Narratives of Earliest Hindu-Muslim Encounters

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter makes two broad claims. The first is to incorporate a longer history of statecraft in north India into our examination of Mughal regime. The second is to take medieval Indian Ocean texts as critical source material for understanding forms of state-making, negotiation of difference, and encounters between social actors. Toward these claims, the chapter reads a set of ninth- and tenth-century narratives linking Sindh and Gujarat to Aden and Cairo. Within these texts are representations of various forms of encounters between those understood as Arabs and Muslims and those labeled Hindi or Sindhi. The chapter explicates accounts of embeddedness of Islam in India, of crime and punishment as modes of statecraft, of everyday gendered lives, and of networks of exchange in order to provide a longer history of understanding pivotal concerns of the Mughal regime in the sixteenth century.

Keywords: encounter, Hindu-Muslim, Indian Ocean, kingship, gender, crime, punishment, Sindh, Gujarat, Aden

In the *Akbarnama* of Abu'l Fazl is a story about Humayun in a section written around 1596. Abu'l Fazl, the courtier and narrator of Jalaluddin Akbar's reign, describes Humayun (Akbar's father) trying his best to create allied relations in Sindh, near Uch, in 1542. Having been rebuffed by the local Muslim ruler, Humayun grows despondent. *Akbarnama* recounts:

Since, by the mysterious working of divine wisdom, the causes for success lie within the folds of some unpleasantness, success was not achieved in Sind, and the true colors of his unmanly men were revealed, as were the disloyalty of the army, the unsupportiveness of his brothers, his relatives' lack of wisdom and the unfavorability of fortune. The emperor then wanted either to clothe himself in the garb of solitude and, traveling the path of God, set out for Kaaba, or to retire into a corner of freedom from sight of people and avoid contact with the torturous world and its deceptive inhabitants.¹

This is the lowest point of *Akbarnama*'s narrative—the despondent prince deciding to give up, before the protagonist of the text (Akbar) has even entered this world. At this nadir, *Akbarnama* narrates a series of advisors who ask that Humayun attempt an alignment with Raja Maldev of nearby Marwar—a place Humayun had never visited before and where he had no political concerns. Listening to their advice, Humayun writes to the Raja and, in anticipation, sets off to his fort. En route to Bikaner, Humayun sends “an outstandingly intelligent man,” Mir Samandar, to ascertain the loyalty of Raja Maldev.² Samandar reports back that the Raja is certainly not trustworthy. Humayun stays on course. At a resting stop, *Akbarnama* describes an event where the Raja sends a courtier disguised as a merchant for the purpose of purchasing a valuable diamond from Humayun: a picking clean, as if by a vulture, of a prematurely dead polity. Humayun is yet keen enough to read through the subterfuge and declares: “Remind this purchaser that the likes of this valuable jewel cannot be bought. Either it will fall into [Raja Maldev's] hands by means of a glittering sword coupled with a sovereign mind, or it will come about through the favor of exalted kings.”³ Humayun, despondent and without an army or a hope, still articulates the paths to power that lay before Maldev—by brute force or by grant from a higher claim. Such articulation of rightful possession of glory—sovereign will—would be familiar to the readers of the *Akbarnama*, and Humayun's rebuff of a usurper underscores his political superiority to Maldev even when bereft of throne or army.

Despite this, Humayun continues, as does the narration of the journey. To further gauge the intent of Raja Maldev, Humayun dispatches another emissary to the Raja's camp as they near it—a Rai Mal Sauni. This noble—a Rai, rather than a Mir—is instructed to speak to the Raja and then non-verbally communicate his assessment. Rai is asked to grasp the five fingers of his left hand with his right should he find the Raja trustworthy, and only one finger if the opposite. Rai Mal Sauni, upon reaching the camp, reports back with a one-finger clasp. *Akbarnama* records: “By this signal the truth was known, and finally it was revealed that wretch [Raja Maldev] was contemplating treachery, and having assigned a large troop to go in greeting, had evil thoughts in head.”⁴ Having received this caution, Humayun turns away from Raja Maldev and the *Akbarnama* follows him back into Sindh's deserts.

What is embedded in this imbricated set of exchanges—political, mercantile, cultural, sacral? Is this a sixteenth-century topography of intimacies? Can it be read as the encounter of a known unknown (the destitute king with an uncertain future) and an unknown known (a regional polity of uncertain alliance) that confirm the categorization of a foreign Muslim conquest in the making of Mughal polity? More intriguingly, how to read the co-presence of the “extremely intelligent” Mir Samandar and the bodily deft Rai Mal Sauni? After all, these two figures perform key tasks of interpretations seeing and advising Humayun but from different subject-positions. How do we read their acumen? While *Akbarnama*, the text, and Humayun, the character, also perform interpretative tasks, it is this last set of hermeneutical actors that hint at a longer history of reading and being in the region.

We begin with the idea that this very small event embedded in the massive *Akbarnama* is both a history of a specific space (Sindh) and a history of a specific encounter (between two political powers). At play here are both the imminent birth of Akbar—and thus the foundation of the Mughal polity—and a geography that itself has a history where Muslim and non-Muslim polities have negotiated co-presence. In what follows is an argument for thinking about Mughal encounters from a different, and novel, perspective—that of the longer history of the region of Sindh and the deeper meaning-making produced by the Hindu-Muslim encounter in the region.

