ARABIC SOURCES ON THE NORSE
ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND NOTES
BASED ON THE TEXTS EDITED BY ALEXANDER SEIPPEL
IN RERUM NORMANNICARUM FONTES ARABICI

by

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INTRODUCTION

Oriental sources on the Norse, and the Arabic sources in particular, have been of interest to medieval scholarship in recent years. References to the Norse are scattered throughout the vast mass of medieval Arabic historical and geographical literature. Professor Alexander Seippel has edited the Arabic texts concerned with this subject in his *Rerum Normannicarum fontes arabici* (Oslo, 1896-1928). It has been translated into Norwegian by Professor Harris Birkeland and used extensively by Arne Melvinger in his doctorate dissertation *Les premières incursion de Vikings en Occident d'après les sources arabes* (Uppsala, 1955).

I have undertaken the task of translating Seippel into English, with the exception of the two passages from Ibn Isfandiyār's *Ṭārīkh Tabaristān* and the poem of al-Mutanabbi, the former being written in Persian.

Both the historical facts reported by the Arab writers and the medieval Arab's conception of world geography are of great value and interest to medieval scholars. An attempt has been made to identify as many place, personal and other names as possible. Some names were identified on the basis of their phonetic similarity to what seemed to be the same names as known in Western sources; others were "identified" by sheer guessing; while others still resist identification.
It is important to note, however, that the sources gathered here are not concerned merely with the Northmen. Many other peoples have been reported: European, Central Asiatic, and even legendary peoples such as the Gog Magog, the Amazons, and the Qarqaz who "have horns and small eyes."

I take the pleasure of acknowledging my heavy debt to Professor Robert L. Reynolds for his help, encouragement and guidance in each and every step of the work on this project.

A.I.S.
Short Biographies

The following are brief biographical notes on some of the authors whose writings have been translated in the following pages. For more complete biographical notes consult Georg Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* and Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*.

I

Ibn Khurdādhbih

Abu-al-Qāsim 'Aubaydullāh ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Khurdādhbih was born about A.D. 825, flourished in Media and later in Sāmarrā where he died c. 912. His most important work is the book of Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik (composed c. 846).

II

Al-Ya'qūbi

Abīd Ya'qūb ibn Ja'far ibn Wahb ibn Wādiḥ was a Shi'ite historian who flourished in Khurāsān and Armenia; and he died after 891. His most important work is Kitāb al-Buldān (composed ca. 891).
III
Ibn al-Faqīh

Abu-Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī was born in Hamadhān. He composed (c. 903) his book Kitāb al-Buldān which has been lost but frequently quoted by other writers.

IV
Ibn Rusteh

Abu 'Ali Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn Rusteh is a Persian geographer who flourished in Isfahān (c. 903) where he composed his Al-A‘lāq al-Nafīsah.

V
Ibn al-Bahlūl

Abu al-Ḥasan ibn al-Bahlūl (Syr. bar Bahlūl) was a Syriac Nestorian lexicographer of the second half of the tenth century. He compiled, probably in Baghdad, a great Syriac dictionary.

VI
Ibn Faḍlān

Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān ibn ʿAbbās ibn Rashīd ibn Ḥammād was a muslim traveler; he was sent, in 921, by the Caliph al-Muqtadīr as an ambassador to the King of the Volga Bulgars.
VII

Ibn al-Biṭrīq

Saʿīd ibn al-Biṭrīq was born in Fustat, Egypt (876), became the Melchite Patriarch of Alexandria from 933 until 940, the year of his death.

VIII

Al-Iṣṭakhri

Abu Isḥāq ʿIrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Fārisī al-Iṣṭakhri, of Persepolis, Persia flourished in the middle of the tenth century. His major work is Masālik al-Mamālik which contains colored maps.

IX

Al-Masʿūdī

Abu al-Hasan ʿAlī ibn al-Husayn ibn ʿAlī al-Masʿūdī was born in Baghdad c. 912 and died in Cairo in 957. Al-Masʿūdī is styled the "Herodotus of the Arabs"; he inaugurated among Arab writers the topical method in historical writing. Al-Masʿūdī had traveled extensively, and his travels carried him as far as Zanzibar. In 947 he wrote his monumental work Murūj al-Dhahab wa Maṣādir al-Jawhar.
Ibrāhīm ibn Ya‘qūb

He was a Jewish merchant and traveler who traveled (in 965) into Germany and visited the court of Otto I the Great at Magdeburg (emperor 936-973).

Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Abd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Qūṭiyyah (i.e. son of the Gothic woman). Born, flourished and died (977) in Cordova. He was both an historian and an Arabic grammarian.

Abu al-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn Hawqal (c. 943-977) of Baghdad was a traveler and geographer. He met al-Iṣṭakhri who requested him to revise the latter’s geography. He published it under his own name about 977.

Abu ʿAbd-Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abu Bakr al-Muqaddasi (or al-Maqdisi) was born in Jerusalem (947). He visited most of Islam and compiled a book on geography (Ahsan al Taqāsīm fī Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm).
XIV

Ibn Abī Yaʿqūb al-Nadīm

Abu al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn abī Yaʿqūb al-Nadīm al-Warrāq (d. 995) was an historian and bibliographer. He compiled an Index of Sciences (Fihrist al-ʿUlūm) which probably contained the catalogue of the libraries of Alexandria and Pergamum. A very small fraction of the number of books quoted in al-Fihrist now exist.

XV

Al-ʿUtbi

Ibn Abd-al-Jabbar al-ʿUtbi flourished at the court of Maḥmūd, the son of Subuktīgin (999-1030) whose capital was Ghaznah to the north of India. His most famous work is Kitāb al-Yamīnī.

XVI

Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd

He is the continuer of the work of Eutychius (ibn al-Bīṭrīq). He flourished in the first half of the eleventh century.
XVII
Al-Bayrūnī

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bayrūnī (or Bīrūnī) was born in Khwārizm (973) and died in Ghazna (1048). He was a Persian with agnostic religious tendencies and anti-Arab feelings. He was a traveler, philosopher, scientist and geographer. Al-Bayrūnī's scope of knowledge were almost without parallel in medieval times.

XIX
Ibn Ḥayyān

Abū Marwān Ḥayyān ibn Khalaf ibn Ḥusayn ibn Ḥayyān was born at Cordova in 987-88 and died in 1076. His most important work is the 60 volume Kitāb al-Matīn.

XX
Al-Bakri

Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz ibn Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb ibn ʿAmr was born in Huelva, Spain and died in 1094. His greatest work is the book of Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik.
XXI
Al-Idrīsī

Abu ʿAbdillāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdillāh ibn Idrīs was one of the greatest Arab geographers of the Middle Ages. He was born in Ceuta (1099), studied in Cordova and flourished in Palermo. His great work "The Book of Roger" (also called Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-ʿAfāq) contains the description of the world as known to the Middle Ages. He also compiled a geographical encyclopaedia for William I which is larger than the Book of Roger. Al-Idrīsī died in 1166.

XXII
Yāqūt

Abu Abdillāh Yāqūt ibn ʿAbdillāh Shilāb-al-Dīn al-Ḥamawi was one of the greatest Muslim travelers and geographers. He was born in Asia Minor (c. 1179) of Greek parents, and died at Aleppo in 1229. In his youth he had been a slave. His greatest work was Muʿjam al-Buldān, a geographical dictionary. "It is a storehouse of information not simply on geography, but also on history, ethnography, and natural history."
XXIII
Ibn al-Athir

Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn Muhammād ʾĪzz-al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr was born in 1160 in Mesopotamia; his father became governor of Mosul in 1180 where Ibn al-Athīr spent most of his time. He was a great medieval chronicler. His major work is the Al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh; but he also wrote several other works.

XXIV
Siḥṭ Ibn al-Jawzi

Abu al-Muẓaffar Yusuf ibn Qizughli ibn Abdillāh Shams al-Dīn (1186–1257); often referred to as Siḥṭ ibn al-Jawzi. His father was a Turkish slave of the vizier ibn Hubayrah (d. 1165). He was born in Baghdad and was educated by his maternal grandfather, the famous ibn al-Jawzi. He compiled a world history (Miṭāṭ al-Zāmar) which has survived in part. He also compiled several other works.

XXV
Ibn al-ʾAmīd
(Al-Makīn)

ʾAbdullāh ibn ʿAbī-al-Yāsir ibn Abī al-Makārīm ibn al-Amīd was born in Cairo (c. 1205) of a Christian family. He died in Damascus (c. 1274) after an unsuccessful political career. His major work (Al-Majmūʿ al-Mubārak) is an important chronicle which was one of the earliest Arabic works to reach the West.
XXVI
Naṣīr al-Dīn

He was born in 1201 and died in 1274. He was a philosopher, mathematician, astronomer, physician and scientist. He wrote in both Arabic and Persian.

