad, (d. in A.H. 387 / A.D. 997) – a renowned explorer who toured many regions including Sind, was thorough in his recording of the details of every aspect of activity in the regions which he toured. His book contains detailed information on taxes levied in some ports and taxes on the use of land routes, and on imported and exported goods. He has information on currency, weights used in the Arab world, his contacts with merchants and ordinary people and the benefits of these contacts in terms of knowledge. The book also contains his view that the Arab world comprised a number of Aḳālīm (Provinces) of the caliphate, and his justification for his use of the term 'iḳlīm' (Province) and arguments in support of his views. ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

There are other important sources relevant to the research such as 'Ḥudūd al-^CĀlam' by an unknown author, compiled in A.H. 372 / A.D. 982, ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān' by Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī, (d. in A.H. 290 / A.D. 903), and 'Aja'ib al-Hind' by Buzurk, ibn Shahrīyār al-Rāmhurmuzī, (d. in the 4th century A.H. / the 10th century A.D.). Buzurk was renowned for his voyages between the ports of Iraq, India and China, and derived some of his information from merchants and others whose names, ancestries and places of abode are recorded in his book, which is important to maritime trade between the Arabian and Indian coasts. So is Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī's book 'Silsilat al-Tawārīḳh'. Al-Sīrāfī set off from Sīrāf to China via India in A.H. 264/A.D. 877). The findings of his journey complemented those arrived at earlier by Sulaymān al-Tājir who was among the first to explore the coasts of India in A.H. 237 / A.D. 851 and who recorded his observations on the spot.

Important though these sources are, they tend to concentrate on maritime trade and pay less attention to overland trade. 'Aja'ib al-Hind' and 'Silsilat al-Tawārikh' are but two examples of sources which belong to this category.

Information gathered by Abū Dulaf, Mis'ar b. Muhallil al-Khazrajī on India is especially important because he gathered it while using an overland route from the land of Naṣr b. Aḥmad al-Sāmānī (A.H. 301-331 / A.D. 914-943) to China then back to Khurāsān via India. (107) He may have been the first explorer to arrive in India by land. He provides some of the most valuable information on the commercial route between Khurāsān and Sind as well as on India and its population. 'Risālat ibn Faḍlān' provides some useful information on the land route and on the expansion of trade. It gives us an idea of the political situation which prevailed in the caliphate in A.H. 309 / A.D. 921 when the caliph's delegation was sent to Turkish central Asia, the Caspian region, Russia and the Slavs. (108)

In fact the research has benefited not just from geographical sources and written accounts of journeys contemporary with it but also from similar sources which appeared after the period of the research. The aim has been to draw on any relevant information contained in them and to compare it with information on a particular aspect - conditions of roads, or the uninterrupted flow of goods between the Arab world and India, for instance - from the period of the research. We have also attempted to follow up the progress of some phenomena from the period

of the research, the spread of Islam in India for example.

Although the sources which appeared after the period of the research are not strictly primary sources, they are still very important to the research. These sources include 'Al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik' by Abū Ubayd al-Bakrī, (who d. in A.H. 487 / A.D. 1094), 'Rihlat ibn Jubayr' by Ibn Jubayr, (who d. in A.H. 540 / A.D. 1184), 'Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ fī Ikhtirāḳ al-Āfāḳ' by al-Idrīsī, Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, (who d. in A.H. 560 / A.D. 1164), 'Nukhbat al-Dahr fī 'Ajā'ib al-Barr wa 'l-Baḥr' by al-Anṣārī al-Dimashqī, Shams al-Dīn Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad, (who d. in A.H. 795 / A.D. 1417), 'Taḳwīm al-Buldān' by Abū 'l-Fidā', Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Umar, (who d. in A.H. 732 / A.D. 1331), 'Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akḥbār al-'Ibād' by al-Ḳazwīnī, Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd, (who d. in A.H. 682 / A.D. 1283), and 'Rihlat ibn Baṭṭūṭa' by ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, (who d. in A.H. 779 / A.D. 1377). 'Muḳjam al-Buldān' by Yāḳūt al-Ḥamawī, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Abd Allāh al-Rūmī, (who d. in A.H. 629 / A.D. 1229) provides some very interesting information on several Arab and Indian cities and on trading among them.

The research has benefited from dozens of historical sources. Naturally every historian has his own distinct method dictated by the nature of his book or by the reasons behind writing it. Although these sources do not at first sight strike us as relevant, the fact that they begin to appear during the period of the research and deal with various

aspects of life in the Arab world and elsewhere makes them important to our subject. Fortunately, some of these sources contain texts closely connected with our research and this has enabled us to understand the then prevailing political situation. Comparing texts has enabled us to draw several conclusions directly related to our research. In the forefront of these sources are the works of al-Mas^{ūdī}, Abū 'l-Ḥasan ^{Alī} b. al-Ḥusayn (who d. in A.H. 346/A.D. 957) which include 'Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma^{ādīn} al-Jawhar', 'al-Tanbīh wa-'l-Ishrāf', and 'Akhbār al-Zamān.' The significance of al-Mas^{ūdī}'s works to the research lies in the fact that he was not only an historian but also an explorer at the same time who toured most of the Arab regions of the caliphate before settling down. In A.H. 303-304/A.D. 915-916 he toured India using a sea route and recorded his observations of various aspects of Indian life such as political relations between the Indian Kingdoms, their products, their livestock, birds and plants. He reports on Arabs and Muslims living in India, some aspects of trade, currency, treatment of visitors, etc. He also refers to Indian exports to the Arab world and describes the conditions which prevailed in various Arab regions at the time. Al-Mas^{ūdī} is one of the most informative contemporary authors on the subject of the research. So indeed is al-Ya^{qūbī}, Aḥmad b. Abī Ya^{qūb} b. Wāḍiḥ, (who d. in A.H. 292/A.D. 904) who toured many countries in the east and west, and in A.H. 260/A.D. 873 visited Persia and Armenia, and also toured India, Syria and Andalusia.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Therefore, the information contained in his works, such as 'Tārīkh', 'al-Buldān,' and

'Mushākalat al-Nās li-Zamānihim' concerning many Indian exports, the political situation in some Indian Kingdoms etc. is accurate and reliable.

The research has used a great deal of information and texts from general historical sources that record events in chronological order, such as al-Ṭabarī's 'Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-'l-Mulūk' the last volumes of which proved useful to the research, (Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja^Cfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr, who d. in A.H. 310 / A.D. 922), Miskawayh's book 'Tajārib al-Umam', (Miskawayh, Abū ^CAlī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad who d. in A.H. 421 / A.D.1030), 'Futūḥ al-Buldān' by al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Ja^Cfar (who d. in A.H. 279 / A.D. 892), 'Tārīkh al-Islām', and 'al-^CIbar fī Khabar man Ghabar' by al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (who d. in A.H. 748 / A.D.1347).

Historical sources which deal with various subjects and various periods of time and which contain some texts and information relevant to our subject include 'Tārīkh Baghdād' by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ^CAlī (who d. in A.H. 463 / A.D.1070), 'al-^CIbar wa-Dīwān al-Mubtada' wa 'l-Khabar' by Ibn Khaldūn, ^CAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Maghribī, (who d. in A.H. 808 / A.D. 1404), 'Subḥ al-^Cshā fī Ṣinā^Cat al-Inshā' by al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Abū 'l-^CAbbās Aḥmad b. ^CAlī, (who d. in A.H. 821 / A.D. 1418). They also include books written by earlier historians such as 'al-Futūḥ' by Ibn ^CṬham al-Kūfī, (who d. in A.H. 314 / A.D. 926), 'Tārīkh Khalīfa Ibn Khayyāt', by

Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, Abū^C Umar Shabāb al-^CAṣfarī, (who d. in A.H. 240 / A.D. 854) and other well-known historians.

The research has also made use of other historical sources written in a literary form and dealing with many aspects of life. These sources include 'al-Bayān wa'l-Tabyīn', 'al-Bukhālā', 'al-Ḥayawān', and even more important 'al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tijāra', by al-Jāhīz, Abū^C Uṭhmān^C Amr b. Baḥr, (who d. in A.H. 255 / A.D. 869), 'Niṣhwār al-Muḥādāra', and 'al-Faraj ba^Cd al-Shidda' by al-Tanūkhī, Abū^C Alī al-Muḥassin b. Alī b. Muḥammad, (who d. in A.H. 384 / A.D. 994), 'Thimār al-Kulūb' and 'Laṭā'if al-Ma^Cārif' by al-Tha^Cālibī, Abū Mansūr, Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad, (who d. in A.H. 429 / A.D. 1037), 'al-Aghānī' by Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, (who was born in A.H. 284 / A.D. 897). The research has also made use of sources concerned primarily with the history of India and its vicinity. Such sources include 'al-Jamāhir fī Ma^Crifat al-Jawāhir', 'Fī Taḥkīk mā li-'l-Hind', 'al-Kānūn al-Mas^Cūdī', 'Rasā'il al-Bīrūnī' by al-Bīrūnī, Abū 'l-Rayḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, (who d. in A.H. 440 / A.D. 1048), who lived in India for a long time.

In addition to the above-mentioned sources, we have found particularly useful references which could be called specialised since each was written to deal with a specific field. 'Al-Kharāj' by Abū Yūsuf al-Kāḍī Ya^Ckūb b. Ibrāhīm, (who d. in A.H. 192 / A.D. 798), 'al-Kharāj', by Yaḥyā b. Ādam al-Ḳurashī, (who d. in A.H. 203 / A.D. 818), 'al-Amwāl', by Abu^C Ubayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, (who d. in

A.H. 224 / A.D. 838), 'al-Mabsūt' by al-Sarakhsī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Sahl, (who d. in A.H. 483 / A.D.1090) deal with taxation in Islam from a theoretical point of view. 'Risāla fī Shīrā' al-Raḳīk wa-Taḳlīb al-^CAbīd' by Ibn Buṭlān, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Mukhtār b. al-Ḥasan, (who d. in A.H. 444 or 445 / A.D.1052-3) gives details about Indian slaves in some Arab regions. 'Al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsīn al-Tijara' by Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Dīmaḥkī, Ja^Cfar b. ^CAlī, (who d. in A.H. 727 / A.D. 1326) is devoted to commerce and the needs of merchants and is superior to the above-mentioned book of al Jāhīz.

We have already referred to the importance to the research of modern works in terms of encouraging us. Some of these works contain valuable analyses of some aspects of the subject. The research has made use of a lot of articles which have appeared in various journals. It has also benefited from studies in Arabic and English, and translations from other languages as is acknowledged in footnotes and in the bibliography.

Footnotes to Introduction.

- (1) See Γ. al-Sāmīr, al-Uṣūl al-Tārīkhiyya li-'l-Ḥadāra 'l-ʿArabiyya 'l-Islāmiyya fī 'l-Sharḥ al-Aksā, Baghdad, 1977, p.61. W.F. Oakeshott, Commerce and Society, Oxford, 1936, p.1, says: "Commerce is older than history. Modern archaeological discoveries reach back into the past far beyond the time of the earliest historians known to us and they have shown the immense quantity of trade." See also ʿĀ.M. al-Ālūsī, Tijārat al-ʿIrāk al-Baḥriyya Maʿa Andunisiyā Ḥattā Awākhir al-Ḳarn al-Sābiʿ al-Hijrī / Awākhir al-Ḳarn al-Thalith ʿAshar al-Milādī, Baghdad, 1984, p.7.
- (2) M. Yūsuf, ʿIlākāt al-ʿArab al-Tijāriyya bi -'l-Hind Mundhu Akdam al-Uṣūr ilā 'l-Ḳarn al-Rābiʿ al-Hijrī, Faculty of Arts Journal, University of Fu'ād I, Vol. 15, 1953, p.3. See also, chapter two, pp. 88-90, J. Kennedy, The early commerce of Babylon with India 700-300 B.C., JRAS, 1898, p.242. S.S. Nadavi, The early relations between Arabia and India, IC, Vol. XI, 1937, p.172, says, "the commercial relation was the first link between them. For thousands of years Arab traders came to the sea-coasts of India; they carried Indian products to the marts of Europe by way of Egypt and Syria, and European products to India, the Indian islands, and the Far East. The customary trade route of the Arabs was as follows. Coming from Egypt and Syria, they travelled by land along the eastern coast of the Red Sea to the Yemen, where they embarked on sailing boats. Some went to Africa. Others sailed past Hadramawt and Oman to Bahrein and then Iraq and thence to the Persian coast of the Gulf. Then they went on and landed either at Thez, a harbour in Baluchistan, or at Daybul (Karachi), the port of Sind; and farther on at Khambayat, the port of Gujarat." See also, chapter two, pp. 97-100.
- (3) The Sumerians are known to have used chariots and sailing ships since the 3rd millenium B.C., see T. Bākir, Muḳaddima fī Tārīkh al-Ḥadārāt al-Ḳadīma, Vol. 1, (Tārīkh al-ʿIrāk al-Ḳadīm), Baghdad, 1955, pp.155-6. Also, for export of chariots to India, see M. al-Nadawī, Tārīkh al-Ṣilāt bayn al-Hind wa-'l-Bilād al-Arabiyya, Beirut, not dated, p.7.
- (4) Shuwayḥāt, Dawr al-ʿArab fī Thakāfat al-ʿĀlam wa-Ḥadāratiḥ, al-Azīzāt, not dated, p.54. J. Kennedy, The early commerce of Babylon with India 700-300 B.C., JRAS, 1898, p.274, says, "Indian merchants brought it from Babylon around the 7th century B.C." S.S. Nadavi, The early relations between Arabia and India, IC, Vol. XI, 1937, p.173, observes that "the Indian

scripts like all other Aryan scripts are written from the left." He adds "The late Professor Bühler has, however, made it very probably that this alphabet was introduced into India by traders from Mesopotamia about 800 B.C."

- (5) Shuwayhāt, Dawr al-^CArab fī Thakāfat al-^CĀlam wa-Hadāratih, pp.54-5, M. Yūsuf, Ilākāt al-^CArab al-Tijāriyya bi-'l-Hind, p.9, M. al-Nadawī, Tārikh al-Šilāt, p.10, J. Hornell, Sea-trade in early times, Antiquity, ed. O.G.S. Crawford and R. Austin, Vol. XV, 1941, p.240.
- (6) For the importance of the trade of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa in the Punjab and their ties with Mesopotamia and Egypt, see J.C. Van-Leur, Indonesian trade and society, Bandung, 1955, p.63, A.L. Basham, The wonder that was India, London, 1954, pp.14-26, R. Dandekar, Some aspects of Indo-Mediterranean contacts, Diogenes, Vol. 71, 1970, pp.18-38, M. Hammond, The city in the ancient world, Harvard, 1972, pp.57-60.
- (7) F. al-Sāmīr, al-Uṣūl al-Tārihiyya, p.20. For commercial relations between Egypt and India about 2350 B.C., see J.C. Van-Leur, Indonesian trade and society, p.63.
- (8) Ṭ. Bakīr, Muḳaddīma fī Tārikh al-Ḥadārāt al-Kadīma, Vol. 1, p.63. He adds that this is untrue, since the ancient monuments of the Sumerians in Iraq are older than the above date.
- (9) M. Yūsuf, Ilākāt al-^CArab al-Tijāriyya bi-'l-Hind, p.8. Also, for an Indian wood, see J. Kennedy, The early commerce of Babylon with India 700-300 B.C., JRAS, 1898, p.266, G.R. Tibbetts, Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese, London, 1971, p.1, S.M. Ahmad, al-^CIlākāt al-^CArabiyya al-Hindiyya, tr. Niḳūla Ziyāda, Beirut, 1974, p.13. ḤA. Ḥasan, al-Tārikh al-Islāmī al-^CĀmm, Cairo, 1963, p.491, refers to the existence of trade ties between the Babylonians and Indians.
- (10) M. Yūsuf, Ilākāt al-^CArab al-Tijāriyya bi-'l-Hind, pp.9-10, S.M. Ahmad, al-^CIlākāt al-^CArabiyya al-Hindiyya, p.13. See also, A.T. Wilson, The Persian Gulf, London, 1954, p.33. For Phoenician trade with India, see W.S. Lindsay, History of merchant shipping and ancient commerce, Vol. 1, London, 1874, pp.11, 27-31, and for their importance in trade, see L. Mumford, The city in history, New York, 1961, p.71, J. Somogy, A short history of Oriental trade, Hildesheim, 1968, pp.16,19, J. Kennedy, The early commerce of Babylon with India 700-300 B.C. JRAS, 1898, p.246. For the port of Ophir, see J. Hornell, Sea-trade in early times, Vol. XV, 1941, p.244.

He says: "This port, in my opinion, cannot well have been other than one of the great marts on the west coast of India, where the produce of the gold mines of Hudarabad (Deccan). It has also furnished definite proof that no direct sea trade with India had existed before 950 B. C."

- (11) M. Yūsuf, Ilākāt al-^CArab al-Tijāriyya bi-'l-Hind, p.7, S.M. Ahmad, al-^CIlākāt al-^CArabiyya al-Hindiyya, pp.13-14, J. Kennedy, The early commerce of Babylon with India 700-300 B.C., JRAS, 1898, p.245.
- (12) J. Kennedy, The early commerce of Babylon with India 700-300 B.C., JRAS, 1898, pp.259-60, M. Yūsuf, Ilākāt al-^CArab al-Tijāriyya bi-'l-Hind, p.8, S.M. Ahmad, al-^CIlākāt al-^CArabiyya al-Hindiyya, p.15, A.L. Basham, The wonder that was India, p.26.
- (13) M. Yūsuf, Ilākāt al-^CArab al-Tijāriyya bi-'l-Hind, p.11.
- (14) Alexander's conquest of the east was consolidated when he won a clear victory over the army of Dārā the 3rd in A.H. 333 B.C. near the Gulf of Alexandretta. Afterwards, Alexander moved to Syria and Egypt and then to Babylon and Transoxania and the north-western regions of India. He then returned to Babylon where he died at the palace of Nebuchadnezzar in 323 B.C. from fever. See Ṭ. Bākir, Muqaddima fī Tārīkh al-Ḥadārāt al-Kadīma, Vol. 2 (Ḥadārāt Wādī 'l-Nīl), Baghdād, 1955, pp.310-12.
- (15) After Alexander's death and the partition of the Empire, Ptolemaios, the son of Lagus whose dynasty ruled in Egypt until 30 B.C. when Augustus conquered Egypt and added it to Rome, the situation remained unchanged until the emergence of Islam. Seleucus and his dynasty ruled Iraq and Syria for over a century and a half. The Parthians emerged on the scene and were followed by the Sassanians who were in constant conflict with the Romans until the emergence of Islam. See Ṭ. Bākir, Muqaddima fī Tārīkh al-Ḥadārāt al-Kadīma, Vol. 1, pp.318-19, Vol. 2, p.84.
- (16) Ibid, Vol. 2, p.316. For the importance of the trade links between Egypt and the east around 115 B.C., see S. Māhir, al-Bahriyya fī Miṣr al-Islāmiyya wa-Āthāruhā 'l-Bākiya, Cairo, not dated, p.45.
- (17) Ṭ. Bākir, Muqaddima fī Tārīkh al-Ḥadārāt al-Kadīma, Vol. 1, p.319, Vol. 2, p.84. Cultural contacts between east and west continued for three centuries after Alexander's conquest.
- (18) Before Islam, Iraq during the period of the Mundhirs came under the political influence of the Sassanians, while the Byzantine influence covered Syria during the Ghassānid period. North

Africa came under the political influence of the Romans. The Arabian Peninsula came under the political influence of neither super-power and its trade with the coasts and the north continued. For the importance of trade of cities, see W.S. Lindsay, History of merchant shipping, Vol. 1, p.58, W.H. Schoff, The periplus of the Erythrean Sea, Calcutta, 1912, p.6, S.A. Huzayyin, Arabia and the Far East, Cairo, 1942, p.130, S. Māhir, al-Bahriyya fī Miṣr, pp.47,54. Also, for the important trade of Gerrha, see C.A.W. Stiffe, Ancient trading centres of the Persian Gulf, JESHO, Vol. IX, 1897, p.311, Jam^c iyyat al-Mu'arrikhīn wa-'l-Āthāriyyīn fī 'l-^cIrāk, (ed.), al-Hudūd al-Sharqiyya li-'l-Waṭan al-^cArabī, Dirāsa Tārīkhiyya, Baghdād, 1981, pp.19-20, T. Bākīr, Muqaddima fī Tārīkh al-Hadārāt al-Qadīma, Vol. 2, p.316.

- (19) M. al-Nadawī, Tārīkh al-Silāt, p.33, M. Yūsuf, Ilākāt al-^cArab al-Tijāriyya bi-'l-Hind, pp.25,30, E.H. Warmington, The commerce between the Roman Empire and India, Cambridge, 1928, pp.145-260, J.I. Miller, The spice trade of the Roman Empire, Oxford, 1969, pp.40,41,47,65-86, A.L. Basham, The wonder that was India, p.229, W. Vincent, The periplus of the Erythrean Sea, part 1, London, 1800, pp.104,106.
- (20) P.K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, London, 1951, pp.48,59.
- (21) C. Cahen, Tārīkh al-^cArab wa-'l-Shu^cūb al-Islāmiyya, Vol. 1, tr. Badr al-Din al-Ḳāsim, Beirut, 1972, pp.222-27, A.L. Basham, The wonder that was India, p.231.
- (22) Such as Apologus (Ubullā) and the ports along the coasts of the Arabian Peninsula.
- (23) Such as the port of Ophir, Baryzago (Broach) and Muzirs.
- (24) The monsoon had been harnessed for sailing since 1400 B.C. onwards by the Phoenicians. See T. Bākīr, Muqaddima fī Tārīkh al-Hadārāt al-Qadīma, Vol.1, pp.155-6, Vol.2, p.250. For sailing by the monsoon in the first centuries A.D. onwards, see W.F. Oakshott, Commerce and society, p.32, S. Māhir, al-Bahriyya fī Miṣr al-Islāmiyya, p.45.
- (25) For details, see M. al-Nadawī, Tārīkh al-Silāt, pp.32-3, M. Yūsuf, Ilākāt al-^cArab al-Tijāriyya bi-'l-Hind, pp.7-9, S.S. Nadavi, Commercial relations of India with Arabia, tr. Sayeed Ul Haq, IC, Vol. VII, 1933, pp.281-308.
- (26) During the reign of ^cUmar b. al-Ḳhaṭṭāb, in the battle of al-Ḳādisiyya.

- (27) See chapter three, pp. 145-49.
- (28) S.A. al-^CAlī, al-Tanzīmāt al-Ijtima^Cīyya wa-'l-Iktisādiyya fī 'l-Baṣra fī 'l-Ḳarn al-Awwal al-Hijrī, Beirut, 1969, p.269.
- (29) M. B. Khalid, The caravan of Islam on the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, RCIJ, Vol. 6, Tehran, 1973, says, "It will be recalled that Islam arrived on the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent in three distinct phases; first through the Arab traders and sailors, then towards the close of the first century A.H. with the conquest of Sind and Multan by the Arabs and by the more organized conquest cum-immigration movement of the Turks and Afghans." See also, H.C. Verma, Mediaeval routes to India, Calcutta, 1978, p.23, J. Somogy, A short history of Oriental trade, p.59.
- (30) Since the reign of Abū Bakr, the first caliph, attempts had been made to conquer India, to no avail until the reign of al-Walīd, see chapter one, p. 66.
- (31) For direct Arab rule of Sind, see al-Tabarī, Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-'l-Mulūk, Leiden, 1964, Vol. 10, pp.138,139,309,360, 380,460-1, 470,491,501,505, Vol. 11, pp.649,1098, Ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh Khālifa ibn Khayyāt, ed. Akram al-^CUmari, al-Najaf, 1967, Vol. 1, pp.197,229,390, Vol. 2, pp.463, 484, 538, 553,560,617,632, E. Zambaur, Mu^Cjam al-Ansāb wa-'l-Ushrāt al-Hākima fī 'l-Tārīkh al-Islāmī, tr. Zakī Muḥammad and others, Cairo, 1952, Vol. 2, pp.415,416, T. al-Mubārakbūrī, al-^CArab wa-'l-Hind fī ^CAhd al-Risāla, tr. ^CIzzat ^CAbd al-Jalīl, Cairo, 1973, pp.137-8.
- (32) For the commercial reasons behind choosing the site of Baghdad, see chapter one, p.73.
- (33) This may be attributed to the fact that the Umayyads controlled the whole of North Africa and Andalusia while the ^CAbbasids lost control of these regions soon after their rule had started. Also, when the Fāṭimid caliphate emerged on the scene it controlled the whole of North Africa including Egypt.
- (34) For the exchange of delegations and gifts between some Indian kings and al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn, see Ibn al-Zubayr, al-Zubayr, al-Dhakhā'ir wa-'l-Tuḥaf, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh, Kuwait, 1959, pp.20-7.
- (35) As had happened in the period of al-Mahdī, see T. al-Mubārakbūrī, Rijāl al-Sind wa-'l-Hind, Bombay, 1958, p.253.
- (36) See chapter one, pp.71-3.

- (37) The most important Islamic conquests took place in the reign of the Orthodox and Umayyad caliphs. During the ^CAbbāsīd period, however, only a few campaigns were embarked upon.
- (38) See chapter three, pp. 150-60.
- (39) For the Arabs' knowledge of Indian society, see chapter five, pp. 272-4.
- (40) The ^CAbbāsīd caliphate reached its zenith, in terms of power, soon after it was established. By the end of al-Mu^Ctasim's rule, or perhaps his son al-Wāthiq's, its power had declined, see chapter one, pp. 53-6.
- (41) For the trade relations with Byzantium, see chapter five, p. 259.
- (42) G. L. Strange, Buldān al-Khilāfa al-Sharqiyya, tr. Gūrgīs ^CAwwād and Bashīr Fransīs, Baghdad, 1954, p. 369.
- (43) M. Yūsuf, ʿIlākat al-^CArab al-Tijāriyya bi-ʿl-Hind, Faculty of Arts Journal, University of Fu'ād I, Vol. 15, 1953.
- (44) S. M. Ahmad, Commercial relations of India with the Arab world (1000 B.C. up to modern times), IC, Vol. XXXVII, 1964, p. 141, says: "A study of India's political, cultural and commercial relations with the Arab nations of West Asia and North Africa during the past centuries is an academic task that has not only become overdue but is of great desirability today. In recent times the independence of India and the Arab nation from foreign political domination has ushered in an era of cultural and economic co-operation between the two peoples which today rests on more solid grounds than ever . . .".
- (45) H. Hasan, A history of Persian navigation, London, 1928, pp. 125-49.
- (46) G. F. Hourani, Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean, Princeton, 1951.
- (47) S. S. Nadavi, Arab navigation, IC, Vol. XV, 1941, and Vol. XVI, 1942.
- (48) ^CA. ^CA. al-Dūrī, Tārīkh al-^CIrāk al-Iktisādī fi ʿl-Karn al-Rābi^C al-IIIjri, Beirut, ١٩٤٤, chapter four: Trade.
- (49) We shall refer to these works and point to their significance and the names of their authors on pp. 28-38.

- (50) Such as Ibn Ḥawḳal and Ibn Khurdādhba. See also, S.M.Z. Alavi, Arab exploration during the 9th and 10th centuries, IC, Vol. XXII, 1948, pp.265-79.
- (51) See chapter two, pp. 112,113. For the discovery of Arab coins, belonging to the 4th/10th century in the north of Europe, see D.S. Margoliouth, The renaissance of Islam, IC, Vol. VII, 1933, p.311.
- (52) Such as S.S. Nadavi, Commercial relations of India with Arabia, tr. Sayeed Ul Haq, IC, Vol. VII, 1933, pp.281-308.
- (53) S.M. Imamuddin, Commercial relations of Spain with Iraq, Persia, Khurasan, China and India in the tenth century A.D., Vol. XXV, 1961, pp.177-82.
- (54) Al-Maḳḳisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim fī Maḳrifat al-Aḳālīm, Leiden, 1877, pp.212,236.
- (55) For instance in A.H.269/A.D.882 the Tūlūnīs in Egypt dispatched an army to Iraq to help the Ḳabbāsids quell the Zanj revolt. See al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 13, p.2080. In A.H.270/A.D.883 volunteers from Ahwāz, Bahrein and Persia assisted the Ḳabbāsids to quell the same revolt. Ibid, p.2085. Also, Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Cairo, 1914, Vol. 2, p.46, reports that during the events of A.H.331/A.D.942 Yūsuf b. Wajīh, from Oman, had been seen sailing towards Basra intending to do battle with the Barīdīs. Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Hyderabad, 1938, Vol. 6, p.349, says that in A.H.335/A.D.964, Nāṣir al-Dawla Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān, came to Baghdad to help the caliph al-Muṭīḳ against Muḳizz al-Dawla.
- (56) R. Mookerji, Indian shipping, p.186.
- (57) D.S. Margoliouth, The renaissance of Islam, IC, Vol. VII, 1933, pp.309,310.
- (58) G.R. Tibbetts, Early Muslim traders in south east Asia, JMRAS, Vol. XXX, 1957, p.22.
- (59) H.C. Verma, Mediaeval routes to India, p.234.
- (60) B. Spuler, Trade in the eastern Islamic countries in the early centuries, in D.S. Richards (ed.), Islam and the trade of Asia, Oxford, 1970, p.12, T. Raychaudhuri and I. Habib (ed.), The Cambridge history of India, Cambridge, 1982, Vol. 1, p.19, J. Somogy, The part of Islam in Oriental trade, IC, Vol. XXX, 1956, p.182.

- (61) See chapter three, pp.144,145.
- (62) See chapter one, pp. 53-6. For the looting of trade caravans, see Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 2, p.251, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntaẓam, Vol. 6, pp.56-7.
- (63) Al-Kalkashandī, Subh al-A^Cshā fī Sinā^Cat al-Inshā, Cairo, 1963, Vol. 3, pp.468-9,513,514, al-Makrīzī, al-Khitāṭ, Beirut, 1959, Vol. 2, pp.211,319, N.A. Stillman, The eleventh century merchant houses of Ibn Awkal, JESHO, Vol. XVI, 1973, p.15.
- (64) That was true of the Tāhirids, Saffārids, Sāmānids, and the Ghaznavids dynasty.
- (65) Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya wa-'l-Nihāya, Beirut and al-Riyāḍ, 1966, Vol. II, p.330, reports that in A.H.392/A.D.1001, the pilgrims from the east had to turn back as they could not make it to Baghdad because of conditions of insecurity on the road. See also, M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, Asian trade and European influence, The Hague, 1962, p.15.
- (66) H. C. Verma, Mediaeval routes to India, p.234, H.M. Elliot, The history of India, as told by its own historians, London, 1869, Vol. II, pp.434-78.
- (67) Ibn Jubayr, Rihlat Ibn Jubayr, Leiden, 1852, p.233, observes that Sāmarrā' was in decay. On p.319, he mentions that Baghdad was left with nothing except its fame, and on p.286, notes that the western side of Baghdad was in ruins. He also notes that the ^CAbbāsids were practically under house arrest and salaries had been allocated to them. Also S.M. Ahmad, Commercial relations of India with the Arab world (1000 B.C. up to modern times), IC, Vol. XXXVIII, 1964, p.150.
- (68) S.D. Goitein, From Aden to India, JESHO, Vol. XXIII, 1980, pp.43-66, and Letters and documents on the Indian trade in mediaeval times, IC, Vol. XXXVII, 1963, pp.188-205, N.A. Stillman, The eleventh century merchant houses of Ibn Awkal, JESHO, Vol. XVI, 1973, pp.16-66.
- (69) S.D. Goitein, Letters and documents on the Indian trade in mediaeval times, IC, Vol. XXXVII, 1963, p.190, says: "The term India trade is taken here in the widest sense of the word, comprising commercial activities and travels stretching from the ports of the Red Sea in the west to the shores of Sumatra and Indonesia in the East." See also chapter one, pp. 60-4.
- (70) See chapter two, pp.103-6.

- (71) See chapter three, pp.154-60.
- (72) Ibid, pp. 156-60.
- (73) There had been means of commercial exchange other than money, see chapter three, pp. 138-9. For Arab and Indian coins, see chapter three, pp.139-43. About Arab coins discovered in India, see K.N. Dikshit, A coin of the ^CAbbāsids found at Paharpur, JAS, 1934, p.75. He says: "This coin was discovered in the ruins of the monastery at Paharpur during the course of excavations" and adds, "The coin belonged to the ^CAbbāsīd caliph al-Rashīd. It was issued from the mint of al-Muḥammadiyya and bears the date A.H. 172/A.D.788." Quoting Nilakanta Sastri, G.R. Tibbetts, Early Muslim traders in south east Asia, JMRAS, Vol. XXX, 1957, p.33, mentions ^CAbbāsīd coins in India in A.H.234/A.D.848.
- (74) See chapter three, pp. 149-54.
- (75) Such as ^CA. al-Dūrī, Tārīkh al-^CIrāk al-Iktisādī, which contains no significant account of Iraq's trade with India.
- (76) Such as S.S. Nadavi, Commercial relations of India with Arabia, tr. Sayeed Ul Haq, IC, Vol. VII, 1933, pp.281-308.
- (77) S.D. Goitein, From Aden to India, JESHO, Vol. XXIII, 1980, pp.43-66, Letters and documents on the Indian trade in the mediaeval times, IC, Vol. XXXVII, 1963, pp.188-205, N.A. Stillman, The eleventh century merchant houses of Ibn ^CAwkal, JESHO, Vol. XVI, 1973, pp.16-66.
- (78) See chapter three, pp. 141-2, and chapter five, pp.269,270.
- (79) F. al-Sāmīr, al-Uṣūl al-Tārīkhīyya, p.60, refers to this subject and maintains that the first wave of Indian immigrants arrived in Indonesia from India in the second half of the first century A.D., and that the Indians brought with them the Sanskrit letters later to become the Jāwī, and the Indian religion spread together with the Indian influence.
- (80) See p. 24.
- (81) Ibn al-Zubayr, al-Dhakhā'ir wa-'l-Tuḥaf, pp.20-7.
- (82) Al-Kalkashandī, Subḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 3, pp.468-9,513, 514, al-Maḥrīzī, al-Khitāṭ, Vol. 2, pp.211-319, N.A. Stillman, The eleventh century merchant houses of Ibn Awkal, JESHO, Vol. XVI, 1973, p.15.

- (83) Al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Takāsim, p. 47, writes that out of the 14 provinces which formed the caliphate, six were Arab.
- (84) See chapter one, pp. 60-8.
- (85) See chapter four, p. 185, and chapter three, pp. 144, 145.
- (86) For sources on the same question, see chapter one, pp. 66, 67.
- (87) This is an inference rather than a documented fact, as no statistics on that period are available.
- (88) See these sources in chapter one, footnotes for pp. 79-83.
- (89) Al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Takāsim, p. 47, and chapter one, pp. 52-3.
- (90) See chapter one, pp. 64-8.
- (91) For system of transliteration of Arabic characters, see The Encyclopaedia of Islam (new edition), Vol. III, London and Leiden, 1971.
- (92) For the importance of the Arabic sources, see G.R. Tibbetts, Early Muslim traders in south east Asia, JMRAS, Vol. XXX, 1957, pp. 23, 33, H.C. Verma, Mediaeval routes to India, p. 4.
- (93) Such as Sulaymān al-Tājir, al-Mas^Cūdī, al-Iṣṭakhri and al-Makdisī.
- (94) See chapter five, pp. 270-2.
- (95) Such as S.M. Ahmad in his book, al-Ilākāt al-^CArabiyya al-Hindiyya, and his article, Commercial relations of India with the Arab world (1000 B.C. up to modern times), IC, Vol. XXXVIII, 1964, pp. 141-55, M. al-Nadawī, Tārīkh al-Ṣilāt bayn al-Hind wa-'l-Bilād al-^CArabiyya, and several other writers whose articles have been published in the journal Islamic Culture.
- (96) Such as A.S. Alteker, The Rāshtrakūṭas and their times (from c. 750 A.D. to c. 1000 A.D.), Poona, 1934. He discusses the political, administrative, religious, social, economic and literary history of the Deccan. On p. V, he says: "The main sources of the book are the inscriptions of the Rāshtrakūṭas," and adds, "These are supplemented by the accounts of the Arabic travellers and the valuable book of Alberuni." On p. 367, he says: "Commerce and industry, that were described a little while ago, presuppose not only currency, but also banking facilities." On p. 356, he says: "Contemporary documents do

not give any adequate idea of the industries of the period; but we can get a fair notion from the accounts of foreign merchants of the earlier and later periods."

- (97) Such as H.C. Verma, Mediaeval routes to India, and A. Appadorai, Economic conditions in south India 1000-1500 A.D., Vol. 1, 2, Madras, 1936.
- (98) J. Dowson, The history of India, London, 1867, Vol. 1, p.xix, and for his use of some Arabic sources and some modern sources, see the contents of his book.
- (99) B. Lewis, Sources for the economic history of the Middle East, in M.A. Cook (ed.), Studies in the economic history of the Middle East, Oxford, 1970, pp.78-92.
- (100) We have been unable to trace al-Jayhānī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik. The author was a minister in the Sāmānid state in Bukhārā A.H.302/A.D.914. The book is reported by the editor of Risālat Ibn Faḍlān to have been lost. Al-Buldān, by al-Ḥamadḥānī served as a substitute for it. See Risālat Ibn Faḍlān, footnote on p.76, and al-Marwazī, Tabā'i^c al-Ḥayawān, ed. V. Minorsky, London, 1942, p.6. Nor have we been able to trace ^cAjā'ib al-Buldān, by Abū Dulaf. However, we have relied on other sources which refer to it and to the author's journey from Khurāsān to China and back to Khurāsān via India. We have also relied on the information on al-Marwazī's Tabā'i^c al-Ḥayawān, provided by V. Minorsky, having been unable to trace the complete edition of the book.
- (101) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1889, p.4.
- (102) Ibid, p.8.
- (103) See chapter two, pp. 98-9.
- (104) Kudāma, al-Kharāj wa-Ṣan^cat al-Kitāba, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1889, p.250. He occasionally uses the term "Islamic Kingdom" to refer to the caliphate, see p.234.
- (105) Also, for the importance of al-Maḥdisī's book, see G.L. Strange, Buldān al-Khilāfa al-Sharḳiyya, tr. Gūrgīs ^cAwwād and Bashīr Fransīs, p.28, M. al-Nadawī, Tārikh al-Ṣilāt, p.128.
- (106) In his preface to Hudūd al-^cĀlam, London, 1937, p.1, V. Minorsky says: "The anonymous geographical work called Hudūd al-^cĀlam, i.e. "The regions of the world" was compiled

in 372/982-3 and dedicated to the Amīr Abū 'l-Hārith Muhammad b. Aḥmad, of the local Farīghunīd dynasty which ruled in Gūzgānān in what is now northern Afghanistan."

- (107) For the journey of Abū Dulaf, see al-Hamawī, Mu^cjam al-Buldān, Tehran, 1955, Vol. 3, pp.455-8, Vol. 4, p.103, M. al-Nadawī, Tārīkh al-Silat, p.126, The Encyclopaedia of Islam (new edition), Vol. 1, p.116.
- (108) See Ibn Faḍlān, Risālat Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Sāmī 'l-Dahhān, Damascus, 1959.
- (109) See p.5, in the introduction of his book: Mushākalat al-Nās li-Zamānihim, ed. Millward, Beirut, 1962.

CHAPTER ONE: A DESCRIPTION OF THE ARAB WORLD
AND INDIA

In this chapter, our aim is to mark the provincial and international borders of the Arab world and India, to examine the political situation which prevailed in each of them, to indicate their main economic products and crops and also to point out factors which contributed to encouraging trade between the two countries.

First: The Arab World. 1 - Provinces and boundaries. Some of main geographical sources give details on defining the Arab world, its regional and international borders, its important trade cities, its important trade roads and living ways, etc. Throughout the period of the research, the Arab world consisted of six main provinces. ⁽¹⁾

These are:

- A. The province of Iraq, including the middle and the southern areas of present-day Iraq, in addition to some areas of Iran such as ^ʿAbbādān and Hulwān.
- B. The province of Jazīra, including northern and western parts of present-day Iraq, in addition to some parts of Syria such as Raḳka.
- C. The province of Syria, including Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine.
- D. The province of the Arabian Peninsula, including Yemen, Oman, Bahrein and the Hejaz.
- E. The province of Egypt, including Egypt, Libya, parts of Sudan, and the areas of ^ʿAydhāb and the Buja.

F. The province of Maghrib including Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. (2)

The borders of the then Arab regions, therefore, roughly correspond to the present-day borders of the Arab world.

It should be noted, however, that some states (3) were emergent within some of the above provinces, but their existence neither changes the geographical status of their regions nor the names of the provinces in question.

2. The political situation. This research is not intended to be a study of the political situation which prevailed in the Arab world at the time. However, in view of the effects which political circumstances had on trade (for instance, in the terms of stability or otherwise) we decided, in the interest of the reader, to include a brief review of the political situation in the Arab world.

Since its earliest days, the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate had encountered difficult and complicated circumstances in the form of anti-^CAbbāsīd revolutions and rebellions as follows:

1. As early as the reign of al-Manṣūr (A.H. 136-158 / A.D. 754-775), the ^CAlids staged anti-^CAbbāsīd revolts in Medina and Basra. (4) Although the ^CAbbāsīds were able to suppress those revolts, one of the ^CAlids, Idrīs, escaped to the Maghrib where he established the Idrīsī dynasty which remained hostile to the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate. (5). It is worth mentioning that even before the emergence of the Idrīsī amirate, north west Africa was out of the ^CAbbāsīd control. (5A)

2. The Idrīsī dynasty was followed by the establishment in A.H. 184/A.D. 800, of the Aghlabid dynasty in Tunisia at the instigation of the ^CAbbāsīd caliph al-Rashīd (A.H. 170-193 / A.D. 786-809) who hoped that it would check the Idrīsī expansion in the Maghrib. However, the Aghlabid dynasty was brought down in A.H. 296 / A.D. 908 at the hands of the Fāṭimids. ⁽⁶⁾

3. The emergence in A.H. 267 / A.D. 880 on the political scene of the Fāṭimids posed the most serious threat to the ^CAbbāsīd caliphs and their regional governors. The Fāṭimids managed to extend their control over the entire Maghrib. In A.H. 358 A.D. 968, they succeeded in annexing Egypt to their caliphate whose new capital became Cairo, and they were able to extend their rule to wide areas of Palestine, and some parts of Syria, and had considerable political influence in Baghdad and Mosul as well as in the Hejaz. ⁽⁷⁾

4. The Ḥamdānīd dynasty was established in A.H. 293-392 / A.D. 905-1001 in the north of Jazīra and Syria. The Ḥamdānīds first emerged on the scene in the reign of the caliph al-Mu^Ctaḍīd (A.H. 279-289 / A.D. 892-902) as anti-^CAbbāsīd rebels in the Jazīra alongside the Khawārij. ⁽⁸⁾

5. In addition to the Fāṭimid influence in the Hejaz, the Carmathian movement emerged in Bahrein A.H. 260-295 / A.D. 873-907. The Carmathians became an influential political and military power not just in the Arabian peninsula but also in Syria and Iraq. ⁽⁹⁾

Other states were found in the Arabian Peninsula, such as Oman Bahrein and the Yemen. ⁽¹⁰⁾

6. In Iraq, which was the centre of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate, the political situation was as follows:

1. The Turkish soldiery are known to have appointed and ousted caliphs, especially after the reign of the caliph al-Mu^Ctaṣīm (A.H. 218-227 / A.D. 833-842).

2. In the south of Iraq, there were several cases of anti-^CAbbāsīd movements, such as the Zuṭṭ rebellions in the area of al-Baṭā'ih, ⁽¹¹⁾ the Zanj revolution in A.H. 255 / A.D. 868 which lasted almost 14 years, ⁽¹²⁾ and the Barīdīs in Basra. ⁽¹³⁾

3. In the reign of the caliph al-Rādī (A.H. 322-329 / A.D. 934-940), the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate was weakened and in the year A.H. 325 / A.D. 936 the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate lost its control in Iraq, except Baghdad and some parts. ⁽¹⁴⁾

4. The decline of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate culminated in the Buwayhids entering Baghdad in A.H. 334 / A.D. 945 and divesting the caliph of his remaining powers. ⁽¹⁵⁾

5. As a result of the difficult political situation of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate in the second half of the 10th century A.D., it is natural that most of the commercial activity with India on the one hand and the outside world on the other, had to be changed from Iraq to Egypt via the coasts of the Arabian peninsula. ⁽¹⁶⁾

On the eastern and western sides of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate, outside the Arab regions, the political situation was by no means better than it was in the Arab provinces. Some provinces were separated

from the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate and became petty states and dynasties. (17)

It is worth mentioning that these dynasties became locked in constant conflict among themselves to gain control and territories. Their relations with the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate ranged from nominal allegiance, sending gifts with a view to obtaining ^CAbbāsīd official endorsement, to declaring war on the caliphate. (18) Therefore, the appearance of these Amīrates reflected the growing weakness of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate although some of them had some cultural achievements.

3. Economic products. Having defined and examined the political circumstances of the Arab world, it is important to consider its economic resources at that time and the nature of its economic products, agricultural, animal, mineral, etc. which were exported to India or consumed inside the Arab world itself.

In his essay "The third century internal crisis of the Abbasids", D. Waines discusses the decline of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate's revenues in general and in Iraq in particular in the third century A.H. He concludes, "the argument so far has shown that throughout the period of declining ^CAbbāsīd power, the caliphate was confronted by a decreasing inflow of revenue to the central treasury. Two main reasons were adduced: the rise of autonomous dynasties within the empire and the decline of agricultural production in the very heartland of ^CAbbāsīd domains." (19)

However, we do not possess sufficient information about the decline of agricultural and manufactured production in the other parts of the Arab world during the A.H. 3rd and 4th / A.D. 9th and 10th centuries. Also, we do not possess accurate information about how many people there were in the Arab world, or their classification in terms of their occupations, which would have enabled us to estimate the national income as well as the income of the individual.

We can classify the main economic products as follows:

1. Manufactured goods. Most Arab provinces were known for their textile industry. Such Egyptian cities as Fayyūm, Dimyāt, Tinnīs, Shāṭā and others were leading centres for the manufacture of linen clothes, which were sold at high prices outside Egypt.⁽²⁰⁾ The town of Ḳays was known for producing woollen clothes, the town of Bahnasa was known for producing covers - Sutūr - while Shāṭā was known for its attire called al-Bazz.⁽²¹⁾ The Yemen was known for manufacturing the garments called Burūd⁽²²⁾ and clothes called Sa^Cidī and ^CAdanī⁽²³⁾ while Ḳafār had a reputation for silk and cotton wear.⁽²⁴⁾

In Iraq, Baghdad was known as a manufacturer of silk and other types of white clothes,⁽²⁵⁾ as well as silk and cotton clothes which were produced in al-^CAttābiyya quarter.⁽²⁶⁾ Basra, on the other hand, had a reputation for making silk - Ḳhazz - and linen fabrics, Kūfa was a centre for producing silk - Ḳhazz - fabrics and turbans, Wāsiṭ was known for manufacturing covers - Sutūr - , Nu^Cmāniyya for woollen wear, Ubulla for linen wear and turbans,⁽²⁷⁾ while Maysān was known for its clothes

and cushions. ⁽²⁸⁾

Among known products in other Arab regions were the Maghribi red felts - Lubūd - , covers and hair cloth made in Mosul ⁽²⁹⁾ and the garments called Riyāṭ (singular, Rayṭa) which were manufactured in Syria. ⁽³⁰⁾

Apart from textiles, wine was produced in Iraq, Egypt, and Syria, ⁽³¹⁾ swords were made in the Yemen, ⁽³²⁾ soap and oils were produced in Raḡḡa, ⁽³³⁾ rose water was produced in Syria and Basra, ⁽³⁴⁾ henna was produced in Basra, ⁽³⁵⁾ and finally, some sources mention the industries of paper, glasswork and pottery ⁽³⁶⁾ in several parts of the Arab world.

2. Minerals. Some Arab regions yielded significant amounts of iron. In the forefront of these regions were Mosul, the mountains of Beirut and some parts of the Yemen. ⁽³⁷⁾

Upper Egypt yielded emeralds and gold, ⁽³⁸⁾ al-Mahdiyya, Ṭabarḡa, and Sabta in al-Maghrib yielded corals, ⁽³⁹⁾ Ṣan^cā' in the Yemen yielded agate, Aden and Oman on the coasts of the Arabian peninsula and Basra yielded pearls. ⁽⁴⁰⁾ Some Arab regions also yielded copper, kohl and beads. ⁽⁴¹⁾

3. Domestic animals. The Arabian thoroughbred was well known. Arab regions known for their breeds of horses ⁽⁴²⁾ included the province of al-Jazīra, ⁽⁴³⁾ Syria, Egypt, ⁽⁴⁴⁾ Barḡa, ⁽⁴⁵⁾ the Hejaz, Bahrein ⁽⁴⁶⁾ and Iraq. ⁽⁴⁷⁾ Arab horses had been favoured by the Indians and others from ancient times, and during the period of the research they continued to be exported to India. ⁽⁴⁸⁾

Egyptian mules and donkeys were renowned for their speed and endurance throughout the Islamic world and were known to have fetched high prices.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Camels bred in Mahra and described as Najib (excellent) were known for their speed and were therefore preferred to other breeds of camel.⁽⁵⁰⁾

4. Foodstuffs. Dates, cheap and plentiful in the Arab world, were widely consumed. Moreover, dates formed a great part of Arab exports to India.⁽⁵¹⁾ Basra has always been rich in dates; according to al-Maḳḍisī, there were 49 varieties of date there.⁽⁵²⁾ Other date-producing Arab regions included upper Egypt,⁽⁵³⁾ Oman⁽⁵⁴⁾ and Medina.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Mosul was known as a producer of grains, honey, oil, and sumac. The town of Ḥarrān was known for producing honey, walnuts, almonds and oil,⁽⁵⁶⁾ while upper Egypt was known for producing vinegar, raisins and rice.⁽⁵⁷⁾

5. Other commodities produced on a commercial scale included leather, incense, saffron, wirs⁽⁵⁸⁾ and ambergris.⁽⁵⁹⁾

It is to be noted that this description of economic activity in the Arab world does not cover the entire economic life since we have concentrated on items used in trade, with India as well as within the Arab world itself.

Taxes levied in Arab ports and land customs points formed an important source of the state's income.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Arab merchants, moreover, played an important part in promoting Indian merchandise in the Byzantine Empire, and in Andalusia, and African merchandise such as ivory in India and China. (61)

Second: India. In the following we shall attempt to define India's external borders, its kingdoms, political circumstances and its main economic products.

External borders. The majority of Arabic sources which deal with the subject consider India to include not just what is known today as the Indian subcontinent but also various regions in southeast Asia such as Indonesia and other countries. (62) Moreover, these borders were subject to political circumstances, as in the Ghaznavid period when parts of India were annexed by the Ghaznavids. Therefore, extreme caution is necessary when approaching the question of borders.

Since different primary sources give different accounts of the Indian borders, a review of these accounts is, therefore, essential.

Al-Ya^Cḳūbī mentions that the Indians had several kingdoms and kings because of the large geographical area India covered. He refers in particular to Indian kingdoms bordering China such as the kingdoms of Ṭarsūl and Mūshā. (63)

However, al-Ya^Cḳūbī fails to make any mention of India's extension into the Indian Ocean, or the islands of the Indian Ocean. Moreover, he mentions al-Daybul, (64) which was part of the province

of Sind, without making any reference to the western land borders of Sind or to India's northern borders.

Al-Marwazī agrees with al-Ya^Cḳūbī's account that some Indian kingdoms had common borders with China. ⁽⁶⁵⁾ He adds that India is a great nation, it has a diversity of races, religions, creeds. The Indians inhabit the southern part of the world; their country covers an enormous area. ⁽⁶⁶⁾ However, he fails to name the islands of the Indian Ocean, or their kings, nor does he refer to its northern or western borders.