A Series of Encounters

At the outset, a set of questions and assumptions need to be made explicit. There are three categories—Arab, India, Hindu-Muslim—that are historically contingent yet conceptually unstable. The historical “Arab” emerges as a subject and an author at different moments in the first millennium and it is only near its end—roughly in the eighth century CE—that a political regime creates the framework for the Arabic language and ethnic families from the Arabian Peninsula as markers for an Arab identity.⁵ Similarly, “India” emerges via Greek, Arabic, and Sasanian sources from late antiquity onward, with the Arabic “al-Hind” dominating until the Persian “Hindustan” becomes the primary geographical index for the northern Indian subcontinent in the tenth century CE.⁶ It follows easily from these evolving terrains of nomenclature that we must proceed with caution in thinking about the “earliest encounters” between “Hindus” as “Indians” and “Muslims” as “Arabs.”⁷

When we turn to the matter of “encounters,” further caveats demand attention. It was not too long ago that historical sciences focused on “discovery” rather than “encounter.” The former fell out of favor once its peculiar constellation of power and violence became apparent and the bodies that had for centuries been “discovered” wrote back against the “discoverers.”⁸ The language of encounters moved us away from civilizational erasures and from spaces deemed *terra incognita*, and using encounters allowed a glimpse at historical agents and actors creating meanings. More important for our historical understanding, the concept of the encounter is embedded in particular spaces: the frontier, the borderlands, the port, the market, the sacral site, the court. These sites, with their material and object histories, help illuminate the cultural or social contexts of encounters within which we can understand the formation of the political or the sacral. The recent scholarship of Finbarr Flood and Sanjay Subrahmanyam has focused attention on encounter as an analytical category—visible as transcultural movement of artifacts (for Flood) and transactional contact between individuals (for Subrahmanyam).⁹ Yet, particular challenges remain for understanding narratives from the last centuries of the first millennium as “encounters” between disparate identities. There is a paucity of textual source material dealing with the first millennium, and this means that the few sources have to both illuminate and extrapolate—making scale of the inquiry difficult. Further, the inability to conduct and coordinate archaeological or material culture research in Yemen, Oman, Iran, Pakistan, and India means that the space of encounter—the sites—also remain materially

silent. Finally, the scholars face the admittedly difficult task of incorporating Sanskrit and Arabic sources into the more widely produced Persianate sources. Each of these presents unique challenges and much of the reason the field of early medieval or medieval India remains cordoned off with Sanskrit/Arabic/Persian scholars is based on these source limitations. The impact of these limitations becomes pronounced as we move to the early modern period where the admittedly sound language of encounter appears seemingly for the first time.

Then, there is the burden of British colonial historiography, which framed the earliest encounter between Islam and India as one of conquest alone:

Scarcely had the false prophet expired, when his followers and disciples, issuing from their naked desserts, where they had hitherto robbed their neighbours and quarrelled amongst themselves, hastened to convert their hereditary feuds into the spirit of unanimity and brotherly love. ... The conquest of Persia was a mere prelude to further extension in the east; and though a more difficult and inhospitable country, as well as internal dissensions, checked their progress for some years afterwards, yet it was not in the nature of things to be expected, that they should long delay their attacks upon the rich and idolatrous country of India, which offered so tempting a bait to their cupidity and zeal.¹⁰

These are the words of Henry Miers Elliot (1808–1853), who was a colonial jurist and archivist. Elliot oversaw a massive translation project into English, of Arabic, and Persian histories of Muslims in India (published posthumously as *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians* in eight volumes and edited by John Dowson). This project sets up the landscape of historical enquiry into Indian past.¹¹ This figuration of the encounter as conquest sets up a history of Arabs and Muslims in India as outsiders. It also explicitly casts the earliest Muslims as fanatic, foreign invaders. The site of encounter is the battlefield, the conquered fort, and the destroyed temple. One consequence of the British historiography is that the primary site for any investigations into pre-Mughal Muslim Indian pasts is solely in the history of military conquest. Such histories flow from the campaign of Muhammad bin Qasim in 712 CE to the campaign of Sebüktigin and Maḥmud Ghaznavi in 990 CE to the campaigns of Moḥammad bin Sām in 1200 CE to the campaign of Ṣāḥirud-dīn Babur in 1526. Yet, this is not all there is to say about Muslims in India.

How then do we embark upon re-thinking the first-millennium encounters between Arabs and India? A. K. Ramanujan, while discussing three hundred Rāmāyaṇas, had this insight: “In India and in Southeast Asia, no one ever reads the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata* for the first time. The stories are there, ‘always already.’”¹² What if the Arabs and Indians were there, always already? If we think of physical geography outside of post-Partitioned geographies, we can imagine an “India” that begins somewhere along the coasts of contemporary Baluchistan and sailing communities which move unabashedly between the coastlines of Gujarat and Oman. What does a history of encounter look like if we think of a history of both land- and sea-based routes connecting Aden, Muscat, Bahrain, Damman, and Siraf, to Sind and Gujarat ports like Daybul, Diu, and Thane?

What is the point of origins and when did each discover the other? If the shortest distance between such ports—from Ras al-Khaimah to Hormuz—is fifty nautical miles and the farthest distance—from Aden to Diu—is eighteen hundred miles, then where along those miles did the discovery take place? To take an example of this route via land, we can turn to Ibn Khurdādhbih (d. 912 CE)'s *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, written around 885 CE. It lists the following cities or stations in the journey to the port city of Manusra (Indus Valley): Fahraj, Tābrān (in Khuzdar), Basurjan (Sarbaz), al-Kahrūn (Rask), Hadhār, Madar, Mūsāra, Dirak Bāmwayh, Tajin, Jabal al-Mālih (Bāmpusht Kōh), al-Nakhl, Qalamān, Fannazbūr (Panjgur), His, Qandābil (Gandava), al-Jithā, Quzdār (Khuzdar), al-Jaur, Ushrūshān, and finally Mansura.¹³ These stops, stations, forts, or cities each pulls us toward its social and cultural embeddedness in both the Indic and the Arab worlds. Ibn Khurdādhbih also mentions those who are kings in the al-Hind: "The greatest king in Hind is Balahra, the King of Kings, and other Kings are Jabḥ, king Ṭāfan (Deccan?), Jurz (Gujarat?), Ghaba, Rahmi and King of Qamrūn (Assam?)."¹⁴ Instructive in these lists of places and kings is the assumed familiarity to the reader—the list of place names lies within the sections describing all of Persia and Iraq, and the list of kings is in the section of Kings of the World—Iraq, Byzantium, Ethiopia, and elsewhere—of the known world writ large. We now turn toward this familiarity in thinking about encounters.