XXVII
Ibn Sa'īd

Abu al-Ḥasan 'Ali ibn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad al-Maghribi was born in 1208-9 or 1214 in Spain, and studied in Seville. His travels led him to be the guest of Hūlagū in Armenia. He died at Damascus in 1274-5 (or at Tunis in 1286-7).

His main work is the geographical book of Bast al-Ard fi Tūlihā wa al-'Arq which is based upon Ptolemy and al-Idrisi.

XXVIII
Al-Qazwīnī

Abu Yaḥyā Zakariyyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī was born at Qazwīn, Persia (1203). He became for some time qādī in Wāsiṭ and Ḥillah, Iraq; he died in 1283. He was of great knowledge but poor critical spirit; his two main works are 'Ajā'īb al-Makhlūqāt (Cosmography) and 'Ajā'īb al-Buldān (Geography).
XXIX
Al-Shirāzi

Maḥmūd ibn Masʿūd ibn Muṣliḥ Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzi was born at Shirāz in 1236. He was the pupil of al-Ṭūsī. He held some political and diplomatic posts. He died in Tabrīz in 1311. He wrote many treatises: in geometry, astronomy, geography, physics, medicine, philosophy and religion.

XXX
Ibn al-'Idhārī

A Moroccan historian who lived toward the end of the thirteenth century. He wrote Al-Bayān al-Mughrīb, a history of Africa and Spain.

XXXI
Al-Waṭwāṭ

Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥya al-Waṭwāṭ Jamāl al-Dīn al-Anṣāri al-Kutubi al-Warrāq was born in 1235 and died in 1318. He wrote an encyclopaedia of natural science and geography.
XXXII
Al-Dimashqi

Shams al-Dīn Abu 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Ṭālib was a Syrian cosmographer (d. 1326). His main work is the book of Nukhbat al-Dahr fī 'Ajā'ib al-Barr wa al-Bahr, a cosmographical treatise.

XXXIII
Abu al-Fidā'

Abu al-Fidā' Isma'īl ibn 'Ali, 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī was born in Damascus (1273) for the famous Ayyūbid family of Saladin. In spite of his busy military life, Abu al-Fidā' did not neglect his education. He died at Hamah in 1331.

His main works are Mukhtasar Tārīkh al-Bashar and Taqwīm al-Buldān.

XXXIV
Al-Nuwayri

Shihāb al-Dīn Abu al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayri, an Egyptian historiographer and encyclopaedist (1279-1332). He was born in Upper Egypt and, like his father, he became a government secretary. He wrote his only work, the encyclopaedic Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab.
XXXV
Al-Dhahabi

Shams al-Dīn Abu 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-
Dhahabi, a Muslim Turkish historian (1274-1348). He
studied in Damascus, Mecca, Alexandria and several other
places. He was in his early life an historian, but after
his blindness in 1342 he became mainly concerned with
collecting biographies.

XXXVI
Al-Ḥarrānī

Naṣīm al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ḥamdān ibn Shabīb al-Ḥarrānī, an
Iraqi cosmographer who flourished in Egypt (c. 1332). He
was the writer of the encyclopedia Jāmī' al-Funūn.

XXXVII
Ibn Khaldūn

Abu Zayd Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Khaldūn was
the greater philosopher of history and the creator of the
science of sociology. Ibn Khaldūn is too famous and great
to need introduction.
XXXVIII
Al-`Aynī

Abu Muḥammad Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-`Aynī was born at Aintab in 1360 and lived in Cairo. He was a sufi, then entered into political life. He did some translation into Turkish, but wrote his own works in Arabic. His most famous work is the universal chronicle Ḥiqd al-Jumān.

XXXIX
Ibn al-Wardi

Siraj al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Wardi (fl. 1446). His major work is Khaṭībat al-ʿAjāʾīb.
Chapter One

Notices Concerning the Heathen

I

From the Book of

Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma‘ādin al-Jawhar
Al-Mas‘ūdi (A.D. 947)

He said: It was before the year 300/912 that ships came down to Spain by sea; (in which) there were thousands of people who raided its shores. The people of Spain claimed that they (the raiders) were a nation of Heathen who fell upon them every two-hundred years, and that they came to their land from a gulf which was opposite to the Ocean Sea and not from the gulf on which was the copper tower.