Al-Mas^Cūdī remarks that India has a wide area, and its land joins with the land of the Zābaj (Java), the seat of the kingdom of al-Mahrāj, al-Mahrāj being the king of the islands. This kingdom is located between India and China and is also said to be part of India. Beyond the mountains, India joins the land of Khurāsān and Sind as far as Tibet. ⁽⁶⁷⁾

It is clear from this text that al-Mas^Cūdī provides more information on India than do al-Marwazī and al-Ya^Cḳūbī. However, he merely refers to the Kingdom of Java as part of the islands without giving further details about those islands.

Al-Iṣṭakhri, however, maintains that the Kingdom of India belongs to the King whose official residence is in Kinnawj (Kanauj, Uttar Pradesh). Its length from Makrān in the land of Maṣūra (ruins of the town 47 miles to the north-east of Hyderabad Sind) and Budha (modern province of Kachh Gandāva), in the province of Sind to Kinnawj. The distance up to the land of

Tibet can be crossed in four months, the width of the country from the Persian Sea to the land of Ḳinnawj can be crossed in three months. (68)

This is a broad definition of various Indian kingdoms. He does not refer to the islands of the Indian Ocean nor does he mention all the countries which bordered the Indian sub-continent.

It seems that there is no difference between al-Iṣṭakhrī's account and Ibn Ḥawḳal, who on the other hand, resorts to measuring India's distance to point to its huge area. This approach necessarily includes references to the borders. He notes that India extends from Makrān in the west to beyond Ḳinnawj in the east, as far as Tibet, a distance of four months' journey. Its width from the Arabian Sea to Ḳinnawj is a distance of three months' journey. (69) Al-Ḳazwīnī, on the other hand, describes India as a wide country, full of wonders, whose length can be travelled in three months while its width can be travelled in two months. (70)

India, according to Ibn Rusta, included Sarandīb - Ceylon - , Ḳumār and other countries. (71)

Al-Bīrūnī, who lived in India for a while in the reign of the Sultan Maḥmūd al-Ḡhaznawī describes India as a land bordered to the south by the Indian Ocean, from other directions by high mountains. (72)

However, he makes no direct reference to India's extension into the Ocean nor indeed does he mention countries with common borders with it. (73)

The author of Ḥudūd al-^CĀlam maintains that India, which he

calls Hindustān, was bounded from the east by China and Tibet, from the south by the Indian Ocean, from the west by the Indus river, and from the north by Shaknan, which belonged to the region of Vakhān. He then proceeds to define the borders of Sind. ⁽⁷⁴⁾

According to Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī, India "comprises many kingdoms by land and (numerous islands of the) sea. They have mostly a hot climate, and by reason of the broad area occupied by all these, it is said that India covers one sixth of the habitable earth." ⁽⁷⁵⁾

Having examined texts related to India and its borders, we notice that some sources which deal with India do not consider Sind to be part of it. This is probably due to the political situation which prevailed there at the time. Other sources, on the other hand, consider Sind to be part of India, thus disregarding the fact that, politically, Sind was one of the provinces of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate. Moreover, some sources do not make any direct references to the kingdoms of the Indian islands whereas other texts suggest that India's extension into the Indian Ocean goes beyond the islands opposite the Indian sub-continent.

"The Muslim geographers of the mediaeval period generally used the term "Hind" to denote regions east of the Indus. It was also applied to practically all the countries of south east Asia, when used imprecisely in such phrases as 'the Kings of Hind', or the 'lands of Hind', which included not only India but also Indonesia, Malaya, etc. The term 'Sind' as used by them referred to Sind, Makrān, Baluchistan, portions of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier province. Thus no

single term covered the whole of India. Only 'Hind' and 'Sind' used together denoted the whole of mediaeval India." (76)

1. Kings and Kingdoms. For several different reasons, it is difficult to define all the Indian kingdoms, their borders, the names of their kings and their periods, and their important cities, etc. in a specific way. However, we can define the important kingdoms which had trade relations with the Arab world, their general geographical situation and some of their kings' names and titles as follows:

A. The east and north-east: According to al-Ya^cqūbī, there were three Indian kingdoms in the north east: Māyid, Ṭarsūl and Mūṣha (in Burma), all of which bordered on China and were at war with it. (77)

Some sources mention the kingdom of Kāmarūn (Assam), which also borders China. These sources add that the kingdom of Kāmarūn was known for its elephants, rhinoceroses and aloes-wood. They say that the kingdom of Kāmarūn was not so great as the other kingdoms of India. (78)

In addition to the above mentioned kingdoms, the kingdom of Dahmy was situated on the east coast. It bordered the kingdom of al-Aghbāb (Aghbāb = gulfs) to the south, the kingdom of Ballahrā to the west, and the kingdoms of al-Jurz and Ḳinnawj to the north. On the coast of this kingdom lay many big towns, among them a town called Hadkīr. Business was carried on by means of gold and shells, but the latter were more in use. Our sources maintain that the king called

Dahmy, possessed a huge army, more than 300,000 strong. (79)

B. The north. There were four main kingdoms. The kingdom of al-Tāfin⁽⁸⁰⁾ was small but rich and well cultivated. Some sources mention the king called Jaba⁽⁸¹⁾ - Chamba (Himachal Pradesh).

In the north, there was also the kingdom of Kāshmir (Kashmir). This kingdom consisted of the area of the Punjab and around the valley of Kashmir. When Abū Dulaf returned from China to Khurāsān via India, he described Kashmir as bigger than Kala, and remarked on the beauty of its women.⁽⁸²⁾ Al-Mas'ūdī and others talk about the kingdom of Kashmir, its king, and its trade with the Muslims.⁽⁸³⁾ In addition to the above mentioned kingdoms, al-Bīrūnī says that there was the kingdom of Nepal, which is situated to the west of the Kāmarūn mountains.⁽⁸⁴⁾

C. The Kingdom of Kinnawj - (Uttar Pradesh). This kingdom was situated to the east of al-Multān and extended to the east to Nepal.⁽⁸⁵⁾

This kingdom was known for its jewellery markets.⁽⁸⁶⁾ It also had a large area and large military capabilities which enabled it to fight neighbouring kingdoms, such as Multān and Ballahrā.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Al-Bīrūnī notes that the regions west of the river Ganges lay desolate because the king had moved his seat of government east of that river.⁽⁸⁸⁾

D. The west and the north west. There were two main kingdoms on the west coast of India. The king known as Ballahrā,⁽⁸⁹⁾ (King of Kings) reigned in the country called al-Kumkam, which is described as a vast

kingdom abounding in men, and round it were kings who obeyed Ballahrā. ⁽⁹⁰⁾ Al-Mas^Cūdī, who visited India, maintains that the greatest of all Indian kings at that time was al-Ballahrā, whose city was al-Mānkīr - Melikhud - and whose kingdom comprised many kingdoms. ⁽⁹¹⁾

There was another Indian kingdom on the west coast called al-Jurz ⁽⁹²⁾ (Gūrjara - Pratiḥāras). Some sources point to the close commercial links between this kingdom and Arab merchants, and to the favourable treatment of Arab merchants by its king. He had a numerous army and many elephants. He was at war with Ballahrā and other kings. ⁽⁹³⁾

In the north west there was Sind. Although, from a political viewpoint, Sind was one of the provinces of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate in the period of the research, we have considered it as part of India, on geographical grounds. As the Arab influence receded it regained its former status to become once again part of India. We shall continue to deal with it as such. ⁽⁹⁴⁾

From the early days of Islam, the orthodox caliphs began to think about conquering India or at least part of it. ⁽⁹⁵⁾ But it was not until the Umayyad Period when in A.H. 92-93 / A.D. 710-711 Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim al-Thakafī led a military expedition which, in conjunction with a naval force, was able to conquer Sind gradually. ⁽⁹⁶⁾

In the ^CAbbāsīd period, Sind remained for a long time one of the provinces of the caliphate. ⁽⁹⁷⁾ However, it later became linked administratively to Khurāsān. ⁽⁹⁸⁾ When the Ghaznavid state was

established Sind, together with other parts of India and Khurāsān, became politically dominated by that state. (99)

The political circumstance of the caliphate and the distance of Sind from the centre of the caliphate may have contributed to the emergence of several independent kingdoms in it. (100) Although political relations between some of these kingdoms and the Indian kingdoms were by no means friendly, (101) Sind remained of immense importance to both the Arabs as well as the Indians by virtue of its strategic position on land and maritime trade routes and its cheap merchandise. (102)

E. The south. According to al-Marwazī and others, there was the kingdom of Rtylā, the king of which was called Fāndīn, after whom came the king called al-Fārtī, after whom came the king called Al-Şaylamān who was the greatest of the three and had the most numerous army. On the nearer side of Şaylamān there was the country called Aghbāb (103) (the gulfs).

The island kingdoms of the Indian Ocean. Some of the texts describing India consider its extension into the Indian Ocean to be considerable. Some sources go as far as to consider the islands of the Indian Ocean as much a part of India as the mainland itself. (104)

In view of the large number of these islands (105) and of the kingdoms that were established there, and since these islands were economically important, we have classified them in three main categories as follows:

1. The Kingdom of al-Zābaj (106) (Java island). This kingdom was situated in the Şanf Sea (Sea of Indo-China). It separated China from India and belonged to India. (107) Its monarch, called the Mahrāj,

was one of the richest kings of India thanks to the large area his kingdom had and to its many exports. Several other kings ruled within this kingdom all of whom swore allegiance to the Mahrāj. ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

2. Sarandīb ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ (Ceylon). Here several kings ruled independently of one another. ⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Sources stress the volume of its trade especially its exports of perfumes and jewellery. ⁽¹¹¹⁾ Its important town was Aghena. ⁽¹¹²⁾

3. The Kingdom of the Dībajāt islands (the Maldives and Laccadives). This kingdom was made up of the islands of the Indian Ocean opposite the Malabar coasts as far as the island of Ceylon. This densely populated kingdom was ruled by a queen. It achieved fame as a source of ambergris and its inhabitants made use of coconut wood which was plentiful there to make their kingdom a famous manufacturer of ships. ⁽¹¹³⁾

Other islands. In addition to the kingdoms that have already been mentioned, some sources point to some other islands. However, information on these islands, their boundaries, urban centres, their internal affairs and their relations with other Indian kingdoms are scarce indeed; hence the need to deal with them under a general heading.

In the forefront of these islands were: Kala (Malaya peninsula), Lanjabālūs (Nicobar islands), al-Rāmī (Sumatra), Wāk Wāk (Japan or Sumatra or Madagascar), Shalāhit ⁽¹¹⁴⁾ (in Sumatra), and others.

As we have seen, sources which deal with India give us an idea of its huge geographical area and sometimes use the term India when referring to many countries and regions beyond the subcontinent. ⁽¹¹⁵⁾

2. The political situation. The aim in this section is to give a general

idea of political relations in India and to establish the extent to which the political situation affected commercial activity.

The examination of the kingdoms and borders of India has shown that a number of kingdoms were in existence in mainland India and on the islands of the Indian Ocean. A review of the political situation indicates that these kingdoms were engaged in continuous conflict with one another as well as with neighbouring countries. Externally, some of the eastern kingdoms of India, such as the kingdoms of Māyīd, Tarsūl and Mūṣḥa (in Burma), were at war with China. ⁽¹¹⁶⁾ The Kingdom of Kinnawj was engaged in intermittent fighting with the ruler of al-Multān over possession of a statue thought to have been housed there. ⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Numerous raids were carried out by the Sultan Maḥmūd al-Ghaznawī against India. ⁽¹¹⁸⁾

Internally, religious, linguistic and ideological differences ⁽¹¹⁹⁾ may have given rise to a great deal of conflict. ⁽¹²⁰⁾ For instance, the kingdom of Ballahrā was at war with the kingdom of Dahmy, Dahmy was at war with the kingdom of al-Jurz ⁽¹²¹⁾ and al-Aqhbāb. ⁽¹²²⁾ The kingdom of Kinnawj was fighting the kingdom of Ballahrā in the south. ⁽¹²³⁾ Moreover, the ruler of al-Manṣūra was in continuous conflict with the inhabitants of al-Mayd. ⁽¹²⁴⁾ In Ceylon, where several kings ruled independently of one another, ⁽¹²⁵⁾ conflicts were not uncommon.

But despite the political instability, trade among the Indian kingdoms seems to have continued. For instance, trade continued between the Indian city of Kanbāya (Cambay - Bombay State) and al-Manṣūra, between Kashmir and al-Manṣūra, between the kingdom of Dahmy and Ceylon, and between Tibet and India. ⁽¹²⁶⁾ By and large, the political situation which prevailed in India at that time was comparable to the then political situation in the Arab world.

3. Economic products. In the period of the research, India possessed great economic resources⁽¹²⁷⁾ thanks to its large area, including the islands of the Indian Ocean.

India's commercial products can be classified as follows:

1. Slaves. Slaves formed one of India's most lucrative commodities. Exceptionally skilled and talented especially in such areas as cookery and money-changing, Indian slaves were more attractive to buy than slaves from other races. Indian regions known for their 'high-quality' slaves included the kingdom of al-Tāfin as well as other regions in Sind and India.⁽¹²⁸⁾

2. Animals. The animal kingdom was well represented in India by such animals as elephants, rhinoceroses, monkeys, buffaloes, the Fālij and Bukhtī breeds of camels, and musk deer. These animals were much in demand outside India, either because they were rare or because of their fine reputation. Domestic animals,⁽¹²⁹⁾ on the other hand, whose humble reputation outside India meant that they formed no significant part of Indian exports, were used mainly locally.

3. Birds. Among famous Indian birds were peacocks, parrots, which were noted for their exceptionally fine feathers, and hens were known too.⁽¹³⁰⁾

4. Perfumes and spices. Favourable climatic conditions made possible the production in India of large variety of spices and perfumes such as camphor, sandal-wood, pepper and cloves. Animal products

such as musk and ambergris all of which were important from a commercial viewpoint, and some of them were used not just as seasonings and perfumes but also as medicines. (131)

5. Wood. Teak, coconut, brazilwood and bamboo trees were the main types of wood for which India was known, and were used for several purposes including shipbuilding, the manufacture of furniture, and of spears. (132)

6. Vegetable products. India's most important fruits and crops included bitter orange, citron, coconuts, myrobalan, indigo and sugar cane, (133) for which India was known.

7. Minerals. Gold and silver were among India's most important minerals; so were rubies, diamonds, agate and crystal. (134)

8. Manufactured products. Indian was known as a manufacturer of clothes and textiles, shoes, weapons such as swords, spears, and knives, ships, some types of jam and sweets, as well as perfumes, and some medicines. (135)

Third: Factors which encouraged Arab-Indian trade. As we have seen, trade links between the Arab world and India had their roots going back to ancient times. (136) During the period of the research, however, several factors contributed to the flourishing of trade between the two countries. These factors can be summarized as follows.

On the political level, the Byzantine empire represented the main threat to the coasts and land frontier of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate at

that time. ⁽¹³⁷⁾ The ^CAbbāsīd were, therefore, more inclined to trade with the east, including India, and with the coasts of Africa than with the Byzantines and Andalusians. ⁽¹³⁸⁾ It is true that India itself, with the exception of Sind, was also a land of unbelievers from the Muslim point of view. However, the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate had, by that time, reached the point where it could not make any more territorial gains at the expense of India, ⁽¹³⁹⁾ while at the same time the kings of India were not in a position to recover Sind or to fight the Arabs. As a result, both sides were happy to maintain the status quo. The resultant political stability contributed in an important way to promoting trade. Moreover, Sind, which was part of India in geographical terms, while at the same time part of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate politically, had been turned by the Arabs into a bridgehead for their merchants who wanted to reach other parts of India. ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

Different natural and climatic conditions in India and the Arab world supported different varieties of plants and species of animal life, thus giving both sides opportunities to exchange goods. The Arabs, moreover, played an important part in promoting Indian merchandise beyond the Arab world and exported commodities from other countries to India. In other words, the Arabs acted as middle-men. ⁽¹⁴¹⁾

Arab merchants were treated in a friendly manner by the inhabitants of India and indeed by some Indian kings as well. ⁽¹⁴²⁾ That in itself must have encouraged Arab merchants to head for India. We have been unable to trace any reference to cases of maltreatment

of Indian merchants while they were in the Arab world. As Arab merchants settled in India in pursuit of their trade, ⁽¹⁴³⁾ so, too, Indian merchants settled in some Arab cities for the same purpose. ⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

The ^CAbbāsīd choice of Baghdad as their capital was in itself an important boost to trade with the east, especially India. ⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ There was also the protection provided by the ^CAbbāsīd authorities, which made every effort to stamp out piracy in the Indian Ocean as well as the plundering of trade caravans, and thus ensured a continuous flow of merchandise between India and the Arab world. ⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ In addition to the above factors, some sources mentioned an exchange of gifts and envoys between some Indian kings and ^CAbbāsīd caliphs. ⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

It is reasonable to assume that the increase in commercial exchange between the Arabs and Indians was beneficial to both sides. However, the flow of merchandise between the two countries was disrupted from time to time by political events, such as the Zanj rebellion in Iraq, and the emergence on the scene of the Carmathians. In other words, trade suffered whenever political stability came under attack. ⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ Nevertheless, periods of instability were comparatively short with the general trend of events in favour of continued trade.

Footnotes to Chapter One.

- (1) Al-Maḳḳisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p.47 maintains that the provinces of the caliphate were 14, 6 were Arab and the rest non-Arab, al-Iṣṭaḳhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, ed. Muḥammad Jābir, Cairo, 1961, p.15, however, maintains that they were twenty.
- (2) For the borders of Iraq, see al-Iṣṭaḳhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.56. Also, al-Maḳḳisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p.63, anon., Hudūd al-'Ālam, pp.137-9, al-Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Kulūb, tr. G.L. Strange, Leiden, 1919, pp.44-53. For the borders of Jazīra, see al-Maḳḳisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, pp.63, 136-8. He calls it Aḳūr. Also, al-Iṣṭaḳhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.52-4, anon., Hudūd al-'Ālam, pp.140-1, al-Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Kulūb, pp.102-5. For the borders of Syria, see al-Maḳḳisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, pp.63, 148. For the borders of the Arabian peninsula, see al-Iṣṭaḳhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.20-7, al-Maḳḳisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p.63, anon., Hudūd al-'Ālam, p.145, al-Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Kulūb, pp.102-5. For the borders of Egypt, see al-Maḳḳisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p.63, al-Iṣṭaḳhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.39, anon., Hudūd al-'Ālam, p.151, Ibn Hawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, Leiden, 1938, part 1, pp.53-4. For the borders of Maḡrib, see al-Maḳḳisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, pp.63, 236, al-Iṣṭaḳhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.33, anon., Hudūd al-'Ālam, p.153.
- (3) See p. 54.
- (4) Al-Dhahabī, Tārikh al-Islām, Vol. 6, Cairo , 1966, p.158
Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil fī 'l-Tārikh, Cairo , 1938, Vol. 5, p.30,
al-Tabarī, Tārikh, Vol. 10, p.282.
- (5) Al-Maḳrīzī, al-Nuḳūd al-Islāmiyya, ed. Muḥammad al-Sayyid Ḳalī, Najaf, 1967, pp.267-8, al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādīn al-Jawhar, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, 1964, Vol. 3, p.308.
- (6) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, Vol. 5, pp.26, 104, Ibn Khaldūn, al-'Ibar wa-Dīwān al-Mubtada' wa-'l-Khabar, Beirut, 1958, Vol. 4, part 1, pp.23-6.
- (7) Ibn Khaldūn, al-'Ibar, Vol. 4, part 1, pp.99-102. The Fāṭimids entered Egypt in 358/968 and Damascus in 359/969.
- (8) In the reign of the caliph al-Muḳtafī (A.H.289-295/A.D.902-908) Mosul was leased to Abū 'l-Hayjā' 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamdān. Ibn Khaldūn, al-'Ibar, Vol. 3, part 4, pp.711, 743.
- (5A) The Encyclopaedia of Islam (old Edition), Vol.11 pp.453-5.

- (9) For more details, see D. Waines, The third century internal crisis of the ^CAbbāsids, JESHO, Vol. XX, 1977, pp.303-6, (quotation from al-Ṭabarī).
- (10) Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar, Vol. 3, pp.594-6, Ibn Hawqal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 1, pp.23-4, Najm al-Dīn ^CUmāra, Tārīkh al-Yaman, London, 1891, p.6, Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir, Leiden, 1951, Vol. 1, pp.73, 141, Vol. 2, p.184.
- (11) For the Zuṭṭ rebellions, see Chapter Two, p.109, and al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 11, p.1167.
- (12) For the Zanj revolution, see Chapter Two, p.109.
- (13) For the Barīdī rebellion, see Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 2, p.128, Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar, Vol. 3, part 4, p.804.
- (14) Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntaẓam, Vol. 6, p.88.
- (15) Ibid., Vol. 6, p.357, Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar, Vol. 3, part 4, pp.879-80.
- (16) M. Lombard, The golden age of Islam, tr. Joan Spencer, Amsterdam, 1975, p.221: "There were various degrees of Muslim domination of the Indian Ocean. From the mid eighth century to the mid tenth, the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate, with its cities of Baghdad and Basra and their various needs, tended to dominate the Persian Gulf. At the close of the tenth century the Fatimid caliphate created a rival kingdom which led to a struggle for supremacy between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. The port of Qulzum such as Aythab ensured a link between this sea on the one hand and the Mediterranean on the other." Also S.M. Imamuddin, commercial relations of Spain with Iraq, Persia, Khurasan, China and India, IC., Vol. XXXV, 1961, p.181: "By the tenth century when the Banu Umayyah rose to power in Spain and the Fatimids in Egypt, the Abbasids decayed in Iraq, and merchandise from China and India, instead of coming to Iraq, went to Egypt and the centre of trade shifted from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea." For details, see B. Lewis, The Fatimids and the route to India, RFSEUI, Vol. 11, 1953, pp.50-4.
- (17) The Umayyad rulers of Andalusia continued to call themselves Amīrs until the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate reached a great level of weakness with the elimination by the Turks of the caliph al-Muqtadir (A.H. 295-320/A.D.908-932) then, towards the end of the 3rd century A.H., they declared the establishment of a caliphate which replaced the emirate. See Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar, Vol. 4, part 2, pp.298-99. For petty states and emirates in the

- ^CAbbāsīd period (the Tāhirid emirate in Khurāsān from A.H. 205-259/A.D. 820-872, the Saffārids in Sijistān from A.H. 254-298/A.D. 868-910, the Sāmānids from A.H. 261-398/A.D. 871-1007 and the Ghaznawī dynasty from A.H. 351-582/A.D. 962-1186) see Tārīkh al-Duwaylāt al-^CArabiyya wa-'l-Islāmiyya fī 'l-Mashriq wa-'l-Maghrib, by Kh. al-Ma^Cādī and R. al-Jumaylī, Baghdad, 1979-80.
- (18) ^CAmr b. al-Layth, for instance, who took over following the death of his brother Ya^Ckūb and later declared war on the caliphate in the period of al-Mu^Ctamid (A.H. 256-279/A.D. 870-892) and al-Mu^Ctadid (A.H. 279-289/A.D. 892-902). See Ibn Tīktakā, al-Fakhrī fī 'l-Ādāb al-Sultāniyya wa-'l-Duwal al-Islāmiyya, Beirut, 1966, p.256, al-Tabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 13, p.2106, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 5, p.33 for the year A.H. 262/A.D. 875.
- (19) D. Waines, The third century internal crisis of the Abbasids, JESHO, Vol. XX, 1977, pp.283-4, 286-7, 294.
- (20) Al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, pp.201-2, 152, al-Jāhiz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, Damascus, 1932, pp.25-6, 35, al-Sābī, al-Wuzarā', ed. ^CAbd al-Sattār Ahmad Farrāj, Cairo, 1958, pp.61, 204, 262, al-Azdī, Hikāyat Abī 'l-Kāsim al-Baghdadī, Heidelberg, 1902, p.55, al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1892, pp.331, 337, Ibn Hawkal, Ṣurat al-Ard, part 1, pp.138, 158, al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, Leiden, 1884, p.252, al-Tha^Calībī, Latā'if al-Ma^Carif, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī and Ḥasan Kāmil, Cairo, 1960, p.160.
- (21) Al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, pp.202-3, al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p.337, al-Jāhiz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.29. Bazz is cotton and linen cloth.
- (22) Al-Tha^Calībī, Thimār al-Kulūb fī 'l-Muḍāf wa-'l-Mansūb, ed. Muḥammad' Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1965, p.534, Latā'if al-Ma^Carif, p.227, al-Kazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akhhbār al-^CIbād, Beirut, 1960, p.69, al-Jāhiz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.35.
- (23) Al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, pp.36, 252. Al-Jāhiz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.26, but he does not mention the name. Al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p.87 mentions the headband.
- (24) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Riḥlat ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Beirut, 1964, Vol. 1, p.203.
- (25) Al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p.128, al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.252, al-Tha^Calībī, Latā'if al-Ma^Carif, p.235 mentions saḳlātūn in Baghdad, a type of gold silk clothes. Also, for saḳlātūn, see al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-^CArūs, Benḡhāzī and Beirut, 1966, Vol. 5, p.158.

- (26) Ibn Jubayr, Rihlat, p. 227.
- (27) Al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p. 128. Khazz is a fabric of silk and wool.
- (28) Al-Jāhiz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p. 41.
- (29) For Maghribī covers, see al-Jāhiz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p. 29, and *ibid.* p. 42 for a hair cloth in Mosul.
- (30) Al-Tha^Calibī, Thimār al-Kulūb, p. 534.
- (31) See Chapter Four, pp. 174, 177-8.
- (32) See Chapter Four, p. 187, and how Yemeni swords were considered superior.
- (33) Al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p. 136.
- (34) *Ibid.*, p. 128, al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Ṣubḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 4, p. 87.
- (35) Al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p. 128.
- (36) Ibn Battūta, Rihla, Vol. 2, p. 199 and Vol. 1, p. 300, E. Ashtor, A social and economic history of the near east in the Middle Ages, London, 1975, pp. 99, 243.
- (37) Al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, pp. 97, 145, 184.
- (38) Al-Mas^Cūdī, al-Tanbīh wa-'l-Ishraf, ed. ^CAbd Allāh Ismā^Cīl, Baghdad, 1938, p. 20, Murūj, Vol. 2, p. 23, al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p. 78, al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p. 18, Ibn Hawḳal, Ṣurat al-Ard, part 1, p. 150, al-Ya^Cḳūbī, al-Buldān, p. 333, al-Jāhiz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p. 35.
- (39) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 40, al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p. 239, Ibn Hawkal, Ṣurat al-Ard, Leiden, 1939, part 2, p. 79, al-Mas^Cūdī, Akhbār al-Zaman, Cairo, 1938, p. 26.
- (40) Al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p. 97, where he mentions agate, al-Jāhiz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p. 20. For pearls, see al-Jāhiz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p. 17, al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p. 128, al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 30, Kudāma, al-Kharāj wa-Ṣan^Cat al-Kitāba, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1869, p. 192.
- (41) Buzurk, Ājā'ib al-Hind, Tehran, 1966, pp. 30-1. Ibn Battūta, Rihla, Vol. 2, pp. 195-9, but he does not mention the exact location.

- (42) Al-Jāhiz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.34, points to the importance of the horses bred in the Arab world.
- (43) Al-Makḍisī, Aḥsan al-Takāsim, pp.33,36,145.
- (44) Al-Jāhiz, al-Hayawān, ed. ^CAbd al-Salām Muḥammad, Cairo, 1938, Vol. 2, p.336, al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p.331, with regard to the horses of the city of Aḥmūnayn.
- (45) Abū 'l-Fidā', Takwīm al-Buldān, Paris, 1840, p.17, al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Ṣubḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 3, p.391.
- (46) Al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Ṣubḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 3, p.391.
- (47) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab, Cairo, Vol. 1, p.372.
- (48) See Chapter Four, pp.172-3.
- (49) Al-Jāhiz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.35, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 1, pp.162-3.
- (50) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.27. al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 4, p.700, says that Mahra was known for the breeding of camels, though he does not say which type.
- (51) See Chapter Four, pp.178-9.
- (52) Al-Makḍisī, Aḥsan al-Takāsim, p.130.
- (53) Ibid, p.302.
- (54) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.27.
- (55) Al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.107 mentions ṣayḥānī dates.
- (56) Al-Makḍisī, Aḥsan al-Takāsim, p.145.
- (57) Ibid, p.203.
- (58) For incense, see al-Makḍisī, Aḥsan al-Takāsim, p.87, who calls it the resin of the kandār tree, and according to whom it was exported from the Yemen to Iraq and eastward, also Ibn Kutayba, Uyūn al-Akḥbār, Cairo, 1964, Vol. 1, p.214, Abū 'l-Fidā', Takwīm al-Buldān, p.101, al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.27, Ibn Hawḳal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 1, p.38. On Yemeni exports of leather, see al-Jāhiz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.34, 35. For the importance of Egyptian leather, see al-Makḍisī, Aḥsan al-Takāsim, pp.97,203. For saffron of the Yemen and wirs of Aden, see al-Makḍisī, Aḥsan al-Takāsim, pp.97-8. On p.37

he says the wirs plant was used for dyeing. It was the same colour as saffron.

- (59) For ambergris in Shihr and the coasts of Maghrib, see al-Tha^Cālibī, Thimār al-Kulūb, p.535, al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p.366.
- (60) The subject of taxation will be dealt with in Chapter Three.
- (61) See Chapter Four, p.176.
- (62) In a footnote on p.255 of Nuzhat al-Kulūb by al-Mustawfī, G.L. Strange says: "Hind with the Moslem geographers, was greater India, including the Indian Archipelago, with part of southern China, and thence across the Indian Ocean to the east coast of Africa." See also: The Encyclopaedia of Islam, (new edition), Leiden and London, 1971, Vol. III, p.404.
- (63) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, Tārīkh, Beirut, 1955, Vol. 2, p.108. See also: the Indian kingdoms in the north east, p.64.
- (64) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, Tārīkh, Vol. 1, p.96.
- (65) Al-Marwazī, Tabaⁱ al-Hayawān, ed. Minorsky, London, 1942, p.37.
- (66) Ibid, p.26.
- (67) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, pp.82, 157-8. Al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.79 maintains that Tibet bordered on China from one side and on India from another. Al-Tha^Cālibī, Thimār al-Kulūb, p.544 considers Tibet to be Turks territory. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.19 maintains that Tibet extended between China, India, Toghuzghuz (territories occupied by Turkish tribes) and the Persian Sea, that part of it was within the kingdom of India while another part was within the kingdom of China, and that its inhabitants had their own state.
- (68) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.18-19.
- (69) Ibn Hawḳal, Ṣurat al-Ard, part 1, p.16.
- (70) Al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.127.
- (71) Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāḳ al-Nafīsa, Leiden, 1861, pp.87-8, 132.
- (72) Al-Bīrūnī, Fī Taḥkīk mā li-'l-Hind min Makūla Makbūla fī '-l-^CAḳli aw Mardhūla, Hyderabad, 1958, p.157. For Indian borders beyond Sind, ibid, p.167.

- (73) His reference to the islands of the Indian Ocean will be examined when we deal with the kingdoms of the islands.
- (74) Anon., Hudūd al-^CĀlam, p. 86. For the borders of Sind, *ibid*, p.122.
- (75) Al-Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Kulūb, p. 255.
- (76) The Encyclopaedia of Islam (new edition), Vol. III, p.404. W.H. Moreland, A short history of India, London, 1936, p.138 says: "It is possible to say that about the tenth century Indian ideas prevailed over the whole of south eastern Asia." See also R. Mookerji, Indian Shipping, London, 1912, pp.174-5.
- (77) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, Tārīkh, Vol. 2, pp.108-9. Anon., Hudūd al-^CĀlam, p. 87 mentions Mānak, a country adjacent to China and Mūsa. Mūsa was a country adjacent to China and Tūsūl. Much musk came from there. Tūsūl was a large country adjacent to China. The inhabitants were dark. See also al-Marwazī, Tabā'ī^C al-Hayawān, p.37. For whose situation in Burma, see the commentary to Hudūd al-^CĀlam, pp.242-3. For situation of Indian kingdoms, see map no. 1.
- (78) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.67, Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāq al-Nafīsa, p.33, who says, (Kimār), al-Marwazī, Tabā'ī^C al-Hayawān, pp.34-5, 39, al-Ya^Ckūbī, Tārīkh, Vol. 2, pp.108-9, who says (Kimār).
- (79) Al-Marwazī, Tabā'ī^C al-Hayawān, p.35, al-Mas^Cudī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.81, al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.15.
- (80) S.M. Ahmad, India and the neighbouring territories, Leiden, 1960, p.105, says: "This is the country of Takka-disa, or Takka Viṣaya." See also Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.67, Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāq al-Nafīsa, p.135.
- (81) For details, see S.M. Ahmad, India and the neighbouring territories, pp.36, 84, 138, 156, Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāq al-Nafīsa, p.135, who says, 'Najāba', Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.67 who says, 'Jāba'.
- (82) Al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 3, p.454, Vol. 4, p.103.
- (83) Al-Mas^Cudī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.82 for the king of Kashmir, whom, on p.166, he calls al-Rānī. Al-Bīrūnī, fī Taḥkīk mā li-'l-Hind, pp.165-7 discusses Kashmir and the trade with it.
- (84) Al-Bīrūnī, Fī Taḥkīk mā li-'l-Hind, p.160.

- (85) For details, see S.M. Ahmad, India and the neighbouring territories, pp. 143-4, and al-^CIlākāt al-^CArabiyya al-Hindiyya, pp. 203-8, al-^CKalkashandī, ^CSubḥ al-^Cshā fī ^CṢinā^Cat al-^CInshā', Vol. 5, pp. 63-5, M. Elphinstone, The history of India, London, 1841, Vol. 1, p. 402, Anon., Hudūd al-^CĀlam, p. 89, J. Dowson, The history of India, London, 1867, Vol. 1, p. 54.
- (86) Al-^CKalkashandī, ^CSubḥ al-^Cshā fī ^CṢinā^Cat al-^CInshā', Vol. 5, p. 65.
- (87) See p. 69.
- (88) Al-Bīrūnī, ^CFī Taḥkīk mā li-^Cl-Hind min Maḳūla, p. 158.
- (89) S.M. Ahmad, India and the neighbouring territories, pp. 11-12 says that the Ballahrās (Vallabharājas), who belonged to the Raṣtrakuta dynasty, welcomed Arab merchants and travellers. He adds that these princes were usually at war with those of the north. See also Ibn Rusta, al-^Clāk al-Nafīsa, p. 134, Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-^Cl-Mamālik, p. 67.
- (90) Al-Marwazī, ^CṬaba'^C al-^CḤayawān, p. 34. For its extension on the western coasts, see Ibn Ḥawqal, Ṣūrat al-^CArd, part 2, p. 320.
- (91) Al-Mas^Cūdī, ^CMurūj, Vol. 1, pp. 82, 170, 210.
- (92) S.M. Ahmad, India and the neighbouring territories, p. 135 refers to it as al-Jurz (Gūrjara belonging to the Gūrjara-Pratīhār dynasty of Northern and Western India). On pp. 141-2 he adds, "This name is derived from the original form Gūrjara, representing the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra dynasty. The word is generally used by Arab writers either in the sense of the title of the king or as the name of the people. Anon., Hudūd al-^CĀlam, p. 91, states that al-Jurz was a country called after the name of its king. See also A. Cunningham, The ancient geography of India, p. 312, Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-^Cl-Mamālik, p. 67.
- (93) Al-Marwazī, ^CṬabā'^C al-^CḤayawān, p. 35, Ibn Rusta, al-^Clāk al-Nafīsa, p. 135. (1 miskal = 4.25 g.).
- (94) Some historians considered it part of India despite its political affinities with the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate. See al-^CKalkashandī, ^CSubḥ al-^Cshā fī ^CṢinā^Cat al-^CInshā', Vol. 5, pp. 63-5, Abū 'l-Fidā', ^CTakwīm al-Buldān, pp. 353-7, al-^CIṣṭakhri, ^Cal-Masālik wa-^Cl-Mamālik, pp. 16, 19.
- (95) Al-Balādhurī, ^CFutūḥ al-Buldān, ed. Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Cairo, 1957, Part 3, pp. 533-6, Ibn Khayyāt, Ṭarīkh Khalīfa Ibn Khayyāt, ed. Akram al-^CUmari, Najaf, 1967, Vol. 1, pp. 159, 183-4.

- (96) Al-Balādhurī, Futūh al-Buldān, part 3, pp.533-6, Ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, Vol. 1, pp.307-8, 311.
- (97) Ibn Khayyat, Tarikh, Vol. 1, pp.311,329,342, Vol. 2, pp.375, 384, 389,431,434,436,439,463,479,499,500. He mentions the names of governors and the periods in which they ruled from the conquest of the province until the reign of al-Rashīd came to an end. Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar, Vol. 3, pp.540,541 names the governor of Sind in the period of al-Ma'mūn. Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 11, p.1233 names the governor of Sind in the period of al-Mu^Ctaṣīm.
- (98) As happened in the year A.H. 257/A.D. 870, when Ya^Cḳūb b. al-Layth became the governor of Sind, Sijistān, Balkh, etc. See Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya, Vol. 11, p.28.
- (99) Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar, Vol. 4, part 4, p.774, al-Dhahabī, al-^CIbar, Vol. 3, pp.101,159.
- (100) For the Arab kings of al-Manṣūra and the Multān, and other kings, see al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, pp.99,167, al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.105, al-Marwazī, Ṭabā'i^C al-Hayawān, p.36.
- (101) See p.69.
- (102) Al-Makdisī, Ahsan al-Taḳāsīm, pp.474,480, Al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.105, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, p.321. However, they do not name the merchandise or its prices. For the commercial importance of Sind to both the Arabs as well as the Indians, see J. Dowson, The history of India, Vol. 1, p.467, S.M. Ahmad, al-^CIlāqāt al-^CArabiyya al-Hindiyya, p.121, S.M. Jaffar, The Arab administration of Sind, IC, Vol. XVII, 1943, p.128.
- (103) Al-Marwazī, Ṭabā'i^C al-Hayawān, pp.34-5. Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.67, mentions Aghbāb. Ibn Rusta, al-^Claḳ al-Nafīsa, pp.133-4, talks about the country of al-Aghbāb and its queen, called al-Rābiya. He also mentions the kings Rtyla, Saylamān and al-^CArtī. See also al-Ya^Cḳūbī, Tārīkh, Vol. 2, pp.108-9.
- (104) For details, see al-Ya^Cḳūbī, Tārīkh, Vol.2, p.108, al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, Paris, 1811, 1845, p.50 (on Ceylon), al-Marwazī, Ṭabā'i^C al-Hayawān, p.34, Ibn Rusta, al-^Claḳ al-Nafīsa, p.84, al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, pp.150, 152. Other sources which mention these islands in the course of describing India include al-Bīrūnī, Fī Tahkīk mā li-'l-Hind min Makūla, p.169, al-Kalkashandī, Subh al-^Csha fī Sinā^Cat al-Inshā', Vol. 5, pp.63-5, al-Ansarī al-Dimashqī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, pp.152-60, Abū 'l-Fidā', Taḳwīm al-Buldān, pp.368-70. Ibn Khurdādhba talks in detail about these islands, which were on the sea routes to India and China.

- (105) 1370 islands according to Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāk al-Nafīsa, p. 84, 2000 islands situated between the third sea (the sea of Harkand) and the second sea (the sea of Larui) according to al-Mas^Cūdī, Muruj, Vol. 1, pp. 150, 152, and 1900 populated islands, the last one of which was Ceylon, according to the investigator, who maintains that these islands were called Dabijāt or Dabihāt. Ibn Baṭṭūta, Riḥla, Vol. 2, p. 195 notes that their number was 2000, whereas al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, p. 5, states that the number was 1900 islands.
- (106) Sources disagree as to how the word Zābaj should be spelt and pronounced. See S. M. Yusuf, al-Ranj, IC, Vol. XXIX, 1955, p. 77. For the chief migration by sea from Gujrat to Java and Cambodia during the seventh and eighth centuries, see R. Mookerji, Indian shipping, p. 169. J. C. Van-Leure, Indonesian trade and society, p. 184 says that "from the first century of the Christian era until into the fifteenth century Hindu culture is said to have dominated Indonesia." See also M. Elphinstone, The history of India, Vol. 1, p. 320.
- (107) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Muruj, Vol. 1, p. 82.
- (108) Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāk al-Nafīsa, p. 137. He adds that Mahrāj means king of kings. See also al-Mas^Cūdī, Muruj, Vol. 1, p. 153.
- (109) Ceylon was Indian country, see al-Ya^Cqūbī, Tārīkh, Vol. 2, p. 108, al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, p. 50.
- (110) Al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p. 83, where he maintains that Ceylon was the main island of which Sarandīb was part.
- (111) See chapter four, pp. 197-213, Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp. 64, 70.
- (112) E. H. G. Osers, Merchants make history, London, 1936, p. 97. N. Ahmad, The Arabs' knowledge of Ceylon, IC, Vol. XIX, 1945, pp. 235-6.
- (113) Al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, pp. 6, 7.
- (114) According to al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 3, p. 312, beyond the sea of Harkand, there was the sea of Shalāhit. In Vol. 4, p. 936 he mentions that beyond China, there was a country called Wāḳ Wāḳ. In Vol. 2, p. 739, he says that in the sea of Shalāhit, and in the farthest part of India, Rāmī island was situated. He adds that there were many kings there. In Vol. 4, p. 302, he says that in the middle of the sea route between Oman and China, Kala island was situated. He adds that Kala is an Indian country.

- (115) "The full meaning of the sea boundary of the southern peninsula is yet unclear", see T. Raychaudhuri and I. Habib (eds.), The Cambridge economic history of India, Vol. 1, p.17.
- (116) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, Tārīkh, Vol. 2, pp.108-9, al-Marwazī, Tabā'i^C al-Ḥayawān, p.37, Anon., Ḥudūd al-^CĀlam, p.87.
- (117) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, pp.165-6.
- (118) Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar, Vol. 4, part 4, p.774, al-Dhahabī, al-^CIbar fī Khabar man Ghabar, Kuwait, 1960, Vol. 3, pp.101, 159. H.C. Verma, Mediaeval routes to India, p.234 says: "The invasions of Mahmud, from 1000 A.D., brought about a change in the character of Indian demography and, since then, Muslim immigration to India became a general phenomenon of the Indian society." H.M. Elliot, The history of India, Vol. II, pp.434-74 says, "between A.H.390-417 there were seventeen expeditions by Mahmud against India."
- (119) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, Tārīkh, Vol. 2, p.108, al-Marwazī, Tabā'i^C al-Ḥayawān, p.26, al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.82.
- (120) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.82.
- (121) Ibid, Vol. 1, pp.170-1. Al-Marwazī, Tabā'i^C al-Ḥayawān, p.35, mentions wars waged by the king of al-Jurz against Ballahrā.
- (122) Al-Marwazī, Tabā'i^C al-Ḥayawān, p.37.
- (123) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, pp.165-6.
- (124) Ibid, Vol. 1, p.168.
- (125) Al-Ḥazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.83.
- (126) For exports of Kanbāya shoes to al-Manṣūra, and Musk from Tibet to India, see chapter four, pp.190,200. For trade links between Dahum's kingdom and Ceylon, see Anon., Ḥudūd al-^CĀlam, p.87. For trade links between al-Manṣūra and Kashmir, see Buzurk, ^CAjā'ib al-Hind, Tehran, 1966, pp.103-4.
- (127) For ancient Indian economic products, see E.H. Warmington, The commerce between the Roman Empire and India. For Indian economic products in various times, see G. Watt, A dictionary of the economic products of India, 6 vols. London and Calcutta, 1889-93.

- (128) For Indian slaves, see Ibn Butlān, Risāla fī Shirā' al-Rakīk wa-Taqlīb al-^CAbīd', ed. ^CAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo, 1954, p.352, al-Jāhīz, Thalāth Rasā'il, ed. G. Van Vloten, Leiden, 1903, p.79, al-Hayawān, Vol. 3, p.435, al-Bayān wa-'l-Tabyīn, ed. ^CAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo, 1960, p.162, al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.170, al-Marwazī, Tabā'ī^C al-Hayawān, p.34.
- (129) For Indian animals, see Al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.104-5, al-Kazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.243, al-Jāhīz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.20.
- (130) See chapter four, pp. 224-7.
- (131) Ibid, pp.199-213.
- (132) Ibid, pp.193-7.
- (133) Ibid, pp. 213-17.
- (134) Ibid, pp.197-9.
- (135) Ibid, pp. 186-93,199-214.
- (136) See: Introduction, pp. 3-9, also al-Nadawī, Tārīkh al-Silāt, pp.5-35, T. Bākir, Muḥaddīma, Vol. 2, pp.181,194,201,316.
- (137) Despite truces and the exchange of envoys between the caliphate and the Byzantine empire, the two sides remained hostile to each other throughout that period, especially in the period of al-Mu^Ctaṣim. Also for the two sides remaining hostile to each other throughout the period of al-Raṣhīd, see al-Suyūṭī, Tārīkh al-Khulafā', Cairo, 1932, p.189.
- (138) For the ^CAbbāsids' inclination to trade with the East, see al-Ālūsī, Tijārat al-^CIrāk, p.9, G.R. Tibbetts, Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean, p.2, Early Muslim traders in south east Asia, JMRAS, Vol. XXX, 1957, p.1, J. Somogy, the part of Islam in Oriental trade, IC, Vol. XXX, 1956, pp.181-2.
- (139) Except between A.H.159-60/A.D.775-6, when al-Mahdī ordered ^CAbd al-Malik b. Shihāb al-Masma^Cī to invade Bārbad (Bhārbhūt). See al-Tabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 10, pp.460-1, Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar, Vol. 3, part 2, p.443.
- (140) See pp. 66,67.
- (141) See: chapter four, pp.176-7.

- (142) For instance, the friendly treatment of Arab merchants by the king of Ballahrā and the king of al-Jurz, see p.66.
- (143) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.120, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Riḥla, Vol. 2, pp.9,186.
- (144) See: chapter two, p.110.
- (145) For the significance of Baghdad in commercial terms, see al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 10, p.275.
- (146) See: chapter two, pp. 93,94. Also, for domination of the Indian Ocean between the mid-eighth century to mid-tenth by the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate, and by the Fāṭimid caliphate at the close of the tenth century, see M. Lombard, The golden age of Islam, p.221.
- (147) For the exchange of gifts and envoys in the period of al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn, see Ibn al-Zubayr, al-Dhakhā'ir wa-'l-Tuhaf, pp.20-7, M. Gil, The Rādhānite merchants and the land of Rādhān, JESHO, Vol. XVII, 1974, pp.300-28, Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, Cairo, 1929, p.484.
- (148) Events which had adverse effects on trade included the war between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, during which al-Amīn imposed heavy restrictions on people entering or leaving Iraq from Khurāsān area. See Ibn A^Ctham al-Kūfī, al-Futūḥ, Hyderabad, 1974, Vol. 8, p.296, al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. II, p.783. Also, the Zanj rebellion (in A.H.255/A.D.868) which lasted for 14 years. See al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 13, pp.2095-6, also the emergence in Bahrein of the Carmathians movement in A.H.260-295/A.D.873-907, with all its destabilizing effects in several Arab provinces. See al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 13, pp.2188, 2192-3, 2205-6, 2222,2231,2243.

CHAPTER TWO: TRADE ROUTES, PORTS AND
COMMERCIAL CITIES

First: Trade routes.

1. Land routes. Since the reign of Alexander the Great and his Seleucid and Ptolemaic successors, Syria and Iraq had been connected with Iran, India and China by land routes which enabled east-west trade to flourish. The most famous of these was the Silk Road. (1)

After Islam the Arabs paid more attention to these routes for military as well as trade considerations. The ^CAbbāsids, who were more inclined to deal with the east than their Umayyad predecessors, paid even greater attention to these routes than did the Umayyads. In addition to commercial considerations, the ^CAbbāsids were anxious to maintain their grip over the eastern parts of their empire. Naturally, they would have striven to maintain an efficient network of routes to ensure the speedy transport of troops, official mail, etc. (2)

From Iraq originated two main caravan routes which headed eastward; one route (the Khurāsān Road) originated in Baghdad, crossed Iran and made for Rayy. After it had crossed the province of Khurāsān and Transoxiana it led to the land of the Turks and to China, following the path of an ancient route. (3)

The second highway originated in Basra - or from Baghdad to Basra - travelled through Khūzistān, across the provinces of Fāris and Kirmān, and headed towards Sijistān and Khurāsān. (4)

These two highways had many cross-links in Iraq, Iran and Khurāsān. Trade routes to and from India can be classified as follows:

1. From the town of Jīruft in the east of Kirmān province to Fahraj (about 20 miles north of Regān and south-east of Kirmān (Iran)) and on to Sind. ⁽⁵⁾

Taxation figures indicate that this route was very busy and highly profitable ⁽⁶⁾ as it was used by commercial traffic from several regions. ⁽⁷⁾

2. A route from Ghazna to Multān - West Punjab - stretching over a distance of some eighty parasangs of desert. This road stretched from Ghazna to Gardīz (1 stage), proceeded to Awq̄h (1 stage) and Lujān where there was a water spring, and on to Wayhind (17 stages), which formed the last stretch of its journey to Sind and India. ⁽⁸⁾ At some point in its journey the road split; one road headed to Bāmiyān, Khuttal and Khurāsān; the other road south-west to the city of Bust and Sijistān. ⁽⁹⁾ The fact that this highway originated in Ghazna made the city a very important centre of commerce. Commercial traffic using this highway was liable to pay a levy of 150 dirhams per load. ⁽¹⁰⁾

Al-Idrīsī may have referred to this highway in the course of his description of Manṣūra and Sijistān, noting that this road was neglected. ⁽¹¹⁾

3. A road along which Misḥar b. Muhalhil - Abū Dulaf - travelled on his way back from China via India to Khurāsān. It stretched from Kābul to Kaṣhmīr town and on to Jājulla town. Abū Dulaf mentioned another road: from Manṣūra to Baḡhānīn - belonging to Multān - , then to Taḥnīn and on to Ghazna. ⁽¹²⁾ Also there was a

road which stretched from Balkh to Andarāba and on to Kābul, and from Kābul or perhaps from the town of Parwan, north of Kābul via the Hindu Kūsh mountains to the town of Awja, and on to Multān. ⁽¹³⁾

4. A road which originated in the city of Khuttal. After it had crossed the Oxus ⁽¹⁴⁾ river, the road split; one branch headed to Multān while the other headed to China. ⁽¹⁵⁾

5. A road which stretched from the city of Panjhīr to the city of Karwān which was a gateway to India. ⁽¹⁶⁾ It covered the distance between the two cities in two stages.

6. A road which stretched from the city of Balkh to Multān covering the distance in thirty stages. ⁽¹⁷⁾ From Balkh the road headed to the city of Tālakān before making for the city of Badhakshān, covering the distance in seven stages. The city of Badhakshān was linked with the Indian region of Kinnawj ⁽¹⁸⁾ (Uttar Pradesh), and was also the gateway to Tibet. ⁽¹⁹⁾

7. A road which stretched from the city of Banjaway (in Sijistān) to the city of Bālis (Sibī in the Sind). ⁽²⁰⁾

Al-Mas'ūdī confirms the existence of caravan routes to India. "Beyond Manṣūra and Multān, India adjoins Khurāsān and Sind, and caravans travel constantly from Sind to Khurāsān, and to India." ⁽²¹⁾ Al-Bīrūnī, moreover, asserts that "Sind can be reached from the land of Nīmruz, I mean the land of Sijistān, whereas India can be reached from Kābul, though this is not essential, since it can be reached from any part provided there are no hindrances." ⁽²²⁾

It is worth mentioning that these routes roughly corresponded

to the ancient routes to India - the Silk Road and its branches - referred to earlier. (23)

The question arises, which route did trade caravans heading for India use from Iraq? Was it the Baghdad to Khurāsān highway or was it the Baghdad - Basra to Kirmān highway, and why? Our sources do not state categorically that one route was used by commercial traffic to the exclusion of the other. However, the fact that some sources make frequent references to the roads of the desert of Khurāsān which linked the two highways at more than one point suggests that both were used. (24) Such a state of affairs would have enabled a caravan using the Basra to Kirmān highway to enter Sind through Jīruft, or to proceed towards Bust, Ghazna and Kābul and on to India. A caravan could also make for Rayy from Kirmān or Fāris. Alternatively, it could travel across Kirmān to Khurāsān, whence it could take any of the routes, such as that from Balkh, already referred to.