The everyday encounters are captured in a series of Arabic and Persian texts. These texts—travelogues, histories, geographies, or catalogues—describe the multiple ways of being Muslim, Hindu, Arab, Persian, Gujarati, or Sindhi. It is to these texts that the titular questions are addressed: what are the earliest narratives of encounters? What does an encounter look like? Where does this encounter take place? The questions, once asked, force us to make radical choices about spatiality—the relationship between city, port, and sea to movement within and across these spaces. In what follows are some archetypal and historical reactions that embody Arab encounters in India in the ninth and tenth centuries.¹⁵

In a series of Arabic texts from roughly the mid-ninth century to the mid-eleventh century are some of the earliest textual sources discussing pre-Mughal Muslim India. Though well known and well studied, these sources have not been examined as particular precursors to the history of Mughal Hindustan. They are the mid-ninth-century chronicle documenting the conquest of various political spaces by al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān* ("Opening of Lands"); the early tenth-century catalog of sailor and merchant stories by Buzurg ibn Shaharyār, *ʿAjāʾib al-Hind* ("Wonders of India"); the mid-ninth-century merchant account by Abū Zayd al-Sīrafī *Akḥbār al-Sīn wa'l Hind* ("Accounts of China and India"); the mid-tenth-century history of Muslim lands by al-Masʿūdī *Murūj al-dhahab wa-maʿādin al-Jawhar* (The Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems); the late tenth-century catalogue of known books in Baghdad by Ibn an-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (Book of Lists); and the eleventh-century *Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa al-Tuḥaf* (Book of Gifts and Rarities) attributed to Ibn al-Zubayr.¹⁶

From this textual archive, we focus on three reactions that address accounts of embeddedness of Islam in India, of everyday gendered lives, and on networks of exchange. By taking a series of anecdotes, exempla, or fragments as a collective reaction, we unmoor them from the text and resituate them in lived and imagined landscapes. This world of Indian Ocean termed “Afrasian Ocean,” connecting the port cities of Siraf, Aden, Diu, Mansura, and Thana to Oman, Yemen, and the northwestern shores of India around the Arabian Sea stretches across the shores and sites of seafaring and desert-dwelling people in the first millennium CE.¹⁷

Origins and Institutions

Defying the colonial attempts to situate conquest as the genesis for Islam’s presence in India, a large number of accounts present in the sources make a different case. They make a case for political and communal conversion of physical space outside of the parameters of military conquest. *‘Ajā’ib al-Hind* contains a number of accounts tied to various geographies and the ways in which they responded to Muslims. In a section detailing a history of asceticism in Hind, the text focuses on Sarandip (now Sri Lanka) to detail the history of the “al-Bikarjī,” who are inhabitants of the island and who “love Muslims and meet with them with pleasure.”¹⁸ They are described as wearing little or small patched clothing; with cremated ash rubbed on their bodies; with shaved heads and faces; and carrying a skull or bones around their necks or in their hands. For these ascetics, it reports that when the wise of Sarandip learned of the emergence of Prophet Muhammad, they sent someone to Medina to learn about his teaching. However, the man reached Medina only after the Prophet had passed away and during the caliphate of ‘Umar bin al-Khattāb. He perished in Makrān on the way back but with him was his Hindi slave boy. That boy reached back to Sarandip and reported all he had seen and heard including the ascetic ways in which ‘Umar lived (“he wears patched up clothes and spends his nights in the mosque”). It was from this report that the ascetics of Sarandip gained their custom of wearing patched clothes and their love of Muslims.

From a community to a polity, such intimations of good conduct leading to conversion run throughout these sources. In *Futūh al-Buldān*, there is Raja Jai Singh—in Sindh—who received a letter from the Umayyad caliph ‘Umar ibn Abdūl Azīz. Upon gaining the caliphate in Damascus in 717 CE, he sent these letters to the various nobles in Sindh “inviting them to Islam,” and since they had already received notices about his asceticism, piety, and service, they readily accepted and converted and changed their names to Muslim names.¹⁹ *‘Ajā’ib al-Hind* opens with an account of the king of Hind—up in Kashmir—who wrote to the governor of Mansura asking for the “laws of Islam in Hindi” (*shariāt-al Islam*).²⁰ The governor called upon a man of Iraqi descent who had grown up in Hind and spoke various languages of the land. Upon the governor’s request, he wrote an ode (*qasidā*) that set out the necessary rules and histories. The poem was dispatched to the Raja who was very pleased with it, and asked that the poet himself be sent to his court. The poet lived in that court for three years and when he returned he was asked to describe all that had oc-

curred to him. He explained that when he left, the king had already converted to Islam but had not declared it such for fear of losing his country. The account continues:

He further reported that the king had requested an exegesis on the Qur'an in Hindi (*hindiya*) which he was in the process of providing—when he reached the chapter of *Ya-Sīn* and quoted Allah: 'Say: He will give life to them Who brought them into existence at first, and He is cognizant of all creation'. As he was explaining the verse, the King who was sitting on a throne of immense wealth and beauty, rose up and walked on plain ground—ground that was wet from having been sprinkled—and he put his cheek on that earth and wept, such that his face was covered in mud. He said to me: He is truly the One to be Worshipped, the First, the Ancient, the one Alone. After that, he had a room built, which he explained was for the purpose of contemplation in matters of polity. Instead he prayed there in secret. The poet reported that the King granted him six hundred *mann* of gold.²¹

This opening account establishes a long set of precedents that we can think with. The account is situated around 880 CE in the city of Mansura, which was itself only established around 760 CE or thereafter. It begins with a notion of movement of ideas and people across polities; a recognition of political sovereignty of the much more powerful Indic King; a desire to create meaningful relationships between the Arab Muslim city-state and the King; the transformative power of the Word of God, which leads to that singular moment of conversion; and finally, the recognition that the political act of conversion is separate and distinct from the spiritual act of conversion. There is an intimacy in the account that comes from lived experience and an attention to the nuances of political subjectivity here that demonstrates the long histories of co-existence.

A bookend comes from *Futūh al-Buldān*, where al-Balādhurī narrates, at the end of his section on the conquest of Sind, an account of a wise king of 'Usfiān—a city between Kashmir, Multan, and Kabul—where the people worshipped an idol (*sanam*).