1. The word Majūs has been translated throughout as "Heathen". Majūs originally meant the fire-worshipping Magi of Persia. By extension it was applied as a general term to non-Jewish, non-Christian, non-Muslim peoples who did not have a particular national or tribal name. In England, in this period, the Norse invaders were designated as "the Heathen". It is in this fashion that the term Majūs is translated in the following pages.

2. The Arabic texts always designated Muslim Spain as al-Andalus, a much wider territory than the small territory which is specifically Andalusia to the modern Spanish or English.

3. The Tower of Cadiz. See p. 15 below.
And I opine, and Allāh knows better, that that gulf is connected with the Sea of Maeotis and Pontus and that that nation was the Rūs whom we have mentioned before earlier in this book, for no one traversed those seas which are connected with the Ocean Sea except them -- And he said: And I have found in a book I came across in Fustāt, 4 Egypt, in 330/941 (which) Godomar (or Gondomir), 5 the bishop of the Frankish city of Gerona 6 had presented in 328/939 to al-Ḥakam ibn ʿAbd-al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd-al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Muʿāwiya ibn Hishām ibn ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, the crown prince of his father ʿAbd-al-Rahmān the ruler of Spain who was addressed at that time in his domain as the Prince of the Faithful, that the first Frank king, Clovis 7 was a Heathen and his wife Clotilda 8 had converted him to Christianity. Then his son Theodoric 9 reigned after him; and after Theodoric his son Dagobert 10 reigned; then after him his son Theodoric 9.

4. I.e., Old Cairo.
5. Ghudmār  غدامر
6. Jirundah  جربعة
7. Qlūdwiya  فلوروية
8. Ghirutild  غريفلا
9. Tudrīq  تدرية
10. Dāqūbart  داقوبرت
reigned; then after him Carloman son of Dagobert reigned; then after him Charles,\textsuperscript{11} his son, reigned; then after him, his son Pepin\textsuperscript{12} reigned; then after him Charles, son of Pepin reigned who reigned for twenty-six years and he was a contemporary of al-Ḥakam, the ruler of Spain. His sons competed with each other after him and differences befell them until the Franks destroyed one another because of them. And Louis\textsuperscript{13} son of Charles became their king and ruled for twenty-eight years and six months; he was the one who came to Tortosa and besieged it. Then after him Charles son of Louis reigned, and he was (the one) who exchanged presents with Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Hishām ibn ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwiya ibn Hishām ibn ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn Marwān; and Muḥammad was addressed as imām, and his reign was thirty-nine years and six months. Then his son Louis reigned after him for six years. Then a Frankish general called Bozo\textsuperscript{14} revolted against him and he became king over the Franks. He remained their king for eight years and he was (the one) who reconciled the Heathen

\textsuperscript{11} Qārlah  
\textsuperscript{12} Bibīn  
\textsuperscript{13} Ludwīq  
\textsuperscript{14} Būsuh
(in order that they would not invade his land) for seven years by 600 raṭls of gold and 600 raṭls of silver to be paid by the ruler of the Franks to them.

II

From Tārīkh al-Andalus
Ibn al-Qūṭiyah (d. A.D. 977)

He said: And 'Abd-al- Rahman built the Mosque of Seville, and the wall of the city he built because of its conquest by the Heathen when they entered in 230/844. Their conquest was in his days; and the people were frightened and fled before them and the people of Seville evacuated Seville and fled to Carmona and the mountains of Seville. None of the people of the west fought them. Then the people of Cordova and the allied provinces were convoked (to war) and the vizirs went out with the people of Cordova and the surrounding provinces; and the people of the frontier had been mustered since the beginning of the movement of the Heathen when they occupied the extreme west and captured the plain of Lisbon. The vizirs and their followers camped at Carmona, but they could not fight that nation because of its great power, until the people of the frontier came to help them. And among the
people of the frontier was Mūsa ibn Qasi \(^{15}\) (who) came after 'Abd-al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥakam had petted him and reminded him of his loyalty to al-Walīd ibn 'Abd-al-Malik and of the Islamization of his (Mūsa's) grandfather at his (al-Walīd's) hand. He (Mūsa) was softened somewhat and came with a huge number (of men). When he (Mūsa) came before Carmona he separated himself from the rest of the people of the frontier and the army of the vizirs and he camped independently. When the people of the frontier and the vizirs conferred, they inquired about the movement of the (Heathen) people; and their scouts informed them that everyday contingents (of Heathen) came out (into the country) in the direction of Fīrīsh \(^{16}\) and Fuente de Cantos \(^{17}\) and in the direction of Cordova and Moror. \(^{18}\) They (the Muslim commanders) asked about a good place for an ambush where they could hide themselves near the capital of Seville.