If a caravan used the Baghdad to Khurāsān highway, it could have struck out from Nīsāpūr using the Kūhīstān route to Harāt, whence it could take any of the routes which stretched from Sijīstān to Jīruft or to Ghazna. It could also take the route from Harāt to Balkh. At Marw, the main route divided and one branch went to Balkh. (25)

We take the view that caravans which made for India using the Baghdad to Khurāsān highway would have had no reason to proceed further on the Silk Road than Marw. (26)

Throughout most of the ninth-tenth centuries A.D., commercial routes

from Baghdad to Khurāsān and Baghdad - Basra to Kirmān were passable. The authorities were committed to the maintenance of them and to securing them against bandits and other hazards. (27)

But despite all the facilities on the roads, the conditions of weather and terrain, which were often punishing, (28) would have made an overland journey very time-consuming, costly, and hazardous. This leads us to believe that, from a commercial viewpoint, maritime routes must have been more important than land routes. (29)

Trade caravans. The emergence of trade caravans was connected with the rise of early civilizations on the banks of the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Nile and the Indus. Caravans played a vital role in that process carrying merchandise between Babylon, Syria, Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula whence it was shipped to India. Merchandise may have been sent overland to India by caravan too. (30)

During the last three centuries B.C. trade caravans grew in importance and continued to link together the centres of civilization in the Hellenistic period, (31) during which the commercially important Silk Road (32) was established.

East-west commercial exchange by land and sea reached its zenith in the early centuries A.D. under the Roman and Sassanian empires. Commercial exchange was no longer confined to the Middle East and India, but had now spread to the Roman Empire and China along the famous Silk Road.

By then routes used by caravans in the Middle East, Central Asia, the Roman Empire and North Africa had become established and well-defined. Moreover, many cities and ports sprang up along these routes, for example Petra, Bostra, and Seleucia. (33)

The advent of Islam in the sixth century A.D. brought about a decline in trade which lasted over a century. This is attributable to the fact that the Arabs were preoccupied with extending Islam and also to the change in the international balance of power; the downfall of the Sassanian Empire and the elimination from the Middle East of Roman political influence.

During the period under investigation, a number of factors encouraged resumed trade between the Arab world and India, in particular, (34) by caravan. There is also evidence that facilities were provided and protection was accorded to these routes by the ^CAbbāsīd authorities and kings of India, depending on the political circumstances of each country as follows:

1. The ^CAbbāsīds and the caravan routes. For political, military as well as commercial considerations the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate paid a lot of attention to the land routes which headed towards Iran, India and China and provided them with the following facilities:

A. The governor of the Khurāsān road was appointed by the caliphate, whose duties included protecting road users. (35)

B. The caliphate was known to have been ruthless when dealing with thieves and robbers; the caliphate would order them executed,

flogged or would have their hands or legs cut off. Sometimes military expeditions were despatched to eliminate them. ⁽³⁶⁾

C. Caliphal authorities built many bridges over rivers and valleys to facilitate the passage of caravans. ⁽³⁷⁾

D. Caravans could, and often did, break their journey ⁽³⁸⁾ at rest-houses and water-points situated along the highways and designed to facilitate journeys. ⁽³⁹⁾

E. Highways were patrolled by military detachments stationed along them with a view to providing protection against robbers and other hazards. ⁽⁴⁰⁾

F. The task of providing protection for caravans was sometimes entrusted to the people through whose territories they passed. ⁽⁴¹⁾ In the main cities of Khurāsān for instance, resided a post master, a judge and informers ⁽⁴²⁾ to tell officials about the state of the roads. Such facilities were not confined to the Khurāsān highway; the southern highway and its branches had similar facilities.

2. The Indian kings and the caravan routes. Unlike their description of the Arab world, Persia and Khurāsān, the primary sources provide only little information about protection and facilities given by the Indian kings to caravan routes.

For instance, ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Iṣṭakhri, both of whom drew similar maps of Sind and some parts of India and described routes and their distances, rivers, the topography, towns and cities and the

population,⁽⁴³⁾ make no mention of rest-houses, bridges, stop-over points or any other facilities which were required on the roads. It is true that some Indian and Sindi cities were located near one another, on the highways. However, there were other roads which travelled through deserts, especially the ones which ran through the western and north-western parts of Sind before reaching Manṣūra and Multān.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Moreover, there were rivers in Sind such as the Mihrān, Sindrūdh and Jandrūr,⁽⁴⁵⁾ in addition to the rivers of India. Sources, however, do not explain how caravans crossed such rivers. This is particularly unfortunate since Manṣūra, by far the most important city in Sind, was surrounded by a branch of the Mihrān river.⁽⁴⁶⁾

There is, therefore, the possibility that caravans heading for Manṣūra unloaded at the Mihrān River. The animals may have swum across the river, while the passengers and the cargoes would have been shipped across. River transport was known to and used by the Indians.⁽⁴⁷⁾ This conclusion is based on the fact that sources make no reference to the existence of any bridges on Indian rivers crossed by caravans from the West, even before the period of our research.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Ibn Khurdādhba, who deals with the Sind highway stage by stage, from Fahraj to Makrān and then to Manṣūra, makes no reference to any facilities on the caravan route except that "the Zuṭṭ are the protectors of the highway when it runs through their territories."⁽⁴⁹⁾ Al-Bīrūnī, on the other hand, speaks of the existence of several bridges on Indian roads in his time.⁽⁵⁰⁾ However, these bridges were distant from the roads here.

H. C. Verma ⁽⁵¹⁾ mentions many fords and ferry stations on some rivers in India and Sind but he does not refer to primary sources. This suggests that these bridges were built after the period of the research. Verma also refers to the extensive use of boat bridges in mediaeval times and to the existence of rafts of reeds, and skin rafts. He also indicates that officials observed caravans en route ⁽⁵²⁾ and provides other information not referred to by primary sources.

The fact that trade caravans heading eastward for India did not go beyond Sind, and the safety enjoyed by Arab merchants when in India, may explain why primary sources do not mention facilities on caravan routes in India. ⁽⁵³⁾

Caravans. It is now necessary to refer to the animals used in the caravans, their burdens, and the climatic conditions which affected the roads.

Ibn Faḍlān, who in A.H. 309 / A.D. 921 set out from Baghdad at the head of the ^CAbbāsīd delegation to the King of the Slavs and passed through Persia, Khurāsān and Transoxiana, reports that the Oxus River became so frozen in winter as to allow horses, mules, and donkeys to cross over the ice, and that the river remained frozen for three months. He also mentions camels struggling in deep snow. ⁽⁵⁴⁾

In the course of describing the roads of the Khurāsān desert, Ibn Ḥawḳal observes that camels were better equipped to cross these regions than horses, and that loaded animals could only cross them

using specific routes.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who toured India and entered "the great desert" near the land of the Turks, says that it could not be entered except in one season, that was after the rain fall in Sind and India early in July.⁽⁵⁶⁾

There is also a reference which indicates that caravans travelled through the Indian deserts during the night to avoid the heat of the day,⁽⁵⁷⁾ and another reference to the effect that early Indian caravans used carts,⁽⁵⁸⁾ although primary sources do not mention this.

This means that those in charge of caravan traffic must have been knowledgeable about weather conditions and the nature of the roads to be used. Finally, a camel carried an average cargo of 450 pounds.⁽⁵⁹⁾

2. Sea routes. Thanks to the sources at our disposal, we are able to identify the two main sea routes used by merchant ships between the Arab world and India. The first originated in Basra in Iraq and headed towards the eastern coast of the Gulf, along the coast of Persia and on to the Indian and Chinese coasts. The second route originated at several points on the southern coast of the Arabian Peninsula, headed directly to the Indian west coast, and on to China.

In the following we shall attempt to examine these two routes in greater detail.

The route from Iraq. Ships bound for India from Basra would have taken the route which led to the Persian coast and on to the coasts

of Sind and India. Ibn Khurdādhba⁽⁶⁰⁾ provides a fairly accurate description of this route. From Basra to Khārak island (Kharg island) from there to Lāwān island, then to the Abrūn island, then to Khayn island, from there to Kays island (Kish island), then to the Ibn Kāwān island (Kishm island), then to Armūz (Hurmuz),⁽⁶¹⁾ then to Thārā which is located on the borderline between Fāris and Sind.

From there to Tīz (in Makrān) and on to Daybul (near Karachi (Sind)), from Daybul it strode towards the estuary of the Mihrān river (the Sind river), from Mihrān to the Indian region of Awtkīn (Oykman) where live the Mayds. From there to Kūli (Kodinar, north-west of Diu or Kori Creek (Bombay State)), and on to Sindān (Sanjan, 50 miles north of Thana (Bombay State)), then to Mulay (Kūlam Malay, Kūilon (Kerala)), then to Bullīn (two days journey from Ceylon) on to the great Lagga.

At Bullīn the sea routes diverge; one branch, hugging the coast, proceeds towards Bābattan (Jirbattan), this is the region where the provisions for the inhabitants of Sarandīb (Ceylon) come. From Bābattan to Sinjilī, and Kabshān, from there to the mouth of Kūdāfarīd (Godāvari river), then to Kaylikān (Calingapatam (east coast of India)) or to the south of the Periyar (south-west coast of India), then to al-Luwā (near Ganjam - and Kanja - Ganjam or Conjeevaram), from there to Samundar (between Ganjam and Baruva (Orissa)).

From Samundar to the great Kingdom of Aurinshīn (Ūrisīn), a region lying to the north of the lower course of the Mahanadi river⁽⁶²⁾.

Ibn Khurdādhba adds that a journey from Bullīn to Sarandīb (Ceylon) would take a day.

Those whose destination is China head from Bullīn to Ceylon to their left. From Ceylon to Lankabālūs island (Nicobar islands), then to Kala island (Kedah, on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula), then to the islands of Shalāhit (in Sumatra), Jaba (Jawa), Tiyūma (Port of Kala), Şanf (Sea of Indo-China), Lūķīn (Lū-fīn, 12 miles south-east of Hanoi), and on to China. (63)

From the coasts of the Arabian Peninsula. In addition to the sea route from Basra along the Persian and the Indian coasts and the other sea route from Basra to the east coasts of the Arabian Peninsula, (64) there were other sea routes which linked several ports on the south coast of the Arabian Peninsula with Indian ports.

These sea routes can be classified as follows:

1. The main sea routes described by Buzurk are:

A. From Oman to the Dībajāt islands (the Maldives and the Laçcadives islands) in both directions.

B. From Sindān (Sanjan, 50 miles north of Thana (Bombay State), and Şaymūr (Chaul in the Kolaba District (Bombay State)) to Oman.

C. From Fanşūr (on the west coast of Sumatra) to Oman.

D. From Oman to unspecified Indian ports.

E. In addition, from Kala to Oman or Aden. He also mentioned a sea route from Oman to Şanf⁽⁶⁵⁾ without mentioning any ports on the way to Şanf, or saying that ships sailed non-stop to Şanf, which is a remote

possibility.

2. According to al-Sīrāfī and Sulaymān al-Tājir, sea routes were as follows:

A. From Maṣḡaṭ to Kūlam Malay (Quilon (Kerala)), Lanjabalūs (Nicobar islands), and on to Kala Bār in the direction of China.

B. From Oman to the Zābaj (Java) or Kala. ⁽⁶⁶⁾

3. According to Ibn al-Faḡīh al-Hamadḡānī, they ran as follows:

A. From Oman to Kūlam Malay (Quilon (Kerala)).

B. From Maṣḡaṭ to Kūlam Malay. ⁽⁶⁷⁾

4. However, Abū 'l-Fidā' and al-Ḳalkaṡḡandī maintain that the sea route ran from Kūlam Malay to Aden. ⁽⁶⁸⁾

5. Al-Idrīsī maintains that they ran from Oman to al-Tīz ⁽⁶⁹⁾ (in the bay of Chahbar, to the west of Chahbar village (Makrār, Iran)).

6. Ibn-Baṡṡūṡa maintains that they ran:

A. From Zafār to Ḳālikūṡ (in Madras area).

B. From Sarandīb (Ceylon) to the Yemen, ⁽⁷⁰⁾ although he does not name the port in the Yemen.

Merchants ships also sailed from the south Arabian seaport of Raysūt to India, although we do not know the Indian port(s) at which they finished their voyages. ⁽⁷¹⁾

When describing the sea routes followed by ships, especially Chinese ships, which ran from Sīrāf to Maṣḡaṭ and on to the port of

Kūlam Malay in the direction of Kala Bār and China, al-Sīrāfī tends to concentrate on ports visited by ships with the aim of securing supplies of drinking water. (72)

From the Red Sea. Sea routes followed by Arab and Indian ships were not confined to the South Arabian coast and the Gulf. Ships sometimes voyaged from ports on southern coasts of the Arabian peninsula⁽⁷³⁾ through Bāb al-Mandab and up the Red Sea to the ports of Jedda and ^CAydhāb to unload merchandise from India and Iraq,⁽⁷⁴⁾ and to pick up merchandise shipped from the port of Kulzum.⁽⁷⁵⁾ This route was used by Rādhānī merchants who sailed their ships down the Red Sea before heading towards India.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Ships were liable to pay levies when passing by some fortress along the Red Sea.⁽⁷⁷⁾

Although shipping into Basra and on to Baghdad⁽⁷⁸⁾ was interrupted during periods of political instability, and ships in the Indian Ocean were occasionally attacked by Indian pirates,⁽⁷⁹⁾ these routes were generally safe.

During such periods of political instability, ships which could not make the journey to Basra and Baghdad could have unloaded in ports on the coasts of the Arabian peninsula. Alternatively, they could have sailed to ports on the coasts of the Red Sea. The Red Sea was used more in the second half of the 10th century A.D. when the Fāṭimid caliphate emerged in Egypt as a new force competing with the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate for political domination.⁽⁸⁰⁾

Ships. In view of the importance of Arab-Indian maritime trade, it is essential to consider Arab as well as Indian ships, their types, methods of construction, tonnage, dates of commencement and ending of journeys, methods of navigation and shipbuilding centres.

1. Arab ships. Some sources indicate that the caliph ^CUmar b. al-Khattāb advised the Moslems against journeying overseas. ⁽⁸¹⁾ Nevertheless, the caliph ^CUthmān b. ^CAffān permitted Mu^Cāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, the then governor of Syria to send a fleet which in A.H. 34/A.D. 654 engaged the Greek navy in the Mediterranean Sea and scored a great naval victory for Islam. In this naval engagement which is referred to as Dhāt al-Ṣawārī, the Arabs demonstrated skill and ingenuity of the highest order. ⁽⁸²⁾ Later on, the Arabs continued to use ships at sea as well as in inland waters. ⁽⁸³⁾

The Umayyad period witnessed an increase in the use by the Arabs of ships; an increase which could best be demonstrated by the new shipbuilding centre established during the Umayyad period. ⁽⁸⁴⁾

References to the use during the ^CAbbāsīd period of ships for commercial, and occasionally, military purposes ⁽⁸⁵⁾ are numerous. The uses of ships for military purposes included the suppression of rebellions and the stamping out of pirates. ⁽⁸⁶⁾ The paying of salaries to state sailors ⁽⁸⁷⁾ and the establishment of new shipbuilding centres ⁽⁸⁸⁾ reflect increased attention by the state to shipping.

When designing a craft, shipwrights took into account the purpose for which it was built, whether it was a pleasure boat ⁽⁸⁹⁾ for use in

rivers or an ocean-going vessel,⁽⁹⁰⁾ and tried to cater for the special requirement of each environment.

Maritime trade had now - in the 9th and 10th centuries - acquired new significance in political terms; it influenced the caliphate as much as it was influenced by it. In fact the degree of political stability in the capital of the caliphate could be measured in terms of how safe sea routes between Arab and Indian ports were.

Increased commercial exchange by sea resulted in increased state revenues from duties on imported and exported merchandise.⁽⁹¹⁾

Types of ships and shipbuilding centres. Some sources mention several types of ships which were used for commercial and other purposes. Al-Ya^cqūbī refers to ships called *Khayṭiyyāt* which sailed the Atlantic coast of North West Africa. These ships, he says, were built at Ubulla, and also sailed as far as China.⁽⁹²⁾ He does not explain how the ships found their way from Ubulla to the Atlantic. This type was also used in inland waters.⁽⁹³⁾ Ibn Jubayr refers to ships called *Jalbāt*⁽⁹⁴⁾ which were used for commercial purposes in the Red Sea.

Sources mention several types of ships used exclusively in Iraq for various purposes.⁽⁹⁵⁾

However, there is no direct reference to the types of ships of the coasts of the Arabian Peninsula, whether or not they were of the types already mentioned.

It is noteworthy, however, that the ships of the Indian Ocean were made of coconut timber imported from certain Indian islands. These ships were built with their hull planking sewn together whereas ships in the Mediterranean were built with their hull planking nailed to an internal framework. Moreover, sails were made of coconut fibre. Oil derived from a sea animal - called Bāba - was used to caulk the bottoms of ships to close the holes drilled for the sewing twine. Cordage used to fasten together the planking of the hulls was also made of coconut fibre. ⁽⁹⁶⁾ Ships of the Indian Ocean were also made of teak-wood of India. ⁽⁹⁷⁾

According to al-Ya^cḳūbī, ships of the Khayṭiyāt type were built in the town of Ubulla in Iraq. Al-Ya^cḳūbī also notes that the town of Sūsa - in Morocco - had a shipbuilding centre. ⁽⁹⁸⁾

Other shipbuilding centres were in existence in Alexandria, Cairo, Dimyāt, ⁽⁹⁹⁾ c^cAkkā, Tūnis ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ and probably on the eastern coasts of the Arabian Peninsula. ⁽¹⁰¹⁾

2. Indian ships. Since pre-Islamic times, Indian trade ships had made the journey to Ubulla in Iraq and were frequently to be seen moored as high up the Tigris River as the region of Madā'in. ⁽¹⁰²⁾ Moreover, sources make frequent references to the presence of Indian pirate ships in the Indian Ocean at different times in the Umayyad and c^cAbbāsīd periods. ⁽¹⁰³⁾

Some sources indicate that during our era Indian ships were constantly to be seen moored in various Arab ports. ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

Al-Mas^Cūdī refers to Indian ships called Bawārij. These ships, he says, were owned by some of the inhabitants of Maṣūra. He adds that those people used these Bawārij to attack the Muslims' ships sailing to India, China, Jedda and Kulzum. ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ According to al-Jāhiz, there was another kind of ship called Sanbūka, which was used by the people of the Zābaj kingdom - Java. This type of ship could carry one thousand men. ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ But al-Mas^Cūdī and al-Jāhiz do not explicitly say whether these types of ships were used for trade or not.

A. Appadorai mentions several names of Indian ships, but he does not specify the exact period. In the forefront of these ships were zamuquo, "large sea-going craft, very much used in trade" and fusta, "used to make longer voyages." ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

According to A.L. Basham, "normally the timbers of ancient Indian ships were not nailed or riveted, but lashed together; this was done to avoid the imaginary danger of magnetic rocks, for the technique of nailing a ship's timbers was certainly known in India in the mediaeval period. In fact sewn or lashed timbers were more resilient than nailed ones, and could stand up better to the fierce storms of the monsoon period and the many coral reefs of the Indian Ocean." ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

According to al-Idrīsī, the ships of the Indian Ocean in general have the same specifications. ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ It follows that these specifications apply to both the Arab and the Indian ships. But al-Idrīsī does not tell us about the names or the sizes, for example, of these ships.

As far as the shipbuilding centres in India are concerned, we could not find many details in the sources. Al-Sirāfī said that the people of the Indian islands of Baḥr Hirkind and Laroy achieved fame as shipwrights. ⁽¹¹⁰⁾ On the other hand C.N. Parkinson points out

that Surat was a shipbuilding centre⁽¹¹¹⁾ without specifying the exact period. Moreover, "the hulls of the ocean-going vessels were built of teak-wood from the rain-forests of Western India and it may be assumed that by this period they were mostly built there."⁽¹¹²⁾

R. Mookerji also gives more detail for Indian ships, their names and the measurements of their respective lengths, breadths, heights and tonnage.⁽¹¹³⁾ But we do not know whether these ships were used during our era, or not.

Finally, the Indians too, used ships for river transport.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

Times of voyages. Making use of the monsoon winds,⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Arab and Indian ships sailed the Indian Ocean; on reaching their destination, the crews had to wait for the monsoon winds to blow in the opposite direction, then set off back again. Arab and Indian pilots seem to have possessed a detailed knowledge of the monsoon winds, their dates and directions.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Some sources indicate that they were well-informed about tidal currents in the Gulf and the Indian Ocean, and that enabled them to avoid many of the dangers associated with this phenomenon. For example, they ascertained that the tide rises in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf at different times despite the fact that the Gulf opens into the Indian Ocean. Moreover, they discovered that the waters of the Gulf become extremely rough towards the end of autumn and calm towards the end of spring. Sources add that, with the exception of autumn, the Gulf was navigable throughout the year.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ This means that ships would have sailed from Arab

coasts in the spring and set off back in the autumn thus making use of the change in the monsoon winds in covering a distance of some 50 parasangs each day. (118)

A voyage from the port of Maṣḡaṭ to Kūlam Malay (Kuilon Kerala) took a whole month, so did a voyage from Zafār to Kālīkūt (119) (in the Madras area). Ships had to wait for six months in India before returning. (120)

Because the compass was unused in the ships, (121) the sun, movement of wind, the stars and the moon were used by the pilots as navigational aids. (122)

Although the main sources at our disposal do not give details about the sizes, loads and sails (123) of ships, the ships were apparently big enough to carry horses and even elephants, which were sometimes carried in them. Buzurk mentions a tax of one million dirhams levied on a single ship, (124) suggesting that its cargo was considerable.

Second: Seaports and commercial cities. In the following we shall endeavour to study Arab and Indian ports which played a major part in commercial activities between the two countries. We shall also outline the facilities provided at port cities (warehouses, merchants' accommodation, etc.). Cities located on land borders and their role in the export and import of merchandise will also be considered.

1. Arab ports. In addition to being centres for exporting and importing merchandise, the then port cities played host to numerous merchants of various nationalities and attracted many people who came from nearby regions in pursuit of employment and better opportunities and who became porters, dockers, etc. This expansion may have raised living standards in these cities.

Iraq. A. The port of Ubulla, which had a history of commercial activity with India and other countries that preceded Islam, was by far the oldest port in Iraq. ⁽¹²⁵⁾ Through this port merchant ships passed and continued their voyages as far up the Tigris River as the region of Madā'in. ⁽¹²⁶⁾

When the Arab armies entered Iraq the caliph ^CUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb instructed the commander of the conquering army Sa^Cd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ to despatch an expedition to be led by another prominent commander, ^CUtba b. Ghazwān, to capture 'Farj al-Hind' ⁽¹²⁷⁾ or Ubulla; a clear indication of strong trade links between Ubulla and India.

The port of Ubulla, together with the port of Basra provided facilities for trade between the Arabs and India. ⁽¹²⁸⁾ Moreover, it was from the port of Ubulla that Rādḥānī merchants sailed to Oman, Sind, India and China. ⁽¹²⁹⁾

The port of Ubulla continued to play an important part in commerce until A.H. 256/A.D. 869 ⁽¹³⁰⁾ when it was attacked and burned down by the Zanj. The once great port was now reduced to a mere village. ⁽¹³¹⁾

B. Basra. The second important port in Iraq was the port city of Basra which was founded in A.H. 17/A.D. 638 in the reign of the caliph ^CUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and was located near Ubulla. (132)

Throughout the period prior to the destruction, at the hands of the Zanj, of Ubulla, Basra was a large commercial city and a very busy port. (133)

Although Basra, too, suffered at the hands of the Zanj, (134) the extent of destruction was not as great as that inflicted upon Ubulla. Basra remained an important port receiving Indian merchandise either directly or via the coasts of the Arabian peninsula. (135)

Judging by the amount of dues levied on ships using it, the port of Basra must have been very important from a commercial viewpoint. At times it was leased to individuals while at other times it was run directly by the state which appointed officials whose duties included collecting dues. (136)

Periods of upheaval such as the Zanj and Barīdī rebellions, and the interference by the Zuṭṭ with the shipping route to Baghdad (137) were temporary. Nevertheless, the political situation in the port seems to have had a direct effect on economic life in Baghdad. In other words, the more stable the port was the more stable prices in Baghdad were and the more prosperous the economy in general became, and vice versa. (138) This shows the vital role ports played in the economic life of Iraq as a whole.

B. Ports of the Arabian Peninsula. There were several ports on the Arabian coasts which had direct commercial links with India. On the eastern coasts there were the following ports.

A) The port of Aden in south west Arabia, was one of the busiest Arab ports which, according to Ibn Khurdādhba received "merchandise from Sind, India, China, Abyssinia, East Africa, Persia, Basra, Jedda and Ḳulzum." (139) This account is confirmed by other historians such as al-Ya^cḳūbī, Ibn Khaldūn, al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Abū 'l-Fidā', (140) and Ibn Baṭṭūḳa who maintained that Indian merchants had taken up residence there. (141) The inhabitants of Aden were mostly merchants, porters, and fishermen. (142)

B) The port of Ṣuḥār (the capital of Oman). This highly important port is described by al-Maḳdisī as unrivalled with regard to its facilities and its stocks of foreign merchandise. (143) Other historians note that this port received ships from India, China and East Africa. (144)

C. Ports on the S.E. Arabian coast were: the port of Zafār whence ships set off to India carrying Arab horses, (145) the port of Maṣḳaṭ, a stopover for ships seeking supplies of drinking water, (146) and the port of Raysūt whence ships set off to the port of Kūlam Malay. (147)

Along the coasts of the Red Sea spread a number of Arab ports.

Ports on the eastern coast. A - The port of Jedda. Situated not far from Mecca, the port of Jedda was second only to Mecca in terms of the volume of trade it handled. (148) Ships en route up the Red Sea

to the port of ^CAydhāb docked in this port which also received merchandise from the ports of Ḳulzum and ^CAydhāb. (149)

B - The port of al-Jār. In this port, which was situated not far from Medina, (150) docked ships en route up the Red Sea. It was the second stop-over point for ships; the first was the port of Jedda. (151) Moreover, ships travelling from the port of Ḳulzum down the Red Sea also docked there. (152)

Ports on the western coast of the Red Sea:

A - The port of ^CAydhāb received Arab, Indian and other ships en route up the Red Sea. These ships, which stopped over in the ports of Jedda and al-Jār, unloaded in the port of ^CAydhāb, whence their cargoes were transported by caravan to Egypt and North Africa. Pilgrims from Egypt and North Africa set sail from the port of ^CAydhāb on the last stage of their journey to Jedda. (153)

B - The port of Ḳulzum - Suez - was situated at the head of the Red Sea and was considered the gateway to Egypt and Syria. It was from this port that ships carrying merchandise from Egypt and Syria sailed towards the Hejaz and the Yemen (154) and returned loaded with Arab and Indian merchandise.

2. Arab commercial cities. The following is a survey of other Arab cities which played an important part in commerce with India.

Iraq. A. Baghdad. The founding in A.H. 141 /A.D. 758 of Baghdad represented a considerable boost to commerce with the east in general and with India

in particular. ⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ It is worth recalling that al-Manṣūr's Umayyad predecessors were more inclined to trade with the west than with the east.

In his choice of the site of Baghdad, al-Manṣūr was influenced by the opinion of, among others, a local diḥkān who pointed to the immense advantages the proposed site of the new capital would confer upon the caliph. He would be in a position to receive provisions by boat from the west by the Euphrates, to receive gifts from Egypt, Syria, to receive provisions by ships from China, India, Basra, and Wāsiṭ by the Tigris. He would also receive provisions from Armenia and adjacent regions by the Tigris. ⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

Al-Ya^Cḳubī describes the bazaar street of Baghdad and observes that the city itself was divided into localities bearing names of prominent merchants who lived there. For instance, there were quarters whose residents were predominantly from Balkh, Khuttal, Bukhārā', Sbīshāb (Isbījāb, a region between the Muslims and Turks) Ishtākhanj, Kābul, Khuwārizm and Khurāsān. A quarter known as Ḳaṭī^Cat al-Rabī^C was inhabited by cloth merchants from Khurāsān who specialized in selling clothes imported exclusively from Khurāsān. ⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

Baghdad was destined to become a great city, thanks to the fact that it had now become the capital of the caliphate, and to its strategic position on the crossroads of international commerce. Trade caravans set out from Baghdad towards Khurāsān and India. ⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Baghdad was linked with India by sea route. Baghdad remained an important trade

centre although its prosperity came under threat in times of crisis, such as the conflict between al-Ma'mūn and al-Amīn, ⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ and the Zanj and Carmathian rebellions. ⁽¹⁶⁰⁾

B. Sāmarrā' was an important trade city. Ships from Basra and Ubulā ⁽¹⁶¹⁾ docked there.

Egyptian commercial cities.

A - The city of Ḳawṣ east of the Nile was by far the largest city in upper Egypt. ⁽¹⁶²⁾ Its commercial significance lay in the fact that it was located on the caravan route leading to the port of ^CAydhāb. Indian and Arab merchandise unloaded in the port of ^CAydhāb was then transported by caravan across the desert to the city of Ḳawṣ and from there it was distributed to various towns and cities in and outside Egypt. ⁽¹⁶³⁾ The city of Ḳawṣ was frequented by merchants from India, the Yemen and Abyssinia in pursuit of their trade. ⁽¹⁶⁴⁾

B - The city of Faramā was situated near the Mediterranean coast of Egypt to the east of the Nile delta. Its commercial significance lay in the fact that it served as a terminal ⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ at which trade caravans ended their journeys. These caravans brought merchandise which included gifts, perfumes, medicines, jewellery, slaves, etc. from the regions bordering on or adjacent to the Mediterranean and Red Sea. Significantly, therefore, this city served as terminal for all the countries of that region. ⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ In Faramā, moreover, docked Radhānī merchant ships en route from Europe down the Red Sea to India and China. ⁽¹⁶⁷⁾

C - The city of Fustāṭ, which was the main city in Egypt prior to the founding of Cairo, was also an important trade city. It received merchandise from the south down the Nile, or from the Mediterranean since it was linked with Faramā. ⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ In addition, it was an important centre of trade with north west Africa.

In the second half of the 10th century A.D. Fustāṭ was replaced by Cairo, the new political capital of Fāṭimid Egypt, as the main trade city. ⁽¹⁶⁹⁾

Commercial cities of the Arabian peninsula.

A - Mecca, which was linked with several Arab provinces by a network of highways, was an important commercial centre. Caravan routes linked it with Iraq, Syria, Egypt and with the eastern coasts of the peninsula. ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ It had access to the sea, through the port of Jedda. ⁽¹⁷¹⁾

Moreover, Mecca's religious position contributed to its economic prosperity. Its bazaars which were stocked with Arab and Indian merchandise ⁽¹⁷²⁾ catered for pilgrims who poured into the city for Islamic religious observances.

B - Served by the port of Ghalāfika north of al-Mandab, ⁽¹⁷³⁾ the city of Zabīd was a gathering point for merchants from H̄jaz, Egypt, and Abyssinia. From this city, which was considered a Yemeni port, was re-exported Indian and Chinese merchandise. ⁽¹⁷⁴⁾

3. Indian ports. Several Indian ports played an important part in

trade with the West. ⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ These ports can be summarized as follows:

A - The ports of Sind, Daybul and Tīz, were the two main ports which provided facilities for trade with the Arabs. In these two ports docked merchant ships which sailed from ports on the Arabian coasts such as Oman, ⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ or from Basra using the coastal route. ⁽¹⁷⁷⁾

Daybul, one of the largest ports of Sind, ⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ was closely associated with trade with the Arabs.

B - Other ports of India. The main other ports of India were: Otkīn (Oykmān), Kūlī (Kodinar, north west of Diu or Kori Creek (Bombay State)), Kanbāya (Cambay (Bombay State)), Sindān (Sanjan, 50 miles north of Thana (Bombay State)), Sūbar (Sopāra, near Bassein in the Thana district (Bombay State)), Ṣaymūr (Chaul in the Kolaba District (Bombay State)), Sindābūr (Siddhāpur, south of Goa), Kūlam Malay (Quilon (Kerala)), Sarandīb (Ceylon), in addition to the ports of the Bay of Bengal. ⁽¹⁷⁹⁾

There were a number of islands which received merchant ships. The most important of these islands were: Lankabālūs - Nicobar islands - , Kala - Kedah, on the western coast of the Malay peninsula, al-Rāmi - Sumatra, the Zābaj (Java), Dībajāt (Laccadive islands), Bartāyil which was part of Mahrāj Kingdom, Wāḳ Wāḳ, Ṣhalāhiṭ (in Sumatra), and Sufāla. ⁽¹⁸⁰⁾

Unfortunately, the sources fail to name any commercial cities or ports on these islands.

Arab-Indian commercial ties were strengthened by waves of Arabs, mostly merchants, emigrating to India and settling in Indian port cities. ⁽¹⁸¹⁾

4. Indian commercial cities. It is thought that the bulk of Indian merchandise which reached the Arab world (by land routes) was exported from Sind and adjacent Indian cities such as Kanbāya (Cambay (Bombay State)) - which had access to caravan routes. ⁽¹⁸²⁾ By the same token, it is highly unlikely that many Arab trade caravans ventured beyond Sind. We take the view that the bulk of Arab merchandise was unloaded in Sind and such Indian cities as Kanbāya and from there it was re-exported to towns and cities inside India.

In addition to the vital commercial role played by ports, there were a number of cities in Sind which were important trade centres and were linked with ports (by land routes) and also with main caravan routes.

In the forefront of these cities were: Manṣūra (ruins of the town 47 miles to the north-east of Hyderabad (Sind)) - , the capital of Sind, which traded with the Arabs by land and sea, ⁽¹⁸³⁾ the Multān ⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ (West Punjab) , Māsakān (in Tūrān (Baluchistan)) , al-Rūr ⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ - ruins near Rohri (Sind), and Ḳuṣḍār ⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ - Khuzdar (Baluchistan).

Other cities played an equally active part in Arab-Indian trade. However, these cities were situated outside the territorial borders of India and Sind. They had their own manufacturing industry in addition to the considerable volume of merchandise transported to them from towns and cities inside Sind and India.

In the forefront of these cities were: Kabul, which was the main centre for exporting Indian merchandise, ⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ Ghazna, Bust, Kandahar, Lamghān, Karwan and others. ⁽¹⁸⁸⁾

Footnotes to Chapter Two.

- (1) T. Bākīr, Muqaddima fī Tārīkh al-Hadārāt, Vol. 2, pp. 84, 85, 181, 312, 316, 386, 448-9, Vol. 1, pp. 318, 319. See also E.H. Warmington, The commerce between the Roman Empire and India, pp. 18-34, The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 3, p. 553, Vol. IX, p. 208, Vol. 10, p. 387, Vol. 15, p. 894, Vol. 19, p. 174. S.A. Huzayyin, Arabia and the Far East, pp. 87-97.
- (2) H.C. Verma, Mediaeval routes to India, p. 24, observes that the Abbasid rulers developed an elaborate system of highways which used to radiate from Baghdad in all directions. See also: The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. 1, pp. 1045-6.
- (3) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp. 18-34, Kudāma al-Kharāj wa-Ṣan'at al-Kitāba, pp. 197-212, al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, pp. 269-95, al-Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb, pp. 161-79, H.C. Verma, Mediaeval routes to India, pp. 143-8.
- (4) Kudāma, al-Kharāj wa-Ṣan'at al-Kitāba, pp. 194-7, Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp. 50, 57, 59.
- (5) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p. 286, Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 54. Ibn Hawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, p. 314, maintains that this route led to Fahraj and to Mansūra. See also H.C. Verma, Mediaeval routes to India, pp. 148-54, C.S.T. Holdich, The gates of India, London, 1910, p. 293, S.H.J. MacKinder, The sub-continent of India, in E.J. Rapson (ed.), The Cambridge History of India, Cambridge, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 29, S.S. Nadavi, Commercial relations of India with Arabia, tr. Sayeed Ul Haq, IC, Vol. VII, 1933, p. 290.
- (6) For taxes levied on merchandise entering and leaving Tūrān (the region around Khuzdar in the eastern parts of the Kalat state, Baluchistan), see al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p. 485, al-Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb, p. 140. For Ibn Hawḳal's reference to Jīruft and to the one-tenth due to the state, see Ibn Hawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, p. 312.
- (7) For the importance, in commercial terms, of the city of Narmāshīr to Oman, Khurāsān, Kirmān, Sijistān and India, see al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p. 463. For the importance from a commercial viewpoint of the city of Ḳuzdār (the capital of Tūrān), see p. 475, where al-Maḳdisī maintains that merchants from various regions took up residence there. On pp. 467, 473, he refers to the importance of Jūy Sulaymān not far from Narmāshīr. Jūy Sulaymān

may have been the village of Sulaymān b. Sumay^c, which Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.55 refers to.

- (8) Al-Makḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, pp.349,486. Al-Bīrūnī, al-Ḳānūn al-Mas'ūdī, Hyderabad, 1955, Vol. 2, p.561 refers to Marmil on the road between Multān and Ghazna. Also, for the area of Gardīz, see Anon., Ḥudūd al-Ālam, p.35. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Riḥla, Vol. 2, p.11 mentions the town of Awja between the valley of Khusraw Ābād and Multān.
- (9) Al-Hamawī, Muċjam al-Buldān, Vol. 3, pp.457,458, quoting Abū Dulaf, who returned to Khurāsān from China via India. Anon., Ḥudūd al-Ālam, p.110, mentions that Bust was the gateway of India.
- (10) Al-Makḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, pp.349,486.
- (11) Al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk fī Dhikr al-Amsār wa-'l-Aktār wa-'l-Buldān wa-'l-Juzur wa-'l-Madāyīn wa-'l-Āfāq, Rome, 1592, p.65.
- (12) Al-Hamawī, Muċjam al-Buldān, Vol. 3, pp.454-8, quoting Abū Dulaf.
- (13) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Riḥla, Vol. 1, pp.238-9,336, Vol. 2, p.11. For the road from Kābul, see S.M. Jaffar, The Arab administration of Sind, IC, Vol. XII, 1943, p.128.
- (14) Al-Makḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.312, maintains that the Oxus river had over 25 bridges. On p.341, he refers to levies imposed on merchandise crossing it. Ibn Faḍlān, Risālat Ibn Faḍlān, p.83, notes that caravans crossed the river in winter and that it was frozen during that season. See also Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.168-79, anon., Ḥudūd al-Ālam, p.163.
- (15) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.178,179, S.S. Nadavi, Commercial relations of India with Arabia, tr. Sayeed Uḷ Haq, IC, Vol. VII, 1933, p.290.
- (16) Al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p.159. Anon., Ḥudūd al-Ālam, p.112 says that Parvan (Barwān) was the gateway to Hindūstān.
- (17) Al-Yaċkūbī, al-Buldān, p.288, Abū 'l-Fidā', Taḳwīm al-Buldān, p.461. Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, p.485, maintains that the road from Balkh to where idols were worshipped by the inhabitants of the Multān was straightforward.
- (18) Al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p.160. Al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik

wa-'l-Mamālik, p.158, maintains that the distance from Balkh to Badhakhshān was about 13 stages.

- (19) Al-Ḥamawī, Muḥjam al-Buldān, Vol. 2, p.410. Anon., Hudūd al-Ālam, p.112, states that Dar-l-Tazyān was on the road to Badhakhshān and was the entry point of Arab trade caravans.
- (20) G.L. Strange, Buldān al-Khilāfa al-Sharḳiyya, pp.385,391. For land routes, see map no. 3.
- (21) Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.157, al-Sīrafī, Silsilat al-Tawārikh, pp.201,202.
- (22) Al-Bīrūnī, Fī Taḥkīk mā li-'l-Hind min Maḳūla, p.157. M.A. Pathan, Multān under the Arabs, IC, Vol. XLIII, No. 1, 1969, p.19 says: "the city of Multān was a great market and halting place for the trade caravans which frequented it from Ṭakhāristān and Budha and also those which plied to Maṣūra and other southern regions."
- (23) E.H. Warmington, The commerce between the Roman Empire and India, pp.21-5, C.S.T. Holdich, The gates of India, chapter III (for Balakh) and chapter IV (for Kābul). J.I. Miller, The spice trade of the Roman Empire, pp.121,132, refers to the ancient routes between Bactria, Hindu Kūsh, Kabul, Gandahara and the plain of Peshawar.
- (24) For routes from Iṣfahān to Rayy, from Kirmān to Sijistān, from Fāris and Kirmān to Khurāsān, from Kirman to Sijistān, and the new road from Fāris to Khurāsān, see Ibn Ḥawkal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, pp.402,403, al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.488, al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.133,134.
- (25) Al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, pp.490-1. Al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.158, says that Harāt could be reached from Marw.
- (26) The Arabs did trade with Transoxiana. Al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.212, notes that he met some Egyptians in Bukhāra and inquired about the Kharāj in Egypt. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 1, p.299, moreover, maintains that he saw Iraqi made glassware in Khawārizm. However, we do not have any information on any direct trading between the Arabs and India through Transoxiana.
- (27) In the year A.H.255/A.D.868 a governor was appointed by the caliph and was entrusted with the task of supervising the management of the Baghdad to Khurāsān highway, see al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 12, p.1735. Also for the governor of the Khurāsān highway in the year A.H.261/A.D.871, see Ibn al-Jawzī,

al-Muntazam, Vol. 5, p.26. For bandits on the Khurāsān highway in the year A.H.329/A.D.940, see *ibid.*, Vol. 6, p.318. Also Ḥadud al-Dawla cleared away bandits who had threatened caravans using the desert routes of Khurāsān, see al-Maḥdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.489, Ibn Khaldūn, al-Ḥabar, Vol. 4, part 4, pp.951-2. The responsibility for the Basra to Kirmān highway which was used by commercial traffic and pilgrims fell upon the governors of the regions through which it stretched. See Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.55, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, p.269.

- (28) Al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.17 says that a journey on foot from Iraq to the Balkh river would take two months to complete. Ibn Mājid, al-Fawā'id fī Uṣūl 'Ilm al-Baḥr wa-'l-Ḳawā'id, Paris, 1921-23, p.3 says that the same journey from Baghdad to Khurāsān would take three to four months, whereas Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.56 says that the road from Makrān to Manṣūra stretched for a distance of 385 parasangs, and that the distance from Zarānj to Multān would take two months to cross, in addition to the distance from Iraq to Makrān.
- (29) For the lesser importance of the land routes in the 10th century A.D., see R. Meilink, Asian Trade and European influence, p.15.
- (30) For details, see M. Rostovtzeff, Caravan cities, tr. D. and T. Talbot, Oxford, 1933, pp.6-23, J. Kennedy, The early commerce of Babylon with India 700-300 B.C., JRAS, 1898, pp.241-88.
- (31) For more details, see M. Rostovtzeff, The social and economic history of the Hellenistic world, Oxford, Vol. 2, pp.1238-1301, also by the same author: Caravan cities, pp.23-8.
- (32) J. Somogy, A short history of Oriental trade, pp.33-4. On p.24 he adds that the ancient commercial route was used from the fifth century B.C. Also, for the opening of the route, see S.A. Huzayyin, Arabia and the Far East, pp.87-97.
- (33) E.H. Warmington, The commerce between the Roman Empire and India, pp.18-34, M. Rostovtzeff, The social and economic history of the Hellenistic world, Vol. 2, pp.1246-8.
- (34) See chapter one, pp.71-4.
- (35) Al-Tabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 12, pp.1420,1736,1753,1887 mentions the names and dates of appointment of the governors of the Khurāsān road. Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 5, p.26 names the governor of the Khurāsān road.

- (36) In the year A.H. 252/A.D. 866 Shurayh al-Ḥabashī, a highwayman who operated between Wāsiṭ and al-Jabal, was killed. See al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 12, p.1657. Musāwir al-Shārī who plundered caravans on the Khurāsān road was killed in A.H. 261/A.D. 871. See al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 12, p.1887. In A.H. 321/A.D. 933 the caliph al-Kāhir ordered a man accused of piracy in the Tigris to be flogged. The man was given 1000 lashes and was executed, and several of his gang had their hands and legs cut off. See Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 6, p.249. In A.H. 360/A.D. 970, ʿAdud al-Dawla despatched a military task force to Kirmān to stamp out the Balūṣ and Kuḥṣ who preyed on trade caravans there. See Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 2, p.298, al-Maḥdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḥāsīm, p.489, Ibn Khaldūn, al-ʿIbar, Vol. 4, part 4, pp.951-2.
- (37) For the building of bridges, see Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāḳ al-Nafīsa, pp.164-6,168-9,172,186, al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p.273, Ibn Hawḳal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 2, pp.274,278,421-2,475, Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-ʿl-Mamālik, p.43, Ibn Serapion, Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdad, tr. G.L. Strange, JRAS, 1895, pp.9-32. For pontoons, see Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāḳ al-Nafīsa, pp.182,186-7, al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, pp.251,253, 254,270,308-9,322, Ibn Hawḳal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 1, pp.241,243.
- (38) For the division of roads into stages, see Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-ʿl-Mamālik, pp.18-34,50,57,59, al-Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Kulūb, pp.160-79, Kudāma, al-Kharāj wa-Ṣan^Cat al-Kitāba, pp.194-212, al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, pp.269-95.
- (39) For rest-houses and water points on the roads, see Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāḳ al-Nafīsa, pp.16, 167,170, Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-ʿl-Mamālik, pp.49,50-1,54, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 6, p.77, Ibn Hawḳal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 2, pp.401,402-10,422,258, al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 4, p.149.
- (40) For fortifications on the roads and patrols, see al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, pp.279,280, Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāḳ al-Nafīsa, pp.169-70, Ibn Hawḳal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 2, pp.258,403-4.
- (41) Ibn Hawḳal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 2, p.269, Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-ʿl-Mamālik, p.56, al-Maḥdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḥāsīm, p.488.
- (42) Ibn Hawḳal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 2, p.430. Kudāma, al-Kharāj wa-Ṣan^Cat al-Kitāba, p.184, refers to maps and the post-master's need of them.

- (43) Ibn Ḥawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, pp.317-28, al-Iṣṭakhṛī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.102-6.
- (44) Al-Maḳḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, pp.349,486, notes that the Ghazna-Multān highway was 80 parasangs which ran through deserts. Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.58 mentions the Fahraj-Makrān-Mansūra highway.
- (45) Ibn Ḥawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, p.328.
- (46) Ibid, p.320, al-Iṣṭakhṛī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.103.
- (47) Al-Bīrūnī, Fī Taḥkīk mā li-'l-Hind min Maḳūla, p.163, refers to the use of the Mīhrān river for transport. See also Buzurk, ʿAjā'ib al-Hind, p.104.
- (48) C.A.F.R. Davids, Economic conditions according to early Buddhist literature, in E.J. Rapson (ed.), The Cambridge history of India, Cambridge, 1922, Vol. 1, p.214. She says: "there were no bridges over the rivers of India."
- (49) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.54-5.
- (50) Al-Bīrūnī, Fī Taḥkīk mā li-'l-Hind min Maḳūla, pp.159-60.
- (51) H.C. Verma, Mediaeval routes to India, pp.279-81.
- (52) Ibid, pp.188-91, 205, 206, 218.
- (53) For the safe conditions in India, see Ibn Rusta, al-Aʿlāq al-Nafīsa, p.135, al-Marwazī, Tabā'īʿ al-Ḥayawān, p.35, Buzurk, ʿAjā'ib al-Hind, p.160.
- (54) Ibn Faḍlān, Risālat Ibn Faḍlān, pp.83,86. Also, for the use of the camels and horses in the trade caravans between Iraq, India and China, M. Lombard, The golden age of Islam, p.217. On p.31 he mentions the use of Bactrian camels.
- (55) Ibn Ḥawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, p.420.
- (56) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 1, p.329.
- (57) B. Bhattacharya, Urban development in India, Delhi, 1979, p.139.
- (58) R. Mookerji, Hindu civilization, London, 1936, pp.303,308.
- (59) E.H. Osers, Merchants make history, p.96. R.W. Bulliet, The camel and the wheel, p.55, says: "The camel carries from 90 or 100 lb. upwards (much more after rain) before he is loaded,

i.e. he carries about 50 lb. of load less than if he wears the Indian or Arab pattern."

- (60) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.61-6,68,69, H.Hasan, A history of Persian navigation, pp.115-17.
- (61) For details about the island of Ibn Kāwān (Kishm) and Kays, see C.A.W. Stiffe, Ancient trading centres of the Persian Gulf, GJRGS, Vol. VII, 1896, pp.644-9 and Vol. VI, 1895, pp.166-70.
- (62) For details, see S.M. Ahmad, India and the neighbouring territories, pp.104-5, and the map of India.
- (63) For details about the sea route between Ceylon and China, see S.M. Yusuf, al-Rani: The route of the Arab mariners across the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam in the 3rd and 4th centuries, IC, Vol. XXIX, 1955, pp.77-103, G.F. Hourani, Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean, chapter III (the ships).
- (64) For the sea route from Basra to the east coasts of the Arabian Peninsula, see Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.60-1, al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.26-8.
- (65) Buzurk, ʿAjā'ib al-Hind, pp.61,70,97,98,107,129,144,157,158.
- (66) Al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārikh, pp.15-20,89,90.
- (67) Al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, pp.11,12.
- (68) Abū 'l-Fidā', Takwīm al-Buldān, p.361, al-Kalkashandī, Subḥ al-ʿAṣhā fī Sināʿat al-Inshā, Vol. 5, p.75.
- (69) Al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p.63.
- (70) Ibn Battūṭā', Riḥla, Vol. 1, p.202, Vol. 2, p.213. Al-Kalkashandī, Subḥ al-ʿAṣhā fī Sināʿat al-Inshā, Vol. 5, p.13, from Zafār to India. For sea routes, see map no. 2.
- (71) Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tarīkh al-Mustabṣir, Vol. 2, p.268.
- (72) Al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārikh, pp.15-20. Al-Masʿūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.149 (reference to Maṣkaṭ).
- (73) For Aden, see Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.60-61. For voyages from Sīraf to Jedda, see al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārikh, pp.136-7. For the sea route from Oman to Jedda, see Buzurk, ʿAjā'ib al-Hind, pp.93,147, and from Aden to Jedda, p.16.