The king had built a secure and permanent home for this idol. Once his son fell ill, and he called upon the caretakers at the temple and said: "Pray to the idol that my son attains his health." They heard him, and later returned and said: we have prayed to the idol and our prayer has been accepted. Yet, the boy died after a short while. The king destroyed the temple, broke the idol and killed the caretakers. Then he called upon a group of Muslim traders, who presented to him the doctrine of Oneness and Islam. He accepted it and this was during the time of Emīr-al mu'minīn al-Mu'taṣim bi'llāh.²²

Placed during the mid-ninth-century reign of al-Mu'taṣim, it is likely that our contemporary attention goes immediately to the narration of the temple-destruction and the conversion during the Umayyad campaigns in Sind. Yet, what about the fact of the Muslim traders who are invited to give the call to faith? The conversion of the state-religion, the faith that our king in Kashmir kept to himself, comes about here only after a very public

denunciation by the bereaved king. Significantly, it comes at the hands of merchants, who are marked as the people particularly embedded in the Indian milieu.

Taken together, these three accounts—and there are many more such accounts scattered in the sources—invite us to think about the intersection of polity and faith in the ninth- and tenth-century Indian Ocean world. A personal conversion, a political conversion, and a disposition toward friendliness all emanate from contacts between everyday Muslims and their counterparts in this liminal world. It is within this constellation that the much more prevalent accounts of Indic kings who are well-disposed to Muslim merchants, intellectuals, and travelers ought to be located.

The key figure is Balhāra, a strong wise king based in Gujarat or Deccan region, who appears in many forms in these sources. Perhaps the quintessential account is in Abū Zayd al-Sīrafī's *Akhbār al-Sīn wa'l Hind*:

Balharā is the noblest of the Indians, all of whom acknowledge his nobility. Although each one of the kings in India rules independently, they all acknowledge his superior rank, and when his envoys arrive at the courts of any of the other kings, they make obeisance to them as a mark of honor to Balharā. He is a king who distributes payments to his troops as the Arabs do, and he owns many horses and elephants and possesses great wealth. ... The people of Balharā's kingdom assert that their ruler's lengthy reigns and long lives on the throne are due entirely to their fondness for the Arabs. None of the other rulers show the Arabs such affection as does Balharā, and his people share his fondness for them.²³

As a totemic figure in these sources, Balharā's support for Arab merchants and his status among the other kings are indicative of the attention paid to political climates in the littoral regions.²⁴ There are numerous descriptions of other kings in India and their qualities: they do not drink alcohol or have sexual relationships outside of their sanctioned marriages; they have excellent law and order in their lands such that no merchant is robbed; they organize debates and dialogues between Muslims and non-Muslims in which matters of theological importance are considered; they allow for the constructions of mosques and colonies of homes for Muslims; they provide employment and stipends to Muslims who live in their lands; their daughters are allowed to become rulers on their own accord and they are supported by the armies; and they honor and protect treaties and pacts with other rulers, including the Muslim Caliph.²⁵

The political landscape of this Indian Ocean economic and cultural zone thus resembles the diversity of its participants. There is little room for dogmatic intransigence among the political elite, and where the order breaks down—where the social and political contract is shattered—there are concomitant discussions of punishments and condemnations of the culprits.

Ordered and Gendered Lives

A sailor arrives in a port and seeks debauched pleasure. He sees a beautifully carved idol in the shape of a woman, which he mistakes for a real woman. He lays with it and despoils it. A caretaker at the temple catches him and takes him to the governor of the city. The man confesses his crime. The king asks his advisors what the punishment ought to be for this crime. One says to have him trampled by elephants. Another says to have him cut to pieces. The king rejects them and says that since the sailor is an Arab, and they have treaties with the Arabs, they have to consult Abbas bin Mahan, who is the one in charge of the affairs of these Muslims. "Go ask him what is the penalty for one who has committed such desecration in their mosque?" Abbas bin Mahan responds quickly that the punishment should be death. The king then had the sailor put to death. Shortly thereafter, Abbas bin Mahan leaves the port fearing that the king will punish him as well for the transgression.²⁶

This account from *ʿAjāib al-Hind* reveals two central facets of the everyday lives in the littoral region. There were agreements, treaties, and managers for communities, and that there was a steady pressure to keep and maintain order in the ports and the cities. The king would have been within his rights to condemn the sailor for desecrating the idol but he does not listen to his advisor and instead has the Muslim governor respond. It is notable that the king makes an explicit equivalence between the sanctity of the temple with that of the mosque—and it is this equivalence that allows the Muslim governor to immediately offer the death sentence for the sailor. When we think of maintaining order as part of the public good that allows for communities who transact to co-exist, then the presence of a large number of accounts of crimes and their punishments in these sources makes perfect sense. The accounts capture the many ways in which both individuals and communities break the social and political contract and are justly condemned.

Another account in *ʿAjāib al-Hind* focuses on Thana (Gujarat, near Bombay), where some men entered the home of the son of a wealthy Hindu merchant and took him hostage. The kidnappers asked for 10,000 dinars in ransom. The merchant spoke to the kidnappers and asked that the ransom be set at 1,000 dinars, but they refused. The merchant went to the king and told him: "It is unbearable. If these people are not punished, no one will be able to live here." The king replied that he can easily kill the kidnappers but they may kill his only son before he can be rescued. The merchant responded: "They are asking for a large sum such that it may impoverish me. Let us surround the home with wood, block the door, and set it on fire." "But that would kill your son and his family." "Let them burn," replied the merchant. Thus, the king sent his men to secure the door and set the house on fire and the son and his family perished in the fire.²⁷

Is this account a demonstration of the lack of filial emotions among the Hindi merchants, or a demonstration of the need for maintaining civil order? After all, the first thing the merchant reports to the king is his fear of lawlessness writ large. Is the text concerned with the victims or the perpetrators of the crime?

