

Of course Ibn al-Nadīm may have misquoted and this sentence may not apply to Ṣanf at all.

Dimashqī's reference to Muslims in Ṣanf is not an original reference to the actual Muslim population in Champa, in spite of the fact that Islam came early to Champa and still exists there in a corrupt form. It is really a misquotation of an early passage which is also found in the Persian geography of Marwazī where it applies to a refugee family of Alids who founded a colony on an island in a Chinese river.

APPENDIX

LEGENDARY PLACES

1. WĀQWĀQ

'AJĀ'IB AL-HIND

According to a story which Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan bin 'Amr told me that a captain of a ship who was setting out for Zābaj on a ship which belonged to him, told him; the wind took them towards Wāqwāq where they managed to stop not far from a village. On seeing them the inhabitants fled into the country, carrying with them all their belongings. The men of the ship, who did not know the land and did not understand the cause of the flight of the inhabitants, did not dare to disembark. The ship stayed there for two days, without anyone coming to them or without either of them attempting to make contact. At last a sailor, who knew the language of the Wāqwāqīs, disembarked in order to reach the village and search the country. He discovered a man hiding in a tree, spoke to him and made friends with him, offered him dates and questioned him on the reason for the flight of the inhabitants, promised him safe conduct and a reward if he would co-operate. The man replied that on seeing the ship they believed that they were going to be attacked, and they and their king had gone for safety into the country and the jungle. He agreed to follow the sailor to the ship. They sent with him three companions to give a friendly message to the king, assuring safe conduct to the king and his followers, sending him also a present of two pieces of material, some dates and several trinkets. The ruler having been reassured came back with all his people. They then lived with them and exchanged wares with things that the ship contained. On the twentieth day, they had not finished selling all that they had when a second people with a chief came to attack the first. "Know", said the king of the village, "that these are coming to attack me and to plunder my goods, for they imagine that I have acquired a good part of the vessel's cargo. That is why you must lend me your help; in defending me you are defending yourselves." About daybreak, said the narrator, the other tribe came to begin the attack on the gate of the town, and the king came out with his people to meet them supported by the sailors and the soldiers of the ship, as well as by those of the merchants who were inclined to fight.

In the middle of the battle, a man of the crew, an astute person originally from Iraq, drew from his waistband a piece of paper on which was written one of his accounts. He unfolded it to its full size, and holding it up to the sky he spoke the words in a loud voice. As soon as the aggressors saw this thing they ceased their attack. Some of them came to him and said, "Please stop, we will leave and will not touch anything." And they all said, "Let us stop the battle, our enemies have brought this thing to the notice of the king of heaven. In a moment we will be conquered and massacred." And they bowed to the man until he had put the paper back in its envelope. Then they retired, speaking in humble tones, as if myself and the people of the ship were the masters of the village and all that it contained. After getting rid of them, we went back to our selling and buying. The king could not do enough for us. Deceiving them without ceasing, stealing their children, buying some of them from others with garments, dates and other trinkets, we soon had the ship full of a hundred slaves both small and large. At the end of four months, those from whom we had bought or stolen said to us, "Stay with us, do not leave us. It is no longer permitted for you to reduce us to slavery or to separate us from our families." But we pretended to take no notice of this. On the ship some were chained by the feet, some were detained while their children went free. Five men of the crew lived on board in order to feed them and to look after the ship while the others were on land. One night the prisoners threw themselves on the guards, and under cover of darkness broke their bonds, raised the anchor, hoisted the sails and sailed off. In the morning they had disappeared, and we were forced to stay there with only the few paltry things that we had left in the village during the previous days. We received no more news of the ship. We had to stay there for months until we had constructed a puny boat capable of carrying us and in it we embarked in a very sorry state.

Muḥammad ibn Bābīshād said there are in the vicinity of Wāqwāq, scorpions which fly like sparrows, and when they sting a man, his body swells up, he falls ill, his skin peels off and he dies.

Muḥammad ibn Bābīshād told me that he had learnt from men who had landed in the country of Wāqwāq, that there is found a species of large tree, the leaves of which are round but sometimes oblong, which bear a fruit similar to a gourd, but larger and having the appearance of a human figure. When the wind shook it there came from it a voice. The interior is filled with air like the fruit of the *'ushar*. If one takes it from the tree the wind escapes from it, and only the skin is left. A sailor seeing one of these fruits, the form of which pleased him, cut it off to bring it back, but it immediately

collapsed and there remained in his hands [only a flabby thing] like a dead crow.

The islands of Dībajāt al-Dum begin near the Dībajāt al-Kastaj and end near the islands of Wāqwāq.

In one of the islands of Wāqwāq there is a bird whose plumage is red, white, green and blue like a woodpecker. It is the size of a large pigeon and is called Samandal. It is capable of entering the fire without burning. It lives a long time without eating any other thing but earth. When it is sitting it does not drink until the eggs are hatched. When the young are born they leave them and never come near them again. The flies and gnats swarm round the young until they are old enough to peck and their feathers have grown.

Also in the islands of Wāqwāq there is an animal similar to a hare which changes its sex. Sometimes it is male and sometimes female.

Some people have told me that they have seen a man who had travelled to and traded with the people of Wāqwāq, and who described the great size of their towns and their islands. By size, I do not mean the area, but the number of people. They resemble the Turks. In their arts they are the most industrious of men and all over their country they take great pains to develop this aptitude. Also they are treacherous, cunning and liars, very active and expert at things they undertake.

Ja'far ibn Rāshid, a well-known navigator from the land of Gold known as Ibn Lākis told me on the subject (of Wāqwāq), extraordinary things of which he had been witness. In the year A.H. 334 (A.D. 945) they went with about a thousand ships to make a vigorous attack on the town of Qanbaluh. But they were not able to take it because the town is strongly fortified and surrounded by an arm of the sea, in the middle of which Qanbaluh stands up like a strong castle. The men of the country who reported this, when asked why they came against them as opposed to any other city, replied that it was because the country contained wares which suited their own country and also China, such as ivory, tortoise shell, panther skins and ambergris, and because they wished to obtain Zanjīs who are vigorous men and able to stand up to laborious tasks. Their voyage they said, had lasted a year. They had plundered several islands, six days away from Qanbaluh, and afterwards many towns and villages of Sofala of the Zanj, without counting those of which we do not know. If these men were speaking the truth when speaking of a voyage lasting a year, this proves that Ibn Lākis was right when he says that the islands of Wāqwāq are situated opposite China. But God knows the truth.