- (74) Al-Maḳḳisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, pp.104,105, al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p.47, Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, p.66.
- (75) We have been unable to trace any information relating to any voyages by Arab or Indian ships beyond Jedda and ^CAydhāb.
- (76) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.153, al-Hamadḥānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.271. Also, for Radhāni merchants, see M. Gil, The Radhānite merchants and the land of Radhān, JESHO, Vol. XVII, 1974, pp.300-23, M. Lombard, The golden age of Islam, p.209.
- (77) For levies, see al-Maḳḳisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, pp.104,105, Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, p.66, al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p.47.
- (78) During the Zanj rebellion, and their entry into Ubullā and Basra. See al-Ṭabarī, Tarīkh, Vol. 12, pp.1837,1849. Also the rebellion by the Zuṭṭ in the region of al-Baṭā'ih, see al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-Buldān, part 2, p.462, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, Vol. 5, pp.232-3.
- (79) Al-Mas^Cūdī, al-Tanbīh wa-'l-Ishrāf, p.307, which contains references to incidents that occurred during the reign of al-Mu^Ctaṣim, al-Bīrūnī, Fī Taḥkīk mā li-'l-Hind min Maḳūla, p.167. For the protection of the Tigris route in the reign of al-Kāhir (A.H.321/A.D.933), see Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam Vol. 6, p.249.
- (80) S.M. Imamuddin, Commercial relations of Spain with Iraq, Persia, Khurāsān, China and India in the 10th century, IC, Vol. XXXV, 1961, p.181, says: "By the 10th century when Banū Umayyah rose to power in Spain and the Fatimids in Egypt, the ^CAbbāsīd decayed in Iraq, and her merchandise from China and India, instead of coming to Iraq, went to Egypt and the centre of trade shifted from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea in the east and the Mediterranean in the west." See also R. Meilink, Asian trade and European influence, p.15, S.D. Goitein, Letters and documents on the Indian trade in mediaeval times, IC, Vol. XXXVII, 1963, p.200, E. Ashtor, A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages, p.191. S. Labib, Egyptian commercial policy in the Middle Ages, in M.A. Cook (ed.), Studies in the economic history of the Middle East, Oxford, 1970, pp.64-5, says: "In this century - 10th - the weight of Islamic commerce was gradually displaced from Iraq and the Persian Gulf to Egypt, the Red Sea, and the harbours of the Arabian Peninsula and the Indian Ocean. Merchants found it to their advantage to migrate to Aden, Oman or Egypt. In this way many left Baghdad and Iraq out of fear of disorders, insecurity and spoliation and turned to Egypt."

- (81) Ibn Tiktākā, al-Fakhrī, p. 81, al-Makrīzī, al-Khitat, Vol. 1, p. 293.
- (82) Al-Kindī, al-Wulāt wa-'l-Kudāt, Beirut, 1908, p. 13, al-Makrīzī, al-Khitat, Vol. 1, p. 296.
- (83) Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar, Vol. 3, pp. 19, 145, 171.
- (84) al-Hajjāj was the first to use pitched and unsewn oil-paid and flat-bottomed ships, see al-Jāhīz, al-Hayawān, Vol. 1, p. 82, Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāk al-Nafīsa, pp. 195-6. The ship-building industry had been based in Tunisia since the time of the caliphs ^CAbd al-Malik and Hishām, see Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar (al-Mukaddima), p. 449, and Vol. 4, p. 404. S. Māhir, al-Baḥriyya fī Misr, p. 87 mentions three fleets in Syria, Egypt and North Africa in the Umayyad period.
- (85) Ships were used to suppress the Zanj and the Zutt rebellions in Basra and the Baṭā'ih, see Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 5, p. 67.
- (86) For Ibn Kāwān island, see Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar, Vol. 3, p. 381, al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-Buldān, part 2, p. 462. For the Zutt in the Baṭā'ih, see al-Mas^Cūdī, al-Tanbīh wa-'l-Isḥrāf, p. 307.
- (87) al-Sābī, al-Wuzarā', p. 24. Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 6, p. 70, says that there were 10,000 sailors in the time of al-Muktadir. M.R.A. Nadvi, Industry and commerce under the ^CAbbāsids, PHS, 1953, p. 258 says: "In A.H. 350/A.D. 961, there were about three thousand boats in Baghdad."
- (88) This will be discussed under shipbuilding centres.
- (89) Such as the boats called Harrākāt used by al-Mu^Ctasim in the Tigris. See al-Isfahānī, al-Aghānī, Beirut, 1959, Vol. 18, p. 282. Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. II, p. 1167 mentions a boat known as Zū. Also, for the boats known as Sumayriyyāt, see al-Shābushtī, al-Diyārāt, Baghdad, 1951, pp. 28, 45.
- (90) Ships of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea were built with the hull planking sewn together with cordage, whereas ships of the Mediterranean Sea were built with their hull planking nailed to an internal framework. See pp. 104, 105.
- (91) For fluctuations in prices during the conflict between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, see Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya, Vol. 10, p. 239. Also Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 2, p. 128 mentions

- that duties on ships increased following the diminishing of Barīdī influence in Basra. Also al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 4, p.340.
- (92) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p.360.
- (93) Al-Azdī, Hikāyat Abī-'l-Kāsim al-Baghdādī, p.107, al-Tanūkhī, al-Faraj Ba^Cd al-Shidda, Cairo, 1955, Vol. 2, p.338.
- (94) For ships called Jalbāt in the ports of Jedda and ^CAydhāb, see Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, p.68, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 1, pp.187-8.
- (95) For ships called Shadhā'āt, Sumayriyyāt, Zalālat, Tayyārat in the time of al-Mustakfī, see al-Sābī, al-Wuzarā', p.24. Al-Tabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 13, pp.1948, 1953, mentions Shadhā'āt and Sumayriyyāt types (in A.H.267/A.D.880), and their use to suppress the Zanj rebellion. Al-Azdī, Hikāyat Abī-'l-Kāsim al-Baghdādī, p.107 mentions other types, as also al-Baghdādī, Tārīkh Baghdad, Vol. 10, p.99, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 6, pp.143,189, and S. Māhir, al-Bahriyya fī Misr, pp.327-73.
- (96) S.M. Ahmad, India and the neighbouring territories, pp.35-6, Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.163, and Vol. 2, p.283 mentions the use by the Basrans of white oil-paid craft. Al-Shābushtī, al-Diyārāt, p.196 says that pitch mixed with sand was used for ships, and adds that the source of pitch was in the Kayyāra, not far from Mosul. Al-Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Kulūb, p.198 mentions the same source of pitch, and Ibn Serapion, Description of Mesopotamia, tr. G.L. Strange, JRAS, 1895, p.26 mentions the street of pitchers in Baghdad. For coconut fibre, see al-Bīrūnī, Fī Taḥkīk mā li-'l-Hind min Maḳūla, p.169. For cordage, see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 1, p.206 and Vol. 2, p.199, Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, p.68. J.C. Van-Leure, Indonesian trade and society, p.68, says: "The Arabian ships were weakly constructed without any iron work, held together by rope and wooden nails, with the most simple rigging, lacking even a deck; the cargo stored in the ship was covered with hides, and then horses were put on top." See also T. Raychaudhuri and I. Habib (eds.), The Cambridge economic history of India, Vol. 1, p.128, and A. Villiers, Some aspects of the Arab dhow trade, MEJ, Vol. 2, 1948, pp.399-416.
- (97) M. Lombard, The golden age of Islam, p.40, T. Raychaudhuri and I. Habib (eds.), The Cambridge economic history of India, Vol. 1, p.128, G.F. Hourani, Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean, p.89.
- (98) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, pp.348,360. Also, for Ubulla, see S.S. Nāḍavī, Arab navigation, IC, Vol. XV, 1941, p.409.

- (99) Al-Makrīzī, al-Khitāṭ, Vol. 3, pp.313-20 (in the Fāṭimid period).
- (100) S.S. Nadavi, Arab navigation, IC, Vol. XVI, 1942, pp.72-3, 75 (for ^CAkkā in the time of al-Mutawakkil, and Tunisia in the ^CAbbāsīd period).
- (101) Al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, pp.130-1, mentions that Omanis would go to the islands of India to bring coconut timber, and sell it.
- (102) Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāk al-Nafīsa, p.95, al-Mutahhar b. Tāhir al-Makḍisī, al-Bad' wa-'l-Tārīkh, Paris, 1899, Vol. 4, p.74.
- (103) Al-Bīrūnī, Fī Tahkīk mā li-'l-Hīnd min Makūla, p.167, al-Mas^Cūdī, al-Tanbīh wa-'l-Ishrāf, p.307, al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 10, pp.78-9, 135. For references to the Umayyad period, see al-Dhahabī, Tārīkh al-Islām, Vol. 6, p.5 (pirates infesting the island of Kays).
- (104) See p. 110, and chapter five, p.173.
- (105) Al-Mas^Cūdī, al-Tanbīh wa-'l-Ishrāf, p.49.
- (106) Al-Jāhīz, Rasā'il al-Jāhīz, ed. ^CAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Ḥarūn, Cairo, 1965, p.217. A. Appadorai, Economic conditions in southern India (1000-1500 A.D.), Vol. 2, p.612, mentions "Zambuquo, large sea-going craft, very much used in trade."
- (107) A. Appadorai, Economic conditions in southern India (1000-1500 A.D.), Vol. 2, pp.611-12.
- (108) A.L. Basham, The wonder that was India, p.227, see also R. Mookerji, Indian shipping, p.21, C.N. Parkinson, Trade in the eastern seas, Cambridge, 1937, p.324.
- (109) See, P. 104. C.N. Parkinson, Trade in the eastern seas, p.323, says: "Another type of vessel with which the ancient Indian vessels have had points in common is the Arab dhow."
- (110) Al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, pp.6,7.
- (111) C.N. Parkinson, Trade in the eastern seas, pp.322,324.
- (112) T. Raychaudhuri and I. Habib (eds.), The Cambridge economic history of India, Vol. 1, p.128.
- (113) R. Mookerji, Indian shipping, pp.22-6, 28, 29, 30.

- (114) Buzurk, ʿAjā'ib al-Hind, p.104, al-Bīrūnī, Fī Taḥkīk mā li-'l-Hind min Maḳūla, p.163, B. Bhattachary, Urban development in India, pp.139,146,147.
- (115) A. Toussaint, History of the Indian Ocean, London, 1966, p.9 says: "there are two monsoons, the north-east or winter monsoon, which blows from India towards eastern Africa from October to April, and the south-west or summer monsoon, which blows in the opposite direction from June to September. The first is normally dry, the second rainy." See also S. Labib, Egyptian commercial policy in the Middle Ages, in M.A. Cook (ed.), Studies in the economic history of the Middle East, p.70, H. Hasan, A history of Persian navigation, p.5. E. Ashtor, A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages, p.109, says: "The north west monsoon enables the ships to cross the Indian Ocean from Oman to Malabar in the months November-December with the southerly monsoon. The traders returned with the north-east monsoon to the Malacca and the Gulf, by the south-east monsoon." For earlier use of the monsoon, see E.H. Warmington, The commerce between the Roman Empire and India, pp.35-83, W.S. Lindsay, History of merchant shipping and ancient commerce, Vol. 1, p.102.
- (116) Al-Isfahānī, al-Aghānī, Vol. 12, pp.11-12, Ibn Kutayba, al-Anwā', pp.158,159,162, al-Mahrī, al-Manhaj al-Fākhīr, pp.82-6, Tuḥfat al-Fuḥūl, pp.38-43, 185-5, Ibn Mājid, al-Faw'id, pp.71-7, al-Muṭahhar b. Tāhir al-Maḳdisī, al-Bad', Vol. 1, p.29, S.S. Nadāvi, Arab navigation, IC, Vol. XV, 1941, pp.443-4.
- (117) Al-Sīrafī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, pp.74,175, al-Masʿūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.147, Ibn Rusta, al-Aʿlāq al-Nafisa, p.86, al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.86-7, al-Hamadḥānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.8.
- (118) Al-Marwazī, Ṭabā'iʿ al-Ḥayawān, p.14. J. Somogy, The part of Islam in Oriental trade, IC, Vol. XXX, 1956, p.181, refers to "a new type of sailing-ship, the dhow, with a daily speed of 20-40 miles."
- (119) For the route from Zafār to Kālīkūṭ, see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Riḥla, Vol. 1, p.202, Vol. 2, p.213. For voyages from Maṣḳaṭ to Kulam Malay, see al-Hamadḥānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.11. J. Somogy, A short history of Oriental trade, p.31, states that since the Greek times, the journey from the coast of the Red Sea to India and Ceylon, takes forty days.
- (120) Al-Marwazī, Ṭabā'iʿ al-Ḥayawān, p.11, maintains that the Chinese banned visiting traders from selling and buying pending the arrival of more merchant ships.

- (121) Our main sources do not mention the use of the compass. H. Hasan, A history of Persian navigation, p.111, says: "the use of the mariner's compass was unknown before the twelfth century." C.N. Parkinson, Trade in the eastern seas, p.391, suggests that the use of the compass was known in India as early as sixth or seventh century A.D.
- (122) Ibn Mājib, al-Fawā'id, p.67, Ibn Kutayba, al-Anwā', pp. 190-1. In addition, there was a lighthouse near ^CAbbādān to warn ships against the dangers of the tide, and a flame on the mountain of Ceylon which served a similar purpose, as we have already seen.
- (123) Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifat Jazīrat al-^CArab, Leiden, 1884, p.200, says that Yemēn achieved fame as producer of sails. G.R. Tibbetts, Arab navigation, pp.52-63, discusses the sails, but his information is too late.
- (124) Reference to the transport of horses is to be found in the parts of export of horses, and also with the Zanj' rebellion. For the transport of elephants by ships, see, al-Balādhurī, Fuṭūḥ al-Buldān, part 2, p.357, al-Tanūkhī, Nishwār al-Muḥādāra, Damascus, 1930, Vol. 8, p.124. For a tax of one million dirhams levied on a single ship, see Buzurk, ^CAjā'ib al-Hind, p.107.
- (125) For the importance of Ubulla (Apologus) as a pre-Muhammadan settlement, see C.A.W. Stiffe, Ancient trading centres of the Persian Gulf, G JRS, Vol. IX, 1897, p.312, W.H. Schoff, The periplus of the Erythrean Sea, p.149, S.A.T. Wilson, The Persian Gulf, p.63.
- (126) Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāk al-Nafīsa, p.93, al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Makdisī, al-Bad', Vol. 4, p.74.
- (127) Al-Baghdādī, Tārikh Baghdād, Vol. 1, p.155. For Ard al-Hind, see al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Makdisī, al-Bad', Vol. 5, p.175, Abū Yūsuf, al-Kharāj, p.34. For the importance of Ubulla to ships from Oman, Bahrein, India and China, see al-Dīnawarī, al-Akḥbār al-Tiwāl, Leiden, 1888-1912, p.123, al-Ya^Cḳūbī, al-Buldān, pp.320,364.
- (128) They are compared by G.F. Hourani, Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean, p.69, to the cities of Manchester and Liverpool. See also S.A.T. Wilson, The Persian Gulf, p.63.
- (129) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.154.

- (130) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 12, p.1837, Ibn al-Aṭhīr, al-Kāmil, Vol. 5, p.359. Al-Ya^Cḳūbī, al-Buldān, p.250, however maintains that it continued to play an important role well into the reign of al-Mu^Cṭasim. Also, for evidence that it continued to play an important role until A.H.256/A.D.869, see S.S. Nadavi, Arab navigation, IC, 1941, Vol. XV, p.447.
- (131) Ibn Battūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 1, p.143. Al-Iṣṭakhṛī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.57, notes, however, that it was a small town.
- (132) Al-Ya^Cḳūbī, al-Buldān, p.223. It was ten miles from Ubulḷa according to Ibn Battūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 1, p.142.
- (133) See A.J. Najī and Y.N. Ali, Miscellanea, JESHO, 1981, Vol. XXIV, p.298, J. Somogy, The part of Islam in Oriental trade, p.182, S.A.T. Wilson, The Persian Gulf, p.66. Quoting al-Hamadḥānī, M.R.A. Nadvi, Industry and commerce under the Abbasids, PHS, 1953, p.255, says: "After Baghdad, Basra was the second greatest commercial centre in the caliphate. It handled the entire seaborne trade of the east and served as the main exchange depot for the trade of the east and west. The merchants of Basra were often engaged in international trade and were the principal trade brokers of the world."
- (134) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 12, p.1849 reports that they entered it in A.H.257/A.D.870 and killed a large number of its population.
- (135) J. Somogy, The part of Islam in Oriental trade, p.182.
- (136) Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 2, p.128, notes that in A.H.339/A.D.950, when the Barīdī influence in Basra was at its end, harbour-dues reached the equivalent of 2,000,000 dirhams. Ibn Ḥawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 1, p.247 mentions that he had attended the ceremonies of leasing the port of Basra to Abī-'l-Faḍl al-Shīrāzī, which took place in A.H.358/A.D.968, and that dues amounted to 6,000,000 dirhams. These figures are confirmed by Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.59, and Kudāmā, al-Kharāj wa-ṣan^Cat al-Kitāba, p.239. Anon., Hudūd al-Ālam, p.139 says: "Basra is the only country of the tithes (ushri)." S.M. Ahmad, al-Īlākāt al-'Arabiyya al-Hindiyya, p.122 calls Basra the Liverpool of the Arabs. Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Kulūb, p.46, says "The revenues of Basra and its dependencies in the time prior to the late disturbances, amounted to 441,000 currency dinārs." S.S. Nadavi, Commercial relations of India with Arabia, tr. Sayeed Ul Ḥāq, IC, 1933, Vol.VII, pp.285-6, mentions the duties levied on the entry of boats and ships in A.H.306/A.D.918, during the days of al-Muḳtadir, and that the total income from this port was 22,575 dinārs.
- (137) Al-Mas^Cūdī, al-Tanbih wa-'l-Ishraf, p.307.

- (138) Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 2, p.112 maintains that in A.H. 336/A.D. 947, prices in Baghdad fell when al-Muti^c and the Amīr Mu^cizz al-Dawla managed to recapture Basra from Abī al-Ḳāsim al-Barīdī.
- (139) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.61. For its importance in Pre-Islamic times, see W.H. Schoff, The periplus of the Erythrean Sea, p.115.
- (140) Al-Ya^ckūbī, al-Buldān, p.319, Ibn Khaldūn, al-'Ibar, Vol. 4, part 2, p. 473, al-Kalkashandī, Subh al-A^csha fī Sinā^cat al-Inshā, Vol. 5, p. 10, Abū 'l-Fidā', Taḳwīm al-Buldān, p. 93, al-Anṣārī al-Dimashḳī, Nukhbat al-Dahr fī 'Ajā'ib al-Barr wa-'l-Baḥr, Leiden, 1865, p.216, al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ, p.29.
- (141) Ibn Battūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 1, p.195.
- (142) Ibid, p.195.
- (143) Al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.92. Chau ju-Kua, Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, tr. F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, St. Petersburg, 1911, p.133, in his discussion of Oman says: "The soil produces dates in large quantities. Along the coast pearls are found, and in the mountains horse raising is carried on on a large scale. The other countries which trade with her purchase horses, pearls and dates which they get in exchange for cloves, cardamon seeds and camphor."
- (144) Abū 'l-Fidā', Taḳwīm al-Buldān, p.99, al-Hamadḥānī, Muḳhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.11, al-Ḳalkashandī, Subh al-A^cshā fī Sinā^cat al-Inshā, Vol.3, p.243, Vol. 5, p.55.
- (145) See chapter four, p.172.
- (146) Al-Mas^cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.149, al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, pp.15-16. C.A.W. Stiffe, Ancient trading centres of the Persian Gulf, GJRGS, Vol. X, 1897, p.608, says about Maskat: "This place is still an important place of call, and trade with India, the Red Sea, and Zanzubar, chiefly only transshipment."
- (147) According to Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir, Vol. 2, p.268, Raysūt was a great town connected with Baghdad by a road paved with gypsum and busy with caravan traffic bound for India.

- (148) Al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 23.
- (149) Al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, pp. 28, 48.
- (150) Al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 23.
- (151) Al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p. 50, Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tārīkh al-Mustabsir, Vol. 1, p. 50.
- (152) Al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, pp. 12, 215, Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tārīkh al-Mustabsir, Vol. 1, p. 50.
- (153) Al-Maḳrīzī, al-Khitat, Vol. 1, pp. 356-8, al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, pp. 46-8.
- (154) Al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 30. Al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 4, p. 160 confirms this account. However, he reports that in his time the town of Ḳulzum lay in ruins and was replaced by the town of Suez.
- (155) S. M. Ahmad, al-^CIlākāt al-^CArabiyya al-Hindiyya, p. 121. See also: chapter one, p. 73.
- (156) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 10, p. 275.
- (157) For more details about Baghdad and its bazaars, see al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, pp. 233-54.
- (158) In Baghdad originated the following roads: Baghdad to Mosul, Baghdad to Khurāsān, Baghdad to Basra, Baghdad to Kufa, Baghdad to Anbār and on to Syria. Also, for Baghdad's importance, anon., Hudūd al-^CĀlam, p. 138, says that it was "the most prosperous town in the world." M. R. A. Nadvi, Industry and commerce under the Abbasids, PHS., 1953, Vol. 1, p. 255, says: "During the reigns of al-Raṣhīd and al-Ma'mūn the commercial activities of Baghdad reached their zenith. Merchants and merchandise of every country in the world could be seen there. All commercial routes of the world converged on Baghdad." Chau-ju-Kua, Chinese and Arab trade, p. 135, says that it was "the great metropolis of all the countries of the Ta-shi," (the Arabs).
- (159) Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya, Vol. 10, p. 239, al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. II, pp. 783, 817, Ibn A^Ctham al-Kūfī, al-Futūh, Vol. 8, p. 296.
- (160) The Zanj rebel leader staged his rebellion in A. H. 255/A. D. 868, and was killed in A. H. 270/A. D. 883. See al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 13, pp. 2095-6. The Carmathian rebel leader Abū Sa^Cid al-Janābī, staged his rebellion in Bahrein in A. H. 286/A. D. 899,

and was killed in A.H. 301/A.D. 913. The Carmathians influenced events in Basra, on the coasts of the Arabian Peninsula, and on certain land routes. See al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 13, pp. 2188, 2192-3, 2205-6, 2222, 2270.

- (161) Al-Ya^Cḳūbī, al-Buldān, p. 263.
- (162) Al-Makrīzī, al-Khitāṭ, Vol. 1, p. 415, al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 4, p. 201.
- (163) Al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ, pp. 20-1.
- (164) Al-Makrīzī, al-Khitāṭ, Vol. 1, pp. 356-8, Abū 'l-Fidā', Taḳwīm al-Buldān, p. 111.
- (165) Al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 3, pp. 282-4.
- (166) Al-Mas^Cūdī, al-Tanbīh wa-'l-Ishrāf, p. 19, al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p. 194.
- (167) Al-Hamadhānī, Muḳhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p. 270-1, where he calls them Raḥdānis. See also, Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 153. There is no information whether they used the same ships in the Red Sea, or not.
- (168) Al-Mas^Cūdī, al-Tanbīh wa-'l-Ishrāf, pp. 19-20, and Murūj, Vol. 1, p. 100, al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāḳ, pp. 20-1, al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p. 213.
- (169) S. Labib, Egyptian commercial policy in the Middle Ages, in M.A. Cook (ed.) Studies in the economic history of the Middle East, pp. 65-6. S.M. Ahmad, Commercial relations of India with the Arab world (1000 B.C. up to modern times), IC, 1964, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 150, says: "by the tenth century A.D. Baghdad lost its former glory and importance as the cultural and economic centre of Islam. Fustat or old Cairo had come into prominence." See also G.R. Tibbetts, Early Muslim traders in south east Asia, JMRAS, Vol. XXX, 1957, p. 12.
- (170) Al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 4, p. 426, al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 28, al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. II, p. 995.
- (171) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 23, al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Subḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 4, p. 276.
- (172) For Mecca and Indian goods, see chapter four, pp. 203, 205.

- (173) Ghalāfika is a port of Zabīd, situated on the Yemeni coast. See al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 3, p. 808.
- (174) Al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Subh al-A^Cshā, Vol. 5, pp. 9-10, quoting al-Bīrūnī. For the importance of Zabīd, see al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 2, pp. 915-16.
- (175) The important ports of India for trade with the Hellenistic world were: Baryzaga (Broach) and Muziris on the Malabar coast, see E.H.G. Osers, Merchants make history, pp. 81-2.
- (176) For reference to the shipping route from Oman to Tīz, see al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p. 63. For Daybul and Tīz, see Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 62 and the footnote on the same page. For the importance of the port of Tīz, see al-Anṣārī al-Dimashqī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p. 151, al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Makḍisī, al-Bad', Vol. 4, part 2, p. 91.
- (177) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 62.
- (178) Abū 'l-Fidā', Takwīm al-Buldān, p. 349, Ibn Hawkal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 2, pp. 50, 323, al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, pp. 365-6. Anon., Ḥudūd al-Ālam, p. 123, says: "It is the abode of the merchants."
- (179) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp. 62-4. For the port of Kūlam Malay and Kanbāya, see Abū 'l-Fidā', Takwīm al-Buldān, pp. 357, 361, Ibn Battūta, Rihla, Vol. 2, p. 19. For shipping from Oman to Sindābūr, see Buzurk, Ājā'ib al-Hind, pp. 144, 158, and p. 334 for the ports of Sindān and Saymūr. For the ports of Malay and Sindān, see al-Hamadḥānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p. 16. For Kūlam, see al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Subh al-A^Cshā, Vol. 5, p. 75. For Sarandīb, see Buzurk, Ājā'ib al-Hind, p. 119, al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir fī Ma^Crifat al-Jawāhir, Hyderabad, 1938, p. 43.
- (180) For Wāk Wāk island (Japan), see al-Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb, p. 222, S.S. Nadvi, Arab navigation, IC, 1942, Vol. XVI, pp. 186-92. G.F. Hourani, Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean, pp. 80-1, mentions two Wāk Wāks (Sumatra and Madagascar). For Sufāla (in the southern part of Mozambique), see S.M. Ahmad, India and the neighbouring territories, p. 104. For sailors and traders going to these islands, see al-Hamadḥānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p. 11, Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp. 66, 68, al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p. 184, Buzurk, Ājā'ib al-Hind, pp. 8-11, 150, Abū 'l-Fidā', Takwīm al-Buldān, p. 369, al-Ḳazwīnī, Athār al-Bilād, pp. 29, 44.

- (181) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.210 reports that in A.H. 304/A.D. 916, he saw in Ṣaymūr around ten thousand Omanis, Basris, Baghdadis and Ṣīrāfis, some of whom were prominent merchants, such as Musā b. Ishāk. Ibn Battūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 2, p. 9 reports seeing a number of Muslim merchants in the port of Kūlam. He adds that the most prominent of these merchants were Iraqis such as ^CAlā' al-Dīn al-Awjī.
- (182) For the importance of Kanbāya and its trade links with Maṣūra, see al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.482, al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.116.
- (183) For the importance of Maṣūra, see Ibn Hawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, pp. 320-1, al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, pp.479,482, al-Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Kulūb, p.252.
- (184) For the importance of the Multān, see Ibn Hawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, pp.321-2, al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, pp.480,482, al-Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Kulūb, p.252.
- (185) For the importance of Māsakan and Rūr, see al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 4, p.614 and Vol. 2, p.833.
- (186) Al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.478, says that Ḳuṣḍār is the capital of Turān.
- (187) Ibn Hawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, p.450, al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p.82, al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p.72, al-Anṣārī al-Dimashkī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p.181, al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.157, al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p.281, Abū 'l-Fidā', Taḳwīm al-Buldān, p.469.
- (188) For Ghazna, see Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar (al-Mukaddima), p.109. For Lamghān, see al-^CIbar, Vol. 4, part 4, p.774, al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.141, Anon., Hudūd al-^CĀlam, p.39. For Ḳandahār, see Marwazī, Tabā'^C al-Ḥayawān, p.38. For Bust, see Ibn Hawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, p.419. For Ḳarwān (perhaps Pārvaṅ), see al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p.159.

CHAPTER THREE: COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE,
TAXATION AND PRICES

This chapter deals with various methods of commercial exchange between the Arab world and India, taxes imposed on merchandise in ports and customs posts in both countries, the importance of currencies in the process of trade, and prices.

1. Methods of commercial exchange. Having examined available texts on commercial exchange between the Arabs and Indians in the period of the research, we can point to three methods of exchange⁽¹⁾ as follows:

A. Barter. The history of barter long precedes the period of the research. However, sources clearly indicate that this method continued to be used by merchants during the period of the research, especially in their dealings with the islands of the Indian Ocean. Their ships sailed for those islands to make purchases of such commodities as cloves, ambergris and others.⁽²⁾ However, the sources do not suggest that bartering was common in mainland India and in the Arab world as well. From this we argue that even in the period of the research this method was considered old in comparison with other methods of exchange.

B. The method of "double trading." Although sources do not indicate how common this method was⁽³⁾ it is possible to come to the conclusion that both Arab and Indian merchants used it in their trading.

The method of double trading means that the merchant would sell

his merchandise in the other country, and use his earnings in the currency of that country to purchase merchandise with which he would re-load his ship to return home. Traders from abroad who of necessity had to spend considerable periods of time in waiting (maritime traders, for instance, had to wait for long periods dictated by seasonal winds) may have taken part in internal trade alongside local traders and made profits as a result. This method of trading must have promoted internal trade in the host country.

C. Dealing with money. As might be expected, exchange using money was the most important method of commercial exchange at the disposal of Arab and Indian merchants. This can be explained as follows:

1. The currency of India. In India more than one type of currency was in circulation. This is attributable to India's massive geographical area and to the fact that a number of Indian kingdoms were in existence. The currency in circulation in some parts of India was rather primitive and antiquated, while in others, it could be considered advanced as it was made of the metals gold and silver. ⁽⁴⁾

In his account of his visit to India and of the coinage of the Dībajāt islands (Laccadive islands), al-Masūdī maintains that 'seashells were used as a medium of exchange' and that 'whenever the queen was in a financial difficulty she would command her subjects to fell coconut palm leaves, and drop them in seawater, whereupon seashells would accumulate on them, the leaves would be collected, and exposed to the

heat of the sun, which would waste away the body and leave the empty shell. (5)

The use of shells as a medium of exchange is confirmed by Ibn Battūta. In the course of describing the coinage used in Dhībat al-Mahl (perhaps the Maldives and the Laccadive islands), Ibn Battūta states that the inhabitants of these islands exchange shells, which are animals they pick up from the sea, keep in holes to waste away the flesh and leave the white shell, and which they exchange with the inhabitants of Benghāla for rice, which is the means of exchange of the people of Benghāla, while the Yemēnis exchange it for sand in their boats. (6)

The use of shells as a medium of exchange was not confined to the above-mentioned islands. In the course of describing the kingdom of Dahmy, al-Mas'ūdī maintains that the inhabitants of that kingdom used shells as a medium of exchange, and that shells were in fact the official currency of the kingdom. (7)

In view of this use of shells the question arises how Arab merchants dealt with the inhabitants of those islands. We know that this type of currency could not be exchanged in the Arab world but could, perhaps, in other parts of India. (8) Ibn Battūta's reference that the people of Yemen accepted shells instead of sand might not apply to peoples in other parts of the Arab world. It is not unlikely, therefore, that merchants who traded with those islands used the method of double trading earlier referred to. They might have used the local currency

'shells' while in those islands, or may have used barter as well.

In other parts of India the currency in circulation was coins struck of gold and silver. For instance, the inhabitants of Malabār used coins of gold and silver for the purpose of trade, twelve silver coins being worth one gold. ⁽⁹⁾ The inhabitants of the kingdom of al-Jurz (Gurjara) with which the Arabs traded, used ingots of gold as well as dirhams of a type called Ṭaṭariyya bearing the figure of the King. Each dirham weighed one Miskal. ⁽¹⁰⁾ The coins used in the kingdom of Ballahrā (Rāṣtrakūtas - Vallabharājas) were also dirhams (Ṭāhiriyya or Zāhiriyya), each of these dirhams weighing the same as an Arab dirham and a half. They were first minted at the beginning of the reign of their king. ⁽¹¹⁾

In the course of his description of the inhabitants of the island of Bartāyil, in the Kingdom of the Zābaj (Java), which formed part of the kingdom of al-Mahrāj (the King of Java), Ibn Khurdādhba mentions that al-Mahrāj collected 200 Mannas (*1 Manna = 765g*) of gold every day in taxes, and that he collected 50 Mannas of gold daily in taxes levied upon cock fights. ⁽¹²⁾ This indicates that gold served as a medium of exchange in the kingdom of Java.

In Sind the local coins were called Ḳāhiriyyāt, and Ṭaṭrā dirhams. The dirhams of Multān had designs derived from Fāṭimid prototypes. ⁽¹³⁾ Al-Iṣṭakhrī agrees with al-Maḳdisī's account - the above-mentioned text - although they disagree about the weight of dirhams. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Ibn Ḥawḳal, however, calls those dirhams al-Ḳandahāriyyāt ⁽¹⁵⁾

rather than al-Ḳāhīriyyāt. It may be that these coins were named after Cairo, perhaps suggesting the influence of the Fāṭimids in Egypt after Cairo was founded in the 4th/10th century. Alternatively, the coins could well have been called Ḳandahāriyyāt after the well-known city of Ḳandahār.

Other sources gave details of the currency of India.

Al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, for instance, gave details of the names and weights of the coinage of India.⁽¹⁶⁾ However, his information seems to be related to the period which follows the period of the research.

Furthermore, his information deals with India as a whole rather than with the currencies of individual Indian kingdoms, each of which had its own currency. Al-Idrīsī, too, mentions the coinage of Manṣūra city⁽¹⁷⁾ without explaining whether that currency was accepted as legal tender throughout Sind or whether its use was restricted to the Manṣūra region only. In fact, the information provided by the sources on coinage and methods of commercial exchange do not cover the whole of India. For example no reference is made to the coinage and trading in the kingdom of Ḳinnawj (Kanauj-Uttar Pradesh) or in other small kingdoms. This could be attributed to the fact that very little direct trading took place with those kingdoms.

2. The currencies of the Arab world. Arab currencies at that time differed greatly from Indian currencies with regard to the amount of information available on them and their degree of sophistication. The difference is attributable to the fact that most sources which deal

with the subject are written in Arabic and also to the fact that, unlike India, the Arabs did not have primitive methods of exchange in that period.

Al-Maḳrīzī, among other historians, carried out detailed studies of the coinage in circulation in various regions of the Arab world in the period of the research.⁽¹⁸⁾ His study deals with such aspects of coins as their types, names, weights, and appearance, their intrinsic values, the metals used, their value in relation to other coins and whether they were exchanged on the basis of the number of coins or on the basis of the weight of them.⁽¹⁹⁾

The dīnār and the dirham were the basic units of currency in the Arab world. Some Arab regions had their own alternative forms of currency. However, the issuing of these regional currencies was authorised by the Ḳabbāsīd and Fāṭīmid caliphal authorities. These currencies were used alongside centrally issued currencies which served as a criterion for the purpose of determining their values and exchange rates. As a result, regional currencies were accepted as legal tender in Bagħdad, the Ḳabbāsīd capital, and in Cairo, the Fāṭīmid capital. It is reasonable to assume that Indian merchants who traded in the Arab world used these currencies whose values would have been known to them.

D. Other methods of exchange.

There are several indications to suggest that the coinage of each country was accepted as legal tender in the other country. Some sources

indicate that when Arab merchants headed for the Sufāla island of India to make purchases there they would carry their own Arab coins with them. When they reached their destinations, they would leave their coins in a certain place, and when they returned to that place the following day they would find cloves in amounts equal to the value of their money.⁽²⁰⁾ This is a clear indication that Arab coins were accepted by those islanders. Sources also indicate that the coins of certain Indian regions were accepted in other parts of India, and that the inhabitants of these regions may have used the dīnār or the dirham as a medium of exchange.⁽²¹⁾ Reference is also made to taxes levied in the Arab world on gold and silver brought by merchants from outside the Arab world,⁽²²⁾ and to the availability of gold and silver in large quantities in certain regions of India.⁽²³⁾

In addition to the above-mentioned methods of exchange, the period of the research witnessed the extensive use of various banking facilities which must have served trade between the two countries.

Matters related to banking included the exchange of gold and silver coins according to the intrinsic values of their metals. This duty was performed by money-changers whose offices grew up in many Arab and Indian cities.⁽²⁴⁾ Not only did these money-changers make profits but they also facilitated trade.

The use in commercial transactions of cheques, bills of exchange (Suftaja), money orders (Hawāla), delayed payments (Nasī'a), also contributed to facilitating trade.⁽²⁵⁾ There were also several banks

(Buyūt al-Māl). These financial institutions, whether owned by the state or by individual merchants⁽²⁶⁾ represented an important development in finance and signified the expansion of banking facilities in response to increased demand on them.

2. Taxation. A tax system was in operation not just in the Arab world and India but on a world-wide scale. For example, Arab merchants had to pay taxes on entering Byzantine⁽²⁷⁾ and Chinese⁽²⁸⁾ territories and waters. Imposing taxes on trade was considered a right, and that right was exercised by states as part of their sovereignty, as is the case at present.

A. Taxation in the Arab world. The legislative foundations of the Arab tax system were laid down in the reign of the second orthodox caliph, ^CUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Abū Mūsā al-Ash^Carī, the governor of Kufa, and later of Basra, is reported by some sources to have written to ^CUmar informing him that Muslim merchants were having to pay a levy of one-tenth when trading in non-Muslim territories. In reply, ^CUmar instructed al-Ash^Carī to impose a levy of one-tenth on foreign merchants when they traded in Muslim territories. He further instructed him to impose half that amount in taxes on Dhimmī merchants, and five dirhams on the first two hundred on Muslim merchants. If they had in excess of two hundred then he should levy one dirham on each additional forty dirhams.⁽²⁹⁾

The caliph's instructions formed the basis of a taxation system that was to continue long after the originator had gone. During the

^cAbbāsīd period, some aspects of that system were elaborated on. Directed by al-Raṣhīd, Abū Yūsuf the judge laid down detailed rules regulating taxation and other commercial matters. These rules, which were inspired by and based upon the Islamic canon law, are contained in Abū Yūsuf's book "Kitāb al-Kharāj." In his book, which became the standard reference on the subject, Abū Yūsuf rules that if a merchant from a hostile country who has paid one-tenth in taxes returns to that hostile country, and leaves it after one month since the date of his paying the levy, he shall be liable to pay another levy. A Muslim merchant, however, shall swear before the tax authorities that what he has is personal property, whereupon he is exempted from taxes since he is presumed to have paid 'Zakāt' on it. Merchandise, not personal property, shall be liable for taxation. (30)

In his book "al-Kharāj", Yaḥyā b. Ādam al-Kurashī concurs with Abū Yūsuf with regard to the amounts of taxes levied from Muslims and other merchants. (31)

However, Abū Yūsuf's and Yaḥyā b. Ādam's accounts of the subject differ from that of al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, who maintains that merchants arriving in Egypt by sea had to pay a levy which amounted to one-tenth of the merchandise they imported from abroad. Increasing the amount of the levy of reducing it to half that amount was entirely at the discretion of the Imām, and the levy was imposed once a year irrespective of the number of journeys a merchant made during that year. Any additional levy had to be agreed to by the merchant. A levy of one-fifth was imposed on Byzantine and Frankish merchants trading in Egypt, at

Alexandria and Dimyāt."

With regard to Zakāt on Muslims and its relation to commercial taxes al-Ḳalkaṣhandī reports that merchants and others had to pay a levy on what they had in gold and silver, which amounted to 5 dirhams on every 200 dirhams. That tax was levied once every ten months regardless of the number of journeys a merchant made in and out of the country. (32)

Unlike Abū Yūsuf and Yaḥyā b. Ādam al-Ḳuraṣhī, al-Ḳalkaṣhandī refers to the right of the Imām to authorise an increase or a reduction in the amount of the levy. Whereas Abū Yūsuf and Yaḥyā b. Ādam al-Ḳuraṣhī maintain that taxes levied from Frankish and Byzantine merchants amounted to one-tenth of their merchandise, al-Ḳalkaṣhandī holds that it amounted to a fifth. Moreover, al-Ḳalkaṣhandī indicates that merchants, presumably Muslim merchants, were required to pay in addition to Zakāt a levy the amount of which was determined in accordance with the regulations of the Islamic canon law. That levy was payable once a year regardless of the number of journeys they made. This account is confirmed by Ibn Jubayr. (33)

Discrepancies in al-Ḳalkaṣhandī's account may have been caused by his focussing on the period in which he lived, and on Egypt, since the majority of references which deal with the question of taxes imposed on merchandise imported by land and sea from India and China are unanimous in stating that they amounted to one tenth, and in terming those whose duty was to collect those taxes ^cAṣhshārūn - leviers of the tenth. (34)

Although the same tax regulations applied to all merchandise imported to the Arab world, whether by land or sea, the volume of tax revenues from maritime trade was greater than that from overland trade. (35) Moreover, it appears that some ports were run by officials appointed directly by the state. Sometimes the state would lease ports for certain periods. (36) Revenues from these ports were bound to dwindle in times of political upheaval, as happened during rebellions against the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate which took place in southern Iraq. (37)

Revenues from taxes levied on Indian merchandise entering the Arab world by sea were greater and more clearly defined than taxes imposed on merchandise entering by land via Iraq. Customs points inside the Arab world were to be found on provincial borders, and at ports. (38) In this respect, sources refer to these taxes without mentioning whether they were levied on Indian merchandise imported by Indian merchants or whether they were levied on Indian merchandise purchased by Muslim merchants at main ports. This means that Arab internal trade and international trade were interwoven.

An examination of taxes imposed on merchandise imported into the Arab world, the tenth, and other taxes levied on merchandise inside the Arab world before it reached the consumer, reveals that in more than one Arab region, their amounts were higher than the average. This applies to taxes from internal trade. (39)

Nevertheless, it appears that trading with India and other

countries was given considerable attention by caliphs and other officials in terms of protecting routes ⁽⁴⁰⁾ and reducing taxes in certain periods. For instance, al-Rashīd exempted the inhabitants of Iraq from paying the tithe. ⁽⁴¹⁾

Sources indicate that the caliph al-Wāthiq (A.H. 227-232 / A.D. 842-847) exempted merchandise imported via the Indian Ocean from the one-tenth tax. ⁽⁴²⁾ Moreover, when Abū 'l-Ḥasan ^cAlī b. ^cIsā became a vizier in A.H. 301 / A.D. 913, he decided to drop the tax called al-takmila in Persia, the tax called al-maks in Mecca, the takmila in the market of Ahwāz, and the tax on alcohol in Diyār Rabi^ca. ⁽⁴³⁾ Saladin, at a later stage, ordered the amounts of certain taxes to be reduced in Egypt. ⁽⁴⁴⁾ However, the sources do not tell us whether these measures were designed to encourage trade and ease the tax burden on it, or whether rulers were forced by special circumstances to take such measures.

B. Taxation in India. When studying taxation in India, the following must be taken into consideration:

1. Trading between some regions of India, especially some islands in the Indian Ocean, and Arab maritime merchants, was primitive in character. For instance, some of the inhabitants of these regions used seashells as a medium of exchange while others employed barter. ⁽⁴⁵⁾ The sources make no mention of the existence of any taxation. We do not expect that any tax system was in operation in these regions since the inhabitants of these regions, whose currency

was seashells, would not have accepted Arab gold and silver coins. Furthermore, sources make no mention of the existence of important ports under the supervision of the governments of these regions, or of the exchange of shells for coins and vice versa, which would have enabled Arab merchants to pay taxes.

2. According to the method of research, we have considered Sind as part of India. Since Sind was then under Arab Islamic rule one would assume that the system of taxation there was *similar to the* one in operation in the Arab world, in that it was based on the Islamic canon law which required Muslim merchants to pay Zakāt, and which defined Dhimmī merchants as well as a third category of merchants (Indians, for instance) who were liable to pay a tax which amounted to one-tenth of the value of their merchandise.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Sources indicate that this was the case in the border regions of Sind. Al-Makdisī mentions that a levy of six dirhams was taken on a commercial load on entering Tūrān - the region around Khuzdar in the eastern parts of the Kalat state (Baluchistan) - and on leaving it; twelve dirhams were levied on slaves on entry alone, while twenty dirhams were levied if a load came from India, otherwise, levies were taken in proportion to the values of the merchandise. A one dirham levy was imposed on a single hide. The annual levies amounted to 1,000,000 dirhams gathered from one-tenth taxes as interpreted by various tax authorities."⁽⁴⁷⁾

Although al-Makdisī's text makes direct reference to the one-tenth levy practice, it also indicates that levies were taken on the

basis of the load. However, he does not mention the size or the contents of the load and whether or not the six dirhams amounted to one-tenth of its value.

With regard to taxation according to the distance a load travels, al-Maḳḍisī adds that a 150 dirhams levy became payable on a load if it travelled from Multān to Ghaznīn - 80 Parasangs. ⁽⁴⁸⁾

These are indications that sometimes taxes were levied on a one load basis, or on a single-slave basis in addition to the one-tenth tax referred to by al-Maḳḍisī, as we have seen, and by al-Idrīsī, who maintains that it was imposed on merchandise using the Maṣūra to Sijistān highway, although he notes that during his lifetime that tax was suspended. ⁽⁴⁹⁾

3. Al-Bīrūnī refers to the taxes Indian citizens were liable to pay to their Indian rulers, such as land taxes (Kharāj), and other taxes which merchants were liable to pay. He states that a governor is entitled to collect a levy on land and pastures, and another levy of one sixth in return for defending his subjects and protecting their properties and their women. The levy applies to the common people, although they cheat and lie in this respect. The merchants must pay the same tax, but Brahmins do not pay any tax. ⁽⁵⁰⁾ What concerns us most here is al-Bīrūnī's reference to the one-sixth tax imposed on trade. Although al-Bīrūnī does not state whether the one-sixth tax was imposed on Indian merchants only or whether other merchants - Arabs etc. - were liable to pay it, we believe that it was imposed on all merchants regardless

of their nationalities or religions. The only exception was that of the Brahmins, according to al-Bīrūnī. This is because the tax roughly approximates to one which was imposed on merchandise in India when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was there. In the course of describing the valley of Khusrū Ābād, situated between the town of Awja and the Multān (West Punjab), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa maintains that this valley was impassable except by boat. The belongings of those who attempted to pass it were searched thoroughly. They would impose a levy of one quarter on all merchandise, and seven dīnārs on every horse. Two years after Ibn Baṭṭūṭa arrived, the authorities abolished the levy, leaving only Zakāt and the one-tenth tax. (51)

The Indians began to impose the one-tenth tax only after the spread of Islam in India, and after the Muslims had become rulers of India. But if we compare the two taxes (the one-sixth and the quarter) which were imposed before the advent of the one-tenth tax, with taxes imposed in the Arab Islamic world, we see that taxes in India were clearly higher. But how valid would a generalization based on this be, especially in view of the fact that there were several governments in India whose relations with one another were by no means cordial?

One question which must be asked is whether a generalization on Indian ports would be possible? Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadḥānī maintains that ships set sail from Kūlam Malay (Quilon (Kerala)) in India, which had an Indian garrison and fresh water, and where the Indians imposed a 1,000 dirham levy on Chinese ships and 10 - 20 dinars on other ships. (52)

Higher taxes on Chinese ships may have resulted from their large sizes

and from the larger loads they carried. However, the sources do not say whether the taxes levied in the port of Kūlam Malay were imposed on the basis of one-sixth or quarter of the value of the cargo or according to the size of the ship, the quality of its cargo, or the facilities accorded to it.

Referring to the king of Bartāyil island, which was part of the Kingdom of al-Mahrāj, Ibn Khurdādhba states that al-Mahrāj levied 200 Manns in gold every day.⁽⁵³⁾ However, he does not mention whether that levy came exclusively from merchants or whether other sources contributed to it. The same tax arrangements in effect in the island of Bartāyil were to be found in the island of Sarandīb (Ceylon), where ships would be subjected to extensive search⁽⁵⁴⁾ for the purposes of taxation, although we do not know the amount of taxes or the basis on which they were levied.

An examination of the routes ships followed in India would reveal that they docked in several ports with the aim of trading on the one hand, and to obtain supplies of fresh water on the other.⁽⁵⁵⁾ However, we do not know what taxes, if any, were imposed on these ships. Moreover, when sources point to the existence of direct commercial links between the Arab world and some Indian Kingdoms, such as the kingdom of al-Jurz (Gūr Jara), they fail to mention the question of taxes imposed on Arab merchants, but they give more detail about coins, good treatment of the Arab merchants, and their protection.⁽⁵⁶⁾

We can conclude that taxes in India were not fixed, and their

imposition did not follow a certain rule as was the case in the Arab world. The tax rates in some Indian regions are very difficult to ascertain. However, they were higher in some regions of India - with the exception of Sind⁽⁵⁷⁾ - than they were in the Arab world.

3. Prices. Several factors have contributed to making a comprehensive picture of prices difficult to achieve. These factors include the broad nature of the subject, the fact that it covers a wide geographical area (the Arab world and India), its focussing on the economics of the two countries, and the scarcity of texts related to the prices of exported and imported goods.

In order to ascertain the prices of goods it is essential to know their prices in the country of origin before being exported, and to follow up the price until they reach the consumer. This method would enable us to ascertain the amounts of profit made in the process. Al-Jāhīz indicates that merchants made large profits from exporting and importing merchandise. "Do you not see," he exclaims, "that the wealthiest people are often clerks, jewellers, carpet weavers, bankers, wheat dealers, seafarers, Basrans, and slave importers?"⁽⁵⁸⁾ However, al-Jāhīz does not explain how these people had come to accumulate wealth, which we can only assume to have resulted from the difference between the prices at which these commodities were purchased in their countries or origin and the prices at which they were sold to the consumer.

As we are left with only a few scattered texts on Arab and Indian goods, we have been unable to provide as full an account of the prices

of these goods as we would have liked, and as a result, we are left with no alternative but to deal with the prices of Indian and Arab goods separately. This is not the best method of tackling the matter, because it does not allow for the fact that Arab and Indian goods were often found in the other country, it does not state the full amounts of profit, and the prices of some goods mentioned are irrelevant to the research through lack of any indication that these goods were imported or exported. However, this method can give a general impression of prices and economic life in both countries.

We have attempted to ascertain prices in a chronological order and to focus on the period in which the authors of the sources, on which this research is based, lived. It is also the period of the research. Other primary sources written after the period of the research have also been consulted, since historians often deal with periods prior to the periods in which they live.