The “criminal” has a particular presence in these accounts. One highly charged example are the people of Mīd—who are seafaring/desert community around the Rann of Kutch. The Mīd emerge as pirates, as instigators, as destroyers of trade routes, and ones who require a constant military answer. In the *ʿAjāib al-Hind*, an account given by an Omani sea captain Ismaʿīlawayh confirms the threat and power that pirates held. Ismaʿīlawayh recounts that when he sailed from Kala (Malay coast) to Oman, he was attacked by sixty-six pirate vessels and upon reaching Oman—the journey took forty-one days—he was levied a tax on his merchandise without taking into account his losses from the pirates.²⁸ In *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, Baladhuri describes the constant campaigns by the Muslim governors of Multān or Mansurā across the desert to take out their access to the ports. Let us examine one specific event from the text:

During the governance of Muhammad bin Harūn ibn al-Numrī, the king of the Island of Rubies (Sri Lanka) sent some Muslim women who had been born on the island, and whose forefathers had lived and died there, to Iraq. However, the ship they were in was attacked and captured by the Mīd people from Daybul (Sindh) on their own ships. One of the women from the family of Yarbā' cried, "Ya Hajjaj." When Hajjaj (the governor of Iraq) was informed of this, he said, "I come." He sent a letter to Dahar (King of Daybul) to rescue the women. He replied: those who have captured them are outside of my control. To fight Daybul, Hajjaj dispatched ʿUbaidullah bin Nibhān but he was killed. Upon receiving the orders, Budaīl bin Tūhfāt, who was in Oman, set off toward Daybul. His horse jumped during battle and he was surrounded and killed. Some report that the Zūt of Budd were responsible for Budaīl's death. The Island is called the “Island of Rubies” because of the beautiful faces of their women.²⁹

In later colonial histories—such as those of H. M Elliot or Richard F. Burton—this account emerged as the *casus belli* for the Muslim campaign to conquer India. Here, in its primary transcription in the mid-ninth century, it appears very differently. In this rendering, there is the awareness of a political order wherein the king of the island is sending gifts to the Umayyad caliphate's powerful governor as well as the control various Indic polities must exert on the “criminal” elements. Most important for our purpose, we have something akin to a declaration of limits of political power by Dahar of Daybul—“outside my control,” as referring to the Mīd.

The response to this attack of piracy from Hajjāj bin Yūsuf (d. 714 CE), who was then the governor of Iraq under ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 685–705 CE), was not to send a mission to rescue the women from their captors—the women in fact do not reappear in *Futūḥ al-Buldān*—but to punish Daybul for lack of control over the piratical Mīd. One can surmise that a formal legal structure must already have been in place between Dahar and the Umayyads to make his declaration of powerlessness over the Mīd be read as a breach of contract and a threat to the greater movement of goods and people across the Arabian Gulf and Red Sea channels.

This does not resolve the matter of this account. We still have to account for the plaintive cry uttered by the captured woman—*Ya Hajjāj*—which is our only trace of a such a dispossessed subject. It can be surmised that women were among the passengers and travelers across these landscapes and seascapes. The sources are thick with fantastic accounts of islands where women rule, or the strictures against sexual liaisons with indigenous women. There are also the various references to women rulers and advisors. Yet, the everyday lives of women as participants is largely obscured, unless they appear as, in this case, subjects demonstrating the collapse of political or social order. The sailor's transgression against the idol was, taken from his perspective, a violation of a woman. The case itself demonstrated the breaking of a law and the due punishment necessary to maintain order, but the transgression's unique nature cannot be ignored.

Also in *ʿAjāib al-Hind* is an account concerning another silent woman. She was on a journey from Oman to Basra but she was coming from Mansura in Sindh. The text records nothing more than the fact that she was beautiful and that she was traveling alone. At sea, there is a sudden storm of such ferocity that everyone has to wrap themselves with ropes so as to prevent being swept away. During this upheaval, a soldier, also from Mansura, attacks the woman. She kicks him such that he leaves her alone for the night. However, as the waves buffet them up and down, she grows tired and is unable to defend herself against the soldier. He attacks her and rapes her. "I saw her but I could not move from my place and could not talk to the soldier or stop him," says the reporter.³⁰ When morning comes, she is no longer on the ship nor are a number of those who had secured themselves.

This is a difficult account to contextualize even within the text itself. Many of the accounts of transgressions—criminal, social, mercantile—in these textual sources concern themselves with those crossing boundaries—of legal status, of communities of faith, of political regimes—along with morality or law. In this particular case, I choose to read the placing of this account as immediately before the previously discussed account of the soldier violating the idol he mistakes for a woman, as an interpretative link of both accounts as depictions of sexual. In this case, the helplessness avowed by the reporter of the event is curious to read—there is no mention of God protecting those who are at sea—as in other cases in the text. The women in such accounts are meant to be representations of propriety and ordered lives, but the event itself displays the dangers they face.

Take as a final piece of evidence this account of two elephants in the army of Mansura's governor—named Munfarqalis and Haidarāh. Al-Mas'ūdī in his *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-Jawhar* narrates:

One day they emerged from the Elephant House with Munfarqalis ahead and then Haidarāh and then the rest of the elephants. As they were going down a narrow pathway in Mansura, suddenly a woman (who had not seen them) entered the street. When she glanced at the elephants, she was terror-stricken and fell unconscious on the street. Her garment became unwrapped and uncovered her body. Upon seeing this, Munfarqalis turned such that his body blocked the width of the

alley and with his trunk adjusted the woman's clothing such that she was modest once again. Once she recovered and cleared out of the pathway, only then did Munfarqalis and the other elephants continued their journey.³¹

The elephant's grace, and the wonder of the account, rests in his recognition of the public humiliation of a woman and his actions—to protect her body from other eyes and to cover it up again—are the actions necessary to maintain the civic accord. All of the women are voiceless in one way or another, but their presence in these accounts speaks to marking out of the sanctity of their physical bodies in the text.

In thinking about the encounters in these sources as those between contiguous communities, it is important that we think of the significance of contiguous gendered lives as well. The many fantastic perils of sexual relations with mermaids dotting the literal landscape of these tales have long been read for their romantic and imaginative affect. However, looking at accounts of crime and order provides a different perspective into these varied sources—one that helps us witness what the limits of subjecthood were under civic or legal codes.

Letters of Exchange

The translation of *Kalilā wa Dimnā* by al-Muqaffā in early eighth century from Sanskrit to Pahlavi to Arabic is perhaps the most avidly read example of the networks of translation that spawned the early Abbasid imperium.³² Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* mentions a number of people who lived in Baghdad and who knew Hindi languages and translated books into Arabic: Mankah al-Hindi, Ibn Dahn al-Hindi, Jūdar al-Hindi, Ṣanjahil al-Hindi.³³ They translated books in astronomy and medicine by the following Hindi authors: “Bakihur, Rāja, Ṣakah, Dāhir, Ankū, Zinkal, Araykal, Jabhar, Indā, Jabārā.”³⁴ While some of these names are clearly totemic, the list of books are plausible, including “ten sections of the Book of Sasard” (perhaps *sāstra*) and a “book on the treatment of Women” (perhaps pregnancy) by a woman named Rūsā.³⁵ Alongside these names of individuals and books that traveled from al-Hind to Baghdad, Ibn al-Nadīm provides histories of various temples and idols in India as well as those idols present in Baghdad—he recounts his visit to a golden statue in the Caliph's palace in Baghdad sent as a gift.³⁶

Much of the information recorded in *Fihrist* comes via dignitaries, diplomats, and travelers who had frequented India. These late tenth-century lists demonstrate the network of exchange that flowed between India and the Abbasid royal court in Baghdad. In Qādī ibn al-Zubayr's *Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa al-Tuḥaf* are both lists of gifts exchanged between the courts in Iraq and India as well as letters written between the polities. Among the gifts mentioned are a diamond-encrusted mechanical she-camel that could move on its own and in whose belly were pearls of great value, a stick made of emerald, vast quantities of 'ud, sandal and ambergris, elephants, idols of silver or gold, and buffalos. One wondrous object exchanged was the gift from the king of Qiqān to the Umayyad caliph Mu'āwiya bin Abi Sufiyān (d. 680): “a fragment of mirror, that the learned say was given to Adam by God when Adam's lineage had spread across the world. The power of the mirror was such

that whenever he wished to see the condition, good or bad, of anyone on earth, he could see the entire life in the mirror.”³⁷

The letters show the ways in which the littoral Indian Ocean world were connected in an economy of exchange at the courtly level.³⁸ The first letter is from Dahmī, king of India, to ‘Abdullāh al-Ma’mūn Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 833) and is reproduced in full by al-Zubayr. The letter—written in gold ink on the bark of a fragrant tree—was delivered by a slave woman from Sindh who was over ten feet tall, “with hair so long that it touched the ground when she walked, of great beauty; with four braids on her head arranged like a crown; with eyelashes as long as an index finger, such that when she blinked they touched her cheeks; with teeth so white that they seemed like lightning between her lips; with firm breasts and eight bellyfolds.”³⁹ The gifts that accompanied her were just as larger than life: a goblet of ruby filled with large pearls, a carpet made from the skin of a snake so large that it could swallow an elephant, small rugs made from the feathers of the mythic *samandal* that can live in fire, large quantities of aloeswood, and camphor.

The letter is, however, much closer to everyday life. Dahmī begins by praising Allah and then recounts the excellence of his rule and land but then pivots back to the question of God’s praise:

It has not escaped us that when we made mention of the grandeur of our ancestors and our current greatness, all that will vanish. Indeed, we should have begun this letter by mentioning God. Yet we think his name as too exalted to begin a letter with—his name should only be used in places of worship and prayers. We received word of your erudition and we have not seen any other ruler with such qualities. We are with you for friendship and love of knowledge. Therefore we open this correspondence with a search for useful knowledge by sending you the translation of a book “The Cream of Intellect.” When you read it, you will discover that this is an appropriate title for it. We are also sending you some gifts but we know that they are much too inferior to one you offered. Yet we request that you ignore our shortcomings and accept them (if God wills).⁴⁰

The king engages with the Muslim Caliph on precisely the terms of exchange within an affinity of knowledge, while affirming that his relationship to the Muslim God is one of a stranger. Ma’mūn replies with his own gifts accompanied by a horseman mounted on a decorated horse with carnelian—and stones and clothes, such as ambergris, onyx, and other fabric from Yemen and Egypt. Ma’mūn’s reply focuses on accepting Dahmī as worthy of a Muslim greeting even though he was a non-Muslim and affirming his religiosity without challenging him. He then continues on the theme of growing relationships through the exchange of knowledge:

We offer you a gift of our love which is the best gift to exchange between friends. We are sending you a book “Collection of Cores of Intellect and Garden of Rare Minds” translated from Arabic. After reading this translation you will realize the virtue of this grant, and also realize that the name is apt. We accompany this gift with other gifts which do not rise to your excellence. It is indeed true that if Kings

exchange gifts according to their standings, their treasuries would soon exhaust itself. Yet, this exchange happens as a token of goodwill and mutual relationships.⁴¹

In the annals of gift exchange, these two books are perhaps not significant enough to merit greater study, but the networks revealed in this letter exchanges surely are. We see that at both ends of the relationship there is awareness and recognition of the other's polity and customs, as also is the recognition of difference among them—such as the ways in which they invoke their gods. The letters are also indicative of the infrastructures of exchange: the capacity to create translations, to send and receive messages and goods. Elsewhere in al-Zubayr's account are captured specific memories, attached to these objects, held by the various rulers and nobility. All of this leads us to think about the ways in which Arab and Indian practices of knowing and being were intimately tied by the ninth century.

Populating the Past

What emerges from these scant sets of reactions contained in some of these Arabic sources is a traversed seascape that organized ways of thinking about encounters: as already understood, as recognized with difference, as newness or more. Our emphasis in recapitulating them is primarily to indicate their illustrative qualities. For sketched here are modes of seeing outside of the conquest or the arrival frameworks for Islam in India. Firstly, there was traffic in knowledge, in people as slaves, in crime and punishment. Secondly, there are aspects of political thought—for example, consultation, dialogue, seminars—that have deeper roots in India. Thirdly, there are expansive geographies—such as the seascapes—that are made invisible from the vantage point of Delhi-centered imperial histories from the thirteenth century onward.

The established models of historiography continue to look at the movement of Islam, of Arabs, and of Arabic from one geographic location (Arabia, Middle East) to another geographic location (India, Southeast Asia) as if these sites were not always already in conversation. Further they seek a particular teleology (a rise and a fall and a rise again) premised on a history of perpetual arrivals rather than of being part of India. This notion of nationalist geographies and foreign intruders centers on assumed identities as if the Arabs and Muslims were not there. I am proposing to thicken these movements with stories, to disrupt nationalist geographies, and to think through the processes that formed categories of self-identification. Let us take as a given the presence of Muslim Arabs as merchants, governors, kings, subjects, and believers, who organize histories of Sindh, Gujarat, and Tamil Nadu such that we can animate them not with discordant identitarian categories but with rich, grounded lives. To do so, we must broaden the scope of source materials in terms of language, area, and genre. There are biographies, grammars, poetry collections, and histories located in archives in Sindh, Gujarat, Yemen, and Iran that will undoubtedly provide rich venues for such thinking.⁴²

There are consequences for the study of Mughal pasts in re-accounting for this longer past. For one, the various “inventions” of Mughal rulers, nobilities, and governance can be read within a larger historical and discursive terrain. The debates on Akbar’s *Sulh-i Kul* would greatly benefit from thinking about the history of political negotiation between Muslim and non-Muslim polities prior to Babur’s progeny in India. Similarly, the conception of Mughal kingship as it draws upon Timurid pasts can also be examined within the histories of the Muslim polities of Sindh.

The second is that landscapes of these early encounters—Sindh, Gujarat, Kerala—appear marginal to the histories written by and about the Mughal experiences. I argue that such a “center-periphery” model detracts from the richness of the historical experience and occludes ways of being and belonging as Mughal in India. For example, Akbar’s campaigns in Sindh in the early seventeenth century have to be reassessed from the perspective of Humayun in Sindh and Muslims in Sindh before that. Finally, this is an argument to populate both the pre-Mughal and Mughal past with lives of those deemed insignificant or ancillary to the claims of grand polities and politics. The lives of men and woman recast even in genre texts—such as that of *‘Ajāib*—open up new horizons for the study of Mughal India.

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Notes:

(1.) Abu'l Fazal. *The History of Akbar*, vol. 1., trans. William Thackston (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 547.

(2.) *The History of Akbar*, 549.

(3.) *The History of Akbar*, 551.

(4.) *The History of Akbar*, 551.

(5.) Albert Hourani's *A History of Arab Peoples* begins in the seventh century CE. The making of the category "Arab" to encapsulate various regional and dialectical identities emerged in the eighth and ninth centuries through the making of genealogies. On this, see Fred M. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1998), 107–109. The scholarship on the question of "Arabization" is varied but key moments in that historiography are: Richard Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979); G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1986); Suliman Bashear, *Arabs and Others in Early Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1997); and most recently, Jens Scheiner in his review of Robert Hoyland, *In God's Path: The Arab Conquests and the Creation of an Islamic Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) lays out the difficulties of thinking about Arab/Muslim as categorical identities prior to the Classical period of Islam. See Jens Scheiner, "Review: Reflections on Hoyland's *In God's Path*," *Bustan: The Middle East Book Review* 7, no. 1 (2016): 19–32.

(6.) For "India," see J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ktesias the Knidian* (London: Trübner & Co., 1882), and J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (London: Trübner & Co., 1877). For the variety of references to "al-Hind" (and related words based on the h-n-d stem (*mūhind*, *mūhindā*, *hindi*, *hindūvan*), see Nada 'Abd al-Rahmān Yūsuf al-Shayī', *Mu'jam Alfāẓ al-ḥayāhal-Ijtimā'iyah fī Dawāwīn Shu'arā' al-Mu'allaqāt al-'Ashr* (Beirut: Maktab Lebanon, 1991), 313–314. Scholars generally agree that al-Hind (as a geographical construct) most probably entered Arabic via the Sassanid *sindhu*—which is considered to be the "local" word for the river Indus. There is a Babylonian list that includes a reference to "muslin—the Indian cloth—called šadin." See A. H. Sayce, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1888), 138. In Assyrian sources, there are references to šindhu (šinṭu) referring, perhaps, to the the river Indus or to the sea off the coast of Aden. See W. Muss-Arnolt, "On Semitic Words in Greek and Latin," *Transactions of the American Philological Associations (1869–1896)* 23 (1892). For a sustained engagement with the Arabic sources concerning India, see André Wink,

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Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World, Early Medieval India and the Expansion of Islam (Leiden: Brill, 1990).

(7.) On the construction of “Hindu” see David Lorenzen, “Who Invented Hinduism?” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no. 4 (1999): 630–659 for a good discussion of the historical as well as historiographical issues involved. Also, Arvind Sharma, “On Hindu, Hindustān, Hinduism and Hindutva,” *Numen* 49, no. 1 (2002): 1–36. Fred M. Donner has argued that “Muslim” was itself a latter term and that the earliest followers of Muhammad understood themselves as Believers (*mu'minīn*). See Fred M. Donner, “From Believers to Muslims: Confessional Self-identity in the Early Islamic Community,” *al-Abhath* 50–51 (2002–2003): 9–53.

(8.) The seminal critiques along these lines are in Tzvetan Todorov’s *La conquête de l'Amérique: la question de l'autre* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), and in Michel-Rolph Trouillot’s *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

(9.) See Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval “Hindu-Muslim” Encounter* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Some Afterthoughts,” in *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770–1820*, eds. Simon Schaffer, Lissa Roberts, Kapil Raj, and James Delbourgo (Sagamore Beach: Science History Publications, 2010), 429–430; and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters: Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

(10.) Henry M. Elliot, *Appendix to The Arabs in Sind* (Cape Town: Saul Solomon & Co., 1853), 1–2.

(11.) On Elliot, see Tripta Wahi, “Henry Miers Elliot: A Reappraisal,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1990): 64–90.

(12.) A. K. Ramanujan, “Three Hundred *Rāmāyaṇas*: Five Examples and Three Thoughts on Translation,” in *Many Rāmāyaṇas: The Diversity of a Narrative Tradition in South Asia*, ed. Paula Richman (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 46.

(13.) ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik and Part of the Kitāb al-kharāj by Qudāma ibn Ja'far* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 54–55.

(14.) See *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik*. Also, for the potential place names see Abu Zafar Nadvi, *Tārīkh-i Sindh* (Azamgarh: Dār al-Muṣannifin, 1970), 4–8.

(15.) I present “reaction” as a textual trace of a historical action that remains occluded to us. The stimulus of the action (trade, learning, faith, etc.) is easily surmised in most of these textual sources (though not all) because we understand these texts within their genres. However, within the genre of the texts, these accounts become emblematic and cannot be read after the fashion of micro-histories. At the same time, the genre—due to its territorial expanse—cannot be understood as macro-history. Hence, textual “reactions,” to take a notion offered by Carlo Ginzburg: “A rich variety of individual attitudes

and behavior emerges from the sources analysed. In dwelling on them, one risks plunging into an excess of the picturesque. Nevertheless, I've preferred to run this risk rather than make use at every step of such general and vague terms as 'collective mentality' or 'collective psychology'. This Friulian testimony reveals a continuous criss-crossing of trends enduring for decades and even centuries, and of individual, private, and frequently wholly unconscious reactions. It is apparently impossible to make history from such reactions, and yet without them, the history of 'collective mentalities' becomes nothing more than a series of disembodied and abstract tendencies and forces." Carlo Ginzburg, "Preface to the Italian Edition," in *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. John and Anne C. Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), xxi. I choose "reactions" to denote, collectively, what scholars often refer to as exempla, anecdotes, or fragments. On exempla, see Claude Bremond, Jacques Le Goff, and Jean-Claude Schmitt, *L' "exemplum"* (Turnholt: Brepols, 1982). On anecdotes, see Lionel Gossman, "Anecdote and History," *History and Theory* 42, no. 2 (2003): 143–168. On fragments, see Gyanendra Pandey, "In Defense of the Fragment: Writing about Hindu-Muslim Riots in India Today," *Representations* 37 (1992): 27–55.

(16.) The scholarly literature on Muslim geographers, bibliographers, or Indian Ocean travel accounts is vast and well-familiar. Instead of a thorough list, I will point instead to two recent works that have engaged with these sources as illustrative examples. See Grant Parker, *The Making of Roman India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), and Zayde Antrim, *Routes and Realms: The Power of Place in the Early Islamic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

(17.) For Afrasian Ocean, see Michael Pearson. *The Indian Ocean* (London: Routledge, 2003), 13–14.

(18.) Buzurg ibn Shaharyār, *'Ajā'ib al-Hind: Barruhā wa-baḥruhā wa-jazā'iruhā* (al-Imārāt al-'Arabīyah al-Muttaḥidah: al-Mujamma' al-Thaqāfi, 2000), 148.

(19.) Aḥmad ibn Yahya al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (Bayrūt: Maktabāh al-Hilāl, 1988), 425.

(20.) *'Ajāib al-Hind*, 19.

(21.) *'Ajāib al-Hind*, 20.

(22.) *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 429.

(23.) James E. Montgomery, *Two Arabic Travel Books: Accounts of China and India* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2014), 38–39.

(24.) See discussion of Balharā in Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 20.

- (25.) A majority of these accounts are in al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-Jawhar*; some are in al-Ya'qūbī's *Tarī'kh*.
- (26.) *'Ajāib al-Hind*, 136–137.
- (27.) *'Ajāib al-Hind*, 145–146.
- (28.) *'Ajāib al-Hind*, 125–127.
- (29.) *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 421.
- (30.) *'Ajāib al-Hind*, 136.
- (31.) al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-Jawhar*, vol. 2 (Bayrūt: al-Maktabah al-Aṣṣūfīyah, 1988), 380
- (32.) For a good overview, see Tarek Shamma, “Translating into the Empire: The Arabic Version of *Kalila wa Dimna*,” *The Translator* 15, no. 1 (2009): 65–86.
- (33.) “Translating into the Empire,” 281.
- (34.) “Translating into the Empire,” 281.
- (35.) “Translating into the Empire,” 303.
- (36.) Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq Ibn an-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Gustav Flügel (Beirut: Maktabā Khāyyat, 1964), 18.
- (37.) Qādī ibn al-Zubayr, *Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa al-Tuḥaf*, ed. Muhammad Hamidullah (al-Kuwait: Dā'irat al-Maṭbū'āt wa-n-Naṣr, 1959), 166–167.
- (38.) These letters are reproduced in various other compilations and histories, though often truncated. See S. Q. Fatimi, “Two Letters from the Mahārājā to the Khalifāh: A Study in the Early History of Islam in the East,” *Islamic Studies* 2, no. 1 (1963): 121–140.
- (39.) *Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa al-Tuḥaf*, 21.
- (40.) *Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa al-Tuḥaf*, 22. Also compare translation at Ghāda al-Hijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, *Book of Gifts and Rarities* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 73–74.
- (41.) *Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa al-Tuḥaf*, 26. Also compare translation at Ghāda al-Hijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, *Book of Gifts and Rarities* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 76.
- (42.) For Sindh see M. H. Panhwar, *Source Material on Sind* (Jamshoro: Institute of Sindology, 1977); Chhotubhai Ranchhodji Naik, *Descriptive Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts: Gujarat Vidya Sabha Collection*, 2 vols (Ahmedabad: Gujarat Vidya Sabha, 1964); and Ghulam Sarwar, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts in the Dur-gah Library, Uch Sharif Gilani* (Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 1987). For trading lives, an

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incredible amount of materials is in the Cairo Geniza archives; see S. D. Goitein and Mordechai Akiva Friedman, *India Traders of the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

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