A sailor related that he had crossed from Sribuza to China in a

sanbūq,¹ and he said, "We had gone fifty *zām* when a storm struck our ship. We jettisoned part of the cargo. The tempest lasted several days and the wind became so terrible that we had no means of controlling ourselves. Seeing imminent destruction for ourselves, we were about to throw ourselves into the sea to save ourselves on a nearby island. The anchors had been let down, and we believed ourselves lost, when the storm suddenly ceased. Soon we saw on the island a group of people and we waited for one of them to approach us. But none of them moved. We made signs to them but they did not understand. We did not know where we were but decided that if we disembarked, they would give us a bad reception and there was also another group of them not far off, who might fall on us; then we would not be able to resist. We stayed like this for four days, without daring to disembark, or without one of them coming out to meet us. The fifth day however, we decided to disembark as we were needing replenishments for our water supply and we wished to know where we were. Thirty of us went ashore with arms in the ship's boat and another small boat. At our approach the men fled; only one stayed on the shore, and he addressed us in a strange language, which one of us managed to understand. "This island," he said, "is part of Wāqwāq." The native told us that the two islands belonged to Wāqwāq and that they were situated at three hundred parasangs from any other land and that there were no other inhabitants but them who were forty in number. When asked about the route to be followed in order to reach Šanf, he gave us the necessary directions. Having taken on water we proceeded on our way to Šanf, following his instructions, and reached there safe and sound after a voyage of fifteen *zām*.

ALF LAILA WA LAILA

[Ḥasan al-Baṣrī tried to visit the islands of Wāqwāq in order to find his wife and children.]

SINDBĀD

The length of the Great Eastern Ocean is found to be 4,500 parasangs, measured from Qulzum to Wāq.

IBN KHURDĀDHBĪH

East of China is a country called Wāqwāq, which is so rich in gold, that the natives manufacture with this metal chains for their dogs

¹ A *sanbūq* today is a large Arab sailing vessel used for long voyages and this is what is presumably meant here. In the fourteenth-century navigators texts, however, the word is used only for a ship's boat.

and collars for their monkeys. They sell tunics embroidered with gold. One finds there ebony of excellent quality.

The width of the sea from Qulzum to Wāqwāq is 4,500 parasangs.

IBN AL-FAQĪH

The Wāqwāq of China differs from the Wāqwāq of the south, because Wāqwāq of the south produces gold only of an inferior quality.

MUṬAHHAR B. ṬĀHIR AL-MAQDĪST

It is said that in India one finds the trees called Wāqwāq, whose fruits, or so they say, have the appearance of human faces.

MAS'ŪDĪ

The end of the course [of the Arab sailors of Oman and of the tribe of Azd] on the sea of Zanj is the island of Qanbalū ... and the country of Sofala and of Wāqwāq on the limits of Zanzibar and at the end of a branch of the sea.

Just as the Sea of China ends at the country of Silā, so does the Sea of Zanj end at the land of Sofala and Wāqwāq, a country which produces abundance of gold and other marvels. The climate there is warm and the land fertile. It is there that the Zanj built their capital, and elected a king which they called *waqlimi* (Mfalme). The territory of the Zanj begins at a canal which springs from the Upper Nile, and lasts to the country of Sofala and Wāqwāq.

MUKHTAŠAR AL-'AJĀ'IB

One of the races which most resemble the human race is that of Wāqwāq. These individuals carry great pouches in their cheeks. They have breasts and sexual organs similar to those of women and they are highly coloured and cry all the time "Wāq, wāq!" If one of their females is captured, she becomes silent and dies.

[This text makes Waq [sic] the home of the Maharāja.]

This sea [Šanf] joins Wāq. The sailors say they do not know this word, except that it is a place which is marked by a mountain that burns by day and night with such fury that it makes a sound like thunder, sometimes one hears in the thunder, noises which announce to people of the place the death of one of their kings or some important person. There is no bottom to the sea in this place.

[Then follows the passage from Ibn Khurdāhbīh with this extra piece.] They [the people of Wāqwāq] also make marvellous images. From these countries are exported aloeswood, musk, ebony and cinnamon and all sorts of merchandise and curiosities.

BĪRŪNT

The island of al-Wāqwāq belongs to the Qmair islands (Qmār). Qmair is not, as common people believe, the name of a tree which produces screaming human heads instead of fruits, but the name of a people the colour of whom is whitish. They are of short stature and of a build like that of the Turks. They practise the religion of the Hindus, and have the custom of piercing their ears. Some of the inhabitants of the Wāqwāq island are of black colour. In our countries there is a great demand for them as slaves. People fetch from thence the black ebonywood; it is pith of a tree, the other parts of which are thrown away, whilst the kinds of wood called *mulamma'* and *shauḥaṭ* and the yellow sandalwood are brought from the country of the Zanj. In former times there were pearl banks in the bay of Sirandīb, but at present they have been abandoned. Since the Sirandīb pearls have disappeared, other pearls have been found at Sofala in the country of the Zanj, so that people say the pearls of Sirandīb have migrated to Sofala.

IDRĪSĪ

The country of Sofala touches that of Wāqwāq where there are two miserable towns with a few people, because of the rarity of means of subsistence and materials of any sort. One is called Darū and the other Nabhana. Near them is a large city called Daghdagha [describes the people; obviously negroes].² They are near to the islands of Wāqwāq of which we will speak if God wills.

In part of the islands of Wāqwāq near the latter [the islands of Clouds] are places of islands and mountains inaccessible to travellers because of the extreme difficulty of communications. The inhabitants are infidels (Mājūs) who do not know any religion, and who have no law. The women go with bare heads wearing only combs of ivory ornamented with mother of pearl. One woman will sometimes have twenty of these combs. The men cover their heads with a cloth which resembles that which we call *qalānis* and which is known in the Indian language as *buhārī*. They remain fortified in their mountains without ever coming out and without allowing any one to enter, and they place themselves on prominences along the coast to keep watch for ships to which they sometimes speak in an unintelligible language. This is how they always live. Near these islands are the islands of Wāqwāq, beyond which no one knows what exists. Sometimes the Chinese stop there but rarely. They are numerous islands which are only inhabited by elephants and many birds. There

² The new edition of Idrīsī has ددو Dadū, بنهنة Banhana and دغرغرة Daghraḡra for these towns with variants دارار Darar and دغرغرة Daghūgha.

is the tree about which Mas'ūdī tells us unbelievable stories which are not worth telling.

There exists a town called Ankuwa [somewhere in the East] the land of which is so extremely fertile and full of all kinds of things that strangers come there and they are not able to leave. There is gold in such great quantity that the inhabitants make with this metal, chains for their dogs and collars for their monkeys. They also make clothes embroidered with gold and sell them. And this is the same (speaking of the abundance of gold) in the islands of Wāqwāq. Merchants visit this with those who devote themselves to looking for gold. They set up there a foundry for this metal and export the ingots. They export also powdered gold, which they cast in their country by process known only to them. The islands of Wāqwāq produce also ebony of incomparable beauty.

YĀQŪT

[Says it is named after the barking of dogs, IBN ṬUFĀIL quotes the story of the tree.]

ḤUDŪD AL-'ĀLĀM [Adds to Ibn Khurdādhbih's story.]

The capital is M.qys which is a small town (where merchants of various classes stay.)³

MARWAZĪ

I have read in the *Kitāb al-Baḥr* that in the island of Wāqwāq where the ebony grows there is a tribe whose nature is like that of men in all their limbs, except the hands, instead of which they have something like wings, which are webbed like the wings of a bat. They, both males and females, eat and drink while kneeling. They follow the ships asking for food. When a man makes for them, they open these wings and their flight becomes like that of birds, and no one can overtake them.