The following is an attempt to give a general impression of the prices of Arab and Indian goods:

A. Prices in the Arab world. Sources indicate that the prices of goods in some parts of the Arab world were often influenced by political circumstances, on the one hand,⁽⁵⁹⁾ and by natural conditions on the other.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Furthermore, inefficient administration of irrigation projects, mismanagement of arable land, and unreasonable policies of land ownership contributed to pushing up prices.⁽⁶¹⁾ In the Arab world, there was an official - al-Muhtasib - whose job was to fix prices and

supervise scales and weights⁽⁶²⁾ as indicated by different political and economic circumstances. In the following, we shall attempt to deal with the prices of certain goods in the light of indications provided by our sources:

Swords: Swords of the Yemeni type were famous throughout the Arab world. Although the Arabs imported swords from Andalusia,⁽⁶³⁾ the reputation of Indian swords was unrivalled - as we have already mentioned.⁽⁶⁴⁾ We have only one example of the price of an Indian sword in the Arab world. One of al-Mutawakkil's suite is reported by al-Mas'ūdī to have said that on hearing that an Indian sword had been brought to Basra, where it was bought by a man from Yemen, the Caliph al-Mutawakkil despatched someone to Yemen who bought it for the Caliph at a staggering 10,000 dirhams,⁽⁶⁵⁾ a clear indication that the sword was of a rare type. However, sources fail to mention the prices of swords from Yemen or from Andalusia. Even al-Bīrūnī, who lived after that period and who referred to continued imports of Indian swords to the Arab world by sea, ignored the question of prices altogether.⁽⁶⁶⁾

Slaves. According to our sources, the main suppliers of slaves to the Arab world were sub-Saharan Africa, Turkish Central Asia, Andalusia, and India.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Slaves were classified according to the colour of their skins, as black or white. Indian slaves were often classed with black slaves.⁽⁶⁸⁾

Indian slaves, male and female, enjoyed a unique position in some parts of the Arab world.⁽⁶⁹⁾ As a result, the prices of Indian

slaves, or at least some of them, must have been high, although not enough reference to the prices of Indian slaves is available. Some sources, however, give some details about the prices of slaves in general as follows:

<u>Type of merchandise</u>	<u>In the time of/Date</u>	<u>Price</u>		
		<u>Dīnār</u>	<u>Dirham</u>	
A male slave	Al-Isfahānī	-	200	(70)
A pretty female slave	Al-Azdī	-	5,000) (71)
A female slave who could sing (Ḥabbāba)	Al-Azdī	-	30,000	
A young male slave	282/895	30	-	(72)
A pretty Indian female slave who could sing	Al-Rashīd	-	200,000	(73)

Other merchandise. Some prices of various other merchandise are as follows:

<u>Type of merchandise</u>	<u>In the time of/Date</u>	<u>Price</u>		
		<u>Dīnār</u>	<u>Dirham</u>	
A load of Egyptian clothes imported to Iraq	Ibn-Ḥawkal	20,000 -30,000	-	(74)
Ghazlī clothing	Al-Jāhiz	about 1,000	-	(75)
Burdī clothing in San ^{Ca}	Ibn-Rusta	500	-	(76)
High quality Omani pearls, each weighing half a Mithkāl	al-Jāhiz	about 1,000 gold Mithkāl	-	(77)

<u>Type of merchandise</u>	<u>In the time of/Date</u>	<u>Price</u>			
		<u>Dīnār</u>	<u>Dirham</u>		
A piece of pure beryl weighing half a Mithkāl	al-Jāhiz	200 gold Mithkāl	-	(78)	
A stone of Yemeni agate (no reference to weight)	al-Bīrūnī	3	-	(79)	
24 raṭl of Iraḡi dates in Baḡhdad	313/925	-	1	(80)	
A donkey	329/940	10	-	(81)	
A new hand mill in the Jazīra	Ibn Hawḡal	around 50	-	(82)	
A she-camel	329/940	10	-	(83)	
A pedigree horse owned by Bakjūr, an associate of Sayf al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī	381/991	1,000	-	(84)	
Shirt and Durrā ^c a worn by ^c Alī b. ^c Īsā, the vizier	301/913	20	-	(85)	
A Yemeni garment	around 368/978	50	-	(86)	
Saḡlāṭūn garment made in Baḡhdad	372/982	5	-	(87)	
20 lettuces in Baḡhdad	345/956	-	1	(88)	
2 Mannas of the Wirs plant	Ibn Hawḡal	1	-	(89)	
30 raṭl of bread in Egypt	Al-Maḡdīsī	-	1) (90)	
8 eggs in Egypt	Al-Maḡdīsī	-	1 Dāniḡ)

B. Prices in India. Before providing examples of the prices of merchandise in India it is worth recalling that Arab and Indian merchants

used such methods of exchange as barter and multiple trading - as we have seen - and that the inhabitants of some parts of India were unwilling to accept gold and silver coins but preferred seashells as a medium of exchange. ⁽⁹¹⁾ These factors must have contributed to making the prices of Indian merchandise, and indeed Arab goods exported to India, difficult to ascertain. Arab and Indian merchants were presumably able to estimate the prices of goods as they bartered with one another; however, the sources do not mention this. Moreover, the use of seashells as a medium of exchange presents a similar problem. Seashells were not accepted as legal tender in the Arab world and indeed in many parts of India itself. Sources indicate that some financial houses in certain regions of India exchanged seashells for money. ⁽⁹²⁾ However, no mention is made of any similar arrangement in the Arab world. Nevertheless, we are left with a great deal of merchandise imported from the Indians and exported to them, but with a few exceptions, the prices of such merchandise are unknown. ⁽⁹³⁾

In the following, we shall try to list the prices of some goods in the light of some available texts:

<u>Type of merchandise</u>	<u>In the time of/Date</u>	<u>Price</u>		
		<u>Dīnār</u>	<u>Dirham</u>	
One Wiḳiya Ḳamārī of aloes-wood in the Multān	Al-Mas ^c udī	100	-	(94)
Half a miskal of crystal or red diamond	Al-Bīrūnī	100	-	(95)

<u>Type of merchandise</u>	<u>In the time of/Date</u>	<u>Price</u>		
		<u>Dīnār</u>	<u>Dirham</u>	
Half a mithkāl of ruby from Sarandīb (Ceylon) (red)	Al-Tha ^c alībī	5,000	-	(96)
Emerald - a dirham in weight	Al-Bīrūnī	up to 50	-	(97)
A slave woman in Kashmir	Abū Dulaf	200	-	(98)
A saddled horse	Ibn Battūta	1,600	-)
A saddled horse	Ibn Battūta	800	-) (99)
2 female mules	Ibn Battūta	1,200	-)
An Arab horse	7th/13th century	220	-	(100)
An adolescent male slave	?	-	4)
A common female slave from Delhi	?	8 tankas	-)
A female slave for service and sex	?	15 tankas	-) (101)
Certain Indian female slaves	?	20,000 tankas	-)
30 Mannas of bread from the Multān	Al-Makḍīsī	-	1) (102)
3 Mannas of Fānīdh	Al-Makḍīsī	-	1)
A single belt is made from a rhinoceros horn	Al-Mas ^c ūdī	4,000 gold mithkāls	-	(103)

Footnotes to Chapter Three.

- (1) See, ^CA. ^CA. al-Dūrī, Tārīkh al-^CIrāk al-Iktisādī, p.154.
- (2) Al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, pp.11,12, where he maintains that the inhabitants of Lanja (Nicobar islands) exchanged ambergris for pieces of iron and used hand signals in their dealing. Al-Kazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, pp.44,81, indicates that merchants would leave a commodity, and when they came back to it (in Sufāla, the southern part of Mozambique, and Bartāyil island, in the kingdom of the Zābaj (Java)), they would find beside it its price. Also, Ibn Battūta, Riḥla, Vol. 2, p.99, mentions that chickens were exchanged for pottery from the islands. See also, al-Marwazī, Tabā'ī^C al-Hayawān, p.49, Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.65.
- (3) Reference to this is made by al-Marwazī, Tabā'ī^C al-Hayawān, p.47. Buzurk, ʿAjā'ib al-Hind, p.33, maintains that some merchants bought and sold merchandise in the same country (India) and made profits which amounted to a tenth of their capital.
- (4) For the earliest use gold and silver 'tanks' in Bengal, see T. Raychaudhuri and I. Habib (eds.), The Cambridge economic history of India, Vol. 1, p.94.
- (5) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.152.
- (6) Ibn Battūta, Riḥla, Vol. 2, p.199.
- (7) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.171.
- (8) M. Elphinstone, The history of India, Vol. 1, p.93, says that "money is often mentioned, but it does not appear whether its value was ascertained by weight or fixed by coining. The usual payments are in Panas, the name now applied to a certain number of the shells called Couris, which are used as change for the lowest copper coins."
- (9) Chau ju-Kua, Chinese and Arab trade, p.89.
- (10) Al-Marwazī, Tabā'ī^C al-Hayawān, p.34, Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāk al-Nafīsa, p.135, Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.67.
- (11) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.170. A. Cunningham, Coins of mediaeval India from the seventh century down to the Muḥammadan conquest, Calcutta, 1922, Vol. 1, p.47, says: "By the early

Muḥammadan writers they are described as Tātariya dirhams, or as al-Masʿūdī writes the name Talato-wiya dirhams weighing $1\frac{1}{3}$ dirhams, or $48 + 16 = 64$ grains." For other names of Indian coins (gold and silver) in various times, see, A.S. Alteker, The Rāshtrakūtas and their times, p.367.

- (12) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.68.
- (13) Al-Makḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.482.
- (14) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.103, maintains that each dirham of the type called Ḳāhīrī was equal to five dirhams, and that they minted a dirham which they called Ṭāṭarī and which weighed a dirham and two thirds. He also maintains that they used the dīnār as legal tender.
- (15) Ibn Ḥawḳal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 2, p.321, where he maintains that the coinage of Sind consisted of dirhams called Ḳandahārī which equalled five dirhams, and that they also used a dirham which they called Ṭāṭarī and which weighed a dirham and one-eighth. He also mentions that they used dīnārs too as a medium of exchange.
- (16) Al-Kalkaṣhandī, Ṣubḥ al-Aḷṣḥa, Vol. 5, p.85, bases his information on an account by al-Shaykh Mubārak al-Anbātī which he gave before A.H.730/A.D.1329. See also, A. Cunningham, Coins of mediaeval India, Vol. 1, p.34.
- (17) S.M. Ahmad, India and the neighbouring territories, p.32, states that the coinage of Maṣṣūra consisted of copper and silver dirhams, and that they might have used the Ṭāṭarī (His information is from al-Idrīsī).
- (18) In his book, al-Nuḳūd al-Islāmiyya, p.17 and the pages that follow, al-Makrīzī gives details about gold dīnārs and silver dirhams struck by the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs. He also gives detailed accounts of gold dīnārs in Egypt before the Fāṭimid period and during it. Al-Makḍisī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, in the course of dealing with the Arab provinces, give details about the coinage of these provinces. Moreover, various sources which mention land taxes gathered from the provinces give their amounts in dīnārs and dirhams; an indication that both the silver dirham and the gold dīnār were used side by side in all forms of transaction. The fil was not essential in those transactions. See also, D.S. Margoliouth, The renaissance of Islam, IC, Vol. VII, 1933, pp.313,314.
- (19) With regard to changing the dīnār to dirhams it appears that both systems (the system of determining the value according to the intrinsic value of its metal, and according to the number of coins) were used. Al-Tanūkhī, Nishwār al-Muḥādara, Vol. 8,

p.16, and Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 6, p.256, indicate that the value of the dīnār was determined according to the value of its metal, whereas al-Maḳḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.129, in the course of his description of the coinage of Iraq, indicates that the number of coins determined their value, and that the value of the dīnār oscillated in comparison with the value of the silver dirham. He attributes the oscillation in the value of the dīnār to the changing price of gold, the weights of the dīnār and the dirham, and the degrees of purity of both metals. See Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 1, p.31. The above can be illustrated as follows.

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of dirhams per dinar</u>	<u>Source</u>
Towards the end of the 3rd A.H. century	14/15	Ḳudāma, p.144. Al-Ṣābī, pp.36,227.
A.H.300/A.D.912	15	Al-Tanūkhī, Niṣhwār, Vol.8, p.26.
A.H.302/A.D.914	15	Al-Ṣābī, pp.80-81.
A.H.307/A.D.919	14½	Miskawayh, Vol.1, p.71.
A.H.310/A.D.922	11¾	Al-Ṣābī, p.89.
A.H.312/A.D.924	12	Miskawayh, Vol.1, p.146.
A.H.315/A.D.927	15	Ḳudāma, p.239.
A.H.330/A.D.941	10	Miskawayh, Vol.2, p.31.
A.H.345/A.D.956	14	Ibn al-Jawzī, Vol.8, p.31.
A.H.358/A.D.968	15	Ibn Ḥawḳal, part 1, p.218.
(20)		For details, see chapter four, p.180. Also, for acceptance of Egyptian dīnārs in Indian ports, see K.R. Hall, <u>International trade and foreign diplomacy in early mediaeval south India</u> , JESHO, Vol. XXI, 1978, p.78.
(21)		For example, Ibn Battūta, <u>Riḥla</u> , Vol.2, p.199, maintains that the inhabitants of Bēngāla exchanged seashells for rice, that they were their currency, but that the Yemenis used them instead of sand for ballast in their boats. He adds that seashells were also the currency of Sūdān and that 1150 seashells were equal to one gold dīnār.
(22)		Al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, <u>Ṣubḥ al-A^Cshā</u> , Vol.3, p.457.
(23)		Ibn Khurdādhba, <u>al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik</u> , p.68.

- (24) For Indian slaves who had a reputation for being outstanding amongst money-changers, see chapter four, p.185. Some Arab authors use the term *ṣayrafī* (money-changer), an indication of the spread of that type of dealing. See al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, Vol. 10, pp.9,16,20, also, al-Isfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, Vol. 2, pp.264,362,372, Vol. 3, p.205, al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Cairo, 195-?, Vol. 1, p.211. For Jewish money-changers in Baghdad in the period of al-Rādī (A.H. 322-329/A.D.934-940), see Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntāzam*, Vol. 6, p.293. For the market of the money-changers in Basra, see A. Naji and Y. Ali, *Miscellanea*, JESHO, Vol. XXIV, 1981, p.307. D.S. Margoliouth, *The renaissance of Islam*, IC, Vol. VII, 1933, p.318, names the Jewish bankers in Iraq. On p.315, he adds that "when paying, the banker gave the poet to understand that it was customary to charge one dirhem discount on each dinar, i.e. about 10 percent." See also, S.M. Imamuddin, *Bayt al-Māl and banks in the mediaeval Muslim world*, IC, Vol. XXXIV, 1960, p.27, S.D. Goitein, *The exchange rate of gold and silver in Fatimid and Ayyubid times*, JESHO, Vol. VIII, 1965, p.1-46, A.S. Ehrenkretz, *Money*, in *Wirtschaftsgeschichte Des Vorderen Orients in Islamischer Zeit*, teil 1, Leiden, 1977, p.96. For money-changers in India, see, Buzurk, *ʿAjā'ib al-Hind*, p.37, A.L. Basham, *The wonder that was India*, p.222. A. Appadorai, *Economic condition in south India*, Vol. 2, p.724, and for Indian banks and their interest between 10 to 15%, see A.S. Alteker, *The Rāshtrakutas and their times*, pp.371-5. See also, M. Elphinstone, *The history of India*, Vol. 1, p.330.
- (25) Al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥādara*, Vol. 1, pp.89,90,103,105, al-Jahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarā' wa-'l-Kuttāb*, Cairo, 1938, p.196, al-Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūt*, Cairo, 1906-13, Vol. 13, p.78, Vol. 14, pp.5,10,11,16, Vol. 19, p.161, al-Jāhiz, *al-Hayawān*, Vol. 1, p.69, Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam*, Vol. 1, pp.23,43, Vol. 3, p.46, Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-Kurba*, pp.68-70, al-Shaybānī, *al-Makhārij fī 'l-Hiyal*, ed. J. Schacht, Leipzig, 1930, p.77, al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, Vol. 2, pp.68, 69, B. Spuler, *Trade in the eastern Islamic countries in the early centuries*, in D.S. Richards (ed.), *Islam and the trade of Asia*, Oxford, 1970, p.16, A.V. Kremer, *The Orient under the caliphs*, tr. K. Bukhsh, Philadelphia, 1977, pp.412-19.
- (26) The first state bank was established in the period of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā's first term as vizier, A.H. 300-304/A.D. 912-916, al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥādara*, Vol. 8, pp.25-6. For banks in Basra, see S.M. Imamuddin, *Bayt al-Māl and banks in the mediaeval Muslim world*, IC, Vol. XXXIV, 1960, pp.22, 30, D.S. Margoliouth, *The renaissance of Islam*, IC, Vol. VII,

1933, p.316. For banks in India, see A. Appadorai, Economic condition in south India, Vol. 2, p.724, A.L. Basham, The wonder that was India, p.222, A.S. Alteker, The Rāshtrakūtas and their times, pp.371-5.

- (27) Al-Marwazī, Tabā'i^C al-Ḥayawān, p.462, maintains that Muslims entering Constantinople had to pay a levy which amounted to one-seventh of the value of their merchandise, while Muslim merchants leaving it had to pay a levy which amounted to one-ninth of the value of their merchandise. On p.463, he adds that Slavs, Russians and merchants from Syria traded with Constantinople.
- (28) Ibid, p.10, where al-Marwazī reports that Arab merchants from Basra and Persians from Sīrāf had to pay a levy which amounted to one-tenth of the value of their merchandise.
- (29) Abū Yūsuf, al-Kharāj, Cairo, 1884, p.77, Yahyā b. Ādam al-Ḳurashī, al-Kharāj, Leiden, 1895, pp.125-6.
- (30) Abū Yūsuf, al-Kharāj, p.80.
- (31) Ibid, p.77, Yahyā b. Ādam al-Ḳurashī, al-Kharāj, pp.32, 49, 125-6.
- (32) Al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Ṣubḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 3, pp.457, 459.
- (33) Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, p.35, reports that on his way back to the port of Alexandria from Sicily, he had seen port officials registering all the ship loads.
- (34) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p.364, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 2, p.358, Abū Yūsuf, al-Kharāj, p.77, 80, Yahyā b. Ādam al-Ḳurashī, al-Kharāj, pp.32, 49, 125-6.
- (35) For instance, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 2, p.358, says that in A.H. 358/A.D. 968, he had attended the leasing ceremonies of regions including Basra given to Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Shīrāzī, and that tax revenues amounted to 6000 dirhams. The same story is echoed by Ḳudāma, al-Kharāj wa-San^Cat al-Kitāba, p.239, and by Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.59.
- (36) For leasing the port of Basra, see Ibn Ḥawḳal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 2, p.358, and for the leasing of the port of Aden, *ibid*, part 1, p.24. For direct state administration of the port of Alexandria, see Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, p.35.

- (37) In Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 2, p.128, Miskawayh reports that following the end of the Barīdī domination over Basra, revenues from ships were around 2,000,000 dirhams. Buzurk, ʿAjā'ib al-Hind, p.107, says that in A.H.300/A.D.912, the tax yield of the tenth levied on a single ship in the port of Oman was around 1,000,000 dirhams.
- (38) For taxes in several Arab regions, see al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, pp.104,105,133,213, Ibn Hawkal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 1, pp.23-5, al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p.47.
- (39) Al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, pp.104,105,133,213.
- (40) See chapter two, pp. 93,94.
- (41) Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya, Vol. 10, p.149.
- (42) Al-Yaʿkūbī, Tārīkh, Vol. 6-7, p.171, Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya, Vol. 10, p.308, in A.H.231/A.D.845.
- (43) Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 1, pp.28-9.
- (44) Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, p.66.
- (45) See pp.138,139-42.
- (46) Idol worshippers were not Dhimmīs. See al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.42.
- (47) Ibid, p.485.
- (48) Ibid, p.486.
- (49) Al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p.65.
- (50) Al-Bīrūnī, ʿĪ Taḥkīk mā li-'l-Hind min Makūla, p.466.
 A. Appadorai, Economic conditions in southern India, Vol. 2, p.671, says: "there is ample evidence to prove that the land tax taken, not only by Muhammadan but also by the Hindu sovereigns, was fully one-half the gross produce."
 B. Bhattacharya, Urban development in India, p.140, says: "In general, however, duties and tons to be paid on goods exported as well as imported were clearly defined. The duty levied, for instance, was one-fifth of the actual price." See also, A.S. Alteker, The Rāshtrakūtas and their times, p.373.
- (51) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 2, p.11.

- (52) Al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.11. Also, al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārikh, pp.16-17, concerning taxes in the same port, mentions that they imposed a 1000 dirham levy on Chinese ships and 1-10 dīnārs on other ships.
- (53) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.68.
- (54) Buzurk, ʿAjā'ib al-Hind, p.119, mentions that he had been told by people who had been in Ceylon and had mixed well with its inhabitants, that the Sultan had a Manzara (watch-tower) to inspect cargoes, but Buzurk does not state the amount of taxes.
- (55) See chapter two, pp.100-1.
- (56) Ibn Rusta, al-Aʿlāq al-Nafīsa, p.135, al-Marwazī, Ṭabā'iʿ al-Ḥayawān, p.34.
- (57) Concerning taxes in Sind, S.M. Jaffar, The Arab administration of Sind, IC, Vol. XII, 1943, p.125, says that: "taxes on trade, manufactures and handicrafts, customs and transit duties were also an important source of revenue."
- (58) Al-Jāhīz, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 4, pp.434,435.
- (59) For example, Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 2, p.112, maintains that prices in Iraq fell after the caliph al-Mutīʿ and the Amīr Muʿizz al-Dawla had recaptured Basra from Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Barīdī in A.H.336/A.D.947. However, during the war between al-Amīn and his brother al-Ma'mūn, Baghdad was besieged and ships were banned from approaching it, and prices went up. See also, Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya, Vol. 10, p.239.
- (60) For natural conditions in A.H.333/A.D.944, see al-Dhahabī, al-ʿIbār, Vol.2, p.233; for the year A.H.334/A.D.945, *ibid.*, p.234; for the year A.H.337/A.D.948, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, p.4. For the year A.H.208/A.D.823, see al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. II, p.1066. For the years A.H.329/A.D.940 and A.H.334/A.D.945, see Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 2, pp.8 and 95. See also A.V. Kremer, The orient under the caliphs, tr. S.Kh. Bukhsh, pp.203-4.
- (61) Mismanagement of agriculture land is reported to have taken place in the Buwayhid period. See A.A. al-Dūrī, Tārīkh al-ʿIrāq al-Ikhtisādī, pp.54-6.
- (62) Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 1, pp.74-5.

- (63) Al-Bakrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, in ^CAbd 'l-Rahmān 'Alī al-Hajjī, (ed.), Juġhrāfiyat al-Andalus wa-Urubba, Beirut, 1968, p.145.
- (64) See chapter four, pp.186-9.
- (65) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 4, p.119.
- (66) Al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p.213.
- (67) See chapter four, p.183.
- (68) Al-Jāhīz, Thalāth Rasā'il, pp.79,85.
- (69) See chapter four, pp. 83-6.
- (70) Al-Iṣfahānī, al-Aghānī, Vol. 3, p.207.
- (71) Al-Azdī, Ḥikāyat Abī 'l-Kāsim al-Baghdādī, p.75.
- (72) Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 5, p.159.
- (73) M. al-Nadawī, Tārīkh al-Ṣilāt, p.46.
- (74) Ibn Hawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 1, p.152. He does not tell us about the kind of clothes and their number in a load.
- (75) Al-Jāhīz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.26.
- (76) Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāk al-Nafīsa, p.112.
- (77) Al-Jāhīz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.17.
- (78) Ibid, p.17.
- (79) Al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p.173.
- (80) Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 1, p.146. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 1, p.139, says that the price of dates in Bāsrā in his time was one dirham for every 14 raṭl. (1 Egyptian raṭl = pound = 453 gms).
- (81) Al-Tanūkhī, Nishwār al-Muḥādara, Vol. 8, in Majallat al-Majma^C al-^Cilmi al-^CArabi bi-Dimashq, Vol. 13, 1930, p.127.
- (82) Ibn Hawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 1, p.222.
- (83) ^CA.^C al-Dūrī, Tārīkh al-^CIrāk al-^CIktisādī, p.227 quoting al-Tanūkhī.

- (84) Ibid, quoting Abū Shujā^C, p.227.
- (85) Al-Sābī, al-Wuzarā', p.327.
- (86) ^CA.Ā. al-Dūrī, Tārīkh al-^CIrāq al-Iktisādī, p.229 quoting al-Tanūkhī.
- (87) Ibid, p.228, quoting Abū Shujā^C. For Saklātūn, see al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-^CArūs, Vol. 5, p.158.
- (88) Al-Tanūkhī, Nishwār al-Muḥādara, Vol. 1, pp.65-6.
- (89) Ibn Hawkal, Ṣurat al-Ard, part 1, p.37. He adds that that plant was used for dyeing, that the Yemen was famous for growing it, and that it was of the same colour as saffron. Manna, a weight of 2 ratl or 180 miskal.
- (90) Al-Maḥdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.199. The dāniḳ was a coin equal in weight to $8\frac{1}{5}$ barley-grains and in value to $\frac{1}{6}$ dirham.
- (91) Al-Marwazī, Ṭabā'i^C al-Ḥayawān, pp.47,48, maintains that the majority of the inhabitants of the islands used iron, salt and Fuwaṭ (aprons) for exchange, while they used the dīnār on a very limited scale.
- (92) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 2, p.199. He does indicate that shells were exchanged with some of the inhabitants of India (1150 shells for one dīnār), but we do not believe that a similar arrangement was followed in the Arab world.
- (93) For some local prices in India in various periods, see A.S. Alteker, The Rāshtrakūtas and their times, pp.372,381-6.
- (94) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūi, Vol. 1, p.167. 1 Ūkiyya in Egypt = $\frac{1}{12}$ ratl = 37g, in Aleppo = 320g, in Beirut = 213.39g.
- (95) Al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p.97. 1 mithḳāl in Egypt = 23 Kīrāt = 4.68g.
- (96) Al-Tha^Calībī, Thimār al-Kulūb, p.534.
- (97) Al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p.163.
- (98) Al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 4, p.103.
- (99) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 2, p.174.
- (100) J. Dowson, The history of India, Vol. 1, p.69.

- (101) Al-Kalkashandī, Subh al-A^Cshā, Vol. 5, p. 85, quoting Kaḍī 'l-Ḳuḍāt Surāj al-Dīn al-Hindī and others, without mentioning the date. About the coin called 'tanka', A. Cunningham, Coins of mediaeval India, Vol. 1, p. 34, says "in the reign of Raja Ananta mention is made of a jewelled "lingam" which his queen sold for 70 lakhas of takkas. As tangha, or takka, was the common name for copper coin." He adds that "the white metal pieces of Ananta may have been called tankas." T. Raychaudhuri and I. Irfan (eds.) The Cambridge economic history of India, Vol. 1, p. 94, mention the earliest gold and silver tanks remitted from Bengal.
- (102) Al-Makḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p. 480.
- (103) Al-Mas^Cūdī, al-Tanbīh wa-'l-Isḥrāf, p. 72, al-Marwazī, Ṭabā'i^C al-Ḥayawān, p. 5.

CHAPTER FOUR: EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

1. Exports from the Arab World to India

1. Horses. Several Arab cities and provinces had a reputation for breeding fine horses, in particular the pure Arab horses called ^ḥirāb. (1)

These regions included the province of Aḵūr or Jazīra in particular, (2) which bred the famous horses called ^ḥitāk, and Egypt, which bred fine horses in the city of Aḥmūnayn. (3) Horses bred in Syria, (4) Hejaz, (5) in the region of Barḳa in Libya, (6) in Bahrein, (7) and in Iraq were on a par with those bred in the afore-mentioned regions in terms of their reputation and quality. (8) It is thought that Arab horses owed their reputation to favourable climatic conditions and to the fact that they were well bred and well looked after. Indian horses, on the other hand, had a poor reputation (9) and as a result, the Indians had to rely on imported Arab horses.

During the Roman period, Arab horses were exported by sea from Apologos (Ubullā) and from Ommāna (Oman) on the coast of the Arabian Peninsula to Barygaza on the Indian coast. (10)

In the ^ḥAbbāsīd period, horses continued to be exported by land and sea. Al-Ṭabarī, among other historians, notes that in A.H. 152/A.D. 769 the caliph al-Mansūr dismissed ^ḥUmar b. Ḥafṣ, the then viceroy of Sind, for accepting from ^ḥAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Abd Allāh, nicknamed

al-Ashtar, a gift in the form of excellent horses purchased in Basra. Al-Ashtar and his fellow-conspirators, who arrived in Sind disguised as slave traders, were trying to bribe the viceroy into lending support for their anti-^CAbbāsīd rebellions in Medina and Basra. Al-Ṭabarī explains that the gift consisted of excellent horses as these "were the most saleable commodity in India and Sind."⁽¹¹⁾

A similar episode is reported by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Realising the importance the Indians attached to them, he purchased a number of Arabian horses in Ghazna from an Iraqi horse-dealer from Tikrit, which he intended as a gift to the Sultan and governors of India.⁽¹²⁾

Basra was not the only port which exported horses. There was a land route which stretched from Baghdad to the south Arabian port of Zafār, along which nomads made their journey twice a year, with horses which would be exported from the port of Zafār to India. They would return to Iraq with supplies of perfumes.⁽¹³⁾ Zafār, therefore, was a major port for exporting horses to India,⁽¹⁴⁾ especially to the kingdom of the Sultan of Ma^Cbar.⁽¹⁵⁾

Arab horses were therefore exported by land and sea⁽¹⁶⁾ and, due to the high demand for them, fetched very high prices.⁽¹⁷⁾ Generally speaking, India and its adjacent regions relied on exports of Arab horses as conditions in those regions were unsuitable for the breeding of Arabian horses in captivity.⁽¹⁸⁾

2. Wine. Some Arab cities and provinces had a thriving industry for the production of wine. The wine of Babylonia was considered by the Arabs to be the best.⁽¹⁹⁾ Egypt produced wine on a large scale,⁽²⁰⁾ as did the town of Ba^clabakk.⁽²¹⁾

Wine was produced in the Arab world to meet local demand and for export abroad. Like other commodities, wine was subject to taxation.⁽²²⁾ Sources indicate that the Arab world exported wine to Ceylon whose King is thought to have favoured it, as did many of his subjects.⁽²³⁾ Egyptian wine of the kind known as 'Mizra' was known and consumed in Sind and India, especially in the cities of Kāmuhul, Sindān, Şaymūr and Kanbāya. The Indians, too, had their own wine industry whose produce was highly praised.⁽²⁴⁾

al-Bīrūnī, who lived in India for a time and wrote about the Indian way of life, maintained that the Indians "drink wine on an empty stomach."⁽²⁵⁾ Other accounts indicate that wine was consumed by people of certain castes or by women only and that Indians in general disapproved of their kings' consuming wine, as that would, in their opinion, have an adverse effect on their performance as rulers.⁽²⁶⁾ But despite this, the consumption of wine was widespread among the Indians. This accounts for the thriving wine industry in India⁽²⁷⁾ and also for India's importing Arab-produced wine.

3. Emeralds. Emeralds were found in Egypt, in particular upper Egypt, ⁽²⁸⁾ the district of Ḳaws, ⁽²⁹⁾ the oases, and the Muḳaṭṭam hills. They were also found in the territory of the Beja, which was situated in the region of Aswān, ⁽³⁰⁾ and which could be reached from the Egyptian city of Ḳift. ⁽³¹⁾ An Arab community from the Rabī^ca tribe in collaboration with the Beja ⁽³²⁾ mined this precious stone. Emeralds continued to be exploited on a commercial scale till the late Nāṣirid period (till the reign of Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, to be precise). From then on emerald mining ground to a halt as trade in emeralds became less and less lucrative. ⁽³³⁾

Egypt was famous for the quality of its much sought-after emeralds. ⁽³⁴⁾ Egyptian emeralds came in several types. The green beryl was the most highly prized, the sea emerald for which the kings of Sind, India, Africa and China were the primary customers; ⁽³⁵⁾ a piece of emerald weighing half a mithḳāl fetched 2000 mithḳāls of gold. ⁽³⁶⁾ The whitish type, however, was the least expensive. ⁽³⁷⁾

Al-Sīrafī and al-Bīrūnī agree with al-Mas^cūdī in his assertion that emeralds were exported from Egypt to India. However, they add that the export of this precious stone to India was discontinued through lack of buyers, ⁽³⁸⁾ although they do not mention any reason for that development.

If this is true, the halt in emerald exports to India must have been temporary, or the emerald found in India, because some Indian kings once presented the caliph al-Raṣḥīd with a bar made of emerald and

crowned with ruby. ⁽³⁹⁾ Moreover, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa himself reports that Indian viceroys would on certain occasions, send gifts in the form of emeralds to their sovereign. ⁽⁴⁰⁾ Sources do not mention whether the emerald gifts were originally from India or the Arab world.

4. Ivory. The Arab world possessed no animals (elephants, etc.) whose tusks or teeth could be exploited on a commercial scale. Nevertheless, it acted as a transit zone from which ivory from Africa was re-exported to China and India, whose sculptors used it to fashion handles for daggers and swords, chess pieces, walls of elegant houses, etc. ⁽⁴¹⁾

Ivory from elephants' tusks was not the only type re-exported from the Arab world; another type called 'khatw' from the horns of rhinoceroses was also re-exported by the Arabs from Basra to China where it was used to fashion ornamentation for objects such as belts, which fetched very high prices. ⁽⁴²⁾ Ivory taken from rhinoceroses' horns is thought to have been re-exported not just to China but also to India.

Why India should import ivory when elephants and rhinoceroses abounded there is uncertain. However, one possibility is that it needed extra supplies to meet the demand for ivory at home. Another possibility is that the Indians might have preferred imported ivory to their own.

5. Iron. Some Arab regions yielded substantial amounts of iron. These regions included Yemen, the mountains around Beirut, and the Mosul area, whence it was exported.⁽⁴³⁾ Several sources maintain that iron was much in demand in several Indian islands where merchants and sailors bartered it for ambergris.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Iron was also exported to China.⁽⁴⁵⁾

However, these sources do not give details about the quality and quantities of exported iron, or whether it was exported as a raw material or manufactured. Nor do these sources elaborate on the uses to which the islanders put iron or how widespread its use in other parts of India was. The only direct reference to the use of iron is that the islanders were more likely to use it, rather than coinage, as a medium of exchange.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Other materials exported were copper, kohl, beads and flint.⁽⁴⁷⁾

6. Clothing. Sources make frequent reference to the fine clothes produced in several Arab cities and provinces.⁽⁴⁸⁾ In the course of describing the fashions of clothes in Makrān, al-Manṣūra, Bust and Sijistān, sources indicate that clothing was exported by land and sea to India. Merchants from these regions wore clothes (robes, garments, veils, head scarfs)⁽⁴⁹⁾ similar to those worn in Iraq and Persia. There is also a reference which indicates that, like any other commodity, exported clothing was liable to taxation before passing through Khurāsān.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Rād̄hānī merchants played an important part in the clothing trade, exporting, among other fabrics, the world famous ⁽⁵¹⁾ ⁽⁵²⁾ silk produced mainly in Basra, Ubulla and Kufa, ⁽⁵³⁾ all of which were stop-over points for merchants en route to India.

Episodes abound of Arab ships sailing from Oman and Basra to such Indian islands and cities as Wāk̄ Wāk̄, Zābaj (Java), Ṣandābūr, Lankabālūs and Fanṣūr (in Sumatra) carrying clothes ⁽⁵⁴⁾ much sought-after by the Indians, ⁽⁵⁵⁾ with whom these clothes were bartered for Indian goods.

7. Coral. Although sources disagree about the definition of coral, ⁽⁵⁶⁾ it is clear that this substance was obtained from the sea bed near the coastal cities of Ṭabar̄ka, ⁽⁵⁷⁾ Mahdiyya, ⁽⁵⁸⁾ Sabta ⁽⁵⁹⁾ and Būna ⁽⁶⁰⁾ in the Maḡhrib.

Coral was exported by the Arabs to India ⁽⁶¹⁾ where there was a considerable demand for it. In addition to India, coral found buyers in the Hejaz, China, ⁽⁶²⁾ Egypt, Syria and Iraq. The price of coral was determined by such factors as demand and supply and the quality of the product. The finest coral was the Shāk̄h ⁽⁶³⁾ type which was characterised by massive skeletons.

8. Dates. Favourable climatic conditions contributed to the spread of date-palms in several Arab regions. Date palms were most plentiful in Basra which had 49 varieties of dates and where production of dates

continued throughout most of the year.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Other leading date-producing regions were upper Egypt,⁽⁶⁵⁾ Medina (Yathrib)⁽⁶⁶⁾ and Oman.⁽⁶⁷⁾

Cheap and plentiful,⁽⁶⁸⁾ dates found many markets outside the Arab world.⁽⁶⁹⁾ They were exported by the Arabs to China⁽⁷⁰⁾ and India.⁽⁷¹⁾ Quoting Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ḥammawayh b. Ḥarām b. Ḥammawayh al-Najrīmī in Basra, who was in Manṣūra in A.H. 288/A.D. 900, Buzurk writes that date exports were shipped to Zābaj and Wāḳ Wāḳ where they were bartered for slaves.⁽⁷²⁾ Moreover, dates arrived at the port of Daybul from Basra.⁽⁷³⁾

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa observes that dates formed the staple food in the coastal city of Hurmuz which he had visited. Dates from Basra and Oman⁽⁷⁴⁾ also formed the staple food in New Hurmuz, another commercial city situated opposite Hurmuz and acting as a transit zone for Indian merchandise on its way to the markets of Iraq, Persia, and Khurāsān. This indicates that dates produced in the Arab world were exported to more than one Indian region.

9. Coinage. The export of coinage seems to have preceded the period of our research. Coinage was exported from Oman port⁽⁷⁵⁾ to the port of Barygaza as early as the Roman period and the early Islamic period.

Quoting Muḥammad b. al-Ḥabbās al-Miskī, al-Nuwayrī maintains that during the Ḥabbāsīd period the export of coinage - the dīnār - from Iraq and probably other Arab regions accompanied the import from India

of cloves. Al-Miskī reported seeing "a group of men in Baghdad visiting money changers and purchasing Marwānī dinārs, struck by order of ^CAbd al-Malik b. Marwān and bearing the emblem 'Allāh is the sole God.' I enquired of them and they replied that these coins were exported by sea in sacks bearing the names of the owners and references to the weight of each sack. When they approach a great island near **Suf**alat al-Hind, they will anchor there and, using small boats and carrying their sacks with them, head to a certain place on the island where they leave the sacks before returning to their ships. The following day they will set out to the island where they had left the sacks only to find that they have disappeared and have been replaced by cloves in proportion to the value of the contents of the sacks, which they collect before returning to their ships. If someone is unhappy about the amount of cloves left for him, he will leave it in its place, return to his ship and come back to the island the following morning to collect his original sack with all its contents. Merchants have no chance to meet any of the inhabitants of that island nor do they know the source of the cloves." ⁽⁷⁶⁾ Al-Miskī adds that people from Ubulla told him that Indian aloes-wood was purchased by the same method. ⁽⁷⁷⁾

However, the above text gives no explanation as to why Marwānī coins were exported to the apparent exclusion of other types of coins, nor does it tell us about the period in which these coins were in circulation in Baghdad or how widespread their use was.

In the course of our examination of the clove trade we shall see that they were exported, often to be bartered, from several Indian regions

including the island of *Sufālat al-Hind*.⁽⁷⁸⁾ We have not, however, come across any other reference to the method of exchange described in this text. *Al-Miskī*'s account indicates that coins were exported exclusively to the island mentioned in the text and for a limited period only. After all, *al-Miskī* obtained his information from *Ubullā* which was razed to the ground by the *Zanj* in A.H. 256/A.D. 869.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Moreover, it is thought that Arab merchants and sailors could not secure cloves from that island directly and continuously but had to purchase them from other parts of India. Some of those cloves might well have been brought by the inhabitants of that island themselves to India, where they were re-sold. Furthermore, subsequent sources do not repeat the information contained in the text.

Nonetheless, some sources do confirm that coins were exported to India. *al-Bīrūnī* and *al-Sīrafī* indicate that *Sindī dīnārs* were exported to India, that each *dīnār* fetched three or more *dīnārs*, and that emeralds were brought to India from Egypt.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Although they do not mention when these coins were exported, we do know the period during which *Sind* was under Arab rule. Moreover, *al-Bīrūnī* and *al-Sīrafī* do indicate that coins were exported together with emeralds. In the light of all this, the possibility that these *Sindī dīnārs* were the official currency of *Sind* under Arab rule cannot be ruled out.

Silver, copper, and cinnabar were also exported to India through *Raysūt* on the coast of the Arabian peninsula. Caravans carrying these commodities set off from *Baghdad* to *Raysūt* and returned loaded with

Indian merchandise. ⁽⁸¹⁾

10. Rose water. Quoting Abū Yūsuf b. Muslim, who obtained his information from Abu Bakr al-Fasawī in Ṣaymūr city, who obtained his information from Mūsā al-Ṣindāburī, Buzurk states that, like clothing and other commodities, rose water ⁽⁸²⁾ was exported from Oman to Ṣindābur. It is highly likely that rose water exported from Oman had come from other Arab regions such as Basra ⁽⁸³⁾ which was famous for this product, and Syria, whence it was exported to various regions. ⁽⁸⁴⁾ The possibility that rose water was exported to Indian regions other than those mentioned by Buzurk cannot be ruled out.

11. Henna. Some sources maintained that henna was exported from the Arab world to India, ⁽⁸⁵⁾ especially from the Yemen to the port of Daybul. ⁽⁸⁶⁾ However, these sources do not give details about the quantities of exported henna, or its price and method of exchange.

12. Other commodities. Sources make frequent references to the availability of other commodities in the Arab world. Despite the high demand for these commodities inside the Arab world itself, and although we do not have any direct information to this effect, nevertheless, we do believe that these commodities, or at least some of them, were exported to India. This is because of the reputation these commodities had, and because of the extent of trade activity between the two countries.

These commodities were:

1. Gems such as Omani diamonds and Yemeni agate. ⁽⁸⁷⁾
2. Perfumes such as ambergris of the type known as shihri. ⁽⁸⁸⁾
3. Gums and resin such as frankincense for which the Yemen was famous and which was exported to Iraq and the east.

In fact, the reputation of the frankincense trade rivalled that of camphor. ⁽⁸⁹⁾ Oil derived from the fat of the animal called the bāba which lived in the waters of the China Sea and the Indian Ocean, was used to seal the bottoms of ships used in the Indian Ocean. These oils were produced mainly in Oman and the Yemen. ⁽⁹⁰⁾ Rose oil, for which Kufa was famous, ⁽⁹¹⁾ was also exported.

4. Dried fruits, such as dried grapes, and walnuts, which were exported to China. ⁽⁹²⁾
5. Pack animals, such as Egyptian mules and donkeys, which are described as "the world's fastest, best, and most expensive." ⁽⁹³⁾

2. Imports from India to the Arab world

1. Slaves. Slaves constituted a lucrative market in the Arab world at that time. Black slaves were brought from Africa and India, ⁽⁹⁴⁾ with the bulk of white slaves coming from Andalusia and Turkish Central Asia. The trade was so lucrative that al-Jāhiz classed importers of slaves with shipmasters, money changers and jewellers. ⁽⁹⁵⁾

The sources provide considerable amounts of information regarding

Indian slaves in the Arab world, their numbers, attributes, the nature of their duties, methods of importing them and even the price at which they were furnished.

Al-Mas'ūdī reports that the caliph al-Hādī (A.H. 169-170/ A.D. 785-786), ordered all Sindī slaves out of his kingdom and that brought prices of Sindī slaves tumbling.⁽⁹⁶⁾ However, slaves from other Indian countries do not seem to have been affected by that ruling. Moreover, the fact that al-Jāhīz refers to Indian female slaves in Basra indicates that al-Hādī's ruling did not outlive him.

On the attributes of slaves, al-Jāhīz notes that the inhabitants of Basra preferred Indian female slaves and their daughters, the Yemen and the inhabitants of the lowlands (Aḡhwār) preferred Abyssinian slaves and their daughters, whereas the inhabitants of Syria preferred Byzantine female slaves and their daughters. People tended to prefer the slaves that were usually brought to them.⁽⁹⁷⁾

Describing Indian slaves, Ibn Buṭlān observes that their women are handsome, dark, beautiful, and soft, they have a pleasant fragrance but they seem to grow old prematurely, they are extremely faithful and conservative . . . , they behave themselves, they do not tolerate humiliation . . . , they are good mothers. Indian male slaves, Ibn Buṭlān goes on are trustworthy and have a talent for making delicate articles. However, they are prone to certain illnesses.

On female slaves from Sind, Ibn Buṭlān notes that they look like

Indians because of their country's proximity to India, however, they are exceptionally slim and have long hair, Ḳandahārī female slaves are superior to all other women in the sense that a previously married one is as good as a virgin.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Ibn Buṭlān's account indicates that there were Indian slaves, males as well as females from more than one Indian region.

Trustworthy and reliable, Indian slaves were employed to guard lives and property.⁽⁹⁹⁾ They were also excellent cooks. According to al-Jāḥiẓ, they were the best cooks among all slaves. Money changers employed them and their sons as they found they were more reliable than slaves from Khurāsān or from Byzantine lands. The merchants of Basra and dealers in spices all bought Sindī male slaves to bring them good fortune⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ when they saw how much a Sindī slave called Faraj Abū Rawḥ had earned for his master.

Indian slaves were also employed as pharmacists, by virtue of their knowledge of various medicines,⁽¹⁰¹⁾ for making and repairing shoes,⁽¹⁰²⁾ and many of them were bought to look after elephants owned by caliphs such as ʿAl-Muḳtadir (A.H. 295-320 / A.D. 908-932) who is said to have treated a Byzantine envoy to a parade of elephants seen ridden by a number of people from Sind.⁽¹⁰³⁾

Indian slaves seem to have been imported to the Arab world by land and sea; Buzurk relates many episodes of merchants voyaging to India and purchasing Indian slaves.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Gradually, merchants and seamen became experts on Indian regions which had the most attractive

female slaves. Describing the women of the kingdom of al-Ṭāfin, al-Mas'ūdī remarks that they were the best, the most beautiful and the whitest women in India, so much so that seafarers scrambled to purchase them" (105) The women of Ḳashmīr were also noted for their beauty which was probably the result of inter-marriages with their Turkish neighbours. (106) Al-Maḳdisī's reference to taxes imposed on slaves entering Sind or exported from it indicates that the land route was used for this traffic. (107)

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who visited India using the land route through the Hindu Kūsh mountains maintained that Hindu Kūsh means 'the killer of Indians' since so many Indian slaves died there because of heavy snow, as it takes a day's march to cross the Hindu Kūsh. (108)

However, the sources do not provide information about the prices at which these considerable numbers of slaves were purchased during those times. (109) Nevertheless, we do know that a limited number of slaves who excelled in certain pursuits, musicians, singers, etc. fetched extremely high prices. Al-Jāḥiẓ notes that slaves from Sind had good voices (110) though not as brilliant, it would appear, as those employed by the caliphs and the wealthy.

Al-Ḳalkaṣhandī is the only historian to mention prices of slaves inside India, although his information is considered to be rather late. (111)

1. Weapons. Indian arms exports to the Arabs included the following:
 1. Swords. Exactly when the Arabs knew and used Indian swords is uncertain. What is certain, however, is that their introduction into

the Arab world preceded the period under investigation; such early Arab poets as al-Farazdaq made frequent references to them. (112)

Important though they were, Indian swords were occasionally referred to alongside Yemenite ones, an indication of how famous Yemenite swords were. As one observer put it "a sword which is made in India and bears the Yemenite seal is a perfect one indeed." (113)

Another episode in this respect states that when the caliph al-Rashīd (A.H. 170-193 / A.D. 786-809) was contemplating taking up temporary residence in Antioch, an elderly man from that city warned him: "the best perfumes become so foul in this country that they cannot be used, and arms go rusty in this land, Commander of the Faithful, even if they were made in Kal^Cat al-Hind itself. Kal^Cat al-Hind was a great castle situated in the region of Kalah which bordered on China. In this castle Kal^Ci swords were made to be certified in the Yemen." (114)

From such an episode we can conclude that although Indian swords were of outstanding quality they still had to meet the Yemenite standards before they could be used. This resulted in a certain amount of mutual co-operation between the sword industries of both India and the Yemen.

But despite such co-operation each country had a sword-making industry of its own; there were distinctly Yemenite swords as well as Indian ones. This is indicated by the fact that the general shape differed as also did the materials from which the swords were made and the method of manufacture. (115)

But despite the mutual co-operation between India and the Yemen

in the field of sword-making there is no evidence to indicate that swords were exported from the Yemen to India. By contrast, all the available evidence tends to support the proposition that Indian swords were widely used in the Arab world.

Al-Buḥturī was reported by al-Mas'ūdī to have said: "one evening we attended al-Mutawakkil's (A.H. 232-247 / A.D. 847-861) court. Our conversation focussed on the subject of swords." They heard," al-Buḥturī went on, "of a sword of Indian origin in Basra whereupon the caliph al-Mutawakkil ordered his viceroy there to requisition it, and when the caliph was informed that the sword had been purchased by a man from the Yemen he despatched a mission to that country with orders to search for the sword and purchase it. Eventually they were able to track it down and purchase it for 10,000 dirhams. (116)

If this episode is anything to go by, it illustrates how fashionable and therefore expensive Indian swords were in the Arab world in the time of al-Mutawakkil.

However, a sword for 10,000 dirhams would have been beyond the reach of the majority of people in the Arab world and it would have been impractical to issue large armies with such weapons.

This sword must have been a special case and its price can not therefore be adopted as representing the standard prices of Indian swords in general, and it appears that trade in Indian swords was a regular feature of mercantile activity between the west coast of the Indian sub-

continent and the Yemen. This view is supported by al-Bīrūnī who, warning against the dangers posed to ships by a magnet in the sea - the Indian Ocean - and referring to methods of protecting ships against such hazards (in the Mediterranean Sea they used iron nails whereas they sewed the ships with fibre in the Indian Ocean)⁽¹¹⁷⁾ advises that "such techniques of construction are unreliable since ships still carry iron in the form of anchors and other instruments, and merchandise, especially Indian swords."⁽¹¹⁸⁾

Moreover, quoting Ibn Ḥayyān's al-Muḫtabas, Ibn Khaldūn notes that when ^CAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir د. in A.H. 350/A.D. 961, his son, al-Ḥakam al-Mustansir succeeded him in Andalusia "and on that occasion he was given gifts which included swords, arrows, shields and armour as well as Indian caps."⁽¹¹⁹⁾

Such merchandise could only have reached Andalusia through the Arab world which is an indication that Indian swords were exported to the Arab world, and from there some of them were re-exported by the Arabs to other countries.

2. Arrows and shields. Arrows and shields were used by individuals and armies alike. Al-Mas^Cūdī, who visited India, notes that the Indians as well as the Africans fashioned shields from the skins of elephants.⁽¹²⁰⁾ He adds that "when al-Amīn was besieged in

Baghdad by al-Ma'mūn's army, common people used Tibetan arrows and shields⁽¹²¹⁾ in the fighting which raged in Baghdad." However, he does not state whether these Indian weapons came from the stores of the caliphate, given the turmoil that had ensued, or whether they were available at prices the majority of people could afford.

What is certain, however, was that these Indian weapons continued to be exported to the Arab world.

Ibn Khurdādhba maintains that arrows were brought from Sind.⁽¹²²⁾ Al-Hamadhānī maintains that shields from Tibet were used in the Arab world.⁽¹²³⁾ This is in addition to the reference to their introduction by the Arabs into Andalusia in A.H. 350/A.D. 961.⁽¹²⁴⁾

3. Knives. Information on the exporting of Indian knives to the Arab world is extremely rare. Nevertheless, we have been able to trace one text which speaks of Kanbāya's knives being used in Baghdad alongside other Indian goods.⁽¹²⁵⁾

3. Shoes. Since the time of the caliph al-Rashīd (A.H. 170-193/A.D. 786-809) state revenues included in the Kharāj of Sind taxes on "two thousand pairs of shoes."⁽¹²⁶⁾

Al-Mas'ūdī refers to the importance and reputation of shoes made in the Indian city of Kanbāya.⁽¹²⁷⁾

Al-Makḍisī, moreover, maintains that shoes made in Kanbāya

were exported from Manṣūra, the capital of Sind.⁽¹²⁸⁾ In fact, historical sources provide ample evidence of the exporting of shoes from India.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan was reported by al-Ṭabarī to have said that in A.H. 225/A.D. 839 he heard the Zanj leader saying following one battle: "It was daytime, I became separated from my companions, I was left with only Muṣliḥ and a colleague; and I was wearing a Sindi pair of slippers."⁽¹²⁹⁾

Al-Jāḥiẓ mentions a conversation he had with Assad b. Jān who was notorious for his greed: "I have known him for a long time, he will carry his shoes or use a worn-out pair of shoes, painful to the user, he said: look at the Majians, they tour Basra, Baghdād, Persia, Ahwāz and the whole world wearing Sindi shoes, and someone replied: a Majian is not allowed to behave as a Muslim, on religious grounds, so you can only see him wearing Sindi shoes or else bare-footed whereas you are a Muslim."⁽¹³⁰⁾

Al-Jāḥiẓ mentions an encounter he had with his slave: Which occupation is better for you?" He said to him: "I could make Sindi shoes."⁽¹³¹⁾

Such texts indicate that Indian shoes continued to be imported and various sections of society continued to use them. The caliphate imported shoes as Kharāj and shoes were worn by the greedy, the Majian and the Zanj leader alike.

