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**СРЕДИЗЕМНОЕ МОРЕ В ТРУДАХ РАННЕСРЕДНЕВЕКОВЫХ  
АРАБСКИХ ГЕОГРАФОВ И ИСТОРИКОВ**

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Статья основана на арабских источниках, посвящённых истории и географии Средиземноморья IX–XII вв. В трудах девяти арабских путешественников описаны естественно-географические характеристики Средиземного моря, морей, рек, а также ряда регионов и населявших эти территории народов. Проанализированы общие черты и особенности освещения темы отдельными авторами.

*Ключевые слова:* Средиземное море, средневековые земли, арабские источники, раннее Средневековье.

Arabic travel writers saved many data about the history and geography of the Mediterranean from IX–XII century. *Natural-geographical characteristics* of the Mediterranean were described by *Al-Istakhri*, *Ibn-Haukal*, *Al-Masudi*, *Al-Bakri*, *Al-Mokaddasi*, *Al-Hamadani*, *Ibn Khordadbeh*, *Ibn Rosteh* and *Al-Idrisi* (who lived for some time at the court of Roger I, king of Norman Sicily<sup>1</sup>). Arabic writers differentiated parts of the Mediterranean Sea and gave them special names.

*Al-Hamadani*<sup>2</sup> calls the Mediterranean the West Sea [22, p. 7–8 (*Al-Hamadani*. Compendium libri Kitab al-Boldân)]. *Ibn Rosteh*<sup>3</sup> writes that the Mediterranean Sea includes African, Egyptian and Syrian seas, that is, the east part of the Mediterranean Sea and two bays, Adriatic and Narbonian [24, p. 84–85 (*Ibn Rosteh*. Kitâb al-a'lâk An-Nafisa)]. Its length is about 500 miles and it is around 600–800 miles wide in various places.

According to *Al-Istakhri*<sup>4</sup> at one side of the Mediterranean Sea is the Atlantic Ocean [19, p. 68–69 (*Al-Istakhri*. Via regnorum, descriptio ditionis moslemicae)]. *Ibn Haukal*<sup>5</sup> proposes that the Mediterranean is a bay of the Atlantic Ocean. The Sea stretches from Morocco to Egypt and Syria. Antioch is a bay where the Sea stretches towards Byzantium and a bay at Constantinople continuing to spread along the coast of Athens, and Calabria, Lombardy, Rome, Frankish Kingdom and Galicia in Spain. The sea then stretches along the coast of Frankish Kingdom all the way to Tortosa in the land of Spain, it goes past the Canaries, Almeria and Sevilla in Spain, and further from the Strait of Gibraltar spreads along the Atlantic Ocean to Shentertine/Santarem in Portugal. Spain and Portugal are Islamic countries [20, p. 190–193 (*Ibn Haukal*. Via et regna, descriptio ditionis moslemicae)]. *Al-Mokaddasi*<sup>6</sup> writes that along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, from Kaba, Tarsus to Damjet/Dimjet

in Egypt, and further to Sus in Tunisia live Muslims and on the other side what is left of the Christian religion. Athens and Rome are two cities in the vicinity of the sea where Christians gather. Athens is well known for scientists. Rome is one of the columns of the Christian world, and famous seats of Christians are in Antioch, Alessandria and Jerusalem [21, p. 14–15 (*Al-Mokaddasi*. Descriptio imperii moslemici)].

According to *Ibn Khordadbeh*<sup>7</sup> and *Ibn Rosteh* [23, p. 231 (*Ibn Khordadbeh*. Kitâb al-masâlik wa'l mamâlik); 24, p. 85 (*Ibn Rosteh*. Kitâb al-a'lâk An-Nafisa)] the Mediterranean Sea has 172 islands that were inhabited, but Muslims have devastated many in their sea campaigns. Big islands are Cyprus, Crete, Sicily, Sardinia and Ilica opposite Spain including the smallest island of Corsica. The biggest inhabited island is Sicily with many fertile fields and cattle [19, p. 70–71 (*Al-Istakhri*. Via regnorum, descriptio ditionis moslemicae)]. Sicily is an Islamic land in the vicinity of the Frankish Kingdom [12, c. 9–29]. Crete is the second largest populated island with all inhabitants Muslims and conquerors. All inhabitants in Cyprus are Christians. According to population and size it is similar to Crete and very fertile. There is a lot of mastic and incense that is taken from Byzantium to Islamic lands. *Al-Bakri*<sup>8</sup> also mentions Sardinia [15, p. 150 (*Al-Bakri*. Al-Masâlik w'al-Mamâlik)]. *Al-Masudi*<sup>9</sup> cites the most important rivers which flow into the Mediterranean Sea. They originate in Egypt, Syria, Spain, Rome, the Frankish Kingdom, the land of Slavs and Byzantium.

*Al-Istakhri* says that there is no better sea than this one because settlements run endlessly on both sides as well as numerous fortified towns [19, p. 71 (*Al-Istakhri*. Via regnorum, descriptio ditionis moslemicae)]. Coasts of other seas are unpopulated and barren. *Ibn Haukal* mentions that lands of Slavs and

Byzantium have occupied special territories in the Mediterranean. At the end he lists a great number of towns that have been included in the map of the Mediterranean Sea [20, p. 191–205 (*Ibn Haukal. Via et regna, descriptio ditionis moslemicae*)].

Muslim and Byzantine ships are often sailing in the Mediterranean Sea, crossing any distance easily. However, Muslim and Byzantine armies often come across each other on war ships and they fight in the sea. *Early Muslim conquest* changed the picture of the Mediterranean. The Arab conquest started with the Islamic Prophet Muhammad in the 7th century. The resulting empire stretched from the borders of China and the Indian subcontinent, across Central Asia, the Middle East, North Africa, Sicily, and the Iberian Peninsula, to the Pyrenees. A rapid and successful conquest brought a new religion, language, culture, development of science. The Islamic conquest contributed to the development of the geography and cartography among the Arabs. Huge expanses of land had been won through conquest, and the resources they contained needed to be assessed in order for the most suitable tax system to be introduced. So big did the empire become that a postal service and a road system became necessary. These in their turn were instrumental in developing trade, fostered by the unification of language and religion. The pilgrimage to Mecca also induced the Arabs to travel and develop geography. Trips offered opportunity for study, exploration and trade. After journeys, many travelogues were written with interesting data about geography and history of the Islamic lands, and their neighbours on the other coast of the Mediterranean.

Some Arabic geographers produced *world maps* with the description of the Mediterranean world and division on regions. Unfortunately, only a small number of originals have been found. The Arab maps made in the Middle Ages by *Al-Istakhri*, *Ibn Haukal* and *Al-Idrisi* have been lost, and we have only copies at our disposal. Arab geography and cartography developed under influence of the ancient books, especially those of the Greeks. Ancient books were translated thanks to the general patronage of the caliphs who wanted to incorporate that knowledge into Muslim culture. The caliphs used to provide generous rewards for those who translated the scientific works of Antiquity into Arabic. In the period extending from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, main centers of scientific study moved from Europe to Damascus, Baghdad and Cordoba. Arabic medieval achievements were the basis for further development of science from thirteenth century, and its blossom in Europe during the Renaissance.