QAZWĪNĪ

The islands of Wāqwāq are next to the islands of Zābaj and one arrives there following the course of the stars. They say that they are to the number of 1,700⁴ and that their ruler is a woman. Mūsā b. al-Mubārak of Sīrāf claimed to have been into the island and seen the queen seated upon a throne, completely naked and with a crown on her head, surrounded by four thousand young virgin

³ This cannot be compared with any place in other texts. The *Hudūd al-'Ālām* has a place of the same name in the Sudan.

⁴ The *Athār al-bilād* (Beirut ed. p. 33) has 1600 for this figure.

slaves, also naked.⁵ Others say that these islands are called this because there is found a species of tree, having fruit, which produces a noise "Wāq wāq!" The inhabitants of this island understand this noise and draw disagreeable omens from it. [Adds Ibn Khurdādhbih's note about the gold but quoted from Muḥammad ibn Zakariya al-Rāzi.]

[Also says that a certain kind of fish which mariners frighten away by clapping two pieces of wood together is found in the neighbourhood of Wāqwāq, also large turtles. In his *Kitāb āthār al-bilād* he says that the fruit of the tree resembles women hanging from the tree by their hair.

Most of the later authors have one of the earlier stories, the most common being the one of the golden dog-chains and the one about the fruit of the tree.]

SIDI ÇELEBI

[Has the story about the fruit, and he places Wāqwāq to the south of the islands of Timor.]

Extra texts

KITĀB AL-JUGHRAFIYA (12th century Spanish)⁶

In the part of the land of China which is in the sea, there are many islands; among them, those which are famous and well-known number eight. The largest and most important is the island of Wāqwāq. It is so called because there are great tall trees there, the numerous leaves of which are like those of the fig tree, except that they are larger than the leaves of a fig tree. This tree bears fruit in the month of Adār, i.e. the month of March, and they are fruits like the fruits of the palm-tree. These fruits end in the feet of young girls, which project from them; on the second day of the month the two legs protrude, and on the third day the two legs and thighs. This continues so that a little more protrudes each day until they have completely emerged on the last day of the month of *Nisān* i.e. April. In the month of May their head comes out and the whole figure is complete. They are suspended by their hair. Their form and statures are most beautiful and admirable. At the beginning of the month of June, they begin to fall from these trees and by the middle of the month there is not one left on the trees. At the moment of falling to the ground they utter two cries: "Wāq, Wāq". It is also said that they utter three cries. When they have fallen to the ground, flesh

⁵ Ibn al-Wardī confuses this with Idrīsī's story of Damhara, the queen of the Maldives. According to him the authority is 'Isā b. al-Mubārak.

⁶ Ferrand in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. *Wāqwāq*.

without bones is found. They are more beautiful than words can describe but are without life or soul. They are buried in the earth. If they were not buried but left lying no one would be able to approach them on account of the stench. This is a wonder of the land of China. The island is at the end of the inhabited world in this sea. It is in the east of the section of the coast where it touches the Greater Sea.

TU HUAN⁷

The king of the *Ta-shih* (Arabs) had despatched men who boarded a ship, taking with them clothes and food and went to sea. They sailed for eight years without coming to the far shore of the Ocean. In the middle of the sea, they saw a square rock; on this rock was a tree with red branches and green leaves. On the tree had grown a large number of little children; they were six or seven thumbs in length. When they saw the men, they did not speak, but they could all laugh and move. Their hands, feet and heads were fixed to the branches of the trees. When the men detached them and held them, as soon as they were in their hands, they dried up and became black. The messengers returned with a branch of this tree which is still in the palace of the king of the *Ta-shih*.

FRIAR ODORIC⁸

And here I heard tell that there be trees which bear men and women like fruit upon them. They are about a cubit in measurement and are fixed in the tree up to the navel, and there they be; and when the wind blows they be fresh, but when it does not blow they are all dried up. This I saw not in sooth, but I heard it told by a people who had seen it.

Wāqwāq is one of the most mysterious names in Arab geographical literature. There are many current stories connected with it, often contradictory, so that even the Arab authors themselves were confused. European scholars have identified Wāqwāq with nearly every place in the Indian or Pacific Ocean, and no one seems to have been particularly sure of his own identifications. It would probably be better to study the texts first in order to see what idea the Arabs themselves had of Wāqwāq, before attempting to unravel the arguments of modern scholars. But this is one case where the loss of so much of the Arab geographical material is felt.

The spelling of the word is fairly consistent, الواقواق and الواقواق are the most common forms. It can be written without the article, some-

⁷ *T'ung tien*, ch. 193, p. 23^a from Ferrand in the *Enc. of Islam.*, *op. cit.*

⁸ Yule: *Cathay and the way thither*, v. 2, pp. 138-9.

times written as two words *الواق واق*, *واق واق* and can be shortened down to one syllable, usually *الواق*.

Most of the stories give some indication of the position of the country of Wāqwāq, such as "east of China", "in the sea of Ṣanf" etc., and these topographical directions can be divided roughly into three types, or rather there are three types of story which give a clue towards identifying the place. The first is based on Ibn Khurdādhbih's passage where he places Wāqwāq east of China, and says it is a country producing much gold, mentioning golden dog chains and collars. This is one of the standard stories which are passed down from one author to another throughout the years. The ingenuity of the natives and the fact that it was a prosperous country east of China, caused De Goeje to identify it with Japan. De Goeje's identification was based partly on the description given by Ibn Khurdādhbih and partly on his identification of the word Wāqwāq with the early Chinese name for Japan, *Wo-kuo* 倭國 in Cantonese *Wo-kwok* of which Wāqwāq is a perfect rendering.⁹ The description of the people of Wāqwāq given in the *'Ajā'ib al-Hind* (7th passage), where the great size of the towns and islands is mentioned is even more reminiscent of Japan, unless it is of Korea or Formosa.¹⁰

Although Ibn Khurdādhbih's story is the only original one mentioning the prosperous country there are several texts which state that Wāqwāq is east of China. Some are merely quoting from Ibn Khurdādhbih but others add a little extra. From the tenth century comes the encyclopaedia, *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm*, of Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khwārizmī, which says that Kankdiz is the most easterly town in the world and is situated at the extremity of China and Wāqwāq.¹¹

Ibn al-Faqīh, too, in his first passage places Wāqwāq east of China. There he describes the world as a bird of which China is the head with Wāqwāq beyond. The story of the world as a bird is a common one in Arab literature, it occurs in the *Futūḥ Miṣr* of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam who is slightly earlier than Ibn al-Faqīh. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam makes Iraq the right wing of the bird and places Wāq [sic] beyond this. In spite of Ferrand's arguments, it is obvious from any early Arab map of the world that the right wing of the bird represents Iraq, Persia, Central Asia and China and beyond this wing one finds Wāq or Wāqwāq. It is thus obvious that at a very

⁹ *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde*, appendix "Le Japon connu des Arabes", pp. 295-307.

¹⁰ Korea; the Arabs have already in *سيلة* Silā. Tomé Pires account of Lequeos compares well with this passage, only he says that the people are truthful.