Al-Isfahānī notes that the sons of Ma^can b. Zā'ida in the time of al-Raḥīd, were wearing Sindi-manufactured

shoes. (132)

Finally, these shoes were reported to have been used in Baghdad at the time of Hikāyat Abū 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baḡhdādī⁽¹³³⁾ and in the Yemen at the time of the state of Banī Zurayc⁽¹³⁴⁾.

4. Clothing. Since the time of the caliph al-Rashid (A.H. 170-193 / A.D. 786-809) Sind-manufactured clothes were known to the caliphate. A list of Ḳharāj from Sind includes a reference to "Ḥashbashiya clothes, two thousand clothes .. and four thousand aprons."⁽¹³⁵⁾ Had these clothes not been of fine quality they would not have been included in the Ḳharāj list nor indeed would they have been used by members of the caliphal household.

Other Indian regions which were famous for the manufacturing and exporting of clothes included the city of Sindān,⁽¹³⁶⁾ the city of Barūj (Broach in Bombay state) which was famous for its Barūji clothes, Kanbāya, famous for its Kanbāya's clothes. In addition, India as a whole achieved fame as producer of velvet fabrics.⁽¹³⁷⁾

The regions of Kalāh-bār and the Ṣanf sea were famous for making aprons.⁽¹³⁸⁾ The Ḳuss country (near the river Wār) was famous for exporting certain types of coloured clothes considered to be the best of their kind.⁽¹³⁹⁾

We have a very few texts which indicate that Indian exports also included:

1. Cotton, which was reportedly exported to Zafār where it was

used for making clothes. (140)

2. There is a reference to the effect that mattresses stuffed with feathers from Indian birds of the type known as $\text{Ṣa}^{\text{c}}\text{u}^{\text{-}}$ (141) were used in Baghdad, (142) although we do not know whether these mattresses were exported as a finished product or whether they were stuffed in Baghdad with feathers imported from India.

3. Pillows and leather mats (143) were exported too.

5. Timber. India exported the following types of timber:

1. Teak. Teak was in the forefront of Indian timber exported to the Arab world. According to some sources, it was used in building in the period of the Orthodox caliphs as well as in the Umayyad period. (144) In the $\text{c}^{\text{Abbāsīd}}$ period, moreover, sources indicate that teak was used on an even greater scale, and give details about methods of importing it and its qualities. The teak tree was described as "larger than a date palm, or a walnut tree." (145) Teak was indigenous in Ballahrā's Kingdom (146), in Ṣīndābūlāt island (147) and in $\text{Kūlī}^{\text{'}}$ (148) (Kodinar), in Bombay State). From a carpenter's point of view, the dark teak "works well with the adze, drill and saw." (149) By virtue of its outstanding qualities, teak was imported

from India⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ by ships⁽¹⁵¹⁾ to Basra, Iraq and Egypt.⁽¹⁵²⁾

Al-Ṭabarī notes that in A.H. 145 / A.D. 762 when al-Mansūr started building Baghdad "he procured the amounts of teak needed for the purposes of building."⁽¹⁵³⁾ Ubulla, which was burnt down by the Zanj in A.H. 256 / A.D. 869⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ was built of teak, which was also used in the construction of Sāmarrā'.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ al-Maḥdisī maintains that the shops of Mecca were built of stone and teak. So was the city of Ṣuḥār (capital of Oman).⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ In Egypt Ḳhammāruwayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn used teak for decorating his palace.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

Together with iron, teak was used in Mosul,⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ among other places, for the construction of water-powered stone mills. It was used for the building of arched bridges and, according to al-Ṭabarī,⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ by the Zanj leader for combat purposes in southern Iraq in A.H. 269 / A.D. 882. It was used for the construction of prayer niches such as Ali's miḥrāb in Kūfa,⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ making chairs in Baghdad,⁽¹⁶¹⁾ in the building of canals⁽¹⁶²⁾ and, together with ivory,⁽¹⁶³⁾ for the decoration of houses, especially roofs, in Baghdad.

Therefore, teak must have been a familiar commodity in the Arab world. The jurist Abū Yūsuf ruled that "the theft of wood or teak is not to be punished by cutting off the thief's hand, however, the theft of objects and doors made of these materials is. If a person steals 10 dirhems worth of such property his hand shall be cut off."⁽¹⁶⁴⁾

It seems that teak continued to be imported by the Arabs; Ibn al-Mujāwir notes that it was used in the building of Ahwāb village in the Yemen in A.H.532/A.D.1137. (165)

2. Coconut Wood. India's climate which made possible the growing of coconut trees (166) gave it an advantage over the Arab world. Coconut trees were to be found in such regions as Lankabālūs (Nicobar islands) whose inhabitants mixed with visiting merchants, Sarandīb (Ceylon), Shalāhit (167) (in Sumatra), Dībajāt islands (168) (the Maldives and the Laccadives), and Sind. (169)

Texts indicate that timber from Indian coconut trees was used by the Arabs as well as the Indians in the building of ships, large and small, which sailed the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. "Omanis would go to the islands of India carrying with them cutting tools; they would fell coconut trees, leave them to dry then cut them into boards; they used coconut fibres for sewing wood together, they used coconut wood in making boats, they used its leaves to make sails, its fibre to make ropes. When they finished collecting trees, they would load them on ships which sailed back to Oman where the timber was sold and great profits were made." (170)

In the above text, the island India may have been the numerous islands of the Harkand - Bay of Bengal - and Larwī - Eastern stretches - of the Arabian Sea.

Ibn Battūta (171) notes that coconut trees were similar to date palms which abounded in the Arab world. Al-Jāhīz, moreover, refers to

the inhabitants of Hejaz's claim that Mukl or Duwam were coconut trees. ⁽¹⁷²⁾ Furthermore, coconut trees were to be found in Zafār because of its proximity to India and because climatic conditions similar to those experienced in India prevailed there. ⁽¹⁷³⁾ Why, then, should coconut timber be imported from India?

It would appear that unlike coconut timber, timbers from Duwam or date palms were not suitable for the building of ships. Moreover, the possibility that Zafārī coconut timber was not of the same quality as Indian produce cannot be ruled out, not to mention the many other uses to which coconut trees could be put: the use of its fibres for making cords for ships and its leaves for making sails. ⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ Coconut timber must have continued to be exported to the Arab world to meet continued demand on it.

3. Bamboo. Bamboo and bamboo shafts are referred to as part of Indian exports. Bamboo was brought to the Arab world from "Kalah (or Kedah, on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula), which is in India, located half way between Oman and China." ⁽¹⁷⁵⁾

Bamboo shafts and bamboo were also brought from Sind, Kūlī (Kodinar, north-west of Diu or Kor Creek (Bombay State)), and Malay (or Manībār, Malabar (Kerala)). Bamboo was indigenous in Sarandīb (Ceylon) and the region of Barūs ⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ (Barūj or Broach (Bombay state)).

Apart from Buzurk's reference that bamboo was used for

making bedsteads, ⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ sources do not give details about the uses to which bamboo and bamboo shafts were put or how widespread their use in the Arab world was. Shafts are likely to have been used in the Yemen for making arrows, for which the Yemen was famous.

6. Minerals.

1. Corundum. Corundum is described as "the finest of all indissoluble stones. It comes in four colours and types; the red, the yellow, the blue and the grey, the most valued of which is the red type known as the Bahrmānī and is similar in colour to the seeds of ripe pomegranate. The grey is the least prized." ⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

The island of Sarandīb ⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ - Ceylon - was the main source of all types of corundum. Most corundum from Sarandīb - Ceylon - had been thrown ashore from caves and the seabed by tidal waters. The King of Sarandīb - Ceylon - was reported to have imposed a "watch and guard" ⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ and is thought to have assigned to himself the best types of corundum - the red ruby - and left the rest to be traded. ⁽¹⁸¹⁾

Al-Bīrūnī reports that the caliph al-Rashīd (A.H. 170-193 / A.D. 786-809) was a keen collector of gemstones and that he had sent al-Ṣabāḥ, who happened to be al-Kindī's grandfather, to buy gems from Sarandīb and to see the king of Sarandīb's collection of jewels and gems. ⁽¹⁸²⁾ Al-Bīrūnī adds that the collection of the caliphate continued to be built up until the time of al-Muqtadir A.H. 295-320 / A.D. 908-932 who was dominated by his mother and was over indulgent and, it appears, generous to a fault. ⁽¹⁸³⁾

Given the high prices at which corundum from Sarandīb⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ was sold ("a flawless ruby stone which weighed a miskal fetched 400 dīnārs,"⁽¹⁸⁵⁾) its possession would have been restricted to caliphs, viziers and the wealthy in general. For example, the caliph al-Rashīd had a ruby (known as mountain) which weighed fourteen and a half miskals and which he purchased for 80,000 dinars.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ Al-Muktadir's uncle had a ruby which weighed 28 miskals. Abū Tāhīr Bahā' al-Dawla who lived in Basra in A.H. 389 / A.D. 998 and, together with his brother Abū Shujā^C, in Baghdad in the amirate of Bahā' al-Dawla in A.H. 392 / A.D. 1007, also owned large rubies.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ The caliph al-Mutawakkil (A.H. 232-247 / A.D. 847-861) owned a 6 kīrāṭ stone which he bought for 6,000 dīnārs.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾

The types of corundum owned by caliphs and the wealthy were of the same high quality corundum for which Sarandīb was famous. Since it had been circulated among them over a long period of time we take the view that corundum continued to be exported to the Arab world although the possibility that these precious stones had been handed down from generation to generation cannot be ruled out.

Following his conversion to Islam the Iṣbahbadh of Kābul made a gift of corundum to the caliph al-Ma'mūn and it was that same stone which used to be hung on the Ka^Cba during religious seasons.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾

2. Agate. Although some Arab regions (the Yemen and al-Maghrib) as well as Sind yielded agate, al-Bīrūnī nevertheless maintains that it

was exported from the Indian city of Barūs⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ or Barūj (Broach (Bombay State) - although it seems that it was used on a lesser scale than corundum. Yemenite agate was used for making handles for swords and knives.⁽¹⁹¹⁾ Whether or not agate imported from India was used for a similar purpose is uncertain.

3. Crystal. Crystal was brought from the Zanj island, the Dībajāt (Laccadive islands) and Kashmir to Basra where it was used for making glassware and other articles.⁽¹⁹²⁾

4. Diamonds. Diamonds were found in Sarandib islands⁽¹⁹³⁾ and were exported to Khurāsān and Iraq. Diamonds came in several colours the most prized of which were the crystal and the red. Half a miskal of diamonds fetched 100 dinars.⁽¹⁹⁴⁾

5. Lead. Abū 'l-Fidā' maintains that lead was brought from Kalah⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ (Kedah, on the western coast of the Malay peninsula) but does not give any details regarding the quantities of lead imports, their prices or uses in the Arab world.

7. Perfumes and spices. India exported the following perfumes.

1. Musk. Musk has been defined as "a blood matter which accumulates on the body of the musk beast at a certain time of the year."⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ There were conflicting accounts as to which animal yielded musk. Some sources claim that it was the "musk mouse"⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ or the "new-born deer"⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ while others held that it "had the limbs of a deer,

the claws of a cheetah, the hoof of a deer, was black and had two horns and two tusks in the lower jaw,"⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ or it was a "Tibetan dog."⁽²⁰⁰⁾ Some sources refer to it simply as the "musk beast."⁽²⁰¹⁾ To add to the confusion, some authors such as al-Jāhīz and al-Ya^cḳūbī alternate between the "musk mouse" and the musk deer when referring to the same creature.⁽²⁰²⁾ Nevertheless, sources do agree that the musk creature lived in India, Tibet, China and the land of the Turks.⁽²⁰³⁾ According to these sources musk was exported from these regions to the Arab world.

The Tibetan musk was famous in the Arab world and was exported from the port of Daybul (Karachi). Musk from India, Sind and Sarandīb was also well-known in the Arab world,⁽²⁰⁴⁾ and was exported by one of the land routes to Khurāsān and to the rest of the Islamic world.⁽²⁰⁵⁾ In the following we shall try to determine how widespread the use of musk in the Arab world was.

In Iraq, from the time of Ibn al-Furāt, an official was appointed to supervise the musk market.⁽²⁰⁶⁾ Moreover, Abū Yūsuf, the judge, referred to musk: "if a person steals ten dirhams or more worth of musk, his hand shall be cut off."⁽²⁰⁷⁾ Indian musk was easily detected by taxmen stationed in Arab ports. "When a musk shipment approaches Ubulā its fragrance betrays those merchants who try to evade taxation."⁽²⁰⁸⁾ The huge taxes levied

on musk entering the Arab world indicate that it was imported in great quantities and was, therefore, used on a large scale. In this respect, Buzurk reports Iṣḥāq b. al-Yahūdī, who had been closely associated with dealers in Oman, to have said that he had had a quarrel with someone and as a result he had to flee Oman to India. When he returned to Oman in A.H. 300 / A.D. 912, he was reported by a seaman to have returned from China on a boat loaded with merchandise which belonged to him and of which he told Aḥmad b. Hilāl - the ruler of Oman - that his musk was worth over 1,000,000 dīnārs. Moreover, he sold to Aḥmad b. Marwān 100,000 miskals of top quality musk at one stroke. (209)

It is highly likely that he had brought that musk from India rather than China since Chinese musk was known to the Arabs to have been of inferior quality, as it was bound to be spoilt by sea humidity during its long sea journey from China to the Arab world. (210) Dārīn (211) in Bahrein was one of the main Arab ports in which Indian ships carrying musk docked. (212) Musk was used "to treat heart illnesses, to stop bleeding, and was used in making eye kohl." (213) Good quality musk was described as "rather reddish with a strong pleasant fragrance and tastes moderately bitter; these characteristics should be borne in mind as musk might be adulterated through the use of other substances." (214) Sources make frequent references to the use in large quantities of musk by caliphs in their circumcision and wedding ceremonies, (215)

to the gifts of musk exchanged among caliphs and rulers⁽²¹⁶⁾ and indicate that viziers kept large quantities of musk.⁽²¹⁷⁾ Nevertheless, the prices of musk could not have been high and people with average incomes would almost certainly have been able to buy it since it was used not just as perfume but also as medicine, because it was imported in very large quantities and may have been produced inside the Arab world itself in a process which would have involved using other perfumes such as aloes-wood, camphor, cloves and spikenard.⁽²¹⁸⁾

Finally, a reference that musk was used by water suppliers in mugs⁽²¹⁹⁾ serves as an indication of how cheap and widely used it was.

2. Camphor. Camphor was obtained from the camphor tree which, according to Ibn Khurdādhba "could shade over a hundred people."⁽²²⁰⁾ Ibn Baṭṭūta, however, described it as "reeds similar to our own save that its stalks are longer and larger."⁽²²¹⁾ Clearly there is discrepancy between the two accounts. Camphor was said to have been extracted by drilling a hole in the tree from which camphor liquid comes together with the camphor gum, and as a result the tree dies.⁽²²²⁾

The camphor tree was widely cultivated in and exported from such Indian regions as Kalah island⁽²²³⁾ (Kedah, on the western coast of the Malay peninsula), Rāminī island⁽²²⁴⁾ (or Rāmī, Sumatra), the Zābaj mountains⁽²²⁵⁾ (Java), Kayṣūr⁽²²⁶⁾ (perhaps Fanṣūr), the Kingdom of the Mahrāj, and Lankabālūs⁽²²⁷⁾ (Nicobar islands).

There are numerous historical references to the uses of camphor in the Arab world. The best type of camphor "is known as Rabāḥī, other types are Marjānī with larger seeds, rather dark, and Kandarj - which is similar to the teak sawdust. Rabāḥī camphor brought from Fanṣūr is an ingredient of many medicines." (228) There is also a reference which states that the best type of camphor "has a sweet taste, a pleasant smell and should be kept in glass bottles." (229)

Some sources indicate that camphor was blended with other substances such as aloes-wood, cloves and spikenard to prepare musk, that it was obtained using other materials such as Arabian gum, (230) and that it was used for medicinal purposes (231) and as a perfume. Hence the references to the possession of camphor by caliphs, viziers, etc., (232) who used it themselves and gifted it to other rulers. (233)

Cases of camphor being adulterated were not unheard of. (234) Camphor was referred to in A.H. 366 / A.D. 976 among Indian exports arriving in the ports of the Arabian peninsula. (235) Moreover, ibn Jubayr maintains that he had seen it together with other Indian goods in Mecca. (236) This indicates that camphor was exported to the Arab world over a long period of time.

3. Ambergris. Al-Mas^cūdī maintains that "like certain varieties of mushroom, ambergris is formed on the seabed, when the sea becomes rough it casts it ashore together with stones." (237) Al-Anṣārī al-Dimaṣḥī,

on the other hand, maintains that ambergris "comes from springs located on mountains on the seabed, when it flows from the springs it is extremely foamy and hot, but when it comes in contact with water it becomes solid like wax and piles up on stone, where it remains until winter comes when the sea becomes rough and casts it ashore." (238)

This account corresponds in some instances to al-Mas'ūdī's. The fact that ambergris originates at sea means that various littoral countries could have collected it. The Shihr regions were famous for their ambergris, (239) so were the Maghrib, China, and Abyssinia.

However, there is no evidence that ambergris from Shihr or the Maghrib was exported to India (perhaps it was consumed within the Arab world itself). By contrast, Indian ambergris was exported to the Arab world from the following regions: the islands of Shalāhit (240) (in Sumatra), the Zābaj (241) (Java), and Lankabālūs (Nicobar islands), with whose inhabitants merchants bartered iron for ambergris and coconuts. (242)

Ambergris from Shalāhit (in Sumatra), especially the extra fatty blue type, stood out among other Indian types of ambergris. This type was an ingredient of several perfumes. (243)

Al-Nuwayrī refers to the existence of another type of ambergris which he calls Indian ambergris, and maintains that it was brought to Basra and other regions from the coasts of India. Al-Nuwayrī adds that there was yet another type of ambergris of Indian origin named after

its importers, the Karak Bālūs (Indians), who brought it by sea to Oman where it was purchased. ⁽²⁴⁴⁾

Ambergris seems to have been a familiar commodity in the Arab world. Abū Yūsuf, the judge for instance, ruled that if a person stole ten dīnārs or more worth of ambergris his hand would be cut off. ⁽²⁴⁵⁾

According to the information available, ambergris seems to have been blended with musk to make ghāliya (a type of perfume). It may also have been obtained in a process involving the blending of spikenard with wax. Moreover, sandalwood oil may have been obtained by mixing ambergris with camphor and aloes-wood. ⁽²⁴⁶⁾

Ambergris was used to perfume the walls of the Ka^cba as had happened in the time of the caliph al-Mahdī. ⁽²⁴⁷⁾ This was confirmed by Jamīla, the daughter of Nāṣir al-Dawla who had gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca. ⁽²⁴⁸⁾ It was also used in ceremonies. For instance, it was used at the wedding of al-Ma'mūn, ⁽²⁴⁹⁾ and at the circumcision of al-Mutawakkil. ⁽²⁵⁰⁾ The caliph al-Muqtadir and his mother were said to have possessed large quantities of ambergris in A.H. 320 / A.D. 932. Moreover, the caliph al-Ḳāhir's (A.H. 320-322 / A.D. 932-934) gift to Muḥammad b. Tukīn on the occasion of the latter's accession as governor of Egypt, included quantities of ambergris. ⁽²⁵¹⁾ The vizier Ibn al-Furāt was said to have possessed a large quantity of ambergris in A.H. 306 / A.D. 918. ⁽²⁵²⁾

The use of ambergris was by no means confined to Iraq, some

sources indicate that it was used in Egypt in the time of the Fāṭimids⁽²⁵³⁾ and in the Yemen in the time of the state of Ibn Ziyād in A.H.366/A.D.976.⁽²⁵⁴⁾

Ambergris exports to the Arab world seem to have continued; Ibn Jubayr maintains that he had seen it together with other Indian merchandise in Mecca.⁽²⁵⁵⁾ As we have seen, some ambergris consumed in the Arab world had been produced in the Arab world itself.

4. Indian aloes-wood. Indian aloes-wood is described as perfumery at its best.⁽²⁵⁶⁾ Quoting people associated with the aloes-wood trade, al-Nuwayrī points out that aloes-wood was obtained from giant non-fruit bearing trees similar to the oak with long roots. It was, he maintained, the roots rather than the rest of the tree which yielded the perfume. Al-Nuwayrī adds that the tree was widely cultivated in such Indian regions⁽²⁵⁷⁾ as Kāmarūn⁽²⁵⁸⁾ or Kāmarūn⁽²⁵⁹⁾ (Kamrūp, probably the ranges in Bhutan, north of the Goalpara and Kamrup districts of Assam), Java island,⁽²⁶⁰⁾ the Ṣanf island⁽²⁶¹⁾ (the Ṣanf sea is the sea of Indo-China), Inner Kashmūr (Kashmir valley), Ceylon,⁽²⁶²⁾ Mandal (in Kāmarūn), Samundūr or Samundar, (between Ganjam and Baruva (Orissa) or in the delta of the Ganges), Kalah (Kedah, on the western coast of the Malay peninsula), and Ṣindafūr⁽²⁶³⁾ (perhaps Sindābūr, Siddhāpur, south of Goa).

Different types of aloes-wood were known to the Arabs according to their places of origin; there was Ṣanfi⁽²⁶⁴⁾ aloes-wood, the Mandali⁽²⁶⁵⁾

and so on. Moreover, the Arabs were able to identify high-quality brands: "The best type of Indian aloes-wood is the one which comes from Mandal, the harder it is the better. If it is wet, good quality aloes-wood can be recognized by pressing the inscribed gems of a ring on it and it will leave marks, if it is dry then the fire will reveal its good qualities. If applied to a piece of clothing, its aroma will persist for over a week and it keeps lice away." (266) On the other hand, the Sanfi type of aloes-wood was described as "the worst type and is no better than firewood." (267)

It seems that Indian aloes-wood was extremely fashionable in the Arab world. For instance, the caliph al-Mansūr (A.H. 136-158 / A.D. 754-775) ordered a large quantity of Indian aloes-wood to be brought from India. Aḥmad b. Ya^Ckūb, moreover, was reported to have declared that "as far as sweetness and bitterness, endurance and resistance to fire is concerned, Indian aloes-wood is second to none." On the virtues of Indian aloes-wood and why caliphs preferred it, Muḥammad b. al-^CAbbās al-Miskī said that "its bitterness is welcome as it checks lice." As caliphs and kings preferred to use it as incense it has become extremely fashionable and dearer than other types of perfumes." (268)

Indian aloes-wood was also described as "stable, darkish, when it is burnt, it emits an aroma similar to that of Līnūfar (perhaps Nīlūfar, a great white water lily) . Wet aloes-wood which is soft and has a pungent taste was used mainly as a medicament." (269)

Another type of aloes-wood - al-Kuṣṭ - was imported from Lower Kashmir (Kashmir valley) and used as a medicine and incense.⁽²⁷⁰⁾ Indian aloes-wood was transported not just by sea but also by land. It was transported by land from the southern coasts of India to Kābul and from there it was exported.⁽²⁷¹⁾ In view of the many uses of Indian aloes-wood in the Arab world, it would have been imported in substantial quantities.⁽²⁷²⁾ Moreover, the fact that it was used as medicine indicates that it was sold at prices the majority of people could afford.

In the time of al-Rashīd, the Kharāj from Sind included 150 Manns (1 Mann equals 2 rotls) of Indian aloes-wood and another 150 Manns of other types of aloes-wood.⁽²⁷³⁾ In the time of al-Ma'mūn, moreover, the Kharāj from Sind included 150 rotls of Indian aloes-wood.⁽²⁷⁴⁾ Abū Yūsuf, the judge, ruled that if a person stole ten dirhams or more worth of aloes-wood his hand would be cut off.⁽²⁷⁵⁾ Cases of adulterating aloes-wood were not unheard of.⁽²⁷⁶⁾ Finally, Ibn Jubayr maintained that he had seen Indian aloes-wood being bought and sold in Mecca;⁽²⁷⁷⁾ an indication that it continued to be exported from India to the Arab world.

5. Pepper. The pepper tree is described as high and requiring a great deal of water. "The fruits which are in spikes are shed by the wind on the ground and are then collected."⁽²⁷⁸⁾ .

Pepper was widely cultivated in and exported from such Indian regions as the Manibar (Malabar (Kerala)) especially the city of Manjūr⁽²⁷⁹⁾, the city of Barūṣ (Broach (Bombay State)), the island of Malay (perhaps Kūlam Malay), Ḳuilonī (Kerala) - which produced enormous amounts of pepper, Sindān⁽²⁸⁰⁾ (Sanjān, 50 miles north of Thana (Bombay State)), and the mountains of Sarandīb⁽²⁸¹⁾ (Ceylon).

High quality pepper was described as "free from dust, pebbles, unburnt and unspoil. White pepper has a different form and colour, it is used in medicine but not in the production of food."⁽²⁸²⁾

Some sources indicate that pepper was exported in large quantities by Indians to the Arab world where it was used as a spice by caliphs⁽²⁸³⁾ and ordinary people alike.⁽²⁸⁴⁾ Its price, therefore, could not have been very high.

Pepper was exported by the sea route; Ibn Jubayr maintains that caravans operated what amounted to a shuttle service between the Egyptian city of Ḳawṣ and the port of ^CAydhāb carrying Indian merchandise which, according to him, included consignments of pepper: "There was so much pepper being unloaded that we thought it must have been as cheap as sand."⁽²⁸⁵⁾ Pepper was also re-exported from the Arab world via the Mediterranean Sea to Europe.⁽²⁸⁶⁾

It was, according to al-Maḳdisī, exported from the city of Nurmāsīn which was situated on the pilgrim Sijistān highway in Kirmān⁽²⁸⁷⁾ in Iran.

6. Sandal Wood. A scented wood from giant trees⁽²⁸⁸⁾ that was exported to the Arab world from the following Indian regions:⁽²⁸⁹⁾ Ceylon,⁽²⁹⁰⁾ Shalāhit⁽²⁹¹⁾ (in Sumatra), the Zābaj⁽²⁹²⁾ (Java), Tāfin⁽²⁹³⁾ (Takka-deśa), Kumār or Kāmarūn (Kāmarūpa), and Sufālat of India.⁽²⁹⁴⁾

The uses of sandal wood were as numerous as its species. Although its scent was said to weaken the sex drive,⁽²⁹⁵⁾ the red odourless kind was nevertheless used in treating tumours and for fashioning ornaments. The pleasant-smelling yellow species was used in the preparation of perfumes, for fashioning beads, and was an ingredient of several medicines. The white species was noted for its pleasant fragrance. There were other less important species of sandal wood.⁽²⁹⁶⁾

Sandal wood was used for building balconies; during the siege of Baghdad, the caliph al-Amīn (A.H. 193-198 / A.D. 809-813) would sit on a "balcony made of aloes-wood and sandal wood."⁽²⁹⁷⁾ It is said, moreover, that Zubayda, the caliph al-Rashīd's wife, was the first to have built domes of "silver, ebony, and sandal wood."⁽²⁹⁸⁾ However, this particular use of sandal wood would, in our opinion, have been confined to caliphal households.

Imported sandal wood was used on a wide scale for medical purposes; in A.H. 326 / A.D. 972 al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥla had his hand treated with a mixture of camphor, sandal wood and rose water,⁽²⁹⁹⁾ and it was

also used as a perfume. It was with an eye to the latter use that al-Kindi attempted to vaporize sandal wood sap and demonstrated how the sap could be obtained by blending aloes-wood with camphor and ambergris in certain proportions. (300)

Sandal wood was used not just in Iraq but also in Egypt in the time of the Fāṭimids, (301) in the Arabian peninsula in the time of Abū Ziyād (A.H. 366 / A.D. 976) (302) and perhaps in other regions.

7. Cloves. Al-Ya^ckūbi held that cloves were "one species, the best variety of which is the dry sweet-smelling flowers ... the fruits are similar to date-pits or olive stones and are said to come from giant trees similar to the lotus trees." Other sources maintain that the clove was similar to the citron tree or that it was a tree whose leaves were none other than the Indian Sādḥij; since Sādḥij tastes of cloves." (303) Clove trees were "too many to have owners." (304)

India was famous for its cloves (305) which were exported to the Arab world (306) from such regions as Shalāḥiṭ (307) (in Sumatra), Sufālat of India, (308) Barṭāyīl, Java island (309) and Sarandīb (310) (Ceylon). The best cloves are described as "the strong-smelling Kabāḥḥ if it is unspoil and free from husk." (311)

Cloves were used "to strengthen the heart, to clean the liver, to stop vomiting caused by humidity, indigestion or cholera. If ground with Syrian apple and its juice extracted and taken by the

chronically ill his nausea will subside ... It has a pleasant fragrance. Oil distilled from it is used in preparing many perfumes especially the ones used by women, pastes and medicines; it is also used in fermentation." (312)

Some episodes indicate that clove merchants did not have a chance to meet the inhabitants of the regions with which they traded; they would leave their money in certain places and later find it replaced by cloves. (313)

Cloves were one of the Indian commodities that were exempted from the one-tenth tax. (314)

8. Indian spikenard. Spikenard is a herbaceous plant native to India and Tibet. It comes in two types: the yellowish which is the best and the darkish. (315) The dried roots of spikenard yield an oil used in perfumery. They also yield medicines used as stimulants, tonics, etc.

Information at our disposal indicates that spikenard was exported to the Arab world. For instance it was known to the Arabs: "the best type of spikenard," one source maintains, "is the purified red then the kind which is sweet-smelling, yellow with white shades, the latter is not used in high-quality perfumery." (316)

There is a reference to the effect that officials were sent to inspect ships carrying spikenard from India and bound for, among other destinations, Ubulia, with a view to eliminating poisonous snakes which infested spikenard plantations. (317)

Moreover, al-Kindī makes frequent references to spikenard and to his extraction of its sap which he blended with other substances such as aloes-wood, camphor and cloves to make musk. Al-Kindī also mixed spikenard sap with wax and other substances to make ambergris. (318)

It is thought that the volume of spikenard exports was below that of aloes-wood or musk, for instance.

9. Dragon's blood. Al-Kindī used dragon's blood (Dam al-Aḫawayn), a gum that was brought from Suḳūṭrā island and India (319) to make musk and aloes-wood. (320)

8. Fānīdh. Fānīdh was a type of candy made in Sind (321) from sugarcane. (322) It was exported to Iraq and Khurāsān among other regions. Makrān, in Iran, Māsakān, in Ṭūrān (Baluchistan), Ṭūrān, (the region around Khuzdar in the eastern parts of the Kalat state (Baluchistan)), Ḳuṣḍār (Ḳuzdār, Khuzdar (Baluchistan) and Khirdhān), were famous centres for exporting it. (323)

Al-Balādhurī quotes one of the caliph al-Manṣūr's entourage as having said that "al-Manṣūr would distribute among us sustenance including fānīdh and antidotes," (324) a clear indication that fānīdh was known to the Arabs. Moreover, in the time of the caliph al-Ma'mūn (A.H.198-218/A.D.813-833), Khārāj returns from Sijistān included twenty rotls of fānīdh. (325)

Fānīdh exports to the Arab world seem to have continued even after the reign of al-Ma'mūn had ended. Al-Idrīsī, for instance, indicates

that the city of Kīzkānān - Kalat (Baluchistan) - was famous for its fānīdh. (326) Al-Ḥamawī, moreover, maintains that "fānīdh exports come mainly from Makrān, only a small amount comes from the locality of Māsakān" (327) - in Tūrān (Baluchistan). These are almost the same regions to which al-Maḥdisī and al-Iṣṭakhri had earlier referred.

The fact that fānīdh was referred to in Ḥikāyat Abī 'l-Kāsim al-Baghdādī under foods, "it melts in the mouth," (328) indicates that its consumption was by no means confined to caliphal circles.

9. Myrobalan. Myrobalan is a yellow fruit which becomes dark when it is ripe. The most famous variety was known as Kābulī. Myrobalan was used as a medicament to treat diphtheria, mental disorders and to relieve headaches. (329)

Referring to the contents of the treasury of the caliphate in the time of the caliph al-Ma'mun, Ibn Khaldūn maintains that Khurāsān's contribution to the treasury included 30,000 rotls of myrobalan. (330) Ibn Khaldūn was probably referring to Indian regions which were administratively part of Khurāsān since al-Bīrūnī asserts that myrobalan was brought from the southern coasts of India (from Jālhandar) to Kābul. (331) In addition, there is no evidence to suggest that Khurāsān produced myrobalan. Even if myrobalan were cultivated in the mountains of Kābul, (332) the product would almost certainly have been of little importance.

This proposition is supported by Abū 'l-Fidā': "Myrobalan was attributed to Kābul," he maintains. (333) Al-Idrīsī, moreover, refers to Kabul simply as "an Indian city, bordering on Tukhāristān - the district that lay to the eastward of Balkh, stretching along the south of the Oxus as far as Badakhshān - which has merchandise such as Kābulī myrobalan." (334)

There are several indications that myrobalan continued to be exported to the Arab world by land and sea. Myrobalan is referred to in later periods by Ibn Khurdādhba, (335) and al-Bīrūnī who maintains that it was exported through Kābul. Ibn al-Mujāwir indicates that myrobalan was one of the Indian commodities exempted from the tithe. (336) There are also indications that it was available at perfumers' shops and that, like camphor and aloes-wood, it was occasionally adulterated. (337)

10. Indigo. Al-Zabīdī maintains that indigo was obtained from the ^CIzlim plant (dyer's weed) and from another plant with hard stems and small leaves. Indigo, a blue dyestuff was extracted from ^Cizlim in a process whereby the leaves were submerged in hot water, which would remove the dye, which would sink to the bottom. The water was then removed and the substance left to dry.

Al-Zabīdī adds that indigo was used as a medicament to "prevent tumours, as a painkiller, to check spots, leprosy, to relieve the pain of menstruation, to treat alopecia, fireburns and to relieve depression." (338)

Indigo was exported from Sind⁽³³⁹⁾ and Kābul, which was famous for its indigo exports and was mentioned by Ibn Ḥawkal:
 "roads stretch from Kābul and head everywhere, its merchants put the value of indigo sold in Kābul at around 2,000,000 dīnārs, although the amounts I saw were less than that, probably because of the turmoil."⁽³⁴⁰⁾

Al-Idrīsī maintains that Kābul was famous for cultivating and exporting indigo to various parts of the world.⁽³⁴¹⁾ This indicates that the turmoil to which Ibn Ḥawkal referred with its disruptive effects on the indigo trade did not last very long.

11. Trees and fruits. Indian exports to the Arab world included:

1. Trees and plants. Al-Mas'ūdī maintains that such subtropical trees as bitter orange, and citron had been introduced in Oman, Basra and the rest of Iraq, Syria, Antioch and the coasts of Palestine and Egypt.⁽³⁴²⁾ He adds that the caliph al-Kāhir (A.H. 320-322 / A.D. 932-934) had a garden near by a Jarīb - a patch of arable land - in which bitter orange trees from Basra and Oman were grown. These trees had originally come from India after A.H. 300 / A.D. 912.⁽³⁴³⁾ Moreover, the possibility that coconut trees which were known in the Hejaz as Doum palm trees⁽³⁴⁴⁾ had been brought from India and had adapted to the new climatic conditions in the Hejaz cannot be ruled out. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa indicates that coconut trees were found in Zafār⁽³⁴⁵⁾ This is supported by Ibn al-Mujāwir who refers to Zafār as al-Mansūra.⁽³⁴⁶⁾

Other Indian trees cultivated in several Arab regions included tamarind, Anbaj (like a peach) and Tānbūl⁽³⁴⁷⁾ (betel). Tānbūl is a non-fruit - bearing Indian tree with pleasant-smelling yellow leaves valued by the Indians.⁽³⁴⁸⁾ Al-Mas^Cūdī notes that the leaves were chewed with other materials, Nūrah and Fūfal,⁽³⁴⁹⁾ and maintains that they were used by the inhabitants of Mecca, the Hejaz and the Yemen as an appetizer. According to al-Mas^Cūdī they were used as a medicine to treat ulcers, for the strengthening of the palate and the teeth and could be bought at chemists' shops;⁽³⁵⁰⁾ which is an indication of how widespread their use was.

Several Indian plants were cultivated in the Arab region. Those in Egypt included myrobalan and pepper,⁽³⁵¹⁾ both of which were cultivated in Upper Egypt. Indigo plants were found in Palestine and Egypt⁽³⁵²⁾ and ginger in Oman and the Maghrib.⁽³⁵³⁾ This seems to lend weight to al-Mas^Cūdī's above mentioned account.

2. Fruits. Some sources indicate that although Indian trees had been exported to and cultivated in the Arab world, their produce was insufficient to meet demand there, and such fruits as coconut,⁽³⁵⁴⁾ bitter orange,⁽³⁵⁵⁾ citron,⁽³⁵⁶⁾ myrobalan,⁽³⁵⁷⁾ and probably preserved Anbaj and ginger⁽³⁵⁸⁾ had to be imported from India.

12. Animals. India exported the following animals to the Arab world:

1. Elephants. Most sources agree that there were two kinds of elephant, the African and the Indian elephant.⁽³⁵⁹⁾ However, there is

no evidence to suggest that elephants were imported from Africa although the possibility that they were imported from North Africa in particular cannot be ruled out. By contrast, there is a lot of evidence which indicates that elephants were imported from India. (360)

Al-Jāhiz indicates that elephants were known in Iraq, if not in other Arab provinces. He maintains that elephants were seen in Baghdad and refers to the "elephant's caretakers", and to poetry dedicated to elephants. He quotes replies to claims that they could not reproduce in their new habitat, Iraq and explains how ivory was obtained from their tusks. He confirms the existence of pastures for elephants only and maintains that there were gates in such cities as Basra, Kufa and Wāsīt known as "the elephant's gates". He further maintains that elephants were seen in Sāmarrā', (361) too. The caliph al-Mansūr, moreover, was known to have kept "forty elephants, twenty of which were males." (362)

Indian elephants found their way to the zoos of the caliphs in several ways. They were gifted to caliphs by Indian kings and by their own viceroys there; an elephant was given as a gift by some Indian kings to the caliph al-Ma'mūn (363) and two more elephants were sent from Kābul by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir. (364) Furthermore, elephants were brought from Sind as a part of its Kharāj to the caliphate. (365)

Elephants were used by the Indians in war and for transport. (366)
The Indians, but not the Arabs, fashioned leather shields from elephants'

skins. ⁽³⁶⁷⁾ Most sources indicate that elephants were used in Baghdad and Sāmarrā' to parade outlaws and opponents of the caliphate before they were executed. Examples of opponents humiliated in this way before they were executed include Bābak al-Khurrāmī who was executed in Sāmarrā' by order of the caliph al-Mu^ctaṣim ⁽³⁶⁸⁾ (A.H. 218-227 / A.D. 833-842), Hārūn al-Shārī who was executed in A.H. 283 / A.D. 896 by order of the caliph al-Mu^ctadīd ⁽³⁶⁹⁾ (A.H. 279-289 / A.D. 892-902), and Abū 'l-Shāma, the Carmathian leader who was executed in A.H. 291 / A.D. 903 by order of the caliph al-Muktafī. ⁽³⁷⁰⁾

It is worth mentioning that successive caliphs kept elephants; elephants were kept by al-Manṣūr, al-Ma'mūn, al-Mu^ctaṣim, al-Mu^ctadīd, al-Muktafī and al-Muqtadir (A.H. 295-320 / A.D. 908-932), who treated a Roman envoy to a parade of elephants driven by people from Sind. ⁽³⁷¹⁾ That successive caliphs should have kept elephants is an indication that elephants continued to be exported to the Arab world. These elephants are thought to have been transported to Iraq by land and sea. ⁽³⁷²⁾

2. Buffaloes. Al-Mas^cūdī and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who had both visited India, observed that buffaloes were bred in large numbers in India. ⁽³⁷³⁾ Buffaloes may have begun to be imported into the Arab world since the conquest in A.H. 92 or 93 / A.D. 710 or 711 of Sind by Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim al-Thaḳafī. Al-Thaḳafī is reported by al-Balādhurī to have sent to al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaḳafī, the then viceroy of Iraq, 4,000

buffaloes. The viceroy sent some of these buffaloes to the caliph al-Walīd and kept the rest, for himself in the region of Kaskar.

When Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was defeated, his properties in Iraq were confiscated by Yazīd b. ^CAbd'al-Malik. The confiscated property included 4,000 buffaloes kept in the regions of the Tigris and Kaskar. The confiscated buffaloes were sent to Maṣṣīṣa (on the River Ceyhan, east of Adana (Turkey)), thus bringing the total of buffaloes in that region to 8,000. Moreover, the buffaloes of Antioch and Būka⁽³⁷⁴⁾ (a village in the area of Antioch) were originally introduced by the Zutt (Jats).

Al-Balādhurī, also, refers to the arrival in Iraq (in the Baṭā'ih region) of the Zutt, and maintains that these new arrivals from Sind threatened stability in southern Iraq in the time of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu^Ctaṣim. Routes and ships were especially vulnerable to their raids.⁽³⁷⁵⁾ Al-Mas^Cūdī, on the other hand, maintains that the Zutt in southern Iraq were mainly buffalo breeders and that, when in the time of al-Mu^Ctaṣim, they began to represent a source of instability, they were dispersed in such regions as Khānaḳīn, Jalawlā', the roads of Khurāsān and the Thughūr of Syria and thus buffaloes were introduced into Syria for the first time.⁽³⁷⁶⁾

An examination of al-Balādhurī's and al-Mas^Cūdī's accounts will reveal a lapse between the time when buffaloes were seen in Iraq in the time of al-Ḥajjāj (al-Balādhurī's account) and their introduction into Iraq

by Zutṭ in the time of al-Mu^Ctaṣim and their subsequent exodus to the Thughūr of Syria (al-Mas^Cūdī's account). This means that either new waves of Zutṭ arrived with their buffaloes in Iraq in the time of al-Mu^Ctaṣim or that, during the Umayyad period, buffaloes were not completely moved from Iraq to Syria.

Another indication that buffaloes were kept in large numbers in the Arab world is provided by Abū^C Ubayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām who maintains that, like cattle breeders, buffalo breeders were liable to pay alms on them.⁽³⁷⁷⁾ Al-Ṭabarī, moreover, maintains that buffaloes were seen in south Iraq during the events of A.H. 269/A.D. 882 (the war between al-Muwaffaq and the Zanj leader).⁽³⁷⁸⁾

Fights between lions and buffaloes were reported to have been al-Mu^Ctaṣim's favourite form of entertainment.⁽³⁷⁹⁾

Buffaloes were kept in Syria as a whole as in Antioch mainly as draft animals and for milk and hides.⁽³⁸⁰⁾ In the Thughūr, however, they were used to keep lions away, since lions dreaded them, and for pulling carts.⁽³⁸¹⁾

3. Camels. There were two important kinds of camel in India: the Bukhtī or Bukhātī, and the Fālij.⁽³⁸²⁾

The Fālij is described as "massive and having two humps and being brought from Sind specifically for breeding."⁽³⁸³⁾ The region

of Budha which was situated between the boundaries of Makrān and Tūrān, Multān and the city of Maṣūra, was a famous breeding centre. Fālij camels were exported to Khurāsān, Persia and wherever the Fālij kind was found. (384)

The Bukhtī kind was raised by breeding Arabian she-camels and Fālij camels. (385) The city of Kābul was famous for this kind of camel, (386) which was rated the best camel.

From the above references we conclude that the Arabs would have been able to raise Bukhtī camels by importing Fālij camels and breeding them with Arabian camels. However, it is unlikely that the Arabs secured Bukhtī camels in sufficient numbers in this way. The breeders in Kābul presumably imported Arabian camels and bred them with their own Fālij camels, so that Kābul became famous for Bukhtī camels, although the sources do not mention this.

Fālij camels were used by caliphs, as well as elephants, to parade their opponents by way of humiliating them before they were executed. Among those who suffered this fate were Hārūn al-Shārī and Amr b. al-Layth, who were executed in A.H. 283 / A.D. 896 and A.H. 288 / A.D. 900 respectively by order of al-Muṭtaḍid. (387)

The main aim behind the importing of Fālij camels seems to have been to obtain the Jawāmiz kind of camel, which were famous for their speed and inherited the characteristics of both Arabian and Bukhtī camels. (388)

Abū^c Ubayd maintains that the amounts of alms given on Bukhtī camels were the same as those given on any other kinds of camel;⁽³⁸⁹⁾ an indication that Bukhtī camels were found in the Arab world.

5. Rhinoceroses. The rhinoceros was known to the Arabs as an Indian animal and was thought to have been indigenous to the Rāmī island (Sumatra) as well as other regions.⁽³⁹⁰⁾ Al-Jāhiz makes frequent references to the rhinoceros, which he classes with the elephant and the buffalo. He maintains that rhinoceros horns were exported from Basra to China "because horns reach us before they reach them." He notes that the rhinoceros was highly valued by the Indians, "the Indians were more infatuated with the rhinoceros than they were with the elephant."⁽³⁹¹⁾ Whether al-Jāhiz had seen rhinoceroses in Iraq or whether his observations were based on accounts provided by merchants is uncertain. Moreover, rhinoceros horns re-exported from Basra to China would have been originally brought from Africa. It is unlikely that the numbers of rhinoceroses were large enough to make possible the exporting of horns on a commercial scale.

Al-Tha^calībī, however, may have seen rhinoceroses in Iraq or in other Arab provinces since he makes a direct reference to the importing of rhinoceroses from India,⁽³⁹²⁾ although he does not mention the exact region where he saw them nor does he give any information regarding their numbers.

5. Other animals. There is a very little information which indicates that the following animals were imported into the Arab world:

1. Lions. Al-Jāḥiẓ maintains that Indian and African animals were seen in Iraq. (393)
2. Leopards and tigers. Al-Jāḥiẓ also maintains that leopards and tigers were brought from India. (394)
3. The greyhound - Salūkī - was exported from India to the Arab world. (395)

13. Hair. Al-Mas'ūdī is the only historian to have pointed to the existence of a special type of hair known as al-Ḍamar which was imported from India as it entered in the making of fly - whisks (Madhābb) with ivory or silver. That type of hair was brought from the kingdom of Dahmy. (396)

14. Birds. The following Indian birds were known to the Arabs:

1. Chickens. According to al-Tha'ālibī some types of chickens, peafowls and talking parrots were imported into the Arab world from India. (397) According to al-Hamadḥānī's account, Sindi chickens were imported from Saraṇḍīb (398) (Ceylon).

Al-Jāḥiẓ refers to the Indian cocks known as Khalāsī which were bred from Indian and Persian varieties. He also refers to Nabataen, Sindi, African, Chinese and other varieties and maintains that he had seen chickens of Indian origin. (399)

From all this we conclude that the importing of chickens into the Arab world was not confined to Indian varieties. Chickens were imported from all over the world and new varieties were developed by breeding chickens from different regions. The Khalāsī was but one of the types of chickens bred in this way.

References contained in Hikāyat Abī 'l-Kāsim al-Baghdādī and echoed by al-Tanūkhī⁽⁴⁰⁰⁾ indicate that Indian chickens provided a better source of meat than any other type of chicken.

2. Peafowls. Peafowls were considered to be Indian birds.⁽⁴⁰¹⁾ Al-Mas'ūdī, who visited India, maintains that he saw them there: "I have seen peacocks with fine feathers in India, their colours are hard to describe because of their iridescent nature, the birds are large and have large feathers."⁽⁴⁰²⁾

There is a lot of evidence which indicates that peafowls were found in the Arab world. Poems were written in appreciation of their resplendence and they were considered to be the epitome of beauty: "as beautiful as a peacock," ran an Arab proverb. One source claims that the young would be smaller than their normal size if the eggs were sat on by a chicken, a practice apparently known in the Arab world.⁽⁴⁰³⁾ Al-Hamadhānī maintains that peafowls were imported from Sarandīb (Ceylon) whereas green and spotted ones were imported from Zābaj⁽⁴⁰⁴⁾ (Java).

Al-Mas'ūdī maintains that peafowls bred in the Arab world tended to have different colours and to be smaller: "The young are

smaller with dull colours, they seem to lose their iridescence . . . , peafowls, especially peacocks, have very little in common with Indian breeds." (405) Refuting claims that elephants could not reproduce in Iraq because of the effects of their new different habitat, al-Jāḥiẓ argues: "if this were true, peafowls would not have been able to reproduce in our land." (406) al-Jāḥiẓ was clearly stating that peafowls were raised in Iraq and that there was no reason, therefore, why elephants should not reproduce in Iraq as well.

It is worth mentioning that there was an enclosure known as the "peacock house" which formed a part of the caliphal household in Baghdad in the time of the caliph al-Muṭīʿ bi Allāh (407) (A.H. 334-336 / A.D. 946-948).

3. Talking parrots. Al-Anṣārī al-Dimaṣḥī classifies parrots as "Indian, Abyssinian, Nubian, Ghanaian and Chinese." (408) However, there is no evidence to suggest that parrots were imported into the Arab world from any country other than India. We, therefore, believe that al-Dimaṣḥī was merely stating that parrots were found in these regions rather than implying that they were actually exported from these regions to the Arab world. Al-Hamadḥānī, however, maintains that parrots were brought from Sarandīb (Ceylon) and that Zābaj (Java) was famous for its white, red, and yellow-feathered talking parrots. (409)

In the course of describing the caliph al-Ḳāḥir bi Allāh's (A.H. 320-322 / A.D. 932-933) garden, al-Masʿūdī maintains that it included

parrots as well as other birds which the caliph had imported from various regions. ⁽⁴¹⁰⁾ Although al-Mas^cūdī does not specify the origin of these birds, we, nevertheless, believe that they were imported from India in view of the strong commercial ties between the caliphate and India and also of the fact that parrots were native to that country.

4. Hawks. Al-Jāhīz notes that "Indian white hawks were popular." ⁽⁴¹¹⁾ But apart from this brief observation, we have been unable to trace any information related to the exporting of Indian hawks or their uses in the Arab world.

Footnotes to Chapter Four.

- (1) Al-Jāhiz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.34. For the meaning of the term ^Cirāb applied to horses, see al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-^CArūs, Vol. 1, p.372.
- (2) Al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Takāṣīm, pp.145,210. For the meaning of the term ^Citāk applied to horses, see al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-^CArūs, Vol. 7, pp.3-7.
- (3) Al-Ya^Cḳūbī, al-Buldān, p.331, al-Jāhiz, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 2, p.363.
- (4) Al-Jāhiz, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 2, p.363.
- (5) Al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Ṣubḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 3, p.391, Vol. 4, p.248.
- (6) Abū 'l-Fidā', Taḳwīm al-Buldān, p.147.
- (7) Al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Ṣubḥ al-A^Csha, Vol. 3, p.391.
- (8) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 1, p.372.
- (9) Quoting Shaykh Mubārak al-Anbātī, who lived before A.H.730/A.D.1329, quoting (Masālik al-Abṣār), al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Ṣubḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 5, p.81, notes that there were two varieties of horses in India, ^Cirab and barādhīn, and adds that the majority of these horses failed to impress him. See also L.B. Gustave, Ḥadārat al-Hind, tr. ^CĀdil Z^Caytir, Cairo, 1948, p.84, where it is said that their horses were too short.
- (10) E.H. Warmington, The commerce between the Roman Empire and India, p.263, J. Dowson, The history of India, Vol. 1, p.468.
- (11) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 10, p.360, Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar, Vol. 3, p.422, al-Dhahabī, Tārīkh al-Islām, Vol. 6, p.158. Anon., Ḥudūd al-^CĀlam, p.89, maintains that the king of Ḳinnawj had 150,000 horses.
- (12) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 2, p.3.
- (13) Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir, Vol. 2, p.263. On p.264 he adds that this route continued to be used until A.H.616/A.D. 1219, and on p.268 of the same volume, he maintains that the road was paved with gypsum and that it was used by caravans heading for Raysūt.