First Arabic maps were made according to the map of Ptolemy, a classical astronomer, geo-

grapher and mathematician from Alexandria. During the reign of Theodosius and Justinian, the interpretation that the Earth is round and that it represents only a small part of the Universe was forbidden. The medieval Arabic astronomers, *Al-Masudi* and *Al-Idrisi*, wrote that the Earth is round, before the Christians in Europe were ready to accept that idea [28, p. 371–375]. They preserved the works of Greek astronomers during Dark Ages. Early medieval Arabic writers included in their maps of the world the Arabic lands in Asia and North Africa, the Byzantine Empire, lands of Franks, Gals, Langobards, land of Slavs, Bulgars, as well as lands from Persia to India and China. For them, the well known part of the world ended with the Atlantic Ocean, i.e. the West Sea and the Pacific, i.e. the Big Sea. During the Golden Age of Arab cartography the «Atlas of Islam» was published, which included twenty one maps. The «Atlas of Islam», made in the tenth century, had nothing in common with Ptolemaic model of maps. *Al-Istakhri* and *Ibn Haukal* showed the Muslim world, with its provinces, regions, districts, cities. *Al-Idrisi's* geography «The Pleasure Excursion of One Who is Eager to Traverse the Regions of the World», known also as «The Book of Roger», published in the twelfth century, was the first geography book published in Europe. Although *Al-Idrisi's* map was lost, commentaries come down to us with a description of the regions, cities, rivers, lands, seas and roads.

*Al-Idrisi*, *Al-Mokaddasi*, *Ibn Rosteh*, *Ibn Haukal* and *Al-Masudi* divided the world into seven regions and gave the names of the known cities within them [21, p. 21–22 (*Al-Mokaddasi. Descriptio imperii moslemici*); 24 (*Ibn Rosteh. Kitâb al-a'lâk An-Nafisa*); 25, p. 32–33 (*Al-Masudi. Kitâb at-Tanbih Wa'l Ischrâf*)]. According to *Al-Masudi* only the fifth region relates to the Mediterranean Sea. *Ibn Khordadbeh* divided populated area into four regions and two of them belong to the Mediterranean [23, p. 155 (*Ibn Khordadbeh. Kitâb al-masâlik wa'l mamâlik*)]. *Ibn Haukal*, *Al-Masudi* and *Al-Idrisi* have made maps of the world. *Ibn Haukal* and *Al-Idrisi* gave in full detail the description of the cities and all that is known and needs to be mentioned including established distances between them [20, p. 3–17 (*Ibn Haukal. Via et regna, descriptio ditionis moslemicae*); 16 (*Al-Idrisi. Kitâb Nuzhat al-Mușqat fi Ihtiraq al-Afaq*)].

Arabic historians also wrote about *forming of Early Medieval lands* in the Mediterranean. During great migrations, many nations passed through Europe, but they rarely left a written trace, so that we know their history only on the basis of the data that Latin, Byzantine and Arabic writers transferred to us. Byzantine chroniclers wrote about conflicts with barbarian nations, their settling in the territory

of the Empire, and founding lands at the beginning of the Middle Ages. Arabic historians and geographers gave their view of barbarian nations, Byzantine Empire and Early Medieval lands.

For the greatest part of Europe, IX–XI centuries were a period of crises, and forming Medieval states, but it was the time when *the Byzantine Empire* reached its peak. The capital Constantinople was the center from which Byzantine art, science and faith were spread. Byzantium as the largest Mediterranean country had influence on the life of surrounding nations, and on map-making of Early Medieval lands. By spreading the borders of the Byzantine Empire and improving safety, the value of land grew and feudalism progressed soon. Many nations fell under Byzantine rule, and some became its allies and got permission to settle on certain territories. Arabic writers have preserved a great deal of data regarding *Muluku Rum* (The Byzantine Empire), the most interesting of all neighbouring countries for them. The power of the Byzantium Empire, its borders, division on themes and politics intrigued *Ibn Khordadbeh*, *Al-Masudi*, *Al-Hamadhani*, *Ibn Rosteh*, *Al-Jakubi*, *Yahya al-Antaki* and *At-Tabari*. The subject of their interest was the religion of the Byzantines, great enemies of Islam.

Geographer and historian *Ibn Khordadbeh* wrote about division on themes, borders, fortified places and the organization of the Byzantine Empire. He saved *Al-Djarmi's* division into 14 provinces [23, p. 103–110 (*Ibn Khordadbeh*. Kitâb al-masâlik wa'l mamâlik)]. Besides *Ibn Khordadbeh*, *Al-Djarmi* inspired *Al-Hamadhani*, *Al-Masudi* and anonymous author of the «Limits of the Universe» («Hudūd al-'ālam»). *Al-Djarmi's* report begins with the description of *Tafla* province that shelters Constantinople. To the west, the border of this province is a channel that empties into the Mediterranean Sea, its eastern border is the line connecting the Caspian and Mediterranean Sea, to the south its border is the Mediterranean Sea and to the north, again, the Caspian Sea. The next province is *Thrace*, situated beyond *Tafla*. There are ten fortresses in *Tafla*. A rampart is its border to the east, Macedonia borders it to the south, Bulgaria to the west, and the Caspian Sea is its northern border. The third province is *Macedonia* with three fortresses, a rampart on the eastern border, Mediterranean Sea in the south, Slav lands in the west, and Bulgaria to the north. The fourth province is *Paflagonia* with its five fortresses. The fifth province is *Al-Uftī-Mātī*, i.e. *Optimata* with three fortresses and the city *Nikomedia*. This name means in Arabic eye and ear. Continuing to the sixth province, we have *Opsikia* with its ten fortresses and the city of *Nikia* which is situated on the coast of a lake surrounded by mountains, 8 miles away from the sea.

In the case of any adverse situation, the women and children are evacuated to the mountains by boats. The next one, seventh province, is *Tarksis* with its fortified city of *Efes*, in the *Al-Avas* region. It is believed that *Efes* is the city of cave people, with a mosque with the Arabic inscription that serves as a memory of victorious introduction of Islam to the Byzantine Empire. The eighth is *Anatolia*, the greatest province of the empire. *Anatolia* includes *Amuria*, a city of a forty four towers, fortresses *Al-Almain*, *Murdj-as-Sahm*, *Burgut*, *Al-Miskanin*, *Bitin* and *Al-Musabatlin*. The ninth province is *Harsana*, on the way to *Malatia* with four fortresses. The tenth is *Al-Bukular* with its city of *Ankira* and thirteen fortresses. The eleventh is *Armenia* in which you will find the fortresses *Kulunija* and sixteen more fortified places. The twelfth province is *Haldia*, bordering *Armenia*, with six fortified places. The thirteenth is *Seleukia* in Syria, extending from the Mediterranean sea to *Tarsus* and *Al-Lamis*. A prefect supervises this province. *Seleukia* also includes the *Seleukia* fortress and ten other fortified places. Finally, the fourteenth province is *Kapadokia* which ends with the mountain *Tarsus*, *Adana* and *Al-Masisa*. The fourteenth includes fortresses *Kora*, *Hasin*, *Antgu*, *Al-Djarvab*, *Dhu l-Kila*. The Arabic name means the ruler of fortresses, but its proper name is *Djusastrun*, meaning one who is approaching the stars. It is described as a mountain with the crown of towers. There are also fourteen more fortresses.

Some Arabic writers simply relayed information on Byzantium from other sources, while others wrote about it based on the first-hand experience. Reports from *Al-Djarmi* and *Harun ibn Jahja* are particularly important because they were both imprisoned in Constantinople [34, S. 95–160]. *Al-Djarmi* was in Constantinople during the reign of *Teofil* and *Mihail III* (892–867). *Al-Djarmi's* report was quoted by *Al-Masudi* [25, p. 105–108 (*Al-Masudi*. Kitâb at-Tanbih Wa'l-Ischrâb)].

*Ibn Rosteh* saved a particularly beautiful description of *Al-Kustantinija* (Constantinople) which was written by *Harun ibn Jahja* [24, p. 119–132 (*Ibn Rosteh*. Kitâb al-a'lâk An-Nafisa)]. *Harun* arrived in Constantinople on a ship from *Askalan*. He writes that Constantinople is a big city fortified with ramparts and embraced by the sea to the east. There are idols in the shape of people or animals, cast in gold, all around the palace. Continuing, he describes the emperor's church and the Christmas ceremony [33, p. 199–283]. The church has got ten doors made of silver and gold. In the Emperor's chapel, there is a pillow for the emperor to lean on, decorated with pearls and sapphires – so is the chapel itself. At the altar doors, there are four marble pillars, the altar is made of aloe tree and decorated

with sapphires and pearls and at it stand the priest and other members of the clergy. The church has four courtyards. One has a pool with a silver dome sitting on twelve pillars. Eleven pillars are decorated with pictures of animals, and the twelfth one pictures the king. Next to this dome there is a cistern that contains wine with honey and spices.

At Christmas time, the emperor orders for the tables to be set for Muslim prisoners who eat there for eleven days. It has been said that one table is for Salomon, son of David, the second for David, the third table is Karun's, and the fourth for Emperor Constantine. On the last day each prisoner receives two dinars and three dirhems. After this the emperor gets up and goes out through the gate Bidrun. When the emperor goes to the church the carpet is being laid out for him from the palace entrance to the main church in the centre of the city. During the ceremony the emperor would walk through Constantinople's markets and invite Muslim prisoners to come into the church.

The emperor finally leaves the church to return to his palace. To the west of the church is a marble column on top of which the tomb of the Emperor Justinian, the one who has built the church, is placed. On top of the marble tomb stands a golden statue of a horse and of Justinian, riding it. Justinian is wearing a golden crown decorated with pearls and sapphires on his head and his right arm is raised as if he is inviting the people to Constantinople. At the western gate of the church there is a hall with twenty-four low doors, each one corresponds to one hour of the day and night.

*Ibn Rosteh* takes us out of Constantinople, through a desert with fields and settlements to the Salonika city (Thessalonica), then to Split (Balatis, Palatis-Spalato), Venice (Bandakis), Burgundy (Burdjan) and Brittany (Bartiniji). He concluded his account of his travels with the description of Rome.

*Al-Masudi* has written about Byzantine emperors in both his works, "Tanbih" and "Murju dhahab" [25, p. 137–176 (*Al-Masudi*. Kitâb at-Tanbih Wa'l-Ischrâb); 17, p. 147–183]. The lists of the Byzantine emperors from these two books are not the same, and a better one is in the book "Tanbih". *Al-Masudi* wrote the history of all emperors from Constantine the Great (306–337) to Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (944–959) [8]. The names of many emperors have Latin suffixes *-us* or *-os*, and it shows us that he knew Byzantine sources very well.

*Al-Hamadhani* writes that Byzantium is located between Syria and Mesopotamia, it extends westward from Antioche to Sicily and from Constantinople to Tulija [22, p. 136 (*Al-Hamadhani*. Compendium libri Kitab al-Boldân)]. He has preserved *Jahja ibn Halid Bermeki's* writing – he states that there are five emperors in the world and that the fifth

is Al-Kasir, the emperor of Byzantium. *Al-Hamadhani* cites that the majority of the inhabitants are Byzantines and Slavs who are Christians, read the gospels and abide by the Old Testament. Byzantines are skilled painters, they possess excellent knowledge of handicrafts, philosophy and medicine. *Al-Jakubi* mentions that the whole army of the Byzantine Empire, in cities and villages, totals to 40,000 soldiers [24 (*Al-Jakubi*. Kitâb al-Boldân)].

*Yahya al-Antaki*<sup>10</sup> wrote about Byzantine emperors and conflicts between Byzantines and Bulgars [37, p. 154–167 (*Yahya ibn Sa'id d'Antioche*. Ta'rikhu-l-Antaki)]. When Emperor Constantine fell ill he chose his relative Romanos Argyros as his successor, given that he didn't have a son. The emperor suspected that Romanos Argyros was hatching a plot to assume power and to overthrow him. However, after four days he turned him back to Constantinople, determined to marry him to his daughter Zoe, and gave him power. He told Romanos' wife that he heard about Romanos' plot and that he will blind him if she does not enter a monastic order. Since she loved her husband, she accepted and the emperor gave her a monastery that provided her an annual income. Romanos heard from the emperor what happened to his wife and patriarch Alexios married him with Zoe the same night. Five days later the emperor Constantine died at the age of sixty nine years. He ruled for twelve years after the death of his brother Basil.

*At-Tabari*<sup>11</sup> wrote about Slavic siege of Constantinople, as well as relationships between Byzantines and Muslims, Nikephoros and Harun ar-Rashid [18, p. 107, 222 (*At-Tabari*. Ta'rikh al-Rusul w-al-Mulûk)]. The Slavs ravaged all the villages on the way to Constantinople so, when they approached the city, the Byzantines closed it off. The Byzantine emperor turned to the Slav king saying that since they share the same religion, they should be able to negotiate. When the Byzantine emperor realised that the Slavs did not want the truce he rounded up all Muslims, armed them up and asked them for help. Muslims defeated the Slavs in such a way that the emperor himself got concerned about his empire's safety. He decided not only to disarm the Muslims but also had them scattered throughout the country. Further on, *At-Tabari* cites that Nikephoros gave him 5.000 dirhems, 10 bolts of silk brocade, 200 bolts of fine brocade, 12 falcons, 4 hunting dogs and three pack-horses as a gift.

Arabic authors write about *the Slavs* (*As-Sakaliba*) as a nation that was present during their expansion in almost all parts of Europe but contours are not clearly defined. According to *Ibn Rosteh* the Slavs scattered to all parts of Europe, through Ural and Volga, from the Atlantic Ocean to land Gog and Magog [24, p. 98 (*Ibn Rosteh*. Kitab

al-a'lâk An-Nafisa]). According to *Al-Masudi*, the border of the Slav territory reached Khazars, their settlements began on the north and expanded to the west [17, p. 27–29 (*Al-Masudi*. Murūj adh-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawāhir)]. The unknown author of the “Limits of the Universe” considers the Slav land to be the territory between the Bulgars and the Black Sea, the Russians and the uninhabited territories of the north. *Ibrahim ibn Jakubi* gives precise data and writes about the Slav lands from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Ocean but on the north side. On another occasion he mentions the Slavs as neighbours of Macedonia and Byzantine Empire, and so do *Al-Istakhri* and *Ibn Haukal*. *Al-Istakhri*, *Ibn Haukal* and *Al-Hamadhani* state that the Slavs settled around a great part of Europe.

In his division of the world into regions *Al-Masudi* placed the Slavs in the fifth part which includes the territory between Central Asia and Pyrenees. In that large and undefined area Arabic authors mention seas and rivers. On the south border of the Slavic territory is the Mediterranean Sea and on the north the Tule Sea (Baltic Sea). *Ibn Khordadbeh* and *Al-Masudi* mention the rivers Don and Danube. The banks of the Don are inhabited by numerous descendants of Jafet. On the Danube live Germans and Moravians, the river is three miles wide, and it is connected with Central Asia by waterways.

We find data about the Slavs mostly at *Al-Masudi* and *Ibn Jakubi* that have been writing about all Slav tribes and their organization [25, p. 39, 192 (*Al-Masudi*. Kitāb at-Tanbih Wa'l-Ischrāb); 24, p. 92–93 (*Al-Jakūbī*. Kitāb al-boldān)]. The Slavs are divided into two great blocks, the Slavs from the east and those from the west. *Al-Masudi* has written mostly about the Slavs on the east. Spanish Jew *Ibrahim ibn Jakubi* visited Western and Central Europe around 965 and left us a description of the western Slavs with clearly cited periods and data<sup>12</sup>. He cited that the Slavs formed four great lands, Bulgaria, Bohemia, Polska and Nakon. He has also described trade centers Prague (Faraga) and Krakow (Kraku) [11; 15, p. 251–257 (*Al-Bakri*. Al-Masālik w'al-Mamālik)].

The king Boleslav ruled in Bohemia. Famous cities in Bohemia were Prague (Faraga), Kaliva (Kalbe), Nubgrad (Novigrad, Ninburg), built of limestone at the mouth of Sala (Salva), and Boda (Buda) [29]. Prague is a city with people of unusually dark skin and black hair. The trip from Krakow (Kraku) to Prague takes around three weeks. The capital Prague is built of limestone and it is full of merchants, Russian, Slavic – from Krakow, Muslim Jewish and “Turkish” from the land of Hungarians, all trading in Byzantine currency. Prague supplies the market with slaves, tin and leather products. The majority of the people in

Bohemia are involved in trade and Bohemians are the most famous merchants among the northern countries.

The largest and by far most advanced of all Slav lands is Masku, ruled by Polish duke Miesko I from 960–992. They have ploughed fields in Masku and they produce a variety of foods, including meat and honey. This northern kingdom spends its month's worth of taxes on the fearless army of 3000 armoured soldiers – who can actually take place of ten times as many average soldiers – and it supplies them with equipment, clothes, horses and arms.

The neighbours of these kingdoms are the Russians – on the east side of the land of Miesko, and on the north are the Prussians (Burus), settled on the Baltic Sea. Prussians speak a different language, unintelligible for neighbouring nations, and are famous for their courage as they would rather die with a sword in their hand than to end in slavery. To the north-west of the kingdom of Miesko, in the area covered in swamps are Valtaba (Viltzes) – Slav people who do not respect any authority (not even the king's) other than that from the elders of their tribe. They are warriors, sailors and their capital city is located on the coast and has twelve gates and a carefully organised port. Among the neighbours of the Slavs other great nations can be found: Franks, Byzantines, Hungarians and Khazars with whom they fight and maintain commercial relations.

Slavic tribes live in cold, damp and dark areas, covered in dense forest, swamps and reed [24, p. 143–144 (*Ibn Rosteh*. Kitāb al-a'lâk An-Nafisa); 1, c. 132–133]. Springs and rivers are covered with thick ice, soil becomes hard as stone, breath becomes like glass around beard and it melts only in the warmth of a shelter. Melting of snow creates terrifying scenes on the rivers. The cold influenced the looks and character of the Slavs. The men are tall, big, tough and wild. Their complexion is very light, faces drawn with bluish hue, their skin is thin, eyes blue matching the complexion, and their hair is wavy and of reddish colour because of the humidity. Their religious beliefs are not consistent. They are brave warriors and, according to *Jakubi*, if they united they would be invincible.

The Slavs are descendants of Madjak, son of Jafet [17, p. 28 (*Al-Masudi*. Murūj adh-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawāhir); 15, p. 251–255 (*Al-Bakri*. Al-Masālik w'al-Mamālik)]. Heads of tribes are Kings, and the supreme ruler is duke. The Slavic lands cover a very large area of 2.450.000 square parasangs and are fairly densely populated. They wear linen tunics with sleeves tightened around the wrists and shoes laced up high. They live in wooden houses that they call *isba* [29, p. 289–294]. They do not have bathrooms, but they do make a kind of a steam bath that was described by *Ibn Jakubi*.

They close openings of their wooden houses with material that they collect on tree stumps and that looks like moss. In the corner of the house they build a furnace made of stone and on the opposite side, on the roof they open a window for the smoke to escape. They close the window as well as the doors once the furnace is hot. When it becomes red-hot, they pour water from a pail on it and then clouds of vapour appear. Then body breathes, pores open and heavy sweating clears body of toxins; this way they protect themselves from scabies and boils. *Ibn Rosteh* also described *isba* dug under ground. It becomes a house in which hot vapour is used for heating and members of the family live in this shelter naked until spring time [24, p. 145 (*Ibn Rosteh*. *Kitab al-a'lâk An-Nafisa*)].

The Slavs deal with agriculture and trade, and conveniently, there is an important route that leads from the middle Volga to Spain. Slavic merchants export beaver and fox leather. Slave trade is in full expansion in the Mediterranean basin. The slaves came from Maghreb and were transported to Egypt, Sicily, Spain and across Syria and Upper Mesopotamia toward Byzantium [23, p. 153–155 (*Ibn Khordadbeh*. *Kitâb al-masâlik wa'l mamâlik*)]. If the slaves are taken toward the east their masculinity is left intact, however those imported into or transferred through Spain by Jewish merchants are being castrated before the arrival. *Ibn Khordadbeh* and *Al-Mokaddasi* wrote about this procedure, its steps, and about opinion of educated people regarding the legal status of eunuch.

*Ibn Rosteh* wrote that the Slavs are friendly with foreigners and do not keep their prisoners captive for a very long time [24, p. 145–147 (*Ibn Rosteh*. *Kitab al-a'lâk An-Nafisa*); 1, c. 131]. There are many Slavic tribes, they can easily withstand cold, rain, nakedness and bad nutrition. A few Arabic authors preserved data about funeral rites of the Slavs [17, p. 29 (*Al-Masudi*. *Murûj adh-dhahab wa ma'âdin al-jawâhir*); 7, c. 53–57; 34, S. 102; 3; 38; 30; 5; 27; 31]. Archaeological finds confirm that the Slavs used to burn the remains of the deceased to ashes [9, c. 22; 4, c. 22–24; 6, c. 69]. *Ibn Rosteh* write that their escorts and women are going with them to death because the Slavic women used to follow their husbands willingly [24, p. 143–144 (*Ibn Rosteh*. *Kitab al-a'lâk An-Nafisa*); 2, c. 132]. Before the sacrifice, women would cut themselves on the hands and face. Then, they would be burnt or hung to death they would put the rope around their own neck or push the chair that they stood on themselves, and were then kept that way until the death took them. However, leaving this earth means mercy of God for them and the suicide only speeds up the invitation and is, therefore, accompanied by songs and music that celebrate this event. A

year later, a death anniversary is celebrated and on the burial mound, which houses the urn with the ashes of the deceased, the family drinks mead until they have finished off the batch gathered from twenty beehives or more. Such sacrifice of Slavs reminds more of the pagan customs practiced by nations of the East, susceptible to fire magic. *Al-Masudi* mentions that when the king of their tribe dies, the Serbs burn him on the stake in order to secure his eternal life [17, p. 27–28 (*Al-Masudi*. *Murûj adh-dhahab wa ma'âdin al-jawâhir*)]. He also cites in description of the Khazars that on the same side there are the Slavs and Russians who burn their deceased at the stake and that these are the Slav tribes that come from the east and expand toward the west.

*Al-Masudi* and *Al-Bakri* have described Slav temples – always built on mountains so they could connect the elements of nature with human activity. According to them the Slavs originate from Mar (Mad) ben Jafet, son of Nuh [15, p. 251 (*Al-Bakri*. *Al-Masâlik w'al-Mamâlik*)]. *Al-Masudi* cites that there are many different tribes who are at war with each other and that the head of each tribe was a king. Slav tribes were not Christians and they didn't have their own script or law. *Al-Masudi* mentioned tribe Astabrana (Astutrana, i.e. Oktotrrana or As-Sraba, or perhaps Serbs), then Dulvana (Dulaba), Namdjinn (Germans) as the most courageous Slav tribe, Manabanj (Manabin), Sartin (Sartin, that is Surbin, Serbs), Sasin (Sahin, in other words Czechs), Djarvanik (Hurvatinn, i.e. Croats), Hashanin (Djushanin, that is Gushanin, Guduschani) and the tribe Barabadjin (Brandjabin, that is Branitzabin, Branitzevci) [17 (*Al-Masudi*. *Murûj adh-dhahab wa ma'âdin al-jawâhir*); 13, c. 105–123; 34, S. 95–160].

According to *Al-Masudi* the first Slavic king was Dira succeeded by Avandj (Afrag). The king had a big city with many foreigners. Muslim merchants used to bring a variety of goods. The city had large areas and an army that fought the Byzantines, Franks, Langobards and other nations. Turks (Magyars) bordered with this Slavic kingdom.

*Ibn Rosteh* writes that the distance between the land of Pechenegs and the Slav land is ten days [24, p. 143–145 (*Ibn Rosteh*. *Kitab al-a'lâk An-Nafisa*)]. The Slav land is described as sandy, wooded, without vineyards and cultivated fields. *Ibn Rosteh* mentions that the head of Slavs is subandj, in other words zupan, head of a tribal state, to whom the people turn to in need and whose rules they obey. The Slavs call the superior head of all tribal heads svjat balk i.e. Swjatopulk, who controls all subandjes of a tribal state.

*Ibn Fadlan*<sup>13</sup> left an especially beautiful description of Bulgaria on Volga that he visited as a

member of a delegation of the caliph Al-Muktadir, upon the invitation of the Bulgarian king [31, p. 75–79 (*Ibn Fadlan*. *Rihla Ibn Fadlan ila bilad at-Turk, wa ar-Rus wa as-Saqaliba*)]. The delegation had a mission to try and convert Bulgarian population to Islam and make a new society according to Muslim norms. *Ibn Fadlan* departed with the delegation from Baghdad in 921. The impressions from this trip were written down in his work “Risala”, in which he provides detailed information in regards to organization of the kingdom, society, family, about topography, trade and food. *Ibn Fadlan* often calls Bulgars – the Slavs. They pay taxes to Khazars. Bulgarian market offers sheep and foxes. Important import are slaves that are brought in to Volga from the south. They grow wheat, barley and millet. Their main food is millet, horse meat and honey out of which they make mead. He saw walnut forests and they also have a lot of apple trees. They use only fish oil. Thunderstorms occur quite often in this country.

When a subject finds himself before the king he must take his caps off and put it under his arm. The same goes for all, even if he is the emperor’s brother or a child. When the emperor goes to the market everyone present must stand up and also take their caps off. The caps go back again only after the kings passed by. Their laws are very strict. Man and woman are allowed to go and take a bath together, but promiscuity is not permitted and the offenders are to be killed by hanging. Theft is sanctioned the same way as promiscuity.

*Abu Hamid*<sup>14</sup> wrote about the land of Slavs that he had reached coming out of the land of Bulgars, to whom the Slavs pay taxes. The Slavic country is very large and honey, wheat, barley and apples are plentiful. They live near a big river in which they hunt beavers. As a means of payment they use small pieces of marten leather put together in a bundle, *dzukna*. They have their laws, by which offenders who attacked women, children or animals must pay for the damage. Slavs are a brave nation. They accepted Byzantine beliefs, Christianity and Nestorinity, but they also believed in magic. He described the Slavic city Gorkoman populated with west Muslims, *Megariba*, to whom he was preaching *hutba* [14; 10, c. 119–130].

*The Frankish state* is described as a cold country with mountains, gorges, woods, rivers and numerous islands [26]. The Franks (*al-Ifranj*) live eastern from Spain. *Al-Istakhri* mentions that they belong to the Carolingian movement and assigns them king Charles. *Ibn Haukal* describes them as numerous and courageous people. The territory of the Frankish state is not completely clear but the Arab authors mention Western Europe. The Franks belong to the sixth climate area and the third group

of people together with the Slavs, Greek and the Byzantines. The Slavs are their neighbours on the east, on they southern border is the Mediterranean and a well-known gulf that stretches in the direction of Narbona. The Frankish Kingdom is two hundred miles long.

We find the most data on the Franks in the works of *Al-Masudi* and *Ibrahim ibn Jakubi* [17; p. 30 (*Al-Masudi*. *Murūj adh-dhahab wa ma’ādin al-jawāhir*)]. *Ibn Jakubi* mentions the Frank cities. The border between the western and the eastern part of the Carolingian Empire is not always obvious, thus *Al-Masudi* talks about Paris and the Frankish kings from Clovis and brings us back to what was once the Western Frankish Kingdom and afterwards France. *Ibn Jakubi* mentions Trier as the capital of the Franks then as the residence of Constantius Chlorus and in the end the capital of the Gaelic bishopric. *Ibn Khordadbeh* emphasizes the role of The Franks in the international trade [23, p. 92–93 (*Ibn Khordadbeh*. *Kitāb al-masālik wa’l mamālik*)]. *Al-Masudi* in “*Muruju dhahab*” does not talk about the Franks in general but as the Western Frankish state which shall become France after the Treaty of Verdun [17, p. 31 (*Al-Masudi*. *Murūj adh-dhahab wa ma’ādin al-jawāhir*); 35, S. 228]. After that he describes them as Christians and Melikites. He mentions that they cover large territories and have one hundred and fifty cities. The Franks constitute the confederation whose princes recognize the authority of the king in the capital Paris.

*Ibn Jakubi* describes the Frankish state as a great country, a vast kingdom of Christians. The cold there can be severe and the climate is harsh. The country is abundant in crops, fruit, wheat, rivers, herbs, trees, honey and all kind of wildlife. They have silver mines and silver is used for making excellent swords, sharper than those made in India. Franks respect their courageous and strong king who relies on his mighty army. According to *Ibn Jakubi*, there are no dirtier, meaner and ruder people than the Franks. They bathe only once or twice a year in cold water and they never wash their clothes that they wear until they are completely worn out. They shave but their beards always grow back wild and rough. *Ibn Jakubi* gives us a lot of data on the Frankish cities and islands that he probably visited during his voyages: Bordeaux, Saint-Malo, Rouen, Utrecht, Aix-la Chapelle, Mainz, Soest, Paderborn, Schleswig, Augsburg [32, p. 125–143 (*Ibrahim ibn Jakubi*. *Ta’rikh al-Jaqubi*); 15 (*Al-Bakri*. *Al-Masālik w’al-Mamālik*)].

It is known that *the Burgundians* (*Burajan*), along with the Franks and the Galicians, were the victims of Bulgar incursions but they also invaded Muslim Spain themselves [36, p. 134–136]. *Ibn Rosteh* states that one had to sail for three days

from Rome to reach the king of the land of the Burgundians [24, p. 132 (*Ibn Rosteh*. Kitāb al-a'lāk An-Nafisa)]. Marquart supposes that this king is meant to be Charles the Bald who became King of Burgundy in 879. *Ibn Haukal* uses the adjective *burjan* to refer to one of the languages spoken in the land of Venetia, either Provencal or some other Occitan language of the large and ill-defined area governed by Charles the Bald [20, p. 13 (*Ibn Haukal*. Via et regna, descriptio ditionis moslemicae); 35, p. 228].

*Al-Masudi* tells us that, of all the surrounding nations, the greatest danger to Muslim Spain (Al-Andalus) was posed by the kingdom of *Galiccia* (*Al-Djalalika*) [17, p. 31–32 (*Al-Masudi*. Murūj adh-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawāhir)]. Spain waged war against the Franks but the Galicians posed the most substantial threat. The Spanish sovereign, Abd ar-Rahman bin Mohammed, murdered his vizier, Ahmed bin Ishak; the vizier's brother, Umayya, had lived in the border town of Shantarin, or Santarem in present-day Portugal, deserted Abd ar-Rahman. He crossed over to the Galician King Radimir [Ramiro] offering help against the Muslims. Radimir is a Slav-ic name, with the typical suffix *-mir*.

Radimir received Umayya with honours and appointed his minister. Masudi described the battle between Radimir and Abd ar-Rahman, who was campaigning against the Samures in the Kingdom of Galicia in 939. After the initial success, the Muslims were finally overpowered by Galicians. Muslims suffered a great loss of lives and Galicians won. Radimir intended to get his hands on the treasure and luxuries carried in the enemy's baggage train but Umayya bin Ishak prevented him from doing so thereby saving the Muslims from the total disaster. Following this battle, Umayya left Radimir and Abd ar-Rahman took him back. Abd ar-Rahman, the sovereign of Spain, won a number of victories against the Galicians who lost many men in battle. Radimir continued to rule Galica after the conflict in 947. *Al-Masudi* also mentions Ordono (Arduwan), the descendant of Alfonso (Abdushan), as having reigned before Radimir. Regarding the Galicians he mentions that they, like the Franks, are also Christians and that they practice the Melkite rites.

*The Lombards* (*Al-Anqubard*) inhabited most of Italy ever since Frankish times. The Lombards, or *Lubardiyyun*, *Anqubard*, or *Nuqubard*, as they were called by Arab travellers, were actually two distinct groups. *Ibn Rosteh* is familiar only with the Northern Lombards, dwelling around their capital of *Pavia*, which he described as seminomadic [24, p. 132 (*Ibn Rosteh*. Kitāb al-a'lāk An-Nafisa)]. Two fast flowing rivers, the Tessino and the Po, flow around the large city that stretches six miles or some twelve kilometres in diameter. The land is

rich in fruit, especially olives, that is in the vicinity of Pavia for outside of this fortunate region the valley is waterless and barren. The Lombards are Christians who live like the Kurds do, under tents or in timber houses. The area they inhabit stretches all the way to Rome. *Al-Masudi* calls the Lombards the descendants of Japhet, mighty and fearless, inhabiting several islands [17, p. 34 (*Al-Masudi*. Murūj adh-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawāhir)]. He says that they are ruled by a Duke and that their territory stretches from the Magreb to the north – this shows how little was known of the Lombard presence in all of Italy. Considered overall, these people are primarily northern – they belong with the Galicians, Franks and Slavs.

On the other hand, *Ibn Haukal* knows only of Southern Lombardy which he distinguishes from the neighbouring Calabria [20, p. 73 (*Ibn Haukal*. Via et regna, descriptio ditionis moslemicae)]. The area the Lombards inhabit stretches all the way to Rome. *Ibn Haukal* avoids describing all Langobard cities on his map. He simply refers to Amalfi as one of the richest and fairest of all Lombard cities. The neighbouring Naples has no equals when it comes to making linen cloth, which is sold at a very low price despite its quality.

*Ibn Khordadbeh* and *Ibn Rosteh* described *Rome* (Rumi) and its miracles. According to *Ibn Khordadbeh*, Rome is surrounded by sea from three sides [23, p. 104, 113–115 (*Ibn Khordadbeh*. Kitāb al-masālik wa'l mamālik)]. In the city is the Church of Saint Peter and Paul. The church is 150 meters long, 200 meters wide and 50 meters tall. *Ibn Khordadbeh*'s description of Rome is certainly exaggerated. According to him, there are one thousand and two hundred churches, all markets are paved with white marble and there are forty thousand bathrooms. He describes a church, one mile long, which is compared to the temple in Jerusalem. Beyond the fortified part of Rome, there are one thousand and two hundred cells for monks. *Ibn Khordadbeh* wrote that Rome is an old capital that was ruled by a succession of twenty-nine kings. Constantine the Great moved the capital to Byzantium. The town was fortified with walls and named Constantinople. So it became the capital of Byzantium.

*Ibn Rosteh*'s description of Rome is very similar to the description of *Ibn Khordadbeh* but there are certain differences [24, p. 54 (*Ibn Rosteh*. Kitāb al-a'lāk An-Nafisa)]. According to him, there are twenty-four churches in the town. There are one thousand and two hundred secondary churches for everyday prayer and twenty-three thousand big monasteries. All city churches have vessels made of gold and silver; 10,000 crosses made of gold, silver, iron and carved copper encrusted with more gold. There are 48,000 priests and their number

does not increase but rather when a priest dies he is replaced by a new one.

According to *Al-Bakri*, the country of *Thrace* borders with Constantinople on the east, on the south is a big sea and on the west it spreads to *Macedonia* and the country of *Thessaly* [15, p. 57 (*Al-Bakri*. *Al-Masâlik w'al-Mamâlik*)]. He states that Macedonia was called *Mamaria Mashtaka* in the past by the name of its king *Mamarish*. The Thracians mostly occupy themselves with horses so they introduced horse training and calking. *Al-Bakri* mentions two groups of *the Bulgarians* [15, p. 67 (*Al-Bakri*. *Al-Masâlik w'al-Mamâlik*)]. *Burjan* is his name for the Danubian Bulgarians with a large kingdom. Bulgar warriors fight on horseback. They are at war with the Byzantines, Slavs, Khazars and Turks. They are the most powerful neighbours of the Byzantines, whose capital of Constantinople is 15 days' trip away from the Bulgar lands. They worship fire. When a man dies they lay him in a deep tomb, lower his wife and servant into it alongside him and leave them there until they die. Once dead they are all burnt along with the deceased. *Bulqar*, or *Al-Bulgar*, is the name given to the Bulgars converted to Islam and living along the lower course of the Volga, whose king is *Almas*. Their land is three days' trip away from the land of *Brdas*. The Bulgars live between the land of *Brdas* and the land of the Slavs. They inhabited the banks of the river *Itil*, but there are not many of them; only some 500 homesteads.

#### Примечания

1. Al-Idrisi, Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdallah ibn Idris (middle of XII century, 1099/1100–1164/5/6), the best known Arabic geographer, was born in Ceuta, of Spanish-Arabic parents. His family belonged to successors of the Prophet Muhammad and Idrisid's dynasty, emir of Morocco, so they appeared in his last works under name *sheriff al-Idrisi*. After studies in Cordova, in Muslim Spain he spent several years traveling, and arrived to Palermo in 1138 invited by the King of Sicily. He was a famous geographer and cartographer in the court of Norman king Roger in Sicily, and after his death for his son William I. His work «*Kitab nuzhat al-mušqat fi ihtiraq al-afaq*» («*Rest of the Man who is Longing to Travel Through Lands*»), was written in 1154 in Palermo. It is known under title «*Al-Kitab al-Rudjar*» (Roger's book), because it was written at king's order. He mentions *Ibn Khordadbeh*, geographer from IX century, in his book, as well as several famous geographers from X century, *Al-Jakûbî*, *Ibn Haukal* and *Al-Masudi*. It was important for his work that he lived in Sicily, because he got there data from European and Arabic geographers. He wrote on the basis of data of observers that were sent in different countries and on the basis of impressions from his travels. Besides this important work, he constructed celestial sphere and map of the world in the shape of silver disk for his spon-

sor Roger II. There were engraved lines on disk, that marked borders of seven regions of the inhabited world. Barons from Sicily rose against William in 1169, and burned many documents and books including new Latin edition of Idrisi's book. The map and silver disk disappeared. His book was the first geographical work edited in Europe, under title without text in Latin. Two Christian teachers of Arabic, *Gabriel Sionita* (*Jibril al-Sihyawani*) and *Joan Hesronita* (*Yuhanna al-Hasruni*) published in Paris Latin translation of Arabic version from 1592. under title «*Geographia Nubiensis*» in 1619 [16 (*Al-Idrisi*. *Kitab Nuzhat al-Mušqat fi Ihritaq al-Afaq*)].

2. *Ibn Al-Fakih Al-Hamadani*, (IX century, died in 945.) is Iranian geographer and archeologist who wrote in Arabic. He got his nickname after the city and region *Hamadan* where he was born. *De Goeje* prepared edition of his book, «*Kitâb al-Buldân*», with introduction which includes data of *Ibn al-Nadim* and *Al-Mokaddasi* about *Al-Fakih*. According to *Ibn al-Nadim*, it is not certain that title of the book is «*Kitâb al-Buldân*», because the first page and introduction are lost. In *Al-Mokaddasi's* opinion he wrote 5 volumes that *Al-Mokaddasi* criticizes for the lack of precision. It seems that *Ibn Fakih's* original work was lost, but that there are three manuscripts containing shortened versions, and the fourth was discovered only after *De Goeje's* edition was published. The abridged edition was probably prepared by *Abu'l Hasan 'Ali bin Djafar al-Shajzari*. He wrote around the year of 903 and died in *Sana*.

3. *Ibn Rosteh*, *Abû 'Ali Ahmed ibn Umar ibn Rosta Isfahani*, (IX/X century, died in 903/913.), Persian geographer who wrote in Arabic. We know only few biographic data about him. It is well known that he was born in the district of *Rosta*, *Isfahan* in *Persia* and that he travelled to *Hidjaz* in 290/903. In the work «*Kitab al-'lâk An-Nafisa*» he gave a particularly beautiful description of *Constantinople*, the land of *Slavs*, *Bulgars*, *Russians* and *Khazars*. The description of the native *Isfahan* and a trip to *Novgorod* with *Russians* are credible, while the data about *Khazars*, *Hungarians* and *Slavs* come from other sources. He preserved *Al-Djarmi's* division of the *Byzantine provinces*. He probably wrote from 290-300/903-13. It can be seen from his detailed work, which could be classified in short encyclopaedia of history and geography, that the author was very well educated and talented in writing.

4. *Al-Istakhri*, *Abu Ishak Ibrahim ibn Muhamad al-Farisi al-Istakhri*, (X century, born about 900) was famous only for one work he authored. His biography does not appear in any standard Arabic biography, and all that we know about him is that he met *Ibn Haukal* (943–969), who wrote under his influence. He wrote mostly about Islamic lands and the Mediterranean with a description of added maps. His work «*Kitâb al-masâlik wa'l mamâlik*» («*The Book of Roads and Kingdoms*»), can be dated only on the basis of the described events to approximately 950/1 (934). It had become very popular, so there were several early abridged editions, as well as translations into Persian, that were quite different.

5. *Ibn Haukal*, *Abu'l-Kasim ibn 'Ali al-Nasibi* (ibn *Mumamad?*) *ibn Haukal*, (X century, died after 977) is Arabic geographer and chronicler. He was born in *Nisibis* (*Nasibin*) in *Mesopotamia*. At *Al-Istakhri's* request,

he edited his geographical maps, enlarged text, and published it under his name in 976/7 titled «Al-Masâlik w'al-Mamâlik» («Roads and Kingdoms»), famous also under title: «Kitâb Sûrat al-ard» («The Book of Description of the Earth»). Ibn Haukal and his contemporary Al-Mokaddasi were the best representatives of geographers that wrote on the basis of their trips and direct observation. The text that we know today is a result of three versions, the first (from 961 ?) of which appeared before 96 when ruler Hamdanid Sasif al-Davla died, to whom the text was dedicated, the second edition that appeared one decade later, and the final version written about 988. Besides Ibn Haukal's work which was published M.J. De Goeje in 1873, one more abridged edition of anonymous author from 1233 is also known.

6. Al-Mokaddasi, Shams al-Din Abu'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Bakr al-Banna' al-Shami al-Mukaddasi or Al-Makdisi, (X century, born 945/6, died at the end of X century or after 1000.) He was born in Jerusalem (Bayt al-Maqdisi) and got his name after this city. He is known by the name of Al-Bashari. He was the best representative of the Arabic geography in the second half of the X century, and Jakut mentioned him as Udabâ'. We know about his life only from the book «Ahsanu 'l-Taqâsim fi ma'rifati 'l Aqâlim» («The best description for introducing geographic areas», known also under the name of «Descriptio imperii moslemici»), which is a collection of his impressions after twenty years of traveling through the Caliphate. His work is published in 985/6 and edited in 988.

7. Ibn Khordadbeh, Abul-Kasim Ubajdallah ibn-Abdalah, ibn Hurdadbeh (IX c. died about 885) was Persian director of post offices and intelligence officer in Djibal (Media). He comes from the province Horasan that in IX century included north part of Persia and Afghanistan. He is well known for his nickname Ibn Khordadbeh, that points out to his origins, as the word Hordabe i.e. Hudrabi in Persian means «a beautiful gift of the Sun». His function of the director of the post had a rather political meaning, because it united the function of a political agent and a chief of police, since he was permanently in contact with viziers and caliphs that were informed about the mood of the population and the behaviour of the clerks. The chief of police had a list of clerks and correspondents who submitted reports from their regions. In case of war, director of the posts made maps of the itineraries. From 880 until his death (912?) he lived at caliph's court in Baghdad and he was a friend of caliph Mutamid (869–892) and his successor. According to Mukaddasi, he was one of Mutamid's principal viziers. Ibn Khordadbeh was a highly educated man. Ibn an-Nadim presented to us the titles of his works: 1. Kitab adab as-sima (The Book on Art of Singing); 2. Kitab adab as-sima (The Book on Art of Singing); 3. Kitab gamhara ansab al-Furs wa'n-nawafil (Collection of Genealogy of the Persians of the Displaced Nations); 4. Kitab al-masalik wa'l-mamalik (The book of Roads and Kingdoms); 5. Kitab at-tanbih (The Cookbook); 5. Kitab al-lahw wa'l-malahi (The Book on Playing Musical Instruments); 6. Kitab as-šarab (The Book of Wines); 7. Kitab an-nudama' wa'l-gulasa' (The Book of Orators and Participants at Meetings). Masudi mentions that Ibn Khordadbeh wrote historical work «Kitâb al-

masâlik wa'l mamâlik» («The Book of Roads and Kingdoms»), the first geographical work in Arabic, 844. He cited a list of post stations and distances between them per provinces. He preserved Al-Djarmi's division of the Byzantine Empire into 14 provinces. There are at least two manuscripts «Kitâb al-masâlik wa'l mamâlik», and one of them is kept in the Bodleian library in Oxford, and the other in the library in Vienna. Barber de Mejnard mentions one more, unavailable manuscript that had allegedly existed in Istanbul.

8. Al-Bakri, Abu Abdullah Al-Bakri, (XI century, 1004? /1014–1094) was a Spanish-Arabic geographer and historian. He was born in Huelva, as a son of the province's governor. He spent his life in Cordova and he never travelled to all these places that he described in his book «Al-Masâlik w'al-Mamâlik» («Roads and Kingdoms»). This work appeared in 1068 on the basis of reports of merchants and travellers, including Jusuf al-Varak and Ibrahim ibn Jakûbî. He wrote about Europe, North Africa, and Arabic peninsula. He described people, their customs, geography, climate and capitals of regions. Unfortunately, some parts of his book are lost.

9. Al-Masudi, Abul Hasan Ali ibn Husain Ali al-Masudi, (IX/X century. 871-956/7.) introduced a thematic method of writing for Arabs. Instead of writing about events in a chronological order, he grouped them around dynasties, kings and nations. He was born in Baghdad, in a family from Kufa, where he spent his youth. He was one of the most educated Arabs of his time. He spent his last years in Fustat, editing his works and writing new ones, first of all the book «Kitâb at-Tanbih wa'l-Ischrâf» in which he explained his philosophy about minerals, plants and animals. Unfortunately, only a part of this book is preserved which he finished before his death in Djumada. In one part of this work he mentions Christian authors that he knew and comments their works. He made a map of the world and wrote that the Earth is round, before the Christians in Europe were ready to accept that idea. He spent the last decade of his life in Syria and Egypt gathering material for his work, encyclopaedia of world history, «Akhbar az-zaman» («History of Time») in thirty volumes, and only one is preserved in Vienna. By Burkgardart in the library of St. Sofia in Istanbul there is an incomplete copy of this work, which consists of 20 big volumes, and at the beginning of this work it can be seen that at least 10 copies are missing. In Bodleian library in Oxford there is a manuscript which is presumed to be a volume of Al-Masudi's history. He prepared an addition under title «Kitab al-Awsat» in which he explained historical events in a chronological order. History of time has come to us in abridged edition under title «Murûj adh-dhahab wa ma'âdin al-jawâhir» («Golden Meadows and Mines of Precious Stones»). In this historical-geographical work he handed down impressions from his trips all around the world and ventured out of the frame of Muslim topics. For the first time one Arabic author combined in his work history and geography. He has used at least sixty five written sources for this work including, as an addition to the Arabic text, translation of Plato, Aristotle and Ptolemy, as well as Arabic version of Pahlavi literature. This work was corrected and filled in several times. The first edition of this book was edited in 943. He finished a new one in Basra

in 947 and the last in 956. «Murūj» is divided in two volumes. Arabic historiography reached the top in the works of At-Tabari, Al-Masudi, and already in the middle of XI century numerous studies appeared on the basis of Masudi's work [25 (*Al-Masudi*. Kitāb at-Tanbih Wa'l Ischrāf); 17 (*Al-Masudi*. Murūj adh-dhahab wa ma'ādin al-jawāhir)].

10. Yahya ibn Sa'id al-Antaki, (time of Basil II, 976–1025; died in 1066.) was Arabic historian and physician. He was born in Fatimid's Egypt where, as a Christian, was connected with melikits patriarch Eutih from Alexandria, but he was not his son as it was said. Caliph Al-Hakim bin-Amr Allah exiled Christians, and this forced him to go to Antioche, which was under Byzantine rule at that time. In his work «Ta'rikhu-l-Antaki» («History of Antioch») he gave history of Byzantine rulers and Bulgarians, Egypt and Kievan Rus. His book is a continuation of Eutiche's history and includes period from 938–1034.

11. At-Tabari, Abu Djafar Muhamad ibn Djarir at-Tabari (IX–X century, 838/9–923) is Arabic historian born in Amol, capital of Taberistan, hilly region of Persia, south of the Caspian Sea. His name means the father of Djafar, named by the prophet Muhamed, son of Djarrir, from the province Taberistan. He studied in Ray, Baghdad, Syria and Egypt. He was admired for his education, memory and voluminous works. He was one of the earliest, the most important Persian and Muslim historians and interpreters of Koran. He wrote «Ta'rikh al-Rusul w-al-Mulūk» («Annals of Prophets and Kings») or «Tarikh al-Tabari» («Tabari's History»), in 12 volumes, the first great historical work in Arabic. He tells events in a chronological order, according to the years of the hegira. «Tabari's history» was a source of information for future generations of historians of the Islamic world. The second famous work is «Al-musamma Jami al-bayan fi ta'wil al-Qur'an», or «Tafsir al-Tabari» («The Comments of Koran»), that is very detailed as the Annals. He started his third book «Sahaba» («Muhamad's successors»), which he never finished. Tabari's work was translated into Persian and Turkish language, and translations soon replaced the original.

12. Ibrahim ibn Jakubi, (X century) is the Arabic name of the Sephardim traveler, merchant and chronicler, Abraham bin Jakob from Spain. Between 965. and 971. he traveled across West and Central Europe. Al-Bakri wrote memories and comments from this trip in his book «Masālik w'al-Mamālik» («Roads and Kingdoms»). His work is best known for the first reliable description of Poland during the reign of Miesko I. He arrived in Poland as a slave merchant [32; 15 (*Al-Bakri*. *Al-Masālik w'al-Mamālik*)].

13. Ibn Fadlan, Ahmad ibn Fadlan ibn al-Abbas ibn Rasid ibn Hammad (beginning of X century). He went from Baghdad as an ambassador of caliph Al-Muktadir to Bulgarian king on the Volga. His task was to give money to the king for building a castle, gifts and to read him the caliph's letter. By king's request, he brought with him teachers that the caliph sent to teach Bulgars the Islamic laws. Although they have arrived to Bulgarians the mission failed, because they were not able to gather money, so they had to leave Baghdad on 21/06/921. The Bulgarians got that money next year. Ibn

Fadlan went from Baghdad to Buhara and Horesm. They passed through lands of the Oguz, Pecheneges and Bashirs. At the end they arrived to Bulgarian towns and lakes on the Volga on 12/06/922. When they finished their mission, the delegation returned to Baghdad. He described his trip in his work «Rihla Ibn Fadlan ila bilad at-Turk, wa ar-Rus wa as-Saqaliba» («Trip of Ibn Fadlan Through the Lands of Turks, Russians and Slavs»). It was known only as an incomplete version, under the wrong name «Risala». A few copies were in circulation. When the manuscript was discovered in Mashad, a few editions, translations, studies were published and the most important works were written by I. Krachkovsky, A. Kovalevsky, A. Zeki Velidi Togan, K. Czeglédy and M. Canard [3; 5; 27; 30; 38]. Although the manuscript from Mashad is not original, it presents important historical, geographical and ethnographic works which show that Ibn Fadlan had extraordinary powers of observation and memory that enabled him to hand down important information about people, including Russians and Khazars, that he was able see or he heard about them during his trips. The author only writes down his impressions, but he does not reason on it, and does not give any conclusions.

14. Abu Hamid al-Garnati al-Andalusi (XII century, 1080/81.–1189/70.) was born in Granada 1080–1081 and died in Damascus in 1169–1170. He left his native country early, travelled and found a patron in Baghdad, vizier Avnud-din ibn Hubajra, to whom he dedicated his work. He left for Persia in 1130 and to Saksin, town in the mouth of Volga, and further across the land of Volga Bulgarians to Hungary and the land of Slavs. In his book Abu Hamid wrote about nations from Andalusia to Middle Asia, and of particular interest is the part in which he described his three years' stay among Slavs and Muslims in South Hungary (1151–1153.), that is, in West Srem. Manuscript is discovered in the Royal Historical Library in Madrid in 1952. C.E. Dubler translated the manuscript into modern Arabic language, and soon published it in Spanish with comments [14]. The original manuscript does not have the title «El-Mu'rebu and beada adzaibi Magreb», but this title was probably given by later historians. The manuscript consists of 149 folia and Dubler published a part of that text, fol. 96a-114a. The text is divided into 41 chapters.

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**MEDITERRANEAN IN THE WORKS  
OF THE EARLY MEDIEVAL ARABIC GEOGRAPHERS AND HISTORIANS**

*I. Cvijanovic*

The paper is based on the Arabic sources dealing with the history and geography of the Mediterranean from the 9th – 12th centuries. In the works of nine Arabic travel writers, natural-geographical characteristics of the Mediterranean, seas and rivers are described, and a description is given of some regions and nations settled in the territories.

*Keywords:* Mediterranean, Medieval lands, Arabic sources, Early Middle Ages.

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