¹¹ Re naud: *Géographie d'Abou'l-Feda*, t. 1, pp. 220ff.

early stage Wāqwāq was regarded by the Arabs as some land in the extreme east.¹²

The second type of story, is that mentioning a primitive people with whom sailors trade. A large number of the stories give positions for Wāqwāq in South-East Asia, mentioning it in connexion with Zābaj, Qmār or Ṣanf. These stories are more numerous than the others and appear less fictitious, partly because of other similar stories given about more well-known places in the vicinity. Of course these stories about trade with primitive peoples could equally well refer to the coast of Africa, if they were not expressly stated to be somewhere in the south-east.

These stories come mainly from the *'Ajā'ib al-Hind* and other writers who copy from it. The majority of the tales of the *'Ajā'ib* dealing with Wāqwāq appear to be of South-East Asian origin. The ship in the first story meets it on the way to Zābaj or in the direction of Zābaj; in the similar story found later on it is between Sribuza and China; in another case beyond the end of Dībajāt al-Dum (the Maldives). In the story of the attack on Qanbaluh, one might think that the Wāqwāq mentioned was that spoken of by Mas'ūdī as being near Sofala, but the *'Ajā'ib* makes it clear that the narrator of the story thought this Wāqwāq was the one opposite China, because their journey lasted a year. They had also attacked Qanbaluh in the hope of obtaining wares which suited both their own country and China.¹³ Ferrand, the champion of the African Wāqwāq, uses this story not to help his African theory but to prove, like Ibn Lākis, that the Asian Wāqwāq was Sumatra and this is an example of Malayan seafaring to the African coast. The *Mukhtaṣar al-'ajā'ib* too prefers to put Wāqwāq in South-East Asia, in one place it makes it the home of the Maharāja and in another "in the Sea of Ṣanf" (Champa).

¹² Chinese Muslims have a similar theory, but they put the bird the other way up. Arab maps, however, show clearly which way the bird should be. v. EI. New ed. *DJUGHRĀFIYA*, p. 576 (Maqbul Ahmad). For Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam see n. 25 p. 76. Ferrand attempts to explain this bird in his article on *Wāqwāq*, *JA*, 1932, t. 220, pp. 212-14.

¹³ Dībajāt is explained in note 19, p. 50 as the Maldives and the Laccadives. What are exactly represented by the two groups al-Dum (al-Ram in Bīrūnī) and al-Kastaj is not clear. Van der Lith (*Merveilles de l'Inde*, pp. 216-17) equates the former with Indonesia and the latter with the Maldives-Laccadive group. Devic (n. 113) and Ferrand (*Relations*, p. 586) prefer to regard them both as part of the Maldives-Laccadive archipelago.

Qanbaluh is a city and harbour on the African coast near Zanzibar. Filesi (*China and Africa in the Middle Ages*, p. 21) identifies it with the ruins on Ra's Mkumbuu (Ndagoni) in Pemba, although on what grounds I am not sure apart from a possible resemblance of the names.

In the latter account they have mixed it with the story of the volcano which is definitely about South-East Asia.

Bīrūnī says Wāqwāq belongs to Cambodia, and mixes earlier accounts of Wāqwāq and Qmār so that it is certain that he had no clear idea himself. He then goes on to talk of the products of Africa in almost the same breath.

The third type of story is that connecting Wāqwāq with Africa. Only one author can really be included in this group and that is Mas'ūdī, although it will be seen that several others vaguely connect Wāqwāq with Africa. Ferrand mentions several as definite about this, including Ya'qūbī, Idrīsī and some very late authors, but these can be discounted. Ya'qūbī's statement is a very general one which can be taken to mean anything and this I have disregarded. Ibn al-Faqīh's Wāqwāq of the South could easily and much more likely refer to South-East Asia. The other texts, Idrīsī and later authors, are all so entangled in the theory of an eastward extension of the coast of Africa as to be worthless. Mas'ūdī however is usually very clear about his topography, normally distinguishing Africa from Asia and therefore cannot be overlooked. Here he has two short statements and each time Wāqwāq is mentioned it immediately follows Sofala, but in a vague way, as if Mas'ūdī really knew nothing whatsoever about it. Did Mas'ūdī hear a version of Ibn Lākīs' story, which if the dates are correct took place two years after Mas'ūdī wrote his book and hence connect Sofala with Wāqwāq? The two texts have a similar ring, containing references to Qanbaluh and Sofala. The next author to join Sofala and Wāqwāq is Idrīsī who is probably reading from Mas'ūdī adding extra pieces in his usual way.¹⁴

These three locations can only be detected by comparing all the Arab texts mentioning the subject of Wāqwāq. Normally each author knows only one position for Wāqwāq. Ibn al-Faqīh however, expressly mentions two Wāqwāqs, one which he puts east of China and calls the Wāqwāq of China and the other which he calls the Wāqwāq of the South. Ferrand equates this Wāqwāq of the South with Mas'ūdī's Wāqwāq near Sofala, and which he claims as Madagascar; but there is no clue that Ibn al-Faqīh's Wāqwāq was in Africa. Judging from the number of texts (all later) placing Wāqwāq in South-East Asia, there is no reason why this should not be the location of the Wāqwāq of the South. It seems to me that Ibn al-Faqīh was confused by the conflicting statements that he had

¹⁴ Immediately afterwards, Idrīsī states that the inhabitants of Bālūs, so far always identified as a place in South-East Asia, are Zanj (Africans).

before him and came to the conclusion (like Ferrand) that the only solution was that there were two Wāqwāqs. He qualifies his statement by saying that the one in the south produces only inferior gold as opposed to the Chinese Wāqwāq of Ibn Khurdādhbih where gold was extremely common. Nevertheless until the time when the Ptolemaic theory of the eastern extension of Africa came to confuse the topographical picture of South Africa and South-East Asia, Ibn al-Faqīh is the only author who produces two Wāqwāqs. Later the solution was only too simple. Wāqwāq being situated in the extreme east was close to both the Chinese and the African shores, and there was no need for duplication.

Two other stories usually connected with Wāqwāq appear to be older than the eleventh century. The first is the story of the tree named Wāqwāq with fruits having a human appearance, and the second is that of a strange race who utter the cry "Wāq, wāq!"

The tree with the human fruit first appears in Arabic in the *al-Bad' wa'l-tarikh* of Muṭahhar al-Maqdisī at the end of the tenth century. Here we have a short note saying that the tree was called Wāqwāq and grew in India. A fuller account of this tree is given in the *'Ajā'ib al-Hind* (quoting Muḥammad b. Bābīshād) where the tree is not named, but is stated to come from the land of Wāqwāq. However the story itself must have been common in the Near East¹⁵ much earlier for it appears in the Chinese text, *Tung-tien* of Tu Huan, which was written between A.D. 766 and 801. According to this work, the story was told to Tu Huan's father who had been captured and taken to the Middle East where he stayed between 751 and 762, as a story emanating from Arab sailors, who sailed towards the West. The story given by Tu Huan resembles that of the *'Ajā'ib al-Hind* almost word for word except that the tree in his account bears a crowd of small children instead of fruit with human faces. Hence in spite of the more factual representation of the story given in the *'Ajā'ib al-Hind*, the "little humans" seem to be part of the original story. The story is given throughout by many writers, but is embellished in various ways. The "little humans" on landing on the ground are said to utter the cry, "Wāq, Wāq", which seems to be borrowed from the second tale. A full version is given in the twelfth century *Kitāb al-Jughrafiya* written in Spain and I have added this as an appendix to the texts together with Tu Huan's version. The story is also given in one of the versions of Friar Odoric's travels. It differs in detail, but only as much as the Arab accounts differ from each other.

¹⁵ A tree with young girls as flowers also occurs in the mediaeval French Alexander romance.

The second story appears in its full form in the *Mukhtaṣar al-'Ajā'ib* where a fairly clear and factual account is given. It refers to a kind of animal which from the description appears to be a baboon. The name *wakwak* or *wahwah* is given to a species of gibbon in Malay for it is an onomatopoeia for its cry, just as it could be for the bark of a baboon, but it does not have the cheek pouches or the highly coloured rear of the description. One Malayan species of gibbon known as a siamang has a large pouch under its chin, but the name *wakwak* has never been applied to this animal. Ferrand shows that *Wak-Wak* or *Vak-Vak* is a name given by the Bantus to baboons and to bushmen.¹⁶ Although the *Mukhtaṣar al-'Ajā'ib* is later than the end of the tenth century, Jāhīz in his *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* according to Damīrī (14th century) mentions that the *Wāqwāq* are the product (?) of plants and animals and it is possible that both of these stories were known to him. Later on the animals and the tree stories became amalgamated, and we have fruits that cry "Wāq, Wāq!" It is quite possible that these two stories were originally one, for the "little humans" of Tu Huan and the *Kitāb al-Jughrafiya*, could easily be the origin of the animal story and become associated with baboons. On the other hand it is likely that the arboreal habits of monkeys, gave rise to both stories or to the amalgamation of the two. The accounts given by the *'Ajā'ib al-Hind* and the *Mukhtaṣar al-'Ajā'ib* are certainly nearer to fact, but whether they show an original form of the stories or have been "doctored" to make a more intelligible account is impossible to tell.¹⁷

The tree has been identified as the *'ushar* (*Calotropis syriaca*) by De Goeje, when he connects *Wāqwāq* with Japan. The story does appear in Japanese literature, but it most certainly comes from the Chinese of Tu Huan, which again comes from the Arabs, so it cannot be used to strengthen De Goeje's theory. The description given by the *'Ajā'ib al-Hind* resembles that of the *'ushar* which is a tree of the Middle East and Africa. I have never seen any plant which resembles the *'ushar* in South-East Asia, for it is definitely a plant belonging to a dry climate. However, the *'ushar* is also mentioned by the Arabs in connexion with Karimata (q.v.). Ferrand claims that this tree cannot be the *'ushar* and suggests the Pandanus tree on philological grounds, for it is called *vakwa* in Madagascar, thus using it to strengthen his own theory. In my opinion the fruit of the Pandanus seems to bear little resemblance to the fruit of the story,

¹⁶ Quoting R. N. Hall: *Prehistoric Rhodesia*, 1909, p. 66. Note that baboons are not arboreal.

¹⁷ *Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 304. For a further note on this tree, see under Karimata, p. 149.

the fruit of the *Calotropis* seems to be much more appropriate except for its location and this combined with the sight of monkeys swinging in the trees may account for this story.

The island of *Wāqwāq* has been given many identifications by European scholars. Habicht in his edition of the "Thousand and one nights" in 1825 decided on Japan without attempting to prove anything. Langlès (*Voyage de Sindbad*) thought it was the islands of South-East Asia. Reinaud (*Introduction de la Géographie d'Aboul-Feda*, 1840) favoured Africa, i.e. Madagascar. De Slane in his translation of the *Prolegomena* of Ibn Khaldūn believed it to be the Seychelles, but Ibn Khaldūn himself probably had as little idea of its position as any of the European scholars. The appearance of the *'Ajā'ib al-Hind* almost doubled the amount of effective information available to help scholars identify *Wāqwāq* with any definite place. Devic himself said that *Wāqwāq* most probably belonged to the neighbourhood of the Malayan Archipelago, but it was too vaguely defined to be able to identify precisely. Lane held similar views, and suggested that *Wāqwāq* was, "All the islands which they (Arab geographers) were acquainted with on the east and South-east of Borneo." De Goeje reverted to the Japan theory on the basis of Ibn Khurdādhbih's text, stating that the connexion with Africa was only the fault of Ptolemy, while Ferrand attempted (1904) to prove that it was Madagascar and that the Far Eastern one was due to Ptolemy. Later (1907) he discovered that some passages must refer to the Far East, probably Sumatra, and finally (1932) he proved that there were definitely two *Wāqwāqs*; Madagascar and Sumatra. Thus Ferrand intimates that the two *Wāqwāqs* are the two areas of Malay culture on each side of the Indian Ocean and the attack of Qanbaluh was a description of one Sumatran expedition to the African coast.

In actual fact all theories seem to be right, although the less definite they make their identifications, the better. I prefer the theories of Devic and Lane, who make *Wāqwāq* some ill-defined place in the South-East.

What the name *Wāqwāq* means and where it came from originally is really a mystery. Was it the name of an island, or a people, or a tree or the noise made by baboons? Or was it originally all four and the stories became connected because of the resemblance of the name?¹⁸ Ferrand must prefer the latter for he produces a people

¹⁸ Bīrūnī (*Alberuni's India*, London, 1910, p. 103) ridicules the idea that the island is named after the tree, while Idrīsī (Jaubert ed., p. 92) says there are a lot of foolish stories going about on this subject.

called *vakwak* in Malagasy, with an equivalent *Pakpak* in North Sumatra, a tree (pandanus) called *vakwa* in Malagasy and *bakkuwan* in Battak, and *wakwak* for baboons and bushmen in Africa. Besides this we have De Goeje's *Wo-kwok*, the Malay name *wahwah* for gibbons, and Moens suggests a term *Bako-bako* from Mindanao.

In spite of all it seems to me that the Arabs came to regard this name as referring to a country just beyond their reach in the general direction of the east. Thus it appears as a well populated civilized land east of China, about which they have heard but never really reached in large numbers. Similarly it is applied in South-East Asia to some island a little off the usual path of Arab traders. Thus stories of islands a little off the route became attached to Wāqwāq, as well as a few fictitious or legendary tales. And as the Arabs slowly explored new ground, Wāqwāq slowly retreated eastwards always to be the last island of the east until Sidi Çelebi in the sixteenth century cannot place it anywhere but south of the islands of Timor, although no scholar has yet identified it with Australia.

The attack on Qanbaluh was quite probably made from Sumatra or Java, but this does not prove that Sumatra was Wāqwāq. To the inhabitants of Qanbaluh the attackers came from an unknown island in the east beyond the range of their knowledge. To an Arab this would be Wāqwāq. This is only a theory: we cannot prove of course whether the Africans used the term Wāqwāq to describe the land from whence their attackers came, or whether the Arabs introduced this element into the story.