- (14) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Riḥla, Vol. 1, pp.202,203.
- (15) Abū 'l-Fidā', Taḳwīm al-Buldān, p.355. Also, quoting al-Waṣṣaf, an Ilkhanid court historian, T. Raychaudhuri and I. Habib (eds.), The Cambridge economic history of India, Vol. 1, pp.147,148 says "The most significant export areas bordering on the Persian Gulf was of war-horses, the vital military by which land-based powers could maintain their military ascendancy. The ancient maritime trade in war-elephants remained of significance until the development of gunnery impaired the force of the elephant in the battle." The governor of Kais island and the king of south India "agreed to dispatch from Kais (Kish) in the Persian Gulf to Ma^Cbar 1,400 horses of the same breed" (probably) meaning horses reared on the Persian side of the Gulf. In addition horses were to be procured from all the side of Persia, Katīf, Laḥsa, Bahrayn, Hormuz and Kulhatu. The price which had previously been in force, 220 dīnārs of red gold for each horse, would continue to be paid; and the Indian king would pay it for all horses lost on the voyage.
- "At the time of the Atabeg Abū Bakr," the historian adds, 10,000 horses were exported annually to Ma^Cbar, Kambayat (Cambay), and other western Indian ports, and 2,200,000 dīnārs were paid for them out of the Hindu temple revenues and the tax upon courtesans attached to the temples."
- (16) See p. 172. Also, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Riḥla, Vol. 2, p.11, mentions that he had purchased the Arabian horses from an Iraqi horse-dealer in Ghazna, which indicates that horses were exported by land. He says that when he entered India through the Khusraw Ābād valley his belongings were searched by customs officials, and that he had to pay a levy of 7 dīnārs on every horse. Also, for the export of Arab horses to India, see S.M. Jaffar, The Arab administration of Sind, IC, Vol. XVII, 1943, p.128.
- (17) See chapter three, p. 160. Also, al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Subḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 5, pp.181,182, mentions that there were horses of the ^Cirāb variety in India, which fetched very high prices.
- (18) B.Ḥ. al-Sīnī, al-^CIlākāt bayn al-^CArab wa-'l-^CṢīn, Cairo, 1950, pp.10-11, maintains that the countries of Central Asia did not have thoroughbred horses, and that forced dealers to seek them elsewhere, especially in Iraq.
- (19) Al-Tha^Calībī, Thimār al-Kulūb, p.618.
- (20) Al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Takāsīm, pp.34,200, al-Mas^Cūdī, al-Tanbīh wa-'l-Isḥrāf, p.20, al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Hayawān, Vol. 5, p.429.

- (21) Al-Maḳḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p. 34.
- (22) Abū^C Ubayd, al-Amwāl, Cairo, 1955, pp. 50-2, Abū Yūsuf, al-Kharāj, p. 77, Yaḥyā b. Ādam al-Ḳurashī, al-Kharāj, p. 50.
- (23) From the Arab world, according to Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāḳ al-Nafīsa, p. 132, and al-Marwazī, Ṭabā'ī^C al-Ḥayawān, p. 34. From Iraq, according to Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 67, and al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p. 35.
- (24) Ibn Hawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, p. 324. For the use of the leaves of tanbūl to make a kind of wine, see Ibn al-Bayṭār, al-Jāmi^C li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya wa-'l-Aghdhiya, Baghdad, 1967, Vol. 1, p. 133.
- (25) Al-Bīrūnī, Fī Taḥḳīḳ mā li-'l-Hind min Maḳūla, p. 144.
- (26) Al-Marwazī, Ṭabā'ī^C al-Ḥayawān, p. 34, maintains that the king of Kamār prohibited adultery and the consumption of wine, and that, except for the king of Ceylon, who had wine brought to him from the Arab world, other Indian kings were not heavy drinkers. On p. 26, he adds that the Kishtariyya class did not drink more than three (?), whereas the Shimnid class were teetotallers. Buzurk, Ajā'ib al-Hind, p. 154, notes that Indian women were permitted to drink wine while men were not, although, according to Buzurk, men would drink wine secretly. Both al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p. 84 and al-Sīrafī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, p. 52, maintain that the Indian kings declined to drink wine on ethical rather than religious grounds, and that those who did drink wine were liable to be deposed. Al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳḍisī, al-Bad', Vol. 4, p. 12, notes that the Brahmans class were not permitted to consume alcoholic drinks.
- (27) For the wine in Malabar, Chau ju-Kua, Chinese and Arab trade, p. 89 says: "the native products comprise coconuts and sapan wood; for wine they use a mixture of honey with coconuts and the juice of a flower, which they let ferment."
- (28) Al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 40, Ibn Hawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 1, p. 150, al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 2, p. 23. For emeralds, see Ibn al-Bayṭār, al-Jāmi^C, Vol. 2, p. 166, al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, pp. 81, 160, al-Anṣārī al-Dimashḳī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p. 67.
- (29) Al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Ṣubḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 3, p. 455.
- (30) Ibn Hawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 1, pp. 42, 150, al-Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb, p. 145, al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p. 18, al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p. 161.

- (31) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p.333. The Beja had a peace treaty with ^CAbbāsīd caliphate. Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya, Vol. 10, p.325.
- (32) Ibn Ḥawkal, Ṣurat al-Ard, part 1, p.150. Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 2, p.18, says that Arabs of the Rabī^Ca tribe lived there until A.H.332/A.D.943, and they were responsible for the mine.
- (33) Al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Ṣubḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 3, p.455.
- (34) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.35, al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 1, pp.356, 369, al-Mas^Cūdī, al-Tanbīh wa-'l-Ishrāf, p.20.
- (35) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 2, p.23, al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p.161, al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.18.
- (36) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.35. Al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p.163, states that a piece whose weight equalled that of a dirham fetched 50 dīnārs.
- (37) Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Dimashkī, al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tijāra, p.15.
- (38) Al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, p.147, al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir,
- (39) Al-Anṣārī al-Dimashkī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p.86, Ibn al-Zubayr, al-Dhakhā'ir wa-'l-Tuhaf, pp.20-1.
- (40) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 2, p.58.
- (41) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 2, pp.6-7. For ivory exports to China, see al-Marwazī, Tabā'i^C al-Ḥayawān, p.10. Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 2, pp.6-7 maintains that elephant tusks were exported from Oman to India.
- (42) Al-Marwazī, Tabā'i^C al-Ḥayawān, p.5, Al-Mas^Cūdī, al-Tanbīh wa-'l-Ishrāf, p.72, maintains that a single belt made of rhinoceros horn fetched 4,000 gold miskals. For exports from Basra, see al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 7, p.129.
- (43) Al-Makdisī, Ahsan al-Taḳāsim, pp.97,145,184. Al-Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb, p.194, says: "in Arabia is Mount Qusās, where there is a mine producing excellent iron from which steel is made, hence the Qusāsī swords are famous and much to be relied on."
- (44) For Rāmī island (Sumatra), see Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamalik, p.65. For the island of Lankabālūs, see al-Marwazī, Tabā'i^C al-Ḥayawān, pp.47-9. For the archipelago of Zilī (?), see al-Anṣārī al-Dimashkī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p.155, al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Muṣhtāk, p.16, al-Hamadḥānī, Mukhtaṣar

- Kitāb al-Buldān, p.11. For Rāmanī island, see al-Kazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.30. For iron, copper, kohl, beads and clothes bartered for ambergris, see Buzurk, ʿAjā'ib al-Hind, pp.30,31.
- (45) Al-Marwazī, Tabā'i^c al-Ḥayawān, p.10.
- (46) Ibid, p.48, Buzurk, ʿAjā'ib al-Hind, pp.30,31.
- (47) Buzurk, ʿAjā'ib al-Hind, pp.30,31. For kohl, see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 2, pp.195-9. Andalusia and Iṣfahān were famous for their black kohl. See al-Anṣārī al-Dimashqī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p.84.
- (48) For Egyptian clothing, see al-Ya^ckūbī, al-Buldān, pp.331, 337, al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, pp.201,203, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 1, pp.138,152, al-Hamadḥānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.252, al-Kazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.147, al-Tha^cālībī, Latā'if al-Ma^cārif, p.160, al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.42. For the importance of Iraqi clothing, see al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p.128, Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, p.227. For the importance of the clothing of Zafār, see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 1, p.203. For the clothing of Yemen, see al-Hamadḥānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.252, al-Kazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.69. For the importance of Syrian garments, see al-Tha^cālībī, Thimār al-Ḳulūb, p.531. For the importance of the Lubūd of Maḡhrib, see al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.29.
- (49) Al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.141, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 1, p.321, also, part 2, pp.325,419.
- (50) Al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p.341.
- (51) Al-Hamadḥānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.271, Ibn Khurdādhba, pp.153,154.
- (52) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.13.
- (53) Al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p.128. Al-Hamadḥānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.252, has a reference to Kufa.
- (54) Buzurk, ʿAjā'ib al-Hind, pp.8-11,30,31,157,158, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 2, pp.145-9, al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p.144. For the importance of turbans in Ubullā, see al-Tha^cālībī, Thimār al-Ḳulūb, p.235. For the export of clothes to the Indian islands, see S.S. Nadavi, Commercial relations of India with Arabia, tr. Sayeed Ul Haq, IC, Vol. VII, 1933, p.300. The article, however, fails to name the islands or to mention the type of clothing or to give any source.

- (55) Al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, p.59, notes that the Indians wore two aprons.
- (56) Al-Anṣārī al-Dimashqī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p.72, maintains that coral is a stone of plant origin. Al-Mas^Cūdī, Akhbār al-Zamān, p.26, asserts that coral comes from the coral tree which is to be found in parts of the sea whose waters are a cross between sea and fresh waters.
- (57) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.34. Anon., Hudūd al-Ālam, pp.153, 154.
- (58) Al-Makḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.239.
- (59) Ibn Ḥawḳal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 2, p.79. For coral from the sea of Andalusia, see al-Mas^Cūdī, Akhbār al-Zamān, p.25.
- (60) The town of Būna was situated on the Kayrawān-Maghrib highway. See al-Bakrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, in L. B. de Slane (ed.), al-Maghrib fī Dhikr Bilād Ifriqiya wa-'l-Maghrib, Alger, 1857, p.55.
- (61) Al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, p.147, al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p.164. Both al-Sīrāfī and al-Bīrūnī maintains that the Indians stopped importing coral, however, they do not give any reasons for this development. It is clear that there was a time difference between the two: al-Sīrāfī visited India in A.H.264/A.D.877, while al-Bīrūnī, who had lived in India for a time, d. in A.H.440/A.D.1048. Al-Mas^Cūdī, Akhbār al-Zamān, p.26, on the other hand, who d. in A.H.346/A.D.957 and who had earlier visited India, makes no mention of any stoppage in the importing of coral. See also, S.D. Goitein, Mediterranean trade in the eleventh century, in M.A. Cook (ed.), Studies in the economic history of the Middle East from the rise of Islam to the present day, p.55.
- (62) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Akhbār al-Zamān, p.26.
- (63) Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Dimashqī, al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tijāra, p.17.
- (64) Al-Makḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.130, also, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 1, p.139.
- (65) Al-Makḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.203.
- (66) Al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.107.
- (67) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.27.

- (68) Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umama, Vol. 1, p.146, maintains that every 24 ratls of Iraqi dates in Baghdad, fetched one dirham. Ibn Battūta, Rihla, Vol. 1, p.139, maintains that every 14 ratls of Iraqi dates in Basra, fetched one dirham.
- (69) Al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.128, al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.253, al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.107.
- (70) Al-Marwazī, Ṭabā'ī^C al-Ḥayawān, p.10.
- (71) Al-Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb, says: "Basran dates are excellent, and they are exported even to India and to nearer and further China."
- (72) Buzurk, ḶAjā'ib al-Hind, pp.8-11. Dates are thought to have been exported from Iraq, since one member of the crew is known to have been an Iraqi who spoke the language of Wāḳ Wāḳ fluently; an indication of contact with the inhabitants of that island.
- (73) Abū 'l-Fidā', Taḳwīm al-Buldān, p.349, al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Subḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 5, p.64.
- (74) Ibn Battūta, Rihla, Vol. 1, p.215.
- (75) W.H. Schoff, The periplus of the Erythrean sea, pp.36,160.
- (76) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, pp.47-8. The editor claims that al-Nuwayrī obtained his information from "Jayb al-^CArūs wa Rayḥān al-Nufus" by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī al-Maḳdisī. This book is at present untraced.
- (77) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, p.24.
- (78) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p.369, al-Marwazī, Ṭabā'ī^C al-Ḥayawān, p.49, al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.44.
- (79) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 12, p.1837.
- (80) Al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p.164, al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, p.147.
- (81) Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir, Vol. 2, p.268.
- (82) Buzurk, ḶAjā'ib al-Hind, pp.157,158.
- (83) Al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.128.

- (84) Al-Kalkashandī, Subh al-A^Cshā, Vol. 4, p. 87. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihā, Vol. 1, p. 197, maintains that he had seen rose water from Damascus in Maqdisho.
- (85) M.R.A. Nadvi, Industry and commerce under the Abbadis, PHS, Vol. 1, 1953, p. 257.
- (86) Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tārīkh al-Mustabsir, Vol. 1, p. 87. Basra was famous for its henna, see al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p. 128.
- (87) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, pp. 17, 20. For the importance of diamonds from Aden, see Kudāma, al-Kharāj wa-Ṣan^Cat al-Kitāba, p. 192. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp. 26, 30, also mentions the export of agate from Yemen and Aden. For the importance of agate from San^Cā', and agate exports to Basra, see al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p. 36. Al-Tha^Calibī, Thimār al-Ḳulūb, p. 169, points to the importance of Yemeni agate.
- (88) Al-Ya^Cḳubī, al-Buldān, p. 366, al-Tha^Calibī, Latā'if al-Ma^Carif, p. 238, al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p. 47.
- (89) Al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, pp. 87, 97, calls it kindar tree gum. Al-Idrisī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p. 27. Abū 'l-Fidā', Takwīm al-Buldān, p. 101, refers to the importance of frankincense and how it was exported. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 27, states that frankincense was exported from Mihra (the capital of Shiḥr) to all parts. Ibn Ḥawḳal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 1, p. 38, refers to the importance of frankincense in Ḥaḍramawt. Al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, pp. 55-6, maintains that frankincense was well-known and plentiful in Zafār and near San^Cā'. Al-Tha^Calibī, Thimār al-Ḳulūb, p. 166, refers to the importance of Yemeni frankincense. Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 2, p. 28, refers to the importance of frankincense produced in the coast of Shiḥr, the land of Aḥḳāf, and the coastal area from Ḥaḍramawt to Aden, and describes how it was exported from there. Abū 'l-Fadl al-Dimashkī, al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tijāra, p. 22, refers to the importance of frankincense produced in the region of Oman.
- (90) S.M. Ahmad, India and the neighbouring territories, p. 36.
- (91) Al-Tha^Calibī, Thimār al-Ḳulūb, p. 169.
- (92) Al-Marwazī, Tabā'i^C al-Ḥayawān, p. 10, M.R.A. Nadvi, Industry and commerce under the Abbasids, PHS, Vol. 1, 1953, p. 257.
- (93) Ibn Ḥawḳal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 1, pp. 162, 163.

- (94) Indian slaves have been referred to as falling within the category of black slaves. See al-Jāḥiẓ, Thalāth Rasā'il p. 85, Ibn Butlān, Risāla fī Shirā' al-Raḳīk, p. 347. For kinds of slaves in the ^CAbbāsīd period, see P.K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, pp. 341-2. For the trade in black slaves of India, see A. Appadorai, Economic condition in southern India 1000-1500, Vol. 1, pp. 314-15, he says that there were 15 kinds of black slaves in India.
- (95) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 4, pp. 344, 345. For more information about the importance of the slave trade in the 9th century A.D., see E. Ashtor, A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages, pp. 111, 144.
- (96) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 3, p. 336.
- (97) Al-Jāḥiẓ, Thalāth Rasā'il, p. 79.
- (98) Ibn Butlān, Risāla fī Shirā' al-Raḳīk, pp. 372, 373, 376.
- (99) Ibid, p. 352.
- (100) Al-Jāḥiẓ, Thalāth Rasā'il, p. 85, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 3, p. 435.
- (101) Ibid, p. 85, al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 3, p. 435.
- (102) Ibid, al-Bayān, Vol. 1, p. 162.
- (103) Al-Baghdādī, Tārīkh Baghdād, Beirut, 1967, Vol. 1, pp. 102, 103.
- (104) Buzurk, ʿAjā'ib al-Hind, pp. 8-11, 30, 31, 141.
- (105) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p. 170, al-Marwazī, Tabā'i^C al-Ḥayawān, p. 34.
- (106) Al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 4, p. 103, al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p. 104. For the kingdom of al-Ṭāfin, see Anon., Hudūd al-ʿĀlam, p. 91.
- (107) Al-Maḳḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p. 485.
- (108) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 1, p. 326. See also, M. Lombard, The golden age of Islam, pp. 201, 218.
- (109) For instance, the caliph al-Muḳtadir had seven thousand servants at the time when a Byzantine envoy visited him. Of those, three thousand were blacks. Before that, the caliph had over eleven thousand servants. See al-Baghdādī, Tārīkh Baghdād, Vol. 1, p. 101, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 6, pp. 70, 143.

- (110) Al-Jāhiz, Thalāth Ras'il, p. 85. Several Indian slaves were renowned in the Arab world, such as Abū Mash^Car Nujayḥ al-Sindī (d. A.H. 170/A.D. 786), who was a leader of art, Rijā' al-Sindī (d. A.H. 221/A.D. 835), who was a great teacher of Tradition and Abū 'Atā' al-Sindī, who was a scholar. See S.S. Nadvi, The early relations between Arabia and India, IC, Vol. XI, 1937, p.177, M. Nadawi, Tārīkh al-Ṣilāt, pp. 46-55.
- (111) Al-Kalkaṣhandī, Subḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 5, p. 85. Al-Kalkaṣhandī, quotes Ḳādī 'l-Ḳudāt Sirāj al-Dīn al-Hindī as saying that in the city of Delhī, a servant slave fetched no more than 8 tankas, and female slaves, who worked as servants and provided sex, fetched 15 tankas. In other regions their prices were even lower.
- (112) Al-Jāhiz, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 3, p. 97.
- (113) Al-Tha^Calibī, Thimār al-Ḳulūb, p. 533, Latā'if al-Ma^Carif, pp. 166, 229.
- (114) Al-Jāhiz, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 3, p. 143.
- (115) For details of sword production in Yemen and India, see al-Jāhiz, al-Bukḥalā', ed. G. van Vloten, Amsterdam, 1922, p. 50, Buzurk, 'Ajā'ib al-Hind, pp. 148, 149, al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, pp. 253, 254, 256.
- (116) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 4, p. 119.
- (117) For ships, see chapter two, p. 105.
- (118) Al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p. 213.
- (119) Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar, Vol. 4, part 2, p. 313.
- (120) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 2, p. 11.
- (121) Ibid, Vol. 3, p. 312. For arrows from the governor of Oman to the Sultān, see Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 6, p. 144.
- (122) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 62.
- (123) Al-Hamadḥānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p. 255.
- (124) Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar, Vol. 4, part 2, p. 313.
- (125) Al-Azdī, Ḥikāyat Abī 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baghdādī, p. 57.

- (126) Al-Jahshiyārī, al-Wuzarā' wa-'l-Kuttāb, p.283.
- (127) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.116. Also, for the reputation of shoes made in Sind, see Anon., Hudūd al-^CĀlam, p.122.
- (128) Al-Maḳḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.482.
- (129) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 12, pp.1780-1.
- (130) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bukhalā', p.111.
- (131) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān, Vol. 1, p.162.
- (132) Al-Isfahānī, al-Aghānī, Vol. 12, pp.90-1.
- (133) Al-Azdī, Hikāyat Abī 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baghdādī, pp.14,57.
- (134) Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tārīkh al-Mustabsir, Vol. 1, p.143.
- (135) Al-Jahshiyārī, al-Wuzarā' wa-'l-Kuttāb, p.283, probably meaning Ḥashishiyya clothes.
- (136) Al-Maḳḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.481.
- (137) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 1, pp.237,366.
- (138) Al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, p.19.
- (139) Al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 4, p.94.
- (140) Ibn Battūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 1, p.203.
- (141) A small bird of the sparrow-kind, red in the head. See E.W. Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, London, 1872, Book 1, part IV, p.1691.
- (142) Al-Azdī, Hikāyat Abī 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baghdādī, p.56. Al-Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb, p.252 mentions exports of Indian stuffs for clothes.
- (143) Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tārīkh al-Mustabsir, Vol. 1, pp.142,143.
- (144) It was used in the house of the caliph ^CUṭhmān in Medina, and in the Basra home of al-Zubayr b. al-^CAwwām. See al-Ya^Cḳūbī, Mushākalat al-Nās li-Zamānihim, pp.13,14. It was used in the Prophet's prayer niche and stall in the time of ^CUmar. See al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 4, p.466. It was also used in the time of the caliphs al-Walīd b. ^CAbd al-Malik and ^CUmar

b. ^CAbd al-^CAzīz to provide a roof for the Prophet's mosque. See Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāḳ al-Nafīsa, p.69. Also, since before Islam, it was used for shipbuilding in the Gulf area. See T. Raychaudhuri and I. Habib (eds.), The Cambridge economic history of India, Vol. 1, p.147, W. Moreland and A. Chandra, A short history of India, p.40.

- (145) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 2, pp.8-9.
- (146) Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāḳ al-Nafīsa, p.134.
- (147) Al-Anṣārī al-Dimashḳī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p.159.
- (148) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.63.
- (149) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 5, p.482.
- (150) Al-Tha^Cālībī, Thimār al-Kulūb, p.533, Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāḳ al-Nafīsa, p.134. Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tijāra, p.20, calls it abnūs (ebony).
- (151) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 5, p.83.
- (152) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 2, pp.8-9.
- (153) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 10, pp.319,320.
- (154) Ibid, Vol. 12, p.1837.
- (155) Al-Ya^Cḳūbī, al-Buldān, p.258.
- (156) Al-Maḳdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, pp.76,92.
- (157) Al-Maḳrīzī, al-Khiṭaṭ, Vol. 2, p.96.
- (158) Ibn Ḥawḳal, Sūrat al-Ard, part 2, p.219.
- (159) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 13, p.2046.
- (160) Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, p.213.
- (161) Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 6, p.144.
- (162) Al-Baḡhdādī, Tārīkh Baḡhdād, Vol. 1, pp.76,78.
- (163) Al-Azdī, Hikāyat Abī 'l-Kāsim al-Baḡhdādī, p.55, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 6, p.317.
- (164) Abū Yūsuf, al-Kharāj, p.105.

- (165) Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tārīkh al-Mustabsir, Vol. 2, p.246.
- (166) Al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.10, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol.1, p.205, al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.20.
- (167) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.94,96, al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p.34.
- (168) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūi, Vol. 1, p.152.
- (169) Al-Maḳḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.481, although he does not specify the regions.
- (170) Al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, pp.130-1. See also Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, p.68.
- (171) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 1, p.206.
- (172) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 4, p.130.
- (173) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 1, p.205.
- (174) Buzurk, Ājā'ib al-Hind, p.189, Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, p.68, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 1, p.206, S.M. Ahmad, India and the neighbouring territories, p.12.
- (175) Al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.59.
- (176) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.62,63, al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.10, al-Anṣārī al-Dimashḳī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p.172.
- (177) Buzurk, Ājā'ib al-Hind, p.139.
- (178) Al-Ansārī al-Dimashḳī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, pp.61,62, Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Dimashḳī, al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tijāra, p.14.
- (179) Al-Tha^Calibī, Thimār al-Kulūb, pp.533,534, Laṭā'if al-Ma^Cārif, pp.214-15, al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.9.
- (180) Al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, pp.42,45.
- (181) Ibid, p.47.
- (182) Ibid, p.63.
- (183) Ibid, p.57.
- (184) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.9.

- (185) Abū al-Fadl al-Dimashkī, al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tijāra, p.14.
- (186) Al-Anṣārī al-Dimashkī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p. 86.
- (187) Al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, pp.55,56.
- (188) Al-Anṣārī al-Dimashkī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p. 86.
- (189) Al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p.67.
- (190) Ibid, p.172, quoting al-Kindī, al-Anṣārī al-Dimashkī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p.69. Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifat Jazīrat al-^CArab, pp.202-3, maintains that it was found in India.
- (191) Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifat Jazīrat al-^CArab, pp.202-3.
- (192) Al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p.184.
- (193) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.64.
- (194) Al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, pp.95,97.
- (195) Abū 'l-Fidā', Takwīm al-Buldān, p.37.
- (196) Al-Anṣārī al-Dimashkī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p.105.
- (197) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Hayawān, Vol. 7, p.210, al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.11.
- (198) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Hayawān, Vol. 5, p.304, Vol. 7, p.210.
- (199) Al-Anṣārī al-Dimashkī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p.105.
- (200) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 11, pp.744-5.
- (201) Al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p.34.
- (202) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, Tārīkh, Vol. 6-7, p.154, where he refers to 'the musk mouse.' In Vol. 2, p.204, he refers to 'the musk deer.'
- (203) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, pp.365,366.
- (204) Ibid, p.365. For Tibetan musk, see al-Ya^Ckūbī, Tārīkh, Vol.2, p.204, al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.12, al-Hamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 4, p.401, al-Tha^Cālībī, Laṭā'if al-Ma^Carif, p.238, Thimār al-Ḳulūb, p.533. For Sindī musk, see al-Maḳḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.33. For Indian musk, see al-Ma^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.34, al-Azdī, Hikāyat Abī 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baghdādī, p.57.

- (205) Al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.156,162, al-Ḥamawī, Mu^cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 4, p.401.
- (206) Al-Ṣābī, al-Wuzarā', p.266.
- (207) Abū Yūsuf, al-Kharāj, p.105.
- (208) Al-Ya^ckūbī, al-Buldān, pp.365,366.
- (209) Buzurk, ʿAjā'ib al-Hind, p.107.
- (210) Al-Hamadḥānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.251, al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, p.14.
- (211) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, vol.12, p.14.
- (212) Ibid, vol.12, p.14.
- (213) Ibid. Vol.12, p.14.
- (214) Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Dimashkī, al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tijāra, p.19.
- (215) Al-Ya^ckūbī, Tārīkh, Vol. 6-7, p.107, al-Tha^calibī, Latā'if al-Ma^cārif, p.122, al-Mas^cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 4, p.30.
- (216) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 12, p.1864, refers to a gift from Ya^ckūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār to the caliph al-Mu^ctazz in A.H.255/A.D. 868.
- (217) Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 1, p.67, al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Hayawān, Vol. 7, p.210.
- (218) Al-Kindī, Kīmiyā' al-ʿIṭr wa-'l-Taṣ^cidāt, Leipzig, 1948, pp.1, 3,5,52-9.
- (219) Al-Baḡhdādī, Tārīkh Baḡhdad, Vol. 1, p.50, where he means in Baḡhdad.
- (220) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.95. Al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāq, p.37, maintains that it was similar to the willow tree and it shaded one hundred people.
- (221) Ibn Battūta, Rihla, Vol. 2, p.241.
- (222) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.95, al-Anṣārī al-Dimashkī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p.104. Ibn Battūta, Rihla, Vol. 2, p.241, maintains that camphor was to be found inside the stalks.

- (223) Al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p.37.
- (224) Al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, p.8.
- (225) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.95, al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtasar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.16.
- (226) Al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, p.185.
- (227) Al-Anṣārī al-Dimashqī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, pp.152,155.
- (228) Ibid, pp.104,105.
- (229) Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Dimashqī, al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsīn al-Tijāra, p.19.
- (230) Al-Kindī, Kīmiyā' al-^CItr, pp.3,15,42,46.
- (231) Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 1, p.387, al-Tanūkhī, Nishwār al-Muḥādara, Vol. 1, pp.144,145.
- (232) Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya, Vol. 10, p.265.
- (233) Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 2, pp.244,258-9, says that in A.H.321/A.D.933 the caliph al-Ḳāhīr gifted camphor to the governor of Egypt, Muḥammad b. Tukīn.
- (234) Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, Ma^Cālim al-Ḳurba, pp.123-126.
- (235) Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir, Vol. 2, p.184.
- (236) Ibn Jubayr, Riḥla, p.118.
- (237) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.151, Akhbār al-Zamān, p.23. Also, al-Jāhīz, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 5, p.362, al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, p.5.
- (238) Al-Anṣārī al-Dimashqī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p.134.
- (239) For the importance of ambergris from Shiḥr, see Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Dimashqī, al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsīn al-Tijāra, p.19.
- (240) Al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtasar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.16.
- (241) Buzurk, 'Ajā'ib al-Hind, p.150, as reported by Abū Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, who visited the Zābaj.
- (242) Al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, pp.9,18,19.
- (243) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, p.19, al-Kindī, Kīmiyā' al-^CItr, p.5.

- (244) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p.367. Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, p.20. His account is based on Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī's Jayb al-^CArūs.
- (245) Abū Yūsuf, al-Kharāj, p.105.
- (246) Al-Kindī, Kīmiyā' al-^CItr, pp.5-7,15,20,29.
- (247) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, Tārīkh, Vol. 6-7, p.107.
- (248) Al-Tha^Calībī, Laṭā'if al-Ma^Cārif, p.205.
- (249) Ibn A^Ctham al-Kūfī, al-Futūḥ, Vol. 8, pp.321,322, al-Ya^Ckūbī, Tārīkh, Vol.6-7, p.154.
- (250) Al-Tha^Calībī, Thimār al-Ḳulūb, pp.166-7.
- (251) Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 1, pp.258-9.
- (252) Ibid, Vol. 1, p.67.
- (253) Al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Ṣubḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 3, p.514.
- (254) Najm al-Dīn ^CUmāra, Tārīkh al-Yaman, p.6.
- (255) Ibn Jubayr, Riḥla, p.118.
- (256) Al-Tha^Calībī, Thimār al-Ḳulūb, p.533.
- (257) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, p.23, al-Hamadḥānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.251, al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.34, Ibn Battūṭa, Riḥla, Vol. 2, p.241.
- (258) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.64,68.
- (259) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, p.56.
- (260) Al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.29,82, where he uses Jāba-Chāmba (Himachal Pradesh).
- (261) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p.367, Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.68, al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.97, al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, p.20.
- (262) Al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, p.7, where he uses Sarandīb, al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, p.23.
- (263) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, pp.24,27,31,34, al-Azdī, Hikāyat Abī 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baghdādī, p.56.

- (264) Al-Tanūkhī, Niṣhwār al-Muḥādara, Vol. 8, p.124.
- (265) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.12.
- (266) Al-Tha^Calibī, Thimār al-Kulūb, p.533. See also, al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.12.
- (267) Al-Kazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.97, whereas al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p.367, maintains that the Ṣanfī type was the best.
- (268) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, pp.28-30. See also, Ibn al-Bayṭār, al-Jāmi^C li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya, Vol. 3, p.125, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 6, p.336.
- (269) Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Dimashkī, al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tijāra, p.20.
- (270) Buzurk, Ājā'ib al-Hind, pp.103,104. For its uses as medicine and incense, see al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-^CArūs, Vol. 5, p.205. For another type of Indian aloes-wood and its uses for perfume and medicine, see Ibn al-Bayṭār, al-Jāmi^C li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya, Vol. 3, p.125.
- (271) Al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p.82. Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.38, maintains that aloes-wood of inferior quality was found in Kābul. Good quality aloes-wood is thought to have been re-exported from Kābul.
- (272) Al-Kindī, Kīmiyā' al-^CItr, pp.3,5,15.
- (273) Al-Jahshiyārī, al-Wuzarā' wa-'l-Kuttāb, p.283.
- (274) Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar, Vol. 1, p.319.
- (275) Abū Yūsuf, al-Kharāj, p.105.
- (276) Ibn al-Ukhūwwa, Ma^Calim al-Ḳurba, p.126.
- (277) Ibn Jubayr, Riḥla, p.118.
- (278) Al-Kazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.143. Al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Muṣhtāq, p.66, maintains that it was a kind of climbing plant. Ibn Battūṭa, Riḥla, Vol. 2, p.181, states that the pepper tree was similar to the grape-vine.
- (279) Al-Anṣārī al-Dimashkī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, pp.152,173, Ibn Battūṭa, Riḥla, Vol. 2, p.181. Al-Kazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.143.
- (280) Al-Anṣārī al-Dimashkī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, pp.158,172, al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.16. Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.63, calls it Malay.

- (281) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.94.
- (282) Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Dimashqī, al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tijāra, pp.21-2.
- (283) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 3, p.318.
- (284) Al-Jāhīz, al-Bayān, Vol. 1, p.227, Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, Ma^Cālim al-Ḳurba, pp.94,96.
- (285) Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, pp.61,64,65. See also, W.J. Fischel, The spice trade in Mamluk Egypt, JESHO, Vol. 1, 1958, p.162.
- (286) Al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.143. See also, W.J. Fischel, The spice trade in Mamluk Egypt, JESHO, Vol. 1, 1958, p.162.
- (287) Al-Maḳḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.463, uses barbihār, and might be referring to other species. See also, Ibn Faḍlān, Risālat Ibn Faḍlān, pp.94-5, 101. In the course of describing his tour of the land of the Turks, Ibn Faḍlān maintains that merchants passing through that land would give them pepper. He adds that his gift to the commander of the Turkish army included a quantity of pepper.
- (288) Al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-^CArūs, Vol. 7, p.408, al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, p.39.
- (289) Al-Jāhīz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.20, al-Tha^Cālībī, Thimār al-Ḳulūb, p.533, Laṭā'if al-Ma^Cārif, pp.214-15, al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 1, p.366.
- (290) Al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.83.
- (291) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.96, calls it Shalāhit. Al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.83, calls it Salāhit.
- (292) Al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.16.
- (293) Ibn Rustā, al-A^Clāḳ al-Nafīsa, p.135.
- (294) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 1, p.239, Vol. 12, pp.39-42.
- (295) Al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-^CArūs, Vol. 7, p.408.
- (296) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, pp.39-42, Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Dimashqī, al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tijāra, p.20. Also, for its uses for medical purposes and its kinds, see Ibn al-Bayṭār, al-Jāmi^C li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya, Vol. 3, p.89.

- (297) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 3, p.401.
- (298) Ibid, Vol. 4, p.317, al-Ya^Ckūbī, Mushākalat al-Nās li-Zamānihim, p.27. Al-Tanūkhī, Nishwār al-Muhādāra, Vol. 1, p.146, says that the caliph al-Mutawakkil had a dome of sandal wood and gold built for him.
- (299) Miskawayh, Tajārib al-Umam, Vol. 1, p.387.
- (300) Al-Kindī, Kīmiyā' al-^CItr, pp.5,52-9.
- (301) Al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Ṣubḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 3, p.514.
- (302) Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir, Vol. 2, p.184, Najm al-Dīn ^CUmāra, Tārīkh al-Yaman, p.6.
- (303) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p.369. See also Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Riḥla, Vol. 2, p.242.
- (304) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Riḥla, Vol. 2, p.242.
- (305) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.34, al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.10.
- (306) Al-Tha^Cālībī, Thimār al-Ḳulūb, p.533, Laṭā'if al-Ma^Cārif, pp.214-15.
- (307) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.66.
- (308) Al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p.369.
- (309) Al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, pp.29,81. Al-Hamadḥānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.16, where he says the Zābaj.
- (310) Al-Anṣārī al-Dimashḳī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p.160.
- (311) Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Dimashḳī, al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsīn al-Tijāra, p.20.
- (312) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, pp.45-48, al-Kindī, Kīmiyā' al-^CItr, pp.3,52-9.
- (313) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, pp.45-8.
- (314) Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir, Vol. 1, p.142.
- (315) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, pp.43,44, al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, pp.368-9. Ibn al-Bayṭār, al-Jāmi^C li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya, Vol. 3, pp.36,37, maintains that spikenard is three kinds, one Roman and two Indian.

- (316) Abū 'l-Fadl al-Dimashkī, al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tijāra, p. 20, al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, pp. 43, 44, al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p. 368.
- (317) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 12, pp. 43, 44, al-Ya^Ckūbī, al-Buldān, p. 369.
- (318) Al-Kindī, Kīmiyā' al-^CItr, pp. 3, 6, 7, 52-9.
- (319) Al-Anṣārī al-Dimashkī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p. 81.
- (320) Al-Kindī, Kīmiyā' al-^CItr, p. 5.
- (321) Al-Maḥdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, p. 33, al-Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-Kulūb, p. 252, Anon., Ḥudūd al-^CĀlam, p. 122.
- (322) Al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-^CArūs, Vol. 2, p. 574, E.W. Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, Book 1, part VI, p. 2449.
- (323) Ibn Ḥawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, p. 325, al-Anṣārī al-Dimashkī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p. 176, al-Istakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 105, al-Maḥdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm, pp. 33, 474, 481. J. Somogy, A short history of Oriental trade, p. 13, says that since 1000 B.C. the Indians had cultivated sugar-cane. He adds that since the 7th century A.D., it had been exported to the Arabs. See also, W. Moreland and A. Chandra, A short history of India, p. 38.
- (324) Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-Ashraf, ed. ^CA. ^CA. al-Dūrī, Beirut, 1978, part 3, p. 265.
- (325) Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar, Vol. 1, p. 319. Al-Jahshiyārī, al-Wuzarā' wa-'l-Kuttāb, p. 283, says 20,000 ratls in the time of al-Rashīd.
- (326) S.M. Ahmād, India and the neighbouring territories, p. 39, which is taken from al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk.
- (327) Al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 4, p. 613.
- (328) Al-Azdī, Ḥikāyat Abī 'l-Kāsim al-Baqhdādī, p. 44.
- (329) Al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-^CArūs, Vol. 2, pp. 116-17. Also, for Myrobalan from India and China, its uses and colours, see Ibn al-Bayṭār, al-Jāmi^C li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya, Vol. 4, pp. 196, 198.
- (330) Ibn Khaldūn, al-^CIbar, Vol. 1, p. 319.

- (331) Al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhīr, p. 82. Anon., Hudūd al-^CĀlam, p. 90, adds that "Jalandhar belongs to the Ray Raja" (King of Kinnawj). A. Cunningham, Coins of mediaeval India, Vol. 1, p. 99, says: "the rich district of Jalandhar originally comprised the two Doābs lying between the rivers Ravi and Satlej. The capital of the country was the city of Jalandhar."
- (332) Al-Anṣārī al-Dimaṣḥī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p. 181.
- (333) Abū 'l-Fidā', Taḳwīm al-Buldān, p. 469.
- (334) Al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p. 72.
- (335) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 38.
- (336) Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tārīkh al-Mustabsir, Vol. 1, p. 143.
- (337) Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, Ma^Cālim al-Ḳurba, p. 123.
- (338) Al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-^CArūs, Vol. 8, pp. 149-50. Also, Ibn al-Bayṭār, al-Jāmi^C li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya, Vol. 4, pp. 186, 187.
- (339) Al-Hamadḥānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p. 16. Also, for indigo in Guzerat, see Chau ju-Kua, Chinese and Arab trade, p. 92. For indigo in south-east Asia, see J. Somogy, A short history of Oriental trade, p. 13.
- (340) Ibn Hawḳal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, p. 450.
- (341) S.M. Ahmad, India and the neighbouring territories, p. 72.
- (342) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p. 372. Also, for subtropical trees such as bitter oranges, see al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p. 10.
- (343) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p. 378, Vol. 4, p. 335.
- (344) Al-Jāhīz, al-Hayawān, Vol. 4, p. 130.
- (345) Ibn Battūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 1, p. 205.
- (346) Ibn al-Mujāwir, Tārīkh al-Mustabsir, Vol. 2, p. 265.
- (347) For Anbaj, tamarind and Tanbūl (betel) trees in Oman, see Ibn al-Bayṭār, al-Jāmi^C li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya, Vol. 1, pp. 65-6, 134, 140. For tamarind trees in Basra and the Yemen, *ibid*, p. 140. For tanbūl trees in the Maḡhrib, *ibid*, pp. 133, 134.

- (348) Ibn Battūta, Rihla, Vol. 1, p.205. Ibn al-Bayṭār, al-Jāmi^C li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya, Vol. 1, p.134, adds that the Indians used it instead of wine.
- (349) Al-Zabīdī, Tāj al-^CArūs, Vol. 8, p.65, says that the Fūfal tree is similar to the coconut tree, and so is its fruit. He also mentions its medicinal importance.
- (350) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, pp.209-10. Ibn al-Bayṭār, al-Jāmi^C li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya, Vol. 1, pp.133,134. He adds that it was exported to Basra and the Yemen.
- (351) Al-Nuwayrī, Nihāyat al-Arab, Vol. 1, p.357.
- (352) S.D. Geotein, Mediterranean trade in the 11th century, in M.A. Cook (ed.), Studies in the economic history of the Middle East, p.56.
- (353) Ibn al-Bayṭār, al-Jāmi^C li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya, Vol. 2, p.167.
- (354) Al-Jāhīz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.20. Al-Sirāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, pp.130-1, says that Omanis brought it. See also Ibn al-Bayṭār, al-Jāmi^C li-Mufradāt al-Adwiya, Vol. 4, p.174.
- (355) Al-Kalkāshandī, Subh al-A^Cshā, Vol. 5, p.83, al-Hamdānī, Ṣifāt Jazīrat al-^CArab, p.198.
- (356) Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifāt Jazīrat al-^CArab, p.20. He includes it with the fruits of the Yemen. Al-Makḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāṣīm, p.166, classes it with the fruits of Syria. Al-Ṣhābushtī, al-Diyārāt, p.98, mentions it with the fruits of Baghdad. Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 6, p.201, mentions it with the fruits of Naṣībīn.
- (357) See pp. 214, 215.
- (358) Ibn al-Bayṭār, al-Jāmi^C li Mufradāt al-Adwiya, Vol. 1, pp.65-6, Vol. 2, p.168.
- (359) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 2, p.11, al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, pp.10,11.
- (360) Al-Jāhīz, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.20, al-Tha^Cālībī, Thimār al-Kulūb, p.533.
- (361) Al-Jāhīz, al-Hayawān, Vol. 7, pp.85,87,89,90-1,99,172,201,202,231.
- (362) *Ibid*, Vol. 7, p.182.

- (363) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 4, pp.55-7.
- (364) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 12, p.1534.
- (365) Al-Jahshiyārī, al-Wuzarā' wa-'l-Kuttāb, p.283. In the time of the caliph al-Rashīd, the Kharāj from Sind included three elephants.
- (366) Al-Jāhiz, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 7, pp.87,89,231.
- (367) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 2, p.11.
- (368) Ibn A^Ctham al-Kūfī, al-Futūḥ, Vol. 8, p.353, al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 4, pp.55-7.
- (369) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 4, pp.254-5, al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 13, p.2151.
- (370) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 13, p.2243, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol.6, p.43.
- (371) Al-Baghdādī, Tārīkh Baghdād, Vol. 1, pp.102,103, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 6, p.144.
- (372) Al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-Buldān, part 2, p.357. He says that Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim had sent to al-Ḥajjāj an elephant which was transported to Iraq by sea and arrived at the Baṭā'ih by ship.
- (373) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.171, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Rihla, Vol. 2, pp.5,7. Also al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, pp.10,11.
- (374) Al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-Buldān, part 1, pp.198,199. S.S. Nadvi, The early relations between Arabia and India, IC, Vol. XI, 1937, p.174, says that "Jats in the period of ^CAlī b. Abī Tālib, Mu^Cāwiya and during the period of al-Walīd b. ^CAbd al-Malik, were induced to migrate to Antioch and to settle there." Also, for Zuṭṭ (Jats) and Mīds in the Arab world, see S.M. Ahmad, al-^CIlākāt al-^CArabiyya al-Hindiyya, p.22, J. Dowson, The history of India, Vol. 1, p.519.
- (375) Al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-Buldān, part 2, p.462.
- (376) Al-Mas^Cūdī, al-Tanbīh wa-'l-Ishrāf, pp.307,308.
- (377) Abū ^CUbayd, al-Amwāl, p.385. Also, al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 2, p.16, refers to numbers of buffalo in Iraq.
- (378) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 13, p.2043.

- (379) Al-Jāhīz, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 7, p.131.
- (380) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 2, p.16.
- (381) Al-Balādhurī, Futūh al-Buldān, part 1, p.199, al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 2, p.16.
- (382) For details, see R.W. Bulliet, The camel and the wheel, Harvard, 1977, pp.141-4,157.
- (383) Ibn Ḳutayba, Uyūn al-Akhbār, Vol. 2, p.70.
- (384) Al-Istakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, pp.104,105, al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.127, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Ṣurat al-Ard, part 2, p.323. Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 4, pp.55-7, does not name the place in India.
- (385) Al-Jāhīz, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 5, p.459.
- (386) Al-Ḳazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.243.
- (387) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 4, pp.254-5.
- (388) Al-Jāhīz, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 1, p.138, Rasā'il al-Jāhīz, Vol.2, p.298.
- (389) Abū ^CUbayd, al-Amwāl, p.385.
- (390) Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.95.
- (391) Al-Jāhīz, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 7, p.129. Also al-Marwazī, Tābā'i^C al-Ḥayawān, p.11, for exports of rhinoceros horns.
- (392) Al-Tha^Calībī, Thimār al-Ḳulūb, p.533, Latā'if al-Ma^Cārif, pp.214-15. S.S. Nadavi, Commercial relations of India with Arabia, tr. Sayeed Ul Haq, IC, Vol. VII, 1933, p.299, says "Arabs took rhinoceros from India to China."
- (393) Al-Jāhīz, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 7, pp.138,139. See also Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 6, p.144.
- (394) Al-Jāhīz, al-Tabassur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.20.
- (395) For greyhound exports from Jaba-Chamba (Himachal Pradesh) see Ibn Rusta, al-A^Clāḳ al-Nafīsa, p.35, S.M. Aḥmad, al-^CIlāḳāt al-^CArabiyya al-Hindiyya, p.211.
- (396) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.171.

- (397) Al-Tha^Calibī, Thimār al-Kulūb, p.533, Laṭā'if al-Ma^Cārif, pp.214-15.
- (398) Al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.16.
- (399) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 2, pp.241,248, Vol. 3, pp.145,184.
- (400) Al-Azdī, Hikāyat Abī 'l-Ḳāsim al-Baghdādī, p.59, al-Tanūkhī, Nishwār al-Muḥādara, Vol. 1, p.63.
- (401) Al-Tha^Calibī, Thimār al-Kulūb, p.533, Laṭā'if al-Ma^Cārif, pp.214-15, al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, p.251.
- (402) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.377.
- (403) Al-Tha^Calibī, Thimār al-Kulūb, pp.488, 880, Laṭā'if al-Ma^Cārif, p.53, al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 2, pp.243,244-5, 247,347, Vol. 5, pp.150,209, Vol. 7, p.38.
- (404) Al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, pp.10,16.
- (405) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.377.
- (406) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 7, p.186.
- (407) Al-Ḥamawī, Mu^Cjam al-Buldān, Vol. 2, p.520. For peacocks in the Ghūṭa of Damascus, see al-Tha^Calibī, Laṭā'if al-Ma^Cārif, p.158.
- (408) Al-Anṣārī al-Dimashqī, Nukhbat al-Dahr, p.153.
- (409) Al-Hamadhānī, Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān, pp.10,16.
- (410) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 4, p.335. Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 6, pp.121,145, refers to parrots among other goods sent to the caliph from the ruler of Oman in A.H.301/A.D.913.
- (411) Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tijāra, p.28.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH AND
MUTUAL INFLUENCES.

In the light of the research plan, we present the findings of the research, and point to the influences exerted by the Arabs and Indians on each other as a result of commercial exchange between them, as follows:

(i) The findings of the research.

1 - Arab-Indian commercial relations prior to the period of the research and during it.

A. Previous research has established that links, commercial and otherwise, between the Arab world and India did not start in the period of this research, but had roots going right back to the Sumerian period, 3000 B.C., and the Babylonian period, 1820 B.C. and thereafter in Iraq; to Pharaonic times, (during the 26th dynasty) in Egypt, and to the Phoenician period in Syria. Historians and archaeologists who have studied the ancient civilisations of the Arab world and of India have confirmed the existence of cultural similarities between the countries, which they attribute to the influence of commercial contacts between them. They have given examples of goods exchanged between the two nations such as livestock, plants, textiles, and chariots. They have also given examples of ideas and other cultural aspects exchanged between the two nations in those periods. ⁽¹⁾

Following Alexander's campaign in the east, in 333 B.C., commercial activity between the Arab world and India increased: Alexander's successors, the Ptolemies in Egypt, and the Seleucids in

Syria and Iraq, used land and maritime routes in their trading with India. These contacts contributed to the emergence of Hellenistic civilisation, which was a mixture of eastern and western cultures.⁽²⁾ In the pre-Islamic period,⁽³⁾ commercial contacts between the coasts of the Arabian Peninsula and India continued. However, in that period commercial activity took place mainly between India, Yemen, Mecca, Syria and Iraq.⁽⁴⁾ The Arabs played the role of intermediaries between east and west, and were engaged in promoting goods imported from India. They also exported their goods to India.⁽⁵⁾

B. The rise of Islam in the 6th century in Arabia contributed in an important way to stimulating commercial relations between the Arab world and India. This is attributable to a number of reasons:

In the early years of Islam merchants would accompany Muslim conquerors with a view to purchasing any spoils of war.⁽⁶⁾ Having brought down the Sassanian empire in the reign of the second caliph ^CUmar b. al-Kharrāb, and eliminated the Byzantine influence in Syria and North Africa, the Arabs became solely responsible for the protection of commercial routes, land as well as maritime, in a powerful empire. In A.H. 92-93/A.D. 710-711 Sind was annexed to the Arab Islamic empire⁽⁷⁾ and came under direct Arab rule.⁽⁸⁾ This led to increased trading activity between the Arab world and India using the two routes, land and maritime. The Umayyads were not orientated in trade towards India or the east, and their attitude towards the Byzantine empire remained hostile, but, this no longer prevented the Arabs from trading

with the Byzantines in the ^CAbbāsīd period.⁽⁹⁾ Furthermore, the official ^CAbbāsīd attitude towards the kings of India encouraged rather than hindered continued and improved trading with them. The fact that the capital of the caliphate had now been moved eastward to Baghdad, and the luxury and extravagance which marked the 3rd and 4th centuries / the 9th and the 10th centuries, and the cultural boom which accompanied it, resulted in making Arab trade with India greater than it was with the west. India itself abounded in raw materials and manufactured goods which the Arabs needed.

In the light of this historical survey of commercial relations between the Arabs and the Indians it is possible to make the following conclusions:

A. The period of the research, the 3rd and 4th centuries / the 9th and 10th centuries, was by no means the starting-point of Arab-Indian commercial relations. During this period, however, those ties became more pronounced owing to factors already referred to.

B. During the Islamic period - Umayyad and ^CAbbāsīd, and including the period of the research - commercial activity between the Arabs and Indians took on a new dimension. Commerce became a means of propagating Islam in India, and this strengthened ties between the two nations, and served trade as well. This will be referred to in the following pages.

C. Arab commercial dealing with India in the 3rd and 4th centuries / 9th and 10th centuries was part of a wider trade which

included other regions such as Andalusia, sub-Saharan Africa, China, Russia, and Byzantium. However, trade with India seems to have enjoyed a special place owing to the existence of a degree of economic integration between them, and to the fact that they continued to need each other's goods which were easy to transport.

2 - The political situation in the period of the research: The research has shown that the political situation in both India and the Arab world in the 3rd and 4th centuries / the 9th and 10th centuries was critical and complicated. In the Arab world, this period was marked with revolts, the dismembering of the caliphate and the emergence of independent amirates, all of which were signs of the political decline of Baghdad, the capital of the ^CAbbāsīd caliphate.