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15. The banu-Qasi are "an old Visigothic family which had embraced Islam, incorporated within itself in the middle of the ninth century Saragossa, Tudela and other important frontier towns. The banu-Qasi were in league with their neighbours to the west, the Kings of Leon." See Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs (London, 1949), 518.

16. فراش (Firrix). Al-Idrīsi names this castle, which was located near Constantina. See Academia de la Historia, Coleccion de Obras Arabigas (Madrid, 1867), I, 253.


18. Mawrūr مورور
They were guided to the village of Kintush Ma‘afir which was to the south of Seville. (The Muslims) went out to it during the night and made an ambush in it. In it there was an early church on whose top they station a watchman (camouflaged) with a bundle of fire-wood on his head. When the morning came, a party of 16,000 of the Heathen went out intending (to go) in the direction of Moror. When they arrived in front of the village, the watchman gave them (the Muslims) a signal and they did not go out against them until (the Heathen) had gone well past the village. When the Heathen had gone far (past the village) they cut them off from the city (Seville) and they were all cut down with swords. Then the vizirs advanced and entered Seville and found the governor besieged in the city’s citadel and he went out to them and the people withdrew. It came to pass that two (other) parties of Heathen had gone out (other than the destroyed party): One party near Fuente de Cantos and another near Cordova, near (the territory of the tribe of) the banu-al-Layth. When the Heathen in the city became aware of the horses and the coming of the (Muslim) army and the destruction of the party which had gone out in the direction of Moror they fled to their ships and went upstream from Seville (until they came) near the castle of
al-Za'wāq (where) they met their raiding parties and embarked (them on) their ships. (Then) they went downstream while the (Muslim) people distressed them and stoned and (shot) them with slings. When they were one mile below Seville they called upon the people "If you want ransom then leave us alone", and they were left alone. They (then) allowed the prisoners whom they had with them to be ransomed and most of them were ransomed. They did not take gold or silver for ransom but they took clothes and food. They left Seville and went towards Nakur where they captured Jadd ibn Śāliḥ, and the Prince 'Abd-al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥakam ransomed him, which is the favor that the (tribe of the) banu-Śāliḥ owe the Umayyads. Then they harried both of the two coasts (of the Mediterranean) until they reached the land of the Rūm; and they reached Alexandria in that journey which continued for fourteen years. The vizirs (then) ordered the building of the wall of Seville, and with that job 'Abdullāh ibn Sinān, a Syrian freed-slave, was charged. He was the most favored of the special companions of 'Abd-al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥakam while a boy; later he made him his

20. تلعة الزعواف. It may be identified with Kalaa Raawak ( תלעת רבעאך) which is almost certainly to be identified with Alcalá de Guadaira. See Academia, Colleccion, I, 256-7.

21. נקור. Possibly Nekur, a town situated about one mile inland from the Moroccan coast, almost on longitude 14°.
companion when he became a Caliph. Then he (‘Abdullah) performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. (Just as he) came back from pilgrimage he encountered that invasion. Then he was sent to build the wall of Seville; and his name is on its gates.

The sun suffered dreadful eclipse in the days of ‘Abd-al-Rahmân, for which the people were gathered in the Mosque of Cordova and the qâdi Yahya ibn Ma‘mar led their prayer; neither before nor after had there been an eclipse prayer called in Spain, down to the present. ‘Abd-al-Rahmân used to see in his sleep, when the Mosque of Seville was completed, that he entered it and found the Prophet (may Allâh bless him and have peace upon him) dead and laid down in its front. He woke up depressed and asked the interpreters about it and they said: "This is a place whose religion will die." And after that the Heathen capture of the city took place. More than one of the elders of Seville have related that they (the Heathen) lighted fire arrows and then shot them to the ceiling of the mosque. When (the parts) around an arrow caught fire the arrow fell. The marks of the arrows are still visible on its ceiling to our present time. When they despaired of burning it, they piled wood and mats in one of the pavements in order to start a fire that would take the ceiling. Then from the side of the niche a young man came out to them and forced them out of the mosque, keeping them out for three days until the
calamity befell them. The Heathen described the youth who forced them out as perfectly beautiful. Then the Prince 'Abd-al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥakam prepared himself and ordered the founding of a manufacturing establishment in Seville and (also) the building of ships. He equipped himself with seamen from the coasts of Spain, (whom) he recruited and paid well. And he equipped himself with engines and naphtha. When the Heathen came for the second time in 244/858 in the days of Prince Muḥammad they were met at the mouth of the River of Seville, in the sea, and they were defeated and (some) of their ships were burned and they departed.

III

From the book of Al-Muqtabas fi Tārīkh al-Andalus
Ibn-Ḥayyān (A.D. 988-1076)

Saʻdūn ibn al-Fath al-Sarnabāqi, the friend of 'Abd-al-Rahmān ibn Marwān al-Jilliqi and his match in rebelling, in being accursed, in insubordination to the sovereign and schism from the (rest of the) Muslims, was

22. I.e., Guadalquivir.

23. I.e., the Galician. He was a daring renegade of Merida and Badajoz and the founder of an independent principality. He was also an ally of Alfonso III, King of Leon. See Hitti, Arab History, 518.
a brave man and a shedder of blood, (full of) deceit, shrewdness and courage. In the heights of his land and its edges, he was a keen and shrewd guide. He fortified himself in the fortress of Figueiruela(?)\textsuperscript{24} between the valley of Tagus\textsuperscript{25} and the city of Colimbria.\textsuperscript{26} Great events happened to him. The Heathen who were operating on the western coast of Spain had captured him in the days of Prince Muḥammad. Then a Jewish trader, who desired to make profit from him, ransomed him. He took loans from the Jew until he ran away from him and betrayed his obligation and made him lose his money. Then he went to the mountain, which is associated with him, between Colimbria and Santarem,\textsuperscript{27} and he disturbed the peoples of both faiths, the Muslims and the Christians. Many events happened to him until the tyrant Alfonso\textsuperscript{28} of Galicia killed him.

\textsuperscript{24} فقيروالله
\textsuperscript{25} تاجة
\textsuperscript{26} فلنبرية. It is also called Coimbra.
\textsuperscript{27} شنترین (i.e., St. Irene).
\textsuperscript{28} ادفنش. He certainly is to be identified with Alfonso III of Leon.
IV

From the book of

Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik

Al-Bakri (d. A.D. 1094)

He said: And the Heathen, may Allāh curse them, raided the city of Nakūr in the year 244/858 and they captured it, pillaged it and captured (those) who were in it except whoever Allāh had delivered by flight. Among those they captured were Amat-al-Rahmān and Khānāwlah, the daughters of Wāqif ibn al-Mu’tāsim ibn Ṣāliḥ; then the Imām Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd-al-Rahmān ransomed them. The Heathen stayed in Nakūr eight days.

And he said: And the city of Asīla29 is new. The reason for building it was that the Heathen appeared in its harbor two times. In the first time they came intentionally and claimed that they had in it wealth and treasures. The Berbers gathered together to fight them, but they (the Heathen) said: "We did not come to fight but we have treasures in this place; so, go aside until we bring them out and we shall share them with you." The Berbers agreed on that and withdrew. The Heathen dug a place and dug out much mouldy millet. The Berbers saw its yellow color and

29. اسيلة; also Arsilla, a city on the Moroccan Atlantic coast.
thought it to be gold, and they hurried towards it and the Heathen fled to their ships and the millet was the share of the Berbers; so, they regretted. Then they asked the Heathen to come and dig out the wealth but they refused and said: "You have broken your promise and we shall not trust your apology" and they went to Spain where they appeared in Seville in 229/843 in the days of the Imam 'Abd-al-Rahmān ibn al-Ḥakam. As for their second appearance there, the wind had blown them into that harbor upon their departure from Spain. Many of their ships perished in the western side of the mouth of the harbor. That place is still known today as the Gate of the Heathen. \(^{30}\)

The people made the site of Asila a center and came to it from all the cities. A fair used to be held in it three times a year, which were the times of their gathering, and those were in the months of Ramdağān and Dhi al-Ḥijjah and in 'Āshūrā.'

\(^{30}\) Bāb al-Majūs باب الحورس
He said: Now we shall return to the mention of Sfax:¹¹ the sandy (ground) there are four miles, and from the edge of the sandy (ground) to the south, which is the beginning of the gulf, to the Castle of the Heathen(?), (there are) four miles; and from it to the Castle of Banqah(?), there are 10 miles; and from the Castle of Banqah to the Castle of Tanīdhah(?), (there are) eight miles; and from it to the Castles of the Rūm(?), (there are) four miles; and from them to the city of Gabes (there are) seventy-five miles.

And he said: And the island of Saltis is surrounded by sea from all sides. From the west it has a point, on one of its extremities, near the mainland which is about half a stone's throw (away). From there they (the inhabitants of

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³¹. Sfax:


³³. The Gulf of Gabes.

³⁴. Qābus: See note in Seippel, p. VI.

³⁵. Qābus: or Qābr. See note in Seippel, p. VI.


³⁷. Shaltīsh: The island of Saltis.
the island) pass over to get drinking water. It is an island whose length is a little more than one mile. Its city is in the south side. And there is an arm of the sea to which the mouth of the river of Niebla is connected; and its mouth widens until it becomes more than one mile (wide). The ships go up the river until that arm becomes narrow such that the width of the river alone is half a stone throw. The river comes out from the foot of a mountain on which is the city of Huelva. There the road to Niebla is connected. The city of Saltis has no wall or fence, but it is (composed of) buildings which are connected to each other. It has a market, and in it there is the profession of blacksmithing which the natives of the land are unable to handle due to the roughness of the iron. This is the profession of the anchorages in which the rough cargo ships lay anchor. The Heathen had conquered it (several) times; and when its people hear of the presence of the Heathen they flee and evacuate it.

38. Lablah

39. Walbah
VI

From the Book of Al-Jughrāfiyyah

And the author said: And in this city (meaning Cadiz) was the amazing tower whose height was one-hundred yards. And it was square (and) built of coarse soft rock\(^{40}\) (which) was of exact carpentry, supported with red copper pillars. On the top of this tower (there was) another square, equal to one-third of the first (one). On the top of this little square (there was) a truncated pyramid with four faces; on each face of the little square (there is) a face of the pyramid. And on the top of the platform (there was) a white square marble of two spans by two spans. On that marble (there was) a statue of a human being of the utmost excellence in perfection and the best construction. He was facing the west, adjacent to the sea and turning towards the north. His left arm stretched (forward), clenching his fist and pointing with his index finger to the mouth of the gulf, which comes out from the greatest sea, known as the Strait\(^{41}\) and lies between Tangiers and the peninsula of Tarifa, as if he was showing the path. He

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40. In Seippel it reads which means "the coarse camel-rope". This is obviously a spelling mistake; and I suggest that it should be read where is a kind of soft rock.

41. Al-Zuqāq ; i.e., the Strait of Gibraltar.
brought forth his right-hand from under his cloak and clenched it; and in his hand (there was) a stick as if he was pointing with it to the sea. Many people claimed that it was a key; in that they were mistaken. The author said: "I have seen it many times, and I have never seen a key in his hand; but it appears in his hand like a little stick by reason of its remoteness from the ground. And someone who was present at the destruction of the idol, (who was one of the chiefs who were present at the destruction of that tower), said (that) which was in his hand had been a stick whose length was twelve spans; on its head there was a slit like the 'compass(?)'. The mention of the destruction of this tower will come in another place. Al-Mas'ūdi said in the book of Al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf according to what he had learned about the building of this Tower, that it had been built by the Mighty King⁴² who had also built the seven idols which were in the land of the Negroes; and we were informed that those idols resembled each other. And al-Mas'ūdi said: If that which we have been informed concerning the idol of Cadiz was correct, (then) it was built in order to be a guide for the sea-route, and that its left hand was stretched out (pointing out) the Strait, as if it was saying, "The path is here". Many people claimed that this statue was of gold, because on it there was glowing light that changed

⁴². Hercules
color when the sun rose and when it set. Sometime it became green and at other times it became red as the iridescent neck of a pigeon. Azure-blue greenish was its predominant color. This tower served the Muslims as the guide to the sea; by its (help) they entered the Great Sea and came out of it. Whoever wanted to travel from this small sea to the land of Maghrib and to Lisbon and other (places) used to enter the sea and when they got out of (sight) of the tower they (would) set their sails and proceed to whatever Maghrib ports they wanted, such as Sela,\(^43\) Afna\(\alpha\) (?) and the land of Sous.\(^44\) Since this tower has been destroyed, its service (to navigation) has ceased. Its destruction (took place) in the year 540/1145 in the beginning of the revolutionary disturbances in Spain, and 'Ali ibn 'Tsa ibn Maymūn destroyed it when covetousness spread in the peninsula of Cadiz (and people thought) that that statue was of gold. When he uprooted it he found it of latten\(^45\) washed with good gold. So, he extracted from it 12,000 dīnārs of gold, and its use for movement in the sea was spoiled. The people of Spain had claimed that that talisman served to make the sea useful and that the sea would be navigable as long as it existed, and that it would not be navigable if it was

\(^{43}\) ساند ; situated not very far to the north of Rabat on the northwestern African coast.

\(^{44}\) Al-Sūs الرس ; it is to the south of Sela.

\(^{45}\) Al-Laṭūn اللطرون
destroyed. But when it was destroyed nothing changed in the sea except one thing; i.e., there had been many great ships going out in the sea and the people of Spain called them carracks. Those ships could sail forward or backward with square sails; and in them people called Heathen were sailing who were strong and fierce and sturdy in sailing the sea. And when they appeared the peoples of the coasts would evacuate (their places) before them and run away from (the coasts) by reason of fearing the Heathen. They appeared only every six or seven years. They used to appear with forty ships at least and they might appear with one-hundred or less or more. They used to defeat anyone they met in the sea, capturing them and carrying them away (as slaves). That aforementioned talisman was in view to them at the mouth of the Strait, so, they could enter it (going) towards the islands of this small sea and they reached the boundaries of Syria. After that tower was destroyed none of those carracks appeared except two; one of them was wrecked at the harbor of the Heathen and the other one was wrecked at Trafalgar, and that was in the year 545/1150 and after that they never appeared. No travel nor movement was hindered in the sea because of (the destruction of) that tower, except that movement of the Heathen.

46. Qaraqir قراقر

47. The Mediterranean.
And he said: And from the land of Galicia, which is on the coast of the Great Sea in the west, there came out carracks which traversed the Strait and whose people are known as Heathen. They (the ships) have been mentioned before.

VII

From the Book of

Al-Istibghār fī 'Aja'īb al-Amghār

The author said: The city of Asīla was a great and ancient city, prosperous and (well) populated, rich and fertile. It had a frequented port; and the cause of its destruction was that when the Heathen left the Great Sea, the first (port) they found (in the Mediterranean) was the city of Asīla, and they stopped in its anchorage, destroying whatever they could (destroy) of it. And the Berbers gathered and fought them. Their (relation) with them (continued) as such until it was abandoned, (thanks also) to the disturbances that befell the inhabitants of that land. It is said that the Heathen went to them once and the Berbers gathered together to fight them. But they (the Heathen) told them, "We did not come to fight but we have in your country goods and treasures; leave us alone until we dig them out and we shall share them with you." The Berbers agreed to that and withdrew from the site which (the Heathen) had mentioned to them. Then the Heathen dug up a spot which they
had claimed and they found in the place buried treasures of millet which they dug out. When the Berbers saw the yellowness of millet from afar they thought that it was gold. They attacked (the Heathen), betraying their promise, and the Heathen fled to their ships. When the Berbers obtained the millet they regretted and tried to persuade the Heathen to come back and dig out the wealth but they refused and said to them: "We have seen you betraying your promise, so we shall never trust you."

VIII

From the Book of

Al-Mutrib fi Ash'ār Ahl Al-Maghrib

Ibn Dihyāh (A.D. 1159)

He said: And when the ambassadors of the king of the Heathen came to Sultan 'Abd-al-Rahmān 48 asking for peace after they left Seville and their onslaught near it, then their defeat and the death of the commander of the fleet in it, he opined that he would negotiate with them for accepting it (the peace). So, he commanded al-Ghazāl 49

48. 'Abd al-Rahmān II (822-852).

49. He is Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥakam (al-Bