

Index

- Abu-Lughod, Janet, 29
 Aceh, 3, 148, 220, 229, 230
 Afghanistan, 25, 241, 294
 agents, 65, 66–69, 70–72, 73–76
 slave-agents, 133–134
 Ahmed, Shahab, 4, 8
 Alavi, Seema, 10
 Albuquerque, Afonso de, 194, 229, 231
 Ali Rajas of Cannanore, 107,
 202–205, 206
 Amrith, Sunil, 127, 243
 Anatolia, 25, 214
 archipelago of cities, 29, 32
 architecture, 9, 23, 123, 125, 126, 127,
 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 135
 Asian sea trade boom, 18, 98–100, 108

 Bā 'Alawī (Sufi order), 56, 238, 247
 Babri Masjid, Ayodhya, 92
 backwaters (Kerala), 46, 173, 198,
 225, 290
 Baghdad, 17, 72, 74, 117, 163, 179
 Balkans-to-Bengal region, 8
 Barbosa, Duarte, 171, 186, 192, 205
 Bhatkal, 227
 Cheraman Perumal, 93–94, 108
 Islamic conversion, 174
 Mappila Muslims, 181
 mosques, 138
 paradesi Muslims, 51, 54
 pepper trade, 214
 slaves, 177, 180
 Vijayanagara empire, 227
 Ben Yijū, Abraham, 69, 70, 176
 Bomma, 74, 75
 Khalaf ibn Isaac ibn Bundār, 76, 77
 Bhatkal, South Kanara, 227–228
 Bomma (slave of Abraham Ben Yijū), 74–75
 Bose, Sugata, 186
 Bouchon, Geneviève, 15
 Brahmins, 49, 128, 131, 167–168, 175,
 187, 284
 Brahminization, 49

 Braudel, Fernand, 29
 Britain, 59, 125, 129, 149, 153, 177, 286,
 287, 288, 289, 290
 English East India Company, 212, 286
 brokerage, 65, 87, 88, 172, 188
 al-Bushrī, 25–26, 32
 business agents, 64–76, 133, 174
 see also reciprocal agency; *ṣūḥba*;
 slave-agents

 Cabral, Pedro Álvarez, 47, 192, 193, 222
 Cairo, 72, 73, 75, 111, 117, 188, 216,
 229, 234
 Cairo Geniza
 see Geniza records
 Calicut (Kozhikode), 16, 47, 48, 90, 100,
 158–159, 160–161, 163–165, 183,
 189–190, 231, 270–271, 273, 276
 agents, 90
 Chinese trade, 87–88
 Jāmi' Masjid, 134–135, 269
 Mithqālpalli, 84, 135–136, 139, 269
 mosques, 131–132, 137, 269–270
 Muchundipalli mosque, 132–134,
 135, 136
 Muslim communities, 159–160,
 189–190, 194, 195
 paradesi Muslims, 54
 pepper trade, 231
 port cities, 43–44
 Portuguese, 196, 224
 property rights, 165, 166
 Rasulid sultanate, 264–267, 269,
 270–271, 274
 Timurid court, 267–269, 270
 warehousing, 89
 Cambay, 54, 226, 257, 271, 273
 Cannanore (Kannur), 16, 45, 46, 107
 cannon, 139, 194, 198
 cardamom, 12, 50, 69, 70, 74
 cargo seizure, 165–166
 Casale, Giancarlo, 230, 275–276
 caste restrictions, 41–42, 121, 167–169

340 Index

- cavalry, 45, 46
see also horse trade
- Central Asia, 45, 179, 208
- ceramics, 34, 41–42
see also porcelain
- Chaliyam, 44, 143
 Jāmi' Masjid, 140–142
 Portuguese fort, 140–142
- Chaudhuri, Kirti, 28–29
- Chera dynasty, 50, 90, 95, 108
- Cheraman Masjid, Kerala
see Cheraman Perumal Juma Masjid, Kodungallur
- Cheraman Perumal, 35, 93–97, 101–102, 160, 282–285, 286–287, 288, 290
 legend, 1–2, 6, 23, 83, 93, 100, 103–105, 107–108, 110, 282–283
 mosques, 156, 157
 Sufism, 240, 241
- Cheraman Perumal Juma Masjid, Kodungallur, 92–93, 97, 106, 290–291, 297
- children, 171–172, 180
- China
 pepper trade, 216–217, 218–220, 221
 trade, 41–42, 43, 212, 218–219
- Chinese merchants, 50, 87, 192
- Chola kingdom, 39, 40–41, 104, 184
- Christian communities, 35–37, 38, 130
- Christian merchants, 47
- Christianity, 34
- Cochin (Kochi), 16, 46–48, 89, 90, 100, 156, 246
 Portuguese fort, 139–140
- commenda*, 65–66, 68
- conversion
see Islamic conversion
- copper-plate grants, 35, 38, 40, 41, 50, 130, 133, 176, 185
- core cities, 29
- Coromandel Coast, 39, 41, 42, 52, 82, 110, 163, 180, 227, 259, 260, 262
- Corrêa, Gaspar, 174–175
- Cranganore
see Kodungallur (Cranganore)
- credit notes, 77–78, 223
- Crusades, 147
- Curtin, Philip, 280–281
- Dale, Stephen, 15, 126, 148, 149, 151, 183
dār al-Islām, 4, 109, 115, 117, 144–145, 146, 285
- Deccan, 9, 14, 45, 54, 123, 146, 165, 179, 227, 265, 277
- Delhi, 43, 73, 164, 234, 251, 270, 271, 273
- divorce (Islamic law), 236, 237
- dress, 52, 181, 296
- du 'ā' al-sultān*, 263, 265, 266, 268, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 277
- Dutch, 191, 212
 Dutch East India Company (VOC), 30, 208
- East Africa, 3, 12, 15, 25, 27, 32, 128, 172, 177, 178, 180, 214, 237
see also Swahili Coast
- Eaton, Richard, 242
- Egypt, 34, 105, 135, 148, 198, 214, 215, 216, 230, 235, 265, 270
- emporia
see trade emporia
- endowments (*waqfs*), 101, 109
- England
see Britain
- entrepôts, 27, 28, 89
- epigraph
see inscriptions
- al-Faṭḥ al-mubīn li'l-sāmūrī alladhī juḥibb al-muslimīn* (al-Kalikuti), 141–142, 155, 192–193
- Faṭḥ al-mu'īn* (al-Malabarī), 68, 115–119, 152, 236, 248–251
- Fernández-Armesto, Felipe, 5
- folk songs, 152–154
- Friday prayer
see *khutbah*
- Friedman, Mordechai, 79
- Gama, Vasco da, 15, 159, 167, 193–194, 224
- genealogy, 10, 56, 57, 113, 155, 234
- Geniza records, 20–22, 41, 61, 63, 76, 122, 191
 agents, 67, 70, 71
 Jewish merchants, 50, 62
nākhudās, 79
 pepper trade, 214
sūḥba, 66
wākil al-tujjār, 86, 87
- Ghats (mountain range), 12, 13, 104, 227, 243
- Ghosh, Amitav, 74–75
- ginger, 12, 50, 185, 194, 225
- Goa, 121, 243
- Goitein, S.D., 61, 71, 73, 86, 90
- gold, 34, 137, 163, 208, 211, 212, 229, 260, 262, 275, 276
- Goldberg, Jessica, 67, 190
- granthavaris*, 20, 103–104, 140, 161
- Green, Nile, 10, 298
- Guangzhou, 63, 82, 210, 217

- Gujarat, 271–273
 pepper trade, 225–226, 232
- Habshi (military slaves), 179–180
- Hadhramawt region, Yemen, 54–57, 156
- Hassan, Mona, 17
- He, Zheng, 47, 164, 219, 220
- Heesterman, Jan, 234
- Hijaz, 113, 214, 215, 235, 275
- Hindu temples, 123–126, 128–130, 131, 167, 245
- Ho, Engseeng, 10, 31
- Hodgson, Marshall, 7–8, 16, 17, 245
- holy war
see jihād
- Hormuz, 45, 54, 214, 215, 228, 231, 270, 271, 272, 273, 277
- horse trade, 45–46
- al-Hujwiri, 240
- Ibn al-ʿArabī, 248, 249, 250
- Ibn al-Mujāwir, 271–272, 273
- Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, 25–26, 32, 71, 80, 89, 171, 190, 191–192, 237, 243
 Calicut, 43, 164–165, 166, 270
 Chinese trade, 218
 Kāzarūniyya, 252, 253
khānqahs, 251, 252
 Kollam, 39, 41
 Mappīla Muslims, 181
 Mithqāl, 81, 135, 136
 mosques, 121, 122, 128, 139, 242
 Muslim merchants, 50
 Pantalayani-Kollam, 45
shāhbandars, 81, 83–86, 89
 slaves, 136, 176, 177, 179
 Sufism, 238
 Valapattanam, 121, 131, 191–192
- Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, 235–236
- Ibn Mājid, 27, 121
- Ibn Taimiyya, 249
- Ilias, M.H., 55
- Indian Muslims, 2, 52, 169, 286–288
- Indian Ocean, 4, 29–30, 190–191, 298
 Muslim communities, 2–3, 14–15
 spice trade, 1, 13, 14, 48
 trade, 2–3, 5, 6, 10–11, 18, 19, 20–23, 24, 26, 58
- Indo-Islam, 8–9
- inheritance, 109, 182, 283
- inscriptions, 18, 20, 23, 35, 39, 80, 84, 94, 95, 130, 132–133, 134, 165, 217, 269
- Iran, 10, 25, 37, 43, 83, 104, 214, 217, 227, 274, 295
- Islamic conversion, 159, 166–167, 168–169, 172–176, 180, 221
- Islamic education, 119, 121, 122–123, 171–172
- Islamic history, 7–10, 16, 17–18
- Islamic law, 4, 6, 8, 22, 62–67, 77, 109, 115–120, 123, 186–187
- Islamic mysticism
see Sufism
- Islamization, 9, 10, 118, 169
- Jāmiʿ Masjid mosques
 Calicut, 134–135, 269
 Chaliyam, 140–142
- Java, 6, 43, 118, 119, 125, 210, 220, 248
- Jewish communities, 34, 37, 130
- Jewish merchants, 20–22, 40, 47, 50, 59, 61–63, 64, 69–70, 79
- jihād*, 4, 23, 138, 143–144, 146, 147–152, 154, 157, 285, 287–288
- Kalam, A.P.J. Abdul, 92, 93, 97, 290
- Kannur
see Cannanore (Kannur)
- Kārimī merchants, 215–216
- Kāzarūniyya (Sufi order), 252–253
- Kerala
see Malabar
- Kerāḷōlpathi*, 103, 108, 160, 166, 175, 189–190, 284
- Khalaf ibn Isaac ibn Bundār, 76–77
khānqahs, 251, 252
khaṭīb (preacher), 254, 255, 259, 266, 267, 269
- Khilafat movement, 287–288
- Khurasan, 241, 253
- khutbah* (Friday prayer), 263–264, 265, 266, 267–271, 273, 274–275, 276
- Kish
see Qays
- Kochi
see Cochin (Kochi)
- Kodungallur (Cranganore), 34–35, 46, 48
 mosques, 97
 Muslim communities, 35, 194–195
- Kolathiris, 45, 46, 202, 203, 204
- Kollam (Quilon), 35, 37–41, 42, 48, 137, 185, 190
 Christian communities, 35–37, 38
 Jewish communities, 37
 merchant guilds, 38–39, 40
 Muslim communities, 37
- Kooria, Mahmood, 119
- Kottuppalli Mala*, 153
- Kozhikode
see Calicut (Kozhikode)
- Kugle, Scott, 106, 107
- Kunjalis, 200–202, 203, 205, 206, 232

342 Index

- Lambourn, Elizabeth, 67, 259
 legends, 105–106, 289–290
 littoral society, 30
- Ma Huan, 47, 87, 88, 89, 90, 132, 164, 187–188
- Machado, Pedro, 64
- Madayi, 50, 100, 237, 243
- Maghreb, 177, 214
- Mailaparambil, Binu John, 15
- Makhdūm family, 56, 110–113, 247
- al-Malabārī, Zayn al-Dīn, 119, 136, 140, 166, 186–187, 194, 195, 235, 269
 Chaliyam fort, 141–142
 Islamic conversion, 174, 175
jihād, 149, 150
 Kodungallur, 194–195
 Mappila Muslims, 182, 199
 Quran, 172
 slaves, 176
see also Fath al-mu'īn; Tuhfat al-mujāhidīn
- al-Malabārī, Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Alī, 111, 235, 247–248
- Malayalam, 13, 20, 37, 49, 51, 52, 94, 104, 106, 128, 152, 153, 167, 172, 181, 284, 286
- Maldives, 3, 43, 52, 119, 204, 231
- Malekandathil, Pius, 15
- Malik Ambar, 179
- Mālik ibn Dinār al-Sāmī, 240–241
- Mālik ibn Ḥabīb, 96, 97, 100, 101, 102, 104, 105
- Mamluk sultanate of Egypt, 146, 216, 229–230, 273, 276
- Mangalore, 46, 69, 74, 176, 191
- manumission, 73, 74, 76, 136, 177, 178
- Mappila Muslims, 51–52, 54, 148–149, 156, 157, 169, 181–182, 197, 199, 205–206, 231, 246, 285–288, 294, 296–297
jihād, 150–151, 152, 154
 pepper trade, 224–225, 226
 piracy, 199
- Marakkars (Kunjali), 200–202, 203, 205, 206, 232
- Margariti, Roxani, 79, 86–87, 106, 107
 marriage, 32, 70, 109, 169–171, 176
see also mut'ah
- martyrdom, 143, 149–151, 152, 153, 154
marumakkatayam
see matrilineality
- matrilineality, 4, 167, 182, 242
- Mecca, 12, 54, 72, 79, 97, 119, 234–235, 236, 275, 276
- medieval, 16–17
- Medina, 96, 105, 111, 235, 237
- Mediterranean, 11, 21, 62, 64, 86, 90, 187, 190, 271
- Melaka, 82, 87, 90, 219, 223, 226, 231
- merchant communities, 158, 186, 191–192, 217
- merchant guilds, 38–39, 40, 162, 217
 Kollam, 38–39, 40
- merchant trade networks, 58, 217
- migration, 37, 103, 155, 156, 197, 224
- Ming dynasty, 47, 198, 218, 219
- al-Misrī, Abū 'Alī b. Tayyib, 71
- Mithqāl (merchant), 81, 135–136
- Mithqālpalli (Nākhudā Mithqāl Masjid), 84, 135–136, 139, 269
- Modi, Narendra, 279, 280, 290–291
- Mogadishu, 237
- Mongol empire, 45, 147, 210, 274
- monsoon Asia, 2–3, 4, 17–18, 26, 29–30, 31–32, 190–191, 298
- Monsoon Islam, 3, 4–7, 10–12, 15, 18, 19, 23, 24, 157, 158, 160, 182–183, 207, 254–255, 279–280, 282, 283, 289, 297, 298, 299
- monsoon mosques, 93, 123, 156–157
- monsoons, 5, 27–28
- mosque architecture, 123–127, 128–130, 242, 297, 298
- mosques, 23, 50, 93, 97–100, 101, 102, 104–105, 107, 108, 113, 120–121, 122–126, 131–132, 136–139, 242–243
 Babri Masjid (Ayodhya), 92
 Cheraman Perumal Juma Masjid (Kodungallur), 92–93, 97, 106, 290–291, 297
 endowments, 101, 109
 Jāmi' Masjid mosques (Calicut), 134–135, 140–142, 269
 Mithqālpalli (Calicut), 84, 135–136, 139, 269
 monsoon mosques, 93, 123, 156–157
 Muchundipalli (Calicut), 132–134, 135, 136
 Portuguese, 138–139, 140–143, 157
 tiled roofs, 131
- Mughal empire, 9, 146, 179, 277
- Muhammad (prophet), 1, 4, 56
- Mukkuvas, 173–175, 182
- Muslim communities, 2–3, 6, 17, 23, 108–110, 172, 195, 205–206, 254–255, 280
 Calicut, 159–160, 189–190, 194, 195
 Kodungallur, 35, 194–195
 Kollam, 37
 Portuguese, 23, 142, 196–197, 223

- Muslim merchants, 11, 18, 23–24, 47–48,
 50–52, 61, 79–80, 187–188, 191
 Jewish merchants, 61–62
 Portuguese, 19, 222–223, 225–226
 Muslim mystics
see Sufism
 Muslim rulers, 72, 107, 157
 Muslim trade networks, 2–3, 6, 18, 24, 26,
 208, 217, 231, 259–260, 271, 277–278,
 280, 281–282
 pepper trade, 225–227, 229
 Muslim world
see *dār al-Islām*
mur'ah, 169–170
 Muziris, 34–35
 myths, 105–106
- Nairs, 49, 154, 167, 174, 182, 190,
 199–200
 Nākhudā Mithqāl Masjid
see Mithqālpalli
nākhudās, 78–79, 80–81
 Nampūtiris, 49, 167–168, 284
see also Brahmins
 Narayanan, M.G.S., 40, 49, 95, 133, 134
 Nasution, Khoo Salma, 127
nerchas, 153, 154
Nūr al-ma'arif, 256, 257–262, 270
- Ottoman empire, 213–214, 230, 231,
 275–277
- Pantalayani-Kollam, 45
paradesi Muslims, 51, 52–55, 83, 155, 156,
 174, 181
parāos, 198–199, 224–225
 partnerships
 contractual partnerships, 65
 interdenominational partnerships, 76–77
 proprietary partnerships, 65–66
 patronage, 2, 39, 49, 50, 81, 101, 107,
 133, 161, 185, 232, 262, 267,
 274–275, 277
 Pearson, Michael, 5, 30, 289
 pepper, 1, 12, 13, 39, 220–221, 228–229
 pepper trade, 24, 32, 50, 159, 207,
 208–217, 229, 231, 232–233,
 259–260, 274
 China, 217, 218–220, 221
 Gujarat, 225–226
 Muslim trade networks, 225–227
 Portuguese, 212, 214, 221–224, 227–
 228, 229, 232–233, 285
see also spice trade
 Persia
see Iran
- Persian Gulf, 37, 45, 177, 215, 271–274, 277
 Pillai, Elam Kunjan, 95
 piracy, 45, 156, 190, 199, 200, 202, 203,
 205, 215, 224
 Pires, Tomé, 82, 87, 130, 226, 243
 Polanyi, Karl, 28
 Polo, Marco, 41, 50, 218
 polygyny, 170–171
 Ponnani, 44–45, 112–113, 119
 porcelain, 42
 port cities, 27, 28–30, 32–35, 63, 89–91,
 108, 122, 172, 184, 185
see also Calicut (Kozhikode); Cochin
 (Kochi); Kodungallur (Cranganore);
 Kollam (Quilon)
 ports-of-trade, 23, 28, 78, 101, 185
 Portuguese, 15, 18–19, 22, 44, 47–48,
 51, 52, 139, 193–194, 196, 197–198,
 200–201, 205–206, 229–231, 285
jihād, 147–148
 mosques, 138–139, 140–143, 157
 Muslim communities, 23, 142,
 196–197, 223
 Muslim merchants, 19, 222–223, 225–226
 Ottoman empire, 275, 277
 pepper trade, 212, 214, 221–224,
 227–228, 229, 232–233, 285
 Portuguese forts, 139–142
 property rights, 161–163, 164–165
 Calicut, 165, 166
 Pyrard de Laval, François, 88, 89, 122,
 183, 186, 191, 198, 243
 Ali Rajas, 203
 Calicut, 164, 200
 Islamic conversion, 174, 175
 piracy, 199
 Sufism, 244, 245
- qādīs*, 102, 113, 115, 116, 123, 155, 156,
 157, 282–283
qādi al-quḍāt al-Muslimin, 155–156, 197
 Qays, 271–273
Qiṣṣat shakarwatī farmād, 95–97, 101,
 102–103, 104, 107, 108, 282
 Quanzhou, 42, 188, 210, 218, 237, 253
 Quilon
see Kollam (Quilon)
 Quran, 2, 73, 115, 130, 144, 150,
 171–172, 233
 Quseir, 59, 66, 78, 87, 89
- Rāmish, 79, 81
 Rasulid sultanate, Yemen, 50, 81, 101, 188,
 255–256, 257–262, 263, 273
 Calicut, 264–267, 269, 270–271, 274
 pepper trade, 214–215

344 Index

- reciprocal agency, 66–69, 70
 Red Sea, 21, 27, 28, 214, 215, 223, 229,
 230, 271, 273, 276, 277
 religious education
see Islamic education
 religious scholars
see Islamic scholars; '*ulamā*'
 (religious scholars)
 Renan, Ernest, 5
 Ricci, Ronit, 10
 Risso, Patricia, 9
 ritual pollution, 41–42, 167–169, 174–176
 Roman empire, 34, 211
 al-Rūmī, Yāqāt, 74
- saints, 242–243, 245–246
 Samarqandī, 'Abd al-Razzāq, 164,
 165–166, 244, 267, 268, 269, 274
 Shāfi'ī law, 64–65, 115–119
shāhbandars, 81–86, 87–89, 90,
 104–105, 187
 shipwrecks, 164–165
 Shokoohy, Mehrdad, 84, 126–127,
 134, 135
 silver, 211, 229
 slaves, 72–74, 133–134, 136–137, 176–180
 slave-agents, 73–76, 133–134
 Song dynasty, 41, 42, 210, 218
 South Kanara, 227–229
 Southeast Asia, 8, 10, 12, 118, 232, 242,
 262–263
see also Java; Srivijaya empire; Sumatra
 spice trade, 18–19, 48, 51, 208–213,
 229–231
see also pepper trade
 Sri Lanka, 1, 42, 52, 119
 Srivijaya empire, 217
 Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, 82, 228
 Sufism, 56, 207–208, 237–250, 251–254
see also Ba 'Alawī (Sufi order);
 Kāzarūniyya (Sufi order)
sūhba, 66–67, 70
 Sulaymān (the Merchant), 82
 Sumatra, 12, 118, 119, 125, 148, 163, 220,
 225, 274
 Surat, 223, 226
 Sutton, Maude Keely, 152
 Swahili Coast, 3, 137, 177, 178
- Tamil merchants, 38, 40, 80
 Tamil Nadu, 39, 104, 184
 temporary marriages
see *mut'ah*
- thalassocracy, 46, 184, 204
 Thangals, 56–57, 181
 Tharisapalli, 35, 37, 176
see also copper-plate grants
 tiled roofs, 130–131
 Timurid court, 267–269, 270
 trade diasporas, 60, 280–281
 trade disputes, 62–64, 77
 trade emporia, 28–29, 60–61
 traditions, 105–106
 Trivellato, Francesca, 64
 trust, 58–61, 78, 161–162
 agents, 68
 trustee of the traders
see *wākīl al-tujjār*
Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn (al-Malabārī), 94,
 96, 107, 108, 116, 143, 144, 145,
 146–148, 149–150, 151–152, 177,
 195–196, 232, 284
 turbans, 52, 181
- Udovitch, Abraham, 60
 '*ulamā*' (religious scholars), 102, 105, 108,
 142, 155, 156, 157
- Valapattanam, 122, 131, 191–192
 Varthema, Ludovico de, 54, 88,
 176, 194
 Venice, 209
 Vijayanagara empire, 46, 226,
 227–229
- wākīl al-tujjār* (trustee of the traders), 71,
 86–87, 88, 90
 Wang Dayuan, 43, 192, 218
waqfs
see endowments (*waqfs*)
 war songs, 153–154
 Wink, André, 9
 Wye manuscript, 20, 166
- Yemen, 20, 31, 54, 56, 57, 101, 214, 216,
 228, 250, 255, 260
see also Hadhramawt region, Yemen
 Yuan dynasty, 41, 43, 164, 210, 218,
 219, 274
- Zamorins, 45, 46, 47, 103, 148, 159, 160,
 161, 183, 184, 189–190, 194, 200,
 283–284
 Chaliyam fort, 140–141
 Portuguese, 44, 47, 192–193, 231
 Timurid court, 188–189, 267–269