It is true that such signs were not unknown prior to the period of the research. However, the then threat to the caliphate, which the early ^CAbbāsīd caliphs⁽¹⁰⁾ were in a position to check, was mainly external, from Persians, Turks and others. The threat to the capital of the caliphate now came from within the Arab world itself, and was posed by the Zanj, Carmathians, Faṭīmids, etc. Furthermore the emergence of the eastern amirates, such as the Sāmānids, the Ṭāhirids, Ghaznawids, and the Ṣaffārīds, posed another threat to the capital of the caliphate. So did the emergence of the Buwayhids as a new power in the east. The Buwayhids, however, were unable to halt their own eventual political decline let alone that of the caliphate.

The examination of the political situation in the Indian kingdoms

has shown that in-fighting and attempts to expand at the expense of other kingdoms marked the period of the research. The sources make no mention, however, of the emergence in that period of any new am̄irates or kingdoms, as happened in the Arab world, or of any important hostilities between individual or combined kingdoms and the Arab world, or of any disruption of Arab sea trading. Similarly, Arab trade with India continued despite the worsening political situation in the Arab world, which has already been referred to.

From all this we conclude that Arab-Indian commerce was not seriously affected by the deteriorating political situation. Moreover, the research has shown that trade between Indian kingdoms continued. Similarly, and despite the worsening political situation, the sources make no mention of any disruption of trade among the various Arab regions. In fact, the Arabs continued to trade not just with India but also with some parts of Africa, Andalusia, which was ruled by the Umayyads who were politically opposed to the ^CAbbāsids, and also with the Byzantines, the then sworn enemies of the ^CAbbāsids. Ibn Jubayr describes the flow of trade between Egypt, Damascus, and "bilād al-'īfranj" as "uninterrupted, Christian merchants are welcome. Muslim merchants are required by the Christians to pay a levy when they trade in Christian territory, so are Christian merchants when they are in Muslim territory. The warriors are busy with their war, people are feeling good and to the victor belongs the world."⁽¹¹⁾

3 - The geography of the Arab world and India: Several geographical sources indicate that what was then called India included not just the present-day countries of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, but also other regions which are now part of Afghanistan, Iran and other countries. Moreover, islands such as Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, the Maldives and others were considered to be within Indian territorial waters. While the northern, eastern and western boundaries of India are clearly defined by the sources, how far Indian territorial waters extended into the Indian Ocean remains uncertain. (12)

The multiplicity of Indian kingdoms at the time, and the unceasing wars among their rulers, makes the task of defining the accurate boundaries of each kingdom difficult indeed. In addition to disputed borders, the question of defining borders is further complicated by the fact that several small kingdoms were politically dominated by larger Indian kingdoms. When referring to some Indian kingdoms, some sources use the name of the reigning king, and disregard such matters relevant to the research as the kingdom's location, boundaries, political and economic situation. Sources provide ample details of India's minerals, plants, trees, mountains, rivers, plains, roads, towns and other topographical features. However, more attention is given by these sources to western kingdoms of India than to the eastern ones.

With regard to the island kingdoms of the Indian Ocean, very little is mentioned by the sources about them, their towns, and roads,

although some information on their products, maritime routes to them, and their treatment of visitors is given.

The sources' concentration on describing the western rather than the eastern parts of India, and the scarcity of information on several aspects of life in island kingdoms, lead us to believe that the Arabs traded with the eastern regions of India and the island kingdoms indirectly rather than directly. That is to say, Indian internal trade was responsible for Arab exports to, and imports from, these parts of India.

The Arab world, on the other hand, is described clearly and accurately. A good deal of information is provided on its international borders, borders of the Arab regions, their minerals, topography, plants and routes. The then Arab regions roughly correspond to the present-day Arab countries.

The clarity of information on the Arab world is attributable to the fact that historians and geographers were themselves Arabs or Muslims, most of whom had toured the Arab world or lived in it and had, therefore, a first-hand knowledge of it. Although some of them had toured India it would be unrealistic to expect that they should have been as completely at home with India as they were with the Arab world.

4 - Trade routes, caravans, and ships:

The research has shown that the main trading routes between Iraq and India across Persia preceded the period of the research and were used in a thriving trade between the Arab regions via Iraq and the

Sassanian empire, India, Turkey and China before Islam. However, during the period of the research those routes multiplied and received increased attention from the caliphal authorities, which provided protection, services and rest-houses for travellers. This can be seen by comparing maps of ancient routes with maps from the period of the research.⁽¹³⁾ Above comparisons also show that trade caravans would use large numbers of goods-carrying animals, and were accompanied by guards, guides and others.⁽¹⁴⁾ The caliphal authorities would entrust someone with the task of *protecting the* caravan from thieves and highwaymen. Sometimes the responsibility for the safety of caravans fell upon officials and administrators of towns and regions through which the caravans passed.

With the exception of a few isolated⁽¹⁵⁾ incidents, Indian routes seem to have been given sufficient protection, as sources indicate that thieves and highwaymen were ruthlessly dealt with by the Kings of India.

The same case of the land routes applies to the maritime routes between the Arab world and India, which were used for trading by both Arabs and Indians using seasonal winds before the rise of Islam and after it. However, during the period of the research maritime trade routes between several Arab and Indian ports multiplied and became clearly defined. Maritime commercial activity increased in view of the relatively shorter time it would take ships to reach their destinations. That accounted for the increased provision of protection for ships, the

building of lighthouses for guiding ships at sea and warning them against the dangers of shallow waters.⁽¹⁶⁾ It seems that, from a commercial point of view, maritime routes were more important, safer and easier to use than land routes. Like land routes, whose distances were known and measured by miles and stages between towns and cities, distances of maritime routes, and the amount of time as measured in days between ports, were also known. So were seasonal winds, and the characteristics of sea waters, which were borne in mind when manufacturing ships. For example, ships designed for sailing in the Indian Ocean were different from those designed for the Mediterranean Sea. Such practices were unknown prior to the period of the research judging by the lack of any reference to them. With regard to ships used during the period of the research, hardly anything is mentioned by the sources about their sizes, the number of their decks, the size of their sails, etc.

5 - Exports and imports:

Having examined Arab and Indian exports, in the light of their volume and prices, we concluded that the balance of trade was in India's favour.⁽¹⁷⁾ Indian exports tended to be of a luxurious nature. For example Indian exports to the Arab world included various perfumes, parrots, peacocks, elephants, jewellery and slaves. There is no reason to assume that the vast majority of Arabs were in need of such goods. Yet, despite their high prices, they found buyers among the wealthy, top officials, merchants, and of course viziers and caliphs,

who, despite the fact that they formed only a tiny minority of the total population, were nevertheless, responsible for a continued and thriving trade in them.

The Arabs however seem to have exported to India goods considered essential to large sections of the community. Arab exports included dates, a commodity thought to have been relatively cheap and widely consumed by Arabs and Indians alike, and horses, which, despite their high prices, were owned in large numbers by Indians who used them in military campaigns, for instance. The same applies to iron which, we believe, was used in many Indian industries including the making of jewellery.

Despite the fact that, during the period of the research the Arab world, especially Iraq and Egypt, was experiencing a revival, and that many items imported from India were also available from within the Arab world (jewels, for instance, which were imported from India were also available in some regions of the Arabian coasts), it had not reached the point of self-sufficiency, and therefore continued to import not just from India but also from Africa, Byzantium, and Andalusia. Slaves from India and elsewhere were high on the list of Arab imports. The thriving slave trade was a sign not just of increased demand for manpower, but also of the extravagance which marked the period of the research.

6 - Ports, commercial cities, and taxation.

The research has shown that a number of Arab ports had direct

commercial links with India.⁽¹⁸⁾ Most of these ports were situated in Iraq, on the eastern coasts of the Arabian peninsula and on the coasts of the Red Sea. The existence of such ports is an indication of a thriving trade between the Arab world and India in the period of the research. The existence of these ports may have preceded the period of the research. However, during that period these ports seem to have been used almost exclusively for Arab-Indian trade.

As a result of increased commercial activity Arab towns and cities located around ports, in regions directly or indirectly linked with ports by rivers, or at the end of caravan routes, all flourished. In the forefront of these cities were Baghdad, Basra, Mecca, Fustāṭ, Cairo, cities on the coasts of the Arabian peninsula, and for a brief period Sāmarrā'. These cities contained warehouses for storing goods imported from India and other countries. In some of these cities lived Indian merchants following up their trade.

With respect to taxation it has been noticed that many check-points, whose purpose was to levy taxes on imported and exported goods, existed on the borders of the Arab regions, at the entrances to them, and in ports. Taxes were levied on a regular basis and according to theological provisions dating back to the early Islamic period. Under those provisions taxes levied on a Muslim merchant were different from those levied on a non-Muslim. There were known tax rates on various goods. Revenue from these taxes formed an important source of income

for the caliphate, as well as provincial authorities, and that in itself was an indication of a thriving trade at the time.

India too had many major and minor ports.⁽¹⁹⁾ These ports were commercially active and were linked to the main cities by a network of roads. Several Arab merchants or their agents took up residence in coastal cities when pursuing their trade.

The research has shown that several important commercial centres, other than port cities, existed in India, most of which were in al-Sind, and along the Indian border with Afghanistan and Iran. From these border cities Indian goods were exported.

Although some sources mention taxes levied in Indian ports, or at the borders, and the amounts of taxes levied, which were based on the value and prices of goods or taxes covering the entire cargo of a ship, the amount of information on Indian taxation is far less than it is on Arab taxation. For example, apart from a very little information on Ceylon and Kūlam Malay the sources make no mention of taxation in any of the Indian islands. This applies to the ports of these islands as well.

7 - Methods of selling and buying, and prices.

The research has shown that methods of trading between the Arabs and the Indians had reached advanced levels, although primitive methods continued to be used. Bartering was the method commonly used especially when dealing with the islands of the Indian Ocean.

Traders would also use the currency of the country in which they traded. They would sell their merchandise, and use the local money they earned to make purchases in that country before returning home, thus dispensing with the bartering process. As traders would spend a long period of time in the other country they would have had to sell their merchandise and buy new merchandise more than once during the same journey, and internal trade in the country where that process took place would have benefited as a result.

In addition to these two methods, the period of the research witnessed the emergence of state banks and private financial institutions catering for merchants. In that period, cheques and bills of exchange became widely used as substitutes for money. Bureaus of change mushroomed throughout the Arab world and India,⁽²⁰⁾ and money changers bought and sold various currencies, thus making profits and facilitating trade. Such economic terms as commercial ventures, lending, securities, bankruptcy, speculation, stagnation, capital etc. which are commonly used in the financial world at present were also known and used.⁽²¹⁾

Prices of exported and imported merchandise were often influenced by political and economic developments on trade routes and in ports in the Arab world. We have been unable to ascertain the prices of some goods such as perfumes, because these goods were bartered in their countries of origin, and the sources fail to mention the prices at which they were retailed in the importing country. We do know, however,

that jewellery was re-sold at very high prices and that made its ownership restricted to the wealthy and the privileged.

We have provided a list of the prices of some goods in the Arab world and India in order to give a general impression of prices regulated and supervised by the state, especially the Arab state, through the office of the 'Muhtasib'. This list is based on information contained in some of the sources.

Judging by Arab-Indian commercial activity, the Arab world seems to have had an advantage over India. Its strategic position at the centre of known world contributed to its economic prosperity. It exported African merchandise to India and also Indian merchandise to Europe. Trade between the Arab regions of North Africa and Andalusia continued. So did trade between Egyptian ports and the Mediterranean islands, which in turn had direct trading links with Byzantium, and trade caravans between Syria and Byzantium.⁽²²⁾ Moreover, the Arab world was a crossroads for many international traders, such as Russians and Rādhānīs on journeys to India, Europe, etc. This means that some European countries came to know Indian goods through the Arab world. However, the sources make no mention of any Arab merchandise re-exported by India or of any non-Indian goods re-exported by India to the Arab world.

(ii) Mutual influences.

During the period of the research relations between the Arabs and Indians were not confined to the mere commercial exchange of

goods and services. Trade, the oldest and the strongest means of human contact, served as a channel for the exchange of culture, religion and knowledge. That exchange was bound to influence habits, customs and social behaviour of the two nations concerned. In the following we shall attempt to survey such influences:

1 - Religious and linguistic influences.

Together with preachers, trade played an important part in the propagation of Islam and Arabic culture in many parts of India, especially in regions other than Sind, the only part of India to be conquered by the Arabs in the early Islamic period. Indians in large numbers embraced Islam and became a force to be reckoned with in the Hindu community. Al-Mas'ūdī, who visited India in A.H. 304/A.D. 916 reports that he saw in Ṣaymūr, which is in the kingdom of Ballahrā, a Muslim population of ten thousand, who were originally Bayāsira, Sīrāfīs, Omanis, and others from Basra, Baghdad and other regions who had married and settled there.⁽²³⁾ In the course of his description of the Indian cities of Kāmuhul, Sindān, Ṣaymūr and Kanbāya, al-Iṣṭakhrī confirms the existence of mosques in these cities and indicates that Islamic rules were noticeably observed in them.⁽²⁴⁾ This is confirmed by ibn Ḥawḳal and others.⁽²⁵⁾ Sources indicate that Islam had spread to other regions of India such as the island of Ceylon,⁽²⁶⁾ and Sind.⁽²⁷⁾ However, the sources do not mention whether any Arabs had embraced any Indian religion, or whether any Indians had abandoned the Islamic faith.

The Arabic language was used in certain regions of India because it was the language of the Koran and the Prophet.⁽²⁸⁾ As was the case in the Arab world, some Muslim sects made more headway in certain regions of India than others.⁽²⁹⁾ That could be attributed to the existence of Muslims in larger numbers in some regions than in others, or it could be that certain sects were better represented in those regions than others, more merchants belonged to them and therefore preached them there. Muslim merchants were as much committed to propagating Islam in India as they were to making profits. Some Arab and Muslim merchants married Indian women who later embraced Islam,⁽³⁰⁾ thus increasing the number of Muslims there and forming a new class of Muslims within Indian society.⁽³¹⁾

The Indians too came to influence the Arabs in a similar way, although it was in the linguistic field that Indian influence was most noticeable. Many Indian words entered Arabic and with the passage of time became part of it.⁽³²⁾ At the same time many Arabic words became common in some Indian regions. In his book "The history of India,"⁽³³⁾ H.M. Elliot says, "The Muhammadan had attained a correct knowledge of the Sanskrit not long after the establishment of their religion, even admitting, as was probably the case, that most of the Arabic translations were made by Indian foreigners resident at Baghdad."

2 - Scientific influences.

In the field of science, Indians made important contributions in mathematics, medicine, some branches of geometry and astronomy.

Al-Jāhiz states that 'were it not for the Indian numerals mathematics would have missed a great deal and multiplication would not have been possible.'⁽³⁴⁾

Al-Khawārizmī too points to the importance of Indian mathematics, which included the decimal system,⁽³⁵⁾ which the Arabs adopted and from which they benefited. The important role played by the Indians in this field has been referred to by other historians.⁽³⁶⁾ The Arabs

adopted Indian numerals and began to use the zero early in the third Muslim century / the fourth century A.D. when the Abbāsīd caliph al-Ma'mūn established in Baghdad his Bayt al-Hikma (the house of Wisdom) and ordered the translation of many Indian, Persian, and other works into Arabic.⁽³⁷⁾ The Arabs developed and improved on

Indian mathematics and numerals, which are used at present in the Arab world.⁽³⁸⁾ It was the Arabs who introduced the Indian numerals into Europe and other parts of the world. The Arabs seem to have been influenced most by Indian mathematics. However, they were also influenced by Indian astronomical treatises. Al-Bīrūnī refers to the importance of those treatises and how they entered the Islamic world⁽³⁹⁾ and influenced Arab authors who wrote in that field.⁽⁴⁰⁾

With regard to the influence of Indian medical sciences on the Arabs, sources indicate that an Indian physician was summoned to the Arab world in the reign of al-Raḡhīd.⁽⁴¹⁾ However, we have been unable to find sufficient information on Indian influences in other fields such as geometry of which they had a mastery according to the sources.⁽⁴²⁾

3 - Literary influences.

We have already seen how the Arabs drew on Indian knowledge in medicine, astronomy, and mathematics. However, the Arabs were also influenced by Indian fiction and mythology which portrayed the realities of life at that time. Ibn al-Nadīm prepared a list of these books. (43)

4 - Social influences.

Sources which deal with the social aspects of Arab and Indian life indicate that some social customs and traditions were remarkably similar. The Arabs, many of whom emigrated to India, married local women and settled there (44) in pursuance of their trade and for other reasons, had a full understanding of Indian society, its social stratification, religions, languages, beliefs, eating and dressing habits, etc. (45) The Indians who had known the Arabs for a long time improved their understanding of them and their affairs in the period of the research.

From the days of al-Rashīd and the emergence on the scene of the Barmakids, interest in Indian affairs increased in some Arab regions. (46) Trade contacts between the two nations resulted, inter alia, in the following:

A. The game of chess, an Indian game, moved to the Arab world where it became the caliphs' and their suite's favourite game. (47) Some Arabs went as far as writing books on the rules of the game and its importance. (48)

B. There were certain similarities in the dressing habits of the inhabitants of some regions in the Arab world and the inhabitants of some Indian regions. For instance, the inhabitants of al-Manṣūra and Makrān, especially merchants, adopted the Iraqī style of dress. Some Arabs in al-Sind imitated the Indians with regard to their long hair and their wearing of jewellery. (49)

C. Some Indians seem to have broken with their tradition of cremating their dead and begun to bury them in apparent imitation of the Arabs. (50)

D. Some sources indicate that in order to learn magic and use it to convey the message of Islam, (51) al-Ḥallāj had gone to India, the then centre of magic. (52) However, the sources do not explain how he had harnessed magic for that purpose or whether that particular use of magic was widespread in the Arab world.

E. Demographic developments. Most Indians who settled in the Arab world were slaves, Zuṭṭ, and merchants. Several theories have been advanced regarding the Zuṭṭ, the history of their emigration to the Arab world and the causes behind it. (53) What is certain, however, is that during the period of the research large numbers of them were living in Iraq and in some regions near the Byzantine empire. In times of war, the Zuṭṭ were classified with some well-known Arab tribes, and were mainly buffalo breeders. (54) Indian slaves were known for their skilfulness and intelligence. In addition to this, the Arabs had come to know many Indian merchants, (55) men of science

and medicine, who took up residence in Baghdad and in other Arab cities and ports, and many of whom had distinguished themselves as theologians, poets, singers, state administrators, or narrators.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Some Arabs too, had emigrated to some parts of India⁽⁵⁷⁾ for economic, political, and religious reasons, who spread the Islamic faith there and made their mark in the Indian scene by becoming rulers of towns and provinces of Sind⁽⁵⁸⁾ and by running some Indian ports.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Not surprisingly, Arabic became the language of several cities in al-Sind. It is not unlikely that the role played by the Arabs at that period set the stage for later Arabic literary achievements in India.⁽⁶⁰⁾

It would be difficult to determine which of the two sides had greater influence on the other, as that would involve taking account of social behaviour, customs, traditions, tastes, etc. We do, however, know that each side adopted what it regarded as useful and compatible with its beliefs, and rejected what was not. This is natural and could be repeated by other nations and cultures if they came under similar circumstances.

Footnotes to Chapter Five.

- (1) See Introduction, pp.3-9.
- (2) Ibid. pp.3-9.
- (3) We do not define the beginning of the Jāhiliyya period which ended with the advent of Islam.
- (4) The Ḳurān, Vol. 30, Sūrat Kuraysh, Baghdad, 1977, p.662, refers to that activity as 'the summer and winter journeys', the aim behind which was to trade in goods, some of which were Indian, with Yemen and the north of the Arabian peninsula. Some Arab markets became well known as a result of flourishing trade. Dabā market, for instance, was frequented by merchants from east and west, including Sind, India and China. See Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Muḥabbar, Hyderabad, 1942, p.265. At the time of the Arab conquest of Iraq, which took place in the reign of the Orthodox caliph ^CUmar b. al-Khattāb, the main port in southern Iraq was called Farj, or Ard, al-Hind, a sign of the strong commercial ties in the pre-Islamic period, see Chapter Two, p.108.
- (5) See Introduction, pp.3-8.
- (6) Ṣ.A. al-^CAlī, al-Tanzīmāt al-Ijtimā^Ciyya, p.269.
- (7) Al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-Buldān, part 3, pp.533-6.
- (8) For names of Arab rulers of Sind and their periods of rule, see sources on footnote 31, p.43.
- (9) For trade with the Byzantines, see Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, pp.290, 304, 315, Abū 'l-Fidā', Takwīm al-Buldān, pp.189, 219, al-Kazwīnī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.531, al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Ṣubḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 3, p.459.
- (10) A simple review of anti-^CAbbāsīd movements will show that the ^CAbbāsīd supremacy started immediately after the establishment of the caliphate and almost ended towards the end of the period of al-Mu^Ctaṣim, or of his son al-Wāthiq.
- (11) Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, p.290. M.R.A. Nadvi, Industry and commerce under the ^CAbbāsīds, PHS, Vol. 1, 1953, p.259, says: "During the ^CAbbāsīds' rule Baghdad had come into contact with every known corner of the earth. The Arab traders earned immense wealth from this international trade." See also S.M.

Imamuddin, Commercial relations of Spain with Iraq, Persia, Khurāsān, China and India in the tenth century A.D., IC, Vol. XXXV, 1961, pp.177-9, and, by the same author, Commercial relations of Spain with Ifriqiyah and Egypt in the tenth century A.D., IC, Vol. XXXVIII, 1964, pp.9-13.

- (12) See chapter one, pp.60-4. See also The Cambridge economic history of India, ed. T. Raychaudhuri and I. Habib, Vol. 1, p.17, A. Appadorai, Economic conditions in south India 1000-1500, Vol. 1, p.49.
- (13) For maps of land routes before and during the period of the research, see map no. 3 and no. 4. See also W.H. Schoff, The periplus of the Erythrean Sea, p.270.
- (14) Ibn Faḍlān, Risālat Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Sāmī 'l-Dahhān, pp.26,98.
- (15) See chapter two, p.105.
- (16) Ibid, p.106.
- (17) In the period of the Roman Empire, the balance of trade was also in India's favour. See J.B. Bury, History of the later Roman Empire, London, 1923, Vol. 2, p.317.
- (18) See chapter two, pp.108-11.
- (19) Ibid, pp.114-16.
- (20) For money exchange markets in the Arab world, see chapter three, pp.144-5. Also, A.S. Ehrenkreutz, Money, p.96 says "In the tenth century, commercial and banking activities of the caliphate were reaching their peak, with the mass circulation of money being their essential attribute." With regard to India, Buzurk, ʿAjā'ib al-Hind, p.137 reports Yūsuf b. Mihrān al-Sīrāfī, a merchant who visited al-Zābaj (the country of the Mahrāj), to have described that country as full of great markets. In the main money exchange market there were over 800 money changers, not to mention those spread in other markets.
- (21) Al-Sarakhsī, al-Mabsūt, Vol. 12, p.202, Vol. 14, pp.12,14,17, 26,30,39-41,64,65, Vol. 19, p.39, Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, Maʿālim al-Kurbā, pp.60-5, Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Dimashkī, al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tijāra, p.52, al-Ṣhaybānī, al-Makhārij fī 'l-Hiyal, pp.21-6,32-6,61-3, al-Aṣl, Vol. 3, p.131, Vol. 4, part 1, pp.54-60, al-Ghazālī, Ihyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn, Vol. 2, pp.64-71.

- (22) For continued trade with Byzantine, see Abū 'l-Fidā', Taḳwīm al-Buldān, p.189. He maintains that trade continued between Europe (such as al-Faranj and Ireland) on the one hand and Alexandria on the other. Ibn Jubayr, Rihla, p.190 refers to trade links between Alexandria and the Mediterranean islands. Al-Kazwinī, Āthār al-Bilād, p.531 reports that an annual fair called 'Bayaluh' was held early in spring and was frequented by people from the four corners of the world. People from the east would buy western merchandise and vice versa. Al-Marwazī, Ṭabā'i^c al-Ḥayawān, p. 462, also refers to the continued flow of trade caravans between Syria and the Byzantine empire.
- (23) Al-Mas^cūdī, Muruj, Vol. 1, p.210. Al-Mas^cūdī also states that Islam had been consolidated in the kingdom of Ballahrā and refers to the existence of many mosques, *Ibid*, p.170.
- (24) Al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.105.
- (25) Ibn Hawkal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, pp.320,324 mentions that the Muslims of the Ballahrā state used to gather in mosques to pray, and they insisted on being ruled by a Muslim leader despite their relatively small numbers in some kingdoms. He also states that the inhabitants of al-Manṣūra were Muslims. Al-Idrisī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāq, p.64, maintains that the inhabitants of al-Multān were Muslims and had Muslim rulers.
- (26) Al-Idrisī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāq, p.34, mentions that the king of Ceylon had 16 viziers, four of whom were Muslims, four Jews, four Christians and four other faith. Al-Anṣārī al-Dimashqī's account of the spread of Islam in Ceylon corresponds roughly to al-Idrisī. See Nukhbat al-Dahr, p.160.
- (27) Ibn Hawkal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, p.320,324, al-Idrisī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāq, p.64.
- (28) Al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.105, for instance, asserts that the inhabitants of al-Manṣūra, the Multān and their suburbs spoke Arabic and Sindī.
- (29) The inhabitants of the Multān were Shi^cīs and loyal to the Fāḫimid caliphate in Egypt, while the inhabitants of al-Manṣūra were Sunnīs and loyal to the Abbāsīd caliphate. See al-Iṣṭakhri, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p.103, al-Makdisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.480, al-Biruni, Fī Taḥḳīq mā li-'l-Hīnd min Maḳūla, p.88. Also, for the Carmathian sect in the Multān, see H.M. Elliot, The history of India, Vol. II, p.575, S.M. Ahmad, al-Ilākāt al-^cArabiyya al-Hindiyya, p.49.

- (30) F. al-Sāmīr, al-Uṣūl al-Tārīkhiyya, p.78.
- (31) Such as al-Bayāsira. See al-Mas^Cudī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.210, al-Tanūkhī, al-Faraj ba^Cd al-Shidda, Vol. 2, p.359.
- (32) S.S. Nādavi, Commercial relations of India with Arabia, IC, Vol.XI, 1933, pp.291-6.
- (33) H.M. Elliot, The history of India, Vol. V, p.572. He adds that Sanskrit must have been well known at that time.
- (34) Al-Jāhīz, al-Ḥayawān, Vol. 1, p.46.
- (35) Al-Khawārizmī, Mafātīḥ al-^CUlūm, pp.112-17.
- (36) Al-Tha^Calībī, Thimār al-Kulūb, p.237, al-Marwazī, Tabā'i^C al-Ḥayawān, p.27, al-Bīrūnī, Rasā'il al-Bīrūnī, Hyderabad, 1948, p.106.
- (37) G. Kirk, Mūjaz Tārīkh al-Sharḥ al-Awsaṭ, tr. ^CUmar al-Iskandari, Cairo, not dated, p.46, states that works in mathematics and astronomy were translated into Arabic early in the 9th century. The Middle East adopted Indian numerals and began to use the zero which replaced the antiquated Roman numerals. Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, p.342 mentions Arabic Indian names of those who contributed to translating from Indian into Arabic, which include Minka al-Hindī, Ishāḳ b. Sulaymān b. ^CAlī al-Hāshimī and Ibn Dahan al-Hindī, ibid, p.383. He also claims that Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khawārizmī spent all his time in al-Ma'mūn's Dār al-Ḥikma, and wrote several books including al-Ḥisāb al-Hindī, and on p.392 he refers to the role played by Ibn Sinān b. al-Faṭḥ (from Ḥarrān) in this field, as represented by his book, al-Taḥṭī fī-l-Ḥisāb al-Hindī. For the importance of Indian mathematics, see D.F. Smith, History of Mathematics, Boston, 1923, Vol. 1, pp.33-5, 177. A.L. Basham, The wonder that was India, p.469 says: "For long it was thought that the decimal system of numerals was invented by the Arabs, but this certainly was not the case. The Arabs themselves called mathematics "the Indian art", and there is no doubt that the decimal notion, with other mathematical lore, was learnt by the Muslim world either through merchants trading with the west coast of India, or through the Arabs who conquered Sind in A.D. 712."
- (38) P.K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, pp.307-8.
- (39) Al-Bīrūnī, Rasā'il al-Bīrūnī, p.106.
- (40) In al-Fihrist, p.383, referring to al-Khawārizmī, Ibn al-Nadīm mentions that before the advent of astronomy, and after it,

people relied heavily on his first and second astronomical table known as Sind Hind. On p.388, he adds that Ya^Cḳūb b. Ṭāriḳ had distinguished himself in the science of stars, and that his books included al-Zīj (ephemeris) al-Mahlūl fī -'l-Sind Hind. On p.390, he refers to the works of Ibn Mājūr, (Abū al-Kāsim ^CAbd Allāh), which included Zīj al-Sind Hind. On p.387 he mentions ^CUṭārid b. Muḥammad, an astronomer whose books included al-Jafr al-Hindī. Al-Bīrūnī, Fī Taḥḳīḳ mā li-'l-Hind min Maḳūla, pp.351,397, says that since the days of al-Manṣūr, Arab scientists had been influenced by these Indian sciences. H.M. Elliot, The history of India, Vol. V, p.572, says "In the khalifate of al-Ma'mūn, the Augustan age of Arabian literature, the treatise of Muḥammad bin Musa on Algebra, which was translated by Dr. Rosen in 1831 and medical treatise of Mikah and ibn Dahan, who are represented to be Indians, show that Sanskrit must have been well known at that time." For more details about the role of the Arabs in the mathematics field, see D.E. Smith, History of mathematics, Vol. 1, pp.168-77.

- (41) According to al-Ṭabari, Tāriḳh, Vol. II, p.747, the Indian doctor summoned to treat al-Rashīd was Minka. Al-Dīnawarī, Uyūn al-Aḳhbār, Vol. 1, p.24 mentions that Minka was summoned to treat Yaḥyā b. Khālīd. Also, on pp.159-60, he mentions an Indian doctor called Julla al-Hindī. In al-Fihrist, p.378, Ibn al-Nadīm mentions names of Indian scientists whose books in astronomy and medicine were especially useful. Al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Bayān, Vol. 1, p.92 mentions names of Indian physicians in Iraq.
- (42) Al-Marwazī, Tabā'i^C al-Ḥayawān, p.27, al-Ḳalkaṣhandī, Subḥ al-A^Cshā, Vol. 5, p.62.
- (43) According to Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, pp.424-5, Indian books of mythology and entertainment were Sindbādh al-Kabīr, Sindbādh al-Ṣaghīr, Adab al-Hind wa-'l-Ṣīn, Hābil fī 'l-Ḥikma, al-Hind fī Kiṣṣat Hubūt Ādam, Ṭaraḳ, Dabak al-Hindī fī -'l-Rajul wa-'l-Mar'a, Hudūd al-Manṭiḳ al-Hindī, Sādīram, Malik al-Hind al-Ḳattāl wa-l-Sabbāh, Ṣhānāḳ fī -'l-Tadbīr, Uṭur fī -'l-Aṣhriba, Bīdpa fī -'l-Ḥikma. On p.378 he states that Kinka al-Hindī wrote: al-Nawādir fī -'l-A^Cmār, Asrār al-Mawālīd, al-Ḳarānāt al-Kabīr, al-Ḳarānāt al-Ṣaghīr, and that Jūdar al-Hindī wrote: al-Mawālīd ^CArabī, and that Ṣanjhil al-Hindī wrote: Asrār al-Masā'il, and that Nahīḳ al-Hindī wrote: al-Mawālīd al-Kabīr.
- (44) See p. 269.
- (45) For social stratification in India, see al-Marwazī, Tabā'i^C

al-Hayawān, p. 26, al-Bīrūnī, Fī Taḥkīk mā li-'l-Hind min Makūla, p. 470, Ibn Khurdādhba, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 71.

- (46) Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, p. 484 reports Muhammad b. Ishāq to have said that Yahyā b. Khālīd and the Barmakids took an interest in the affairs of Indians living in the Arab world. Al-Jāhīz, al-Bayān, Vol. 1, p. 52, also indicates that interest in Indians living in the Arab world had begun since the days of Yahyā b. Khālīd. Al-Sīrāfī, Silsilat al-Tawārīkh, p. 26, maintains that the Chinese and the Indians were unanimous in their view that the kings of the Arabs, Chinese, Romans and Ballahrā were the most important kings in the whole world.
- (47) For Indian use of chess, see al-Bīrūnī, Fī Taḥkīk mā li-'l-Hind min Makūla, p. 146, al-Tha^Calībī, Thimār al-Kulūb, p. 237. For the spread of the game in the Arab world, see al-Azdī, Hikāyat Abī 'l-Kāsim al-Baghdādī, p. 95. Al-Rashīd was one of the caliphs who played chess. See Ibn A^Ctham al-Kūfī, al-Futūh, Vol. 8, p. 277. Al-Rashīd was also the first caliph to have played chess and backgammon according to al-Ya^Ckūbī, Mushākalat al-Nās li-Zamānihim, p. 25. Al-Mu^Ctazz too played chess. See al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, Vol. 12, p. 1671. So did al-Mu^Ctaḍid. See al-Bīrūnī, al-Jamāhir, p. 60.
- (48) Such as al-^CAdlī, al-Rāzī, al-Ṣulī and others. See Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, p. 221.
- (49) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, al-Masālik wa-'l-Mamālik, p. 105, maintains that Muslims and non-Muslims in the Indian regions of Kanbāya, Ṣaymūr, and neighbouring areas, dressed in the same manner and wore Ma'āzir (aprons), as did the inhabitants of the Multān, although merchants adopted Iraqi and Persian dressing habits. Ibn Hawkal, Ṣūrat al-Ard, part 2, p. 320, indicates that the fashions of al-Manṣūra were similar to those of Iraq, and their kings wore clothes similar to those worn by Indian kings.
- (50) Al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat al-Mushtāk, p. 70.
- (51) Al-Tha^Calībī, Thimār al-Kulūb, p. 237.
- (52) Al-Baghdādī, Tārīkh Baghdād, Vol. 8, p. 120, al-Dhahabī, al-^CIbar, Vol. 2, p. 138, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, Vol. 6, p. 160.
- (53) See chapter four, pp. 183-6 (for slaves).
- (54) Ibid, pp. 220-1. With regard to their alliance with some well-known Arab tribes, al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-Ashraf, Vol. 4, p. 112,

indicates that the Zutt and the Sayābija were allied to Banī Ḥanzala Ibn Mālik.

- (55) For details about the settlement of Indian merchants in Basra, see Ibn Ḥawkal, Ṣurat al-Ard, part 2, pp.290-1.
- (56) In his book, Tārīkh al-Silāt, pp.46-55, M.I. al-Nadawī gives sufficient information on Indians, slaves and freemen, who emigrated to the Arab world, especially those who distinguished themselves in literature, entertainment, theology, and those who held governmental posts. Others were born in the Arab world.
- (57) For merchant families from Fustāt who lived in the ports of Malabar during the tenth century A.D., see K.R. Hall, International trade and foreign diplomacy in early mediaeval south India, JESHO, Vol. XXI, 1978, p.92. For the Arabs in Ceylon in the tenth century A.D., see N. Ahmad, The Arabs' knowledge of Ceylon, IC, Vol. XIX, 1945, p.224. For Arab merchants who lived in Indonesia before the tenth century A.D., see J.C. Van-Leur, Indonesian trade and society, p.111. For Arabic inscriptions in Java in the tenth century A.D., see M. Lombard, The golden age of Islam, p.222. For the important role of Arab merchants in Sind, see S.M. Jaffar, The Arab administration of Sind, IC, Vol. XVII, 1943, p.128. He adds that Azdīs lived there.
- (58) Referring to Sind, al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.167, mentions that descendents of ^CAlī b. Abī Tālib lived in al-Mansūra, and that its kings were Arabs, as were the kings of other kingdoms of Sind. Al-Makḍisī, Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim, p.480, maintains that the majority of the population of the Multān were Arabs.
- (59) Al-Mas^Cūdī, Murūj, Vol. 1, p.120 indicates that many Omanis, Basrans, and Baghdadis were settled in Ṣaymūr in the kingdom of Ballahrā. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Riḥla, Vol. 2, p.191, says he had seen in the city of Kūlam Maḷay a group of Muslim merchants headed by ^CAlā' al-Dīn al-Awjī, from Iraq. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *ibid*, p.186, also maintains that Ibrāhīm Shāh (Amīr al-Tujjār), originally from Bahrein, was the governor of the port of Ḳālīḳūṭ in the region of Madras.
- (60) For more details about Arabic literature in India after the 4th/10th century, see Z. Ahmad, al-Ādāb al-^CArabiyya fī Shībh al-Ḳāra al-Hindiyya, tr. ^CAbd al-Maḳṣūd Muḥammad, Baghdad, 1978.

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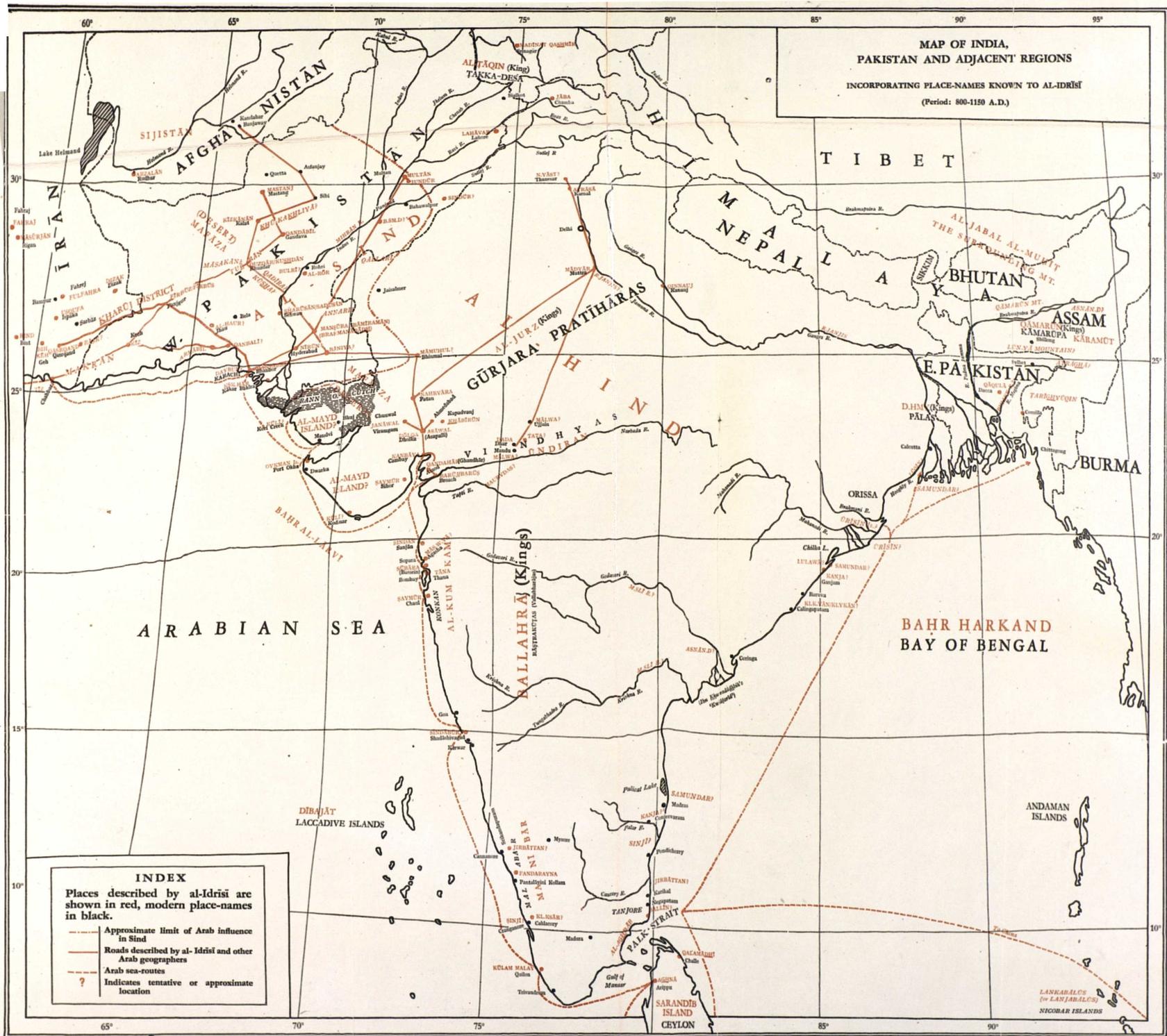
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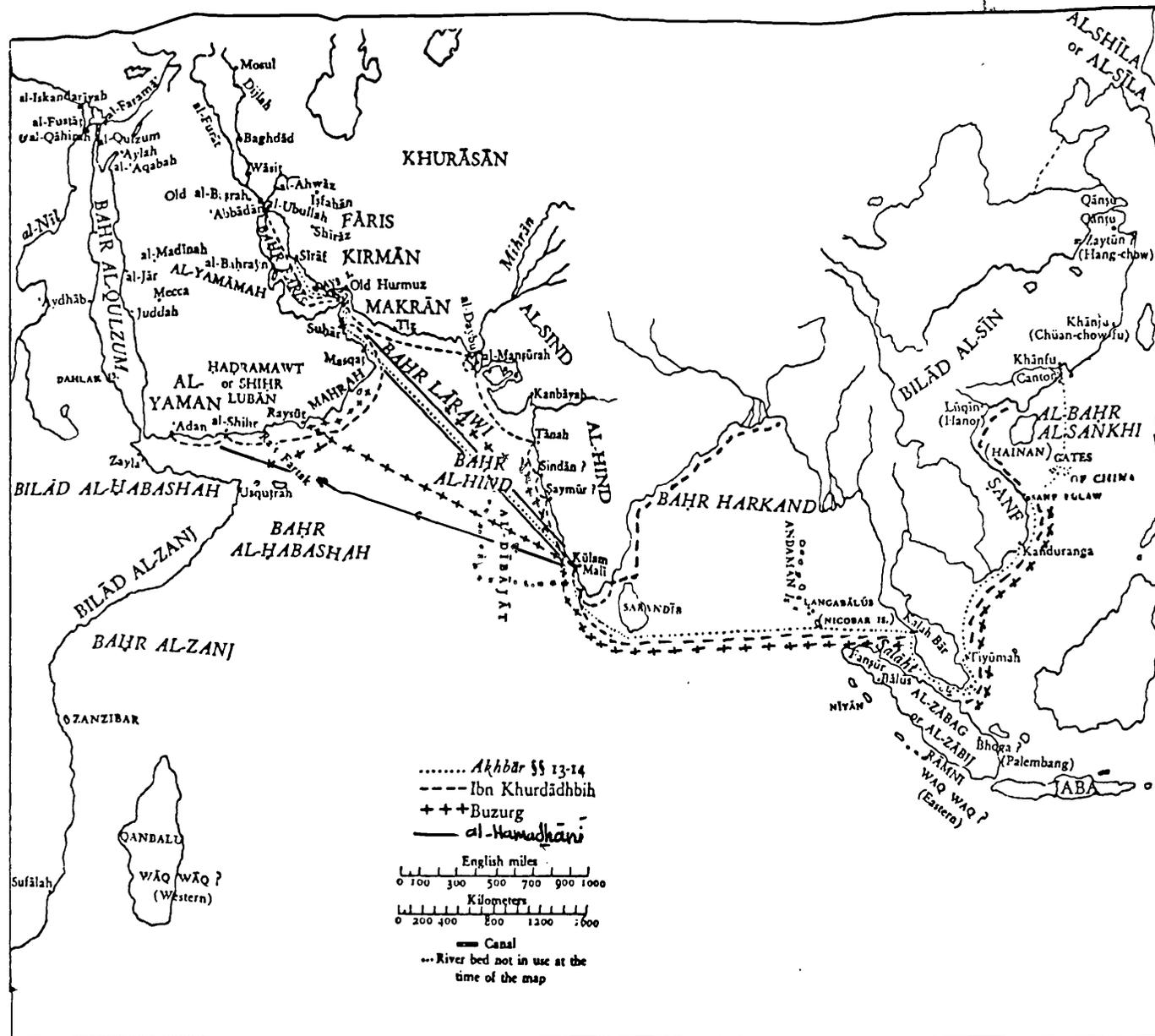
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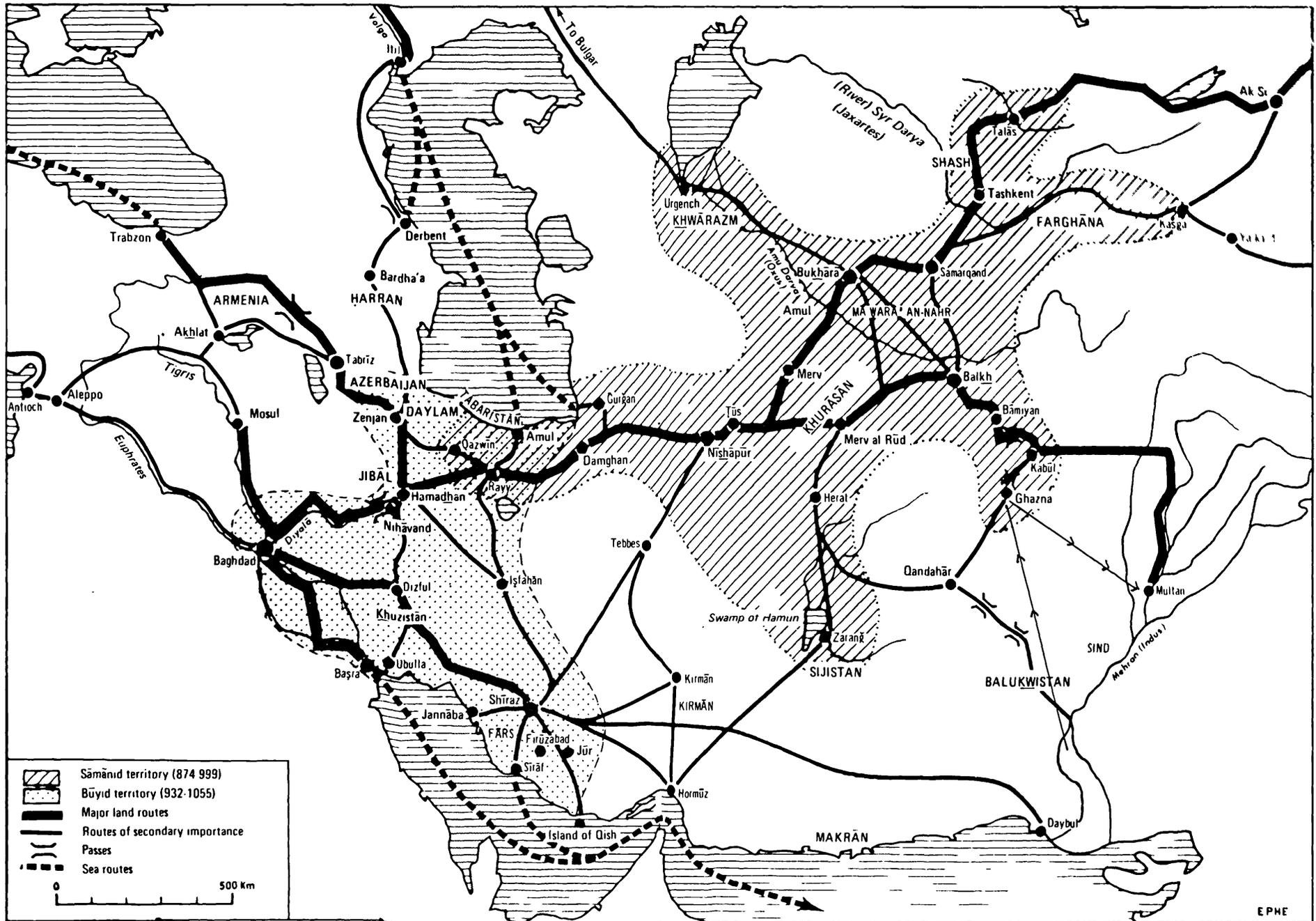


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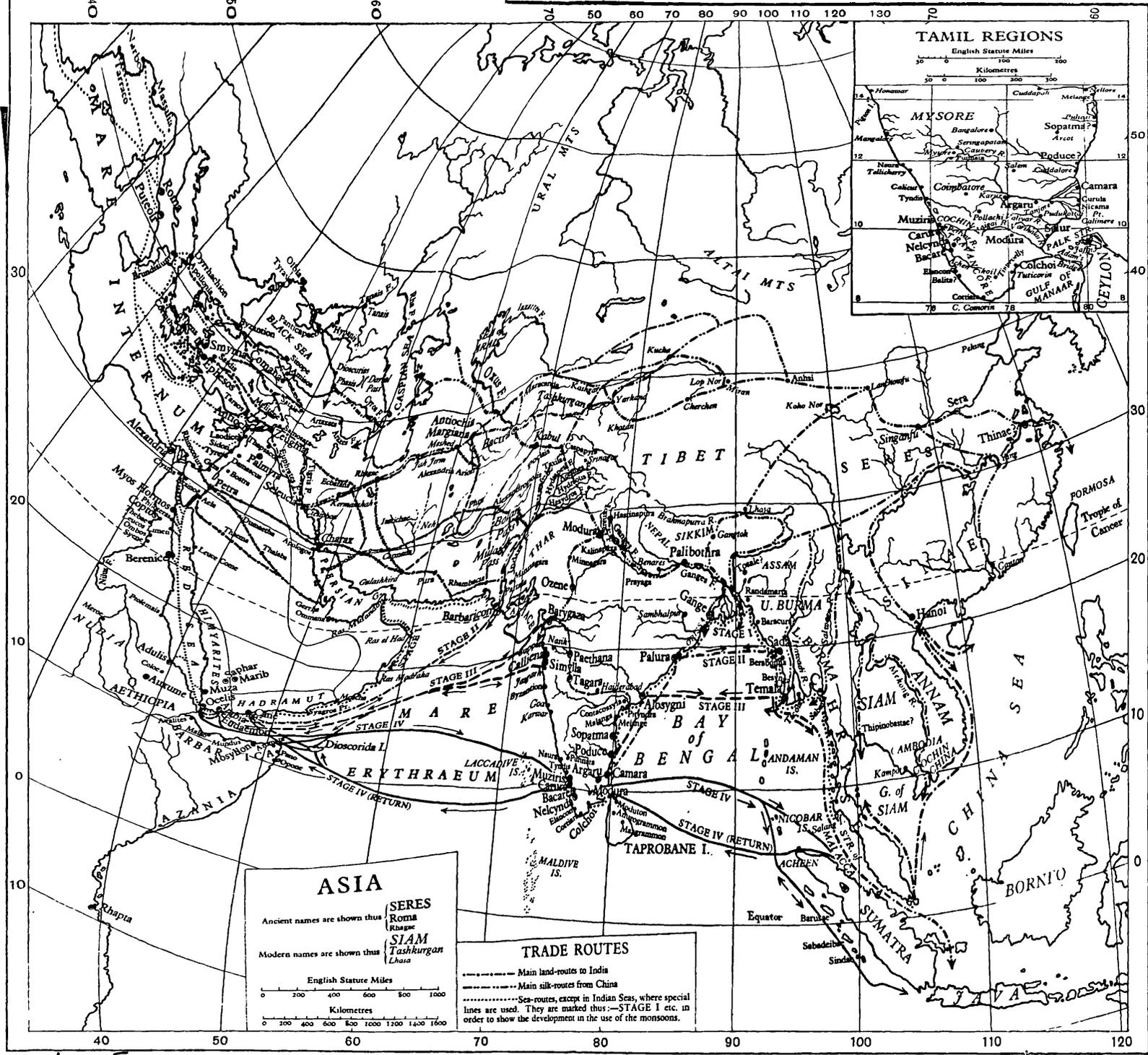




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