On the whole there is much to connect the tree and the animals with Africa, but there is little topographical evidence in favour of the country being there, and what little there is might easily be explained away. Finally when the extremity of Africa becomes associated with the Far East, anything then reported to be there can be regarded as a little further east than the Arabs normally go and hence Wāqwāq.

Of course, during the eleventh century and after, all the islands of South-East Asia become fictitious because the Arab literary geographers were completely out of touch with that area. Then Wāqwāq becomes just another island continually exchanging descriptions and stories with its fellows.

Ferrand's summary of the material is extremely full and little can be added to his account. But Ferrand takes his texts too literally and reduction of Wāqwāqs to a definite two and the equation of these with Madagascar and Sumatra is perhaps going a little too far. After all, both of these places were adequately provided with names by most geographers and both places were well-known to the Arabs.

Why do they need another inexplicable one? It seems to me that Wāqwāq was always something a little beyond what was already there and can never be identified with any specific place.

2. BARṬĀYIL

SINDBĀD

I saw among these countries [of the Maharāja] an island named Kāsil, in which one hears at night the beating of drums. Sailors say it is inhabited by the Antichrist. I also saw in this island a fish of a hundred to two hundred cubits long. The sailors who fear it bang on a piece of wood, and it turns back to sea. I also saw another fish about a cubit long with a face similar to an owl.

IBN KHURDĀDHBĪH

In the realm of the Maharāja is an island called Barṭāyil which every night sends forth sounds of stringed instruments and drums. Sailors say that the Antichrist lives there. One finds there horses coming out of the sea similar to ordinary horses but the mane is so long that it trails on the ground.

MAS'ŪDĪ

Not far away [from the Volcanic isles] is an island from which one continually hears the noise of drums, flutes, lutes and all sorts of musical instruments, a sound soft and agreeable, and at the same time dancing steps and the clapping of hands. If one listens carefully one can distinguish all the sounds without confusion. Sailors who visit these regions say that Dajjāl (the Antichrist) lives here.

[Mas'ūdī in his *Tanbih wa'l-ishrāf* adds oboes to the list of instruments.]

MUKHTAṢAR AL-'AJĀ'IB

There is also the island of Barṭāyil which has inhabited mountains where one hears by day and night the sound of timpani and drums and unknown sounds. The faces of these peoples resemble shields of leather and their ears are split. Most sailors say that Dajjāl lives here and that he will come out when his hour has arrived. There they sell cloves which the merchants buy from invisible people.

[Yāqūt, Marwazī, Qazwīnī and Dimashqī have the same story with variations, Qazwīnī gives the version of the *Mukhtaṣar al-'ajā'ib* but quotes it in the name of Ibn al-Faqīh. Ibn al-Wardī has an even more garbled version.]

BĪRŪNĪ

There is also the question of the Dajjāl, the seducer, who will come from the district of Iṣfahān: but the astrologers say that he will come from the island of Bartāyil, four hundred and sixty six years after Yezdegird b. Shahriyār. In the Gospel you find mentioned the signs which will announce his coming [etc.].

This is one of the more fictitious islands mentioned by the Arab writers. Most of them relate the same story usually with the name Bartāyil attached, although some authors occasionally place this story among the groups of nameless islands which accompany almost every account of South-East Asia. Mas'ūdī is among those who omit the name. The word برطایل is just one of the many combinations of letters used; others are برطایل, ذو طایل, بو طایل, and without the first group of letters, طایل, طایل, and Sindbād's كاسل. Jurjānī has ارطبل.¹⁹

None of these names seems to mean anything, but on the whole the Arabs preferred Bartāyil because the root برطل *brṭl* is found in Arabic (to bribe).

The story is the same throughout, strange musical sounds heard at night, the sailors being too frightened to investigate.²⁰ Every time the tale is repeated the size of the orchestra increases by one or two instruments. The account of the *Mukhtaṣar al-'ajā'ib* mentions people obviously wearing masks and it seems that the story represents the traditional music and dances of Java and other Indonesian islands. The story of nightly music, however, does not only exist in Arab literature or in relation to Indonesia. Solinus, a third-century Christian writer has a similar tale about Mt. Atlas.

There are no topographical details to help in the identification of the place, other than the fact that it was one of the islands of the Maharāja. As Bali in modern times has become the home of traditional Indonesian music there has been a tendency to identify Bartāyil with Bali. But it is doubtful whether the Arabs had reached as far south-east as Bali when this story first appears in their accounts and there is no reason why dances should not be held in the evenings on other Indonesian islands. Besides Bali, there are a few other suggestions. Gerini has suggested Riau, for according to him this

¹⁹ According to De Goeje, B.G.A. VI, p. ٦٨, n. 3. All the modern Arabic editions of *Alf laila wa laila* have كاسل for كاسل.

²⁰ Marwazi's "Clove island" also has noises at night, and the *Mukhtaṣar al-'ajā'ib*, although earlier than Marwazi has a more garbled version of the same story and associates the selling of cloves by invisible traders with Bartāyil.

word means "noisy" or "loud sounds".²¹ Argensola who wrote a history of the Moluccas in the sixteenth century has a similar story which may be originally derived from the Arab sources and he attributes it to Banda. Moens produces another theory:²² there is an island in the delta of the Perak river near the caves of Bruas, which has an area named *Tanah gendang* or the "drumming grounds". Moens suggests this as an origin for Bartāyil and uses the fact to further his theory for placing the Maharāja's seat in this area.

Perhaps it is best to leave Bartāyil as an unidentified Indonesian island.

The Antichrist Dajjāl (from the Peshitta *meshihā daggālā* for Gk. *Pseudochristos*) is fairly common in early Muslim tradition where various stories and descriptions are found. Ibn Māja²³ states that he will come from some remote region, not in the north but in the east and it is possible that Muslim sailors kept a sharp look out for him as they went further east. Hence his connexion with the unearthly noises of Bartāyil. Bīrūnī's placing him in Iṣfahān comes from Ibn Ḥanbal who also associated him with Khorasan.²⁴

The horses of Ibn Khurdādhbih are mentioned also in greater detail in the Sindbād story, where they are connected with the country of the Maharāja, but not specifically with the island of Bartāyil (Kāsil in Sindbād's story). A similar tale of a *Pars-el-Bahri* which was the father of the famous steed Semberāni appears in both the *Sejarah Melayu*²⁵ and the *Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai*.²⁶ Although the name Pars-el-Bahri is Arabic and the Malay versions may have been adopted from the Arabic tales, it is more likely that here we have remnants of some legend indigenous to the Malay Archipelago. The Chinese triple-headed goddess Kwan-yin, the equivalent of India's Avalokiteśvara, occasionally took the form of a horse (with marine accomplishments) and is reported to have been born in the southern seas and her father is said to have been a king with an empire extending between India, Siam, Fo-shih and Tien-chen (Indrapura?).²⁷

3. THE ISLANDS OF SPICES

IBN KHURDĀDHBĪH

From these islands [Jāba, Salāhiṭ and Harang] it is fifteen days to the Islands of Spices [Manbit al-'atar].

²¹ *Researches*, p. 558-9; quoting *JSBRAS*, no. 22, p. 272.

²² *Srivijaya, Yava en Kataha*, p. 384. English version in *JMBRAS*, v. 17, p. 45.

²³ *Fitan*, *bāb* 33.

²⁴ iii, 224; vi, 75.

²⁵ Leyden ed., p. 17.

²⁶ Marre ed., p. 69.

²⁷ *T'oung pao*, IX, p. 403-4.

MUKHTAŞAR AL-'AJĀ'IB

The Island of Perfume [Jazīrat al-Ṭīb] is fifteen days from the preceding islands [Jāba, Salāhiṭ and Harang]. It produces all sorts of spices.

MARWAZĪ

The maritime traders travel to the island which is the "Clove Mine", and on their arrival anchor their ship and start the boats towards the shore, and (there) spread out leather sheets, place each on his sheet, their purses with dinars, and at night retire from the island. In the morning they return in their boats to the same place and find in each sheet a heap of cloves as an equivalent for their money. They fetch (the cloves), but if someone is discontented (with the bargain) he leaves (the cloves) where they are, returns on the following day and finds his money, as it was in the purse under his seal, while the cloves have been taken away. No injustice happens in their bargains. The island is large but at daytime no man is seen on it and no cloves. When night comes a great uproar and much shouting is heard on it and no one ventures to penetrate into the island. Whoever enters it or stays behind, no trace of him is found afterwards and nothing is known about him.

SIDI ÇELEBI (c. 1554)

The islands known as the Islands of the Cloves are to the east of Jāwa, they are called the Malūkū. Some say as follows; As the place where cloves are found is difficult of access, no one goes there. When (the cloves) are ripe and have fallen to the ground at the time of the rains, they are carried down by the torrents and are picked up by the people.

There are only four original references among the early Muslim authors to the Islands of Spices, which might possibly be taken to represent the Moluccas. In each case the term used for the islands is different; Ibn Khurdādhbih calls them منبت العطر i.e. the land where the spices grow, while the *Mukhtaşar al-'ajā'ib* quoting Ibn Khurdādhbih's passage uses the term جزيرة الطيب. This story puts them at fifteen days from the islands of Jāba, Salāhiṭ and Harang which I believe are at the southern end of the Strait of Malacca, that is near Singapore. As I have said elsewhere,²⁸ fifteen days is not long enough to reach the Moluccas from Singapore, if we compare this figure with those given by Ibn Khurdādhbih for other known sea routes. Fifteen days from Singapore might take the sailor as far

²⁸ See pp. 70-1.

as East Java at the most. Of course if Jāba were East Java, fifteen days could be a reasonable estimate. If Ibn Khurdādhbih really means the Moluccas then his distance is a very rough guess or a deliberately misleading figure given by the Indonesians to the Arab sailors.

Marwazī's story is really an account of how cloves are obtained. "Clove mine" is Minorsky's translation for معدن القرنفل a place where cloves are obtained.²⁹ As cloves in the early days were only found in the Moluccas, it is reasonable to assume that those islands are meant here. This account of silent barter appears in other Arab texts. The *Mukhtaşar al-'ajā'ib* has it twice. The first is just a brief notice saying that on the island of Bartāyil cloves can be bought from invisible merchants. Presumably the author connects the nocturnal uproar of Marwazī's story with the noise issuing from Bartāyil at night. The second time he describes the story in full and calls the place "a valley of cloves" in India. The invisible vendors are said to be Jinn. Silent barter is also mentioned several times in classical authors,³⁰ and is still used in South-East Asia by the various primitive races, such as the Kubu of Sumatra and the natives of Engano, when trading with the Malays.³¹

Bīrūnī also mentions this story but calls the place *Lanka*. Here he mixes up the Sanskrit word for cloves, *lavaṅga* (Malay, *lawang*) with the name of Ceylon. He still further confuses the issue by bringing in the Arab word for the Nicobars, *Langabālūs*.

Sidi Çelebi is, of course, a much later author (c. 1554); most of his material comes from the Arab navigators who had a more scientific knowledge of Indonesia and knew roughly where the Moluccas were. But he has the habit of adding passages often taken from early Arab literature, giving short tales about places, and the passage quoted here is one of them. Malūkū ملوكو is the form given to the name of the islands by the Arab navigators but apart from that, the story is probably old and shows that its originators were ignorant of the method of obtaining cloves. This story does not occur elsewhere in extant Arab works, and many authors earlier than Sidi Çelebi are quite clear as to the botany of the clove tree. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has a fairly accurate account although he confuses it with the

²⁹ Cf. *Akhbār al-Şin* where معدن is used for plantations of camphor in Rāmnī.

³⁰ The *Periplus* (S. 65) has a vague notice of this sort of trade with the people of *This*, beyond the Ganges. Pomponius Mela mentions it in the Himalayas and Herodotos (IV, 196) beyond the Pillars of Hercules in the West, although here the sailors leave the goods and then the natives bring gold to the beach in exchange. Fa-hsien mentions silent barter in Ceylon.

³¹ Loeb, p. 208.

nutmeg.³² The European travellers too found no mystery attached to the clove tree.

4. THE ISLAND OF THE WOMEN

'AJĀ'IB AL-HIND

[A story about the island of women told by Abu 'l-Zahr al-Barkhatī of Sirāf. A ship, in the area of the Sea of Malāyū, was approaching the vicinity of China, when it ran into a storm (probably a typhoon). Afterwards the ship reached an island and all the passengers disembarked.] Whilst this was happening, a party of women arrived from the interior of the island, the number of which God alone could count. They fell on the men, a thousand or more to each man. They carried them off to the mountains and forced them to become the instruments of their pleasure. There was a continually renewed struggle and the men belonged to the strongest. The men were dying of exhaustion one after another; and each time that one died, they fell again on him, taking no notice of the foul odour of his corpse. A single one survived, and he was a Spaniard, whom a single woman had carried away. She visited him at night and at dawn she hid him near the sea and brought him things to eat. At last the wind changed and began to blow in the direction of India, whence the ship had come. The man took a canoe, called a *falū*,³³ and furnished it during the night with provisions and water. The woman seeing his scheme, led him to a place where the ground had been opened, where she had discovered a gold mine. They then filled the canoe with as much as possible and they both embarked and after ten days, they arrived at the port from which the sailor came. There he told this story.

The woman lived with the Spaniard, learnt his language, became Muslim and bore him several children. When she was questioned on the islands and the women who lived there without men, she said, "We come from a country full of large towns which surround the island and the nearest of which is three days and three nights away. The inhabitants of this country call the island 'House of the Sun', because this body rises at its eastern end and sets at its western end, and according to their belief, passes the night in this island. Every morning at dawn, the nocturnal fire faded and vanished and at the same time the sun rose. 'Behold' they said and worshipped it

³² Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's claim to have seen the clove with his own eyes must have been limited to the fruit. He could hardly have seen the tree and then mixed them up.

³³ قراهو that is the Malay prahu.

falling down all around and addressing their prayers to it. Then they did the same thing when the sun went down and the fire appeared.

It must also be told that, by the will of God, the women of this country deliver first a boy and the second time twin girls and they continue to do this alternately for the rest of their lives. So it comes about that in our country men are very rare and the women become more numerous wishing to dominate them. Then the men equip ships and place thousands of women on them and take them and place them on this island, saying to their God, the Sun, 'These belong to you by right and we have no longer any power over them.'

The women are thus left on the island, where they die, one after the other. No man had ever appeared amongst us before your arrival. No one has ever landed there, for our island is in the middle of the Baḥr al-A'zam in the direction of Canopus, and no traveller is able to reach there and return. No one dares to leave the mainland, lest he should be swallowed by the Ocean. Thus is the will of the Omnipotent."

MUKHTAṢAR AL-'AJĀ'IB

[Among the races created before Adam] are some who resemble women having hair and breasts. And there is no male in their race. The women are made pregnant by the wind, and they only give birth to individuals who resemble themselves. They have a ravishing voice and they draw many persons from other races by the charm of their voices.

The island of Women is situated at the limit of the sea of China. They say that it is inhabited only by women who are made pregnant by the wind and only give birth to more women; but some say that they are made pregnant by a tree the fruit of which they eat. Gold grows among them, or so they say, in canes, like bamboo and they live on gold. A man fell among them once and they wished to kill him, but one of them had pity on him, placed him on a beam and put him to sea. The waves and the wind carried him to China. He went to see the king of China and told him about the island. The king sent a vessel to look for it, but after three years of trying they could find neither news nor trace of it.

QAZWĪNĪ

[Repeats the story from the *Mukhtaṣar al-'ajā'ib* but says that the bamboo grew flowers of gold. This story is repeated by Ibn al-Wardī and Bakuwī.

Qazwīnī has another story in the *Kitāb āthār al-bilād*, of a city of Women in the West. This comes from Ṭurṭūshī. There is an Amazon-

like race of women, armed and riding horses, who keep all their men slaves].

The legends regarding a race of women who manage to survive without the aid of men are common to many civilizations. The usual version from South-East Asia seems to be that of the *Mukhtaṣar al-'ajā'ib* where they are impregnated by the wind, like the mares of Virgil's *Georgics*. This story is given by Marsden in his *History of Sumatra*, where it is made to refer to the inhabitants of Engano by the Lampongese.³⁴ Islands of women in the Indian Ocean are mentioned also by Friar Jordanus³⁵ and Marco Polo who says that they were 500 miles off the coast of Mekran. Both Siamese and ancient Cambodian folklore have stories of colonies of women, and another is mentioned by Chou Ch'ü-fei in 1178.³⁶ An island of Amazons appears off the Philippines as late as the seventeenth century in Prevost's *Histoire générale des voyages*.³⁷ Pigafetta mentions the island off the coast of Java.³⁸

The story given by the '*Ajā'ib al-Hind*' is really an elaborate version of the same story. It compares with that of the *Mukhtaṣar al-'ajā'ib* in various minor details, although there is no mention of the wind. Chou Ch'ü-fei's version is really a paraphrase of that of the '*Ajā'ib al-Hind*', and it would appear to me that the Chinese author obtained all of this material from Arab sources (presumably merchants or sailors). He also mentions the island of women in the West. Hamdallāh Mustawfī, the Persian historian (*fl.* 1339) has a similar story about a race of women in Africa who conceive through bathing in a spring and this version also appears in Chinese sources in the sixth century.³⁹

The story quoted from Ṭurtūshī by Qazwīnī about a city of women in the West, mentions warlike women who kill their male children, with the exception of a few who are kept as slaves and are used for propagating the race. This seems to be a corrupt version of the Greek legend of the Amazons, and has no connexion with the Far Eastern legend at all.

Similar to these tales of an Island of Women is the story given by Qazwīnī about Wāqwāq (q.v.) of a naked queen, surrounded by

³⁴ Loeb: *Sumatra*, p. 208. Gerini: *Researches*, p. 753.

³⁵ Hakluyt Society ed., 1863, p. 44.

³⁶ Chau Ju-kua, Hirth and Rockhill ed., pp. 150-2.

³⁷ Tome X, p. 394.

³⁸ Hakluyt Society ed., 1874, p. 154.

³⁹ *Liang shu*, 54, 28; credited to the monk Hui-shōn. Hirth and Rockhill, p. 151, n. 1.

four thousand naked virgins, but this is obviously a very mixed reference, and a compilation from several different tales.

5. THE ISLAND OF THE CASTLE

MUKHTAṢAR AL-'AJĀ'IB

In this sea [Sea of Śanḥ (Champa)]⁴⁰ there is a white castle which stands on the sea and appears to sailors before the dawn. They rejoice when they see it for it assures them of safety, profit and good luck.

Alexander the Great on his route to the Darkness (?) saw a light high and bright. He steered for it and reached the Island of the Castle. This is an island in the middle of which is a castle of crystal, which shines above the neighbouring sea. He wished to stop there but a brahmin, an Indian philosopher, dissuaded him saying that whoever set foot upon the island lost his mind, and no longer being capable of leaving, died there. They say that Alexander saw there the inhabitants clothed in leaves and he asked the brahmin how they lived, after what he had said. But the brahmin said that they found on the island a fruit and all who ate this recovered their sanity. They say that there appeared at night on the battlements of the castle, lamps which burned until the morning. Their light disappeared until the evening when they were relighted. [Note that the island of the Shining Castle appears in Ibn Yūnus and comes from Khwārizmī].

QAZWĪNĪ

[Reports both stories and is followed in this by Bakuwī and Ibn al-Wardī.

BAKUWĪ

Adds that the men are very small.

DIMASHQĪ

Has one version of a Shining Castle extracted from the above story and also another garbled version of the above called in this case the Castle of Sleep. He also has this other story.] On the eastern coast of Qmār is the Castle Royal, divided by a river on which lies an enchanted boat made of precious stones and tied by rope to the entrance of the castle. A man bitten by a snake or stricken with fits or another disease is placed by his people on board the boat and the boat passes through the castle and leaves by the other side, and the disease is cured. But if he had not passed through the castle he would have died or would never have been cured of his disease.

⁴⁰ Qazwīnī in his *Āthār al-bilād* (Beirut ed. p. 84) has it in the Sea of Hind.

There is no one story mentioning the Island of the Castle, but there are several completely different tales which have strayed into the geographers' account of South-East Asia. Usually the castle is connected with evil happenings such as illness and disease, but the first story from the *Mukhtaṣar al-'ajā'ib* shows a castle of good omen. The most common story seems to be that connected with the Alexander Romance. There is no evidence that any of these tales particularly belong to the Malay Archipelago. They seem to be merely legends connected with the Outer Ocean, sunrise or something which has led a particular author to include them in his narrative.

PART TWO

THE ARAB NAVIGATIONAL TREATISES

(15th and 16th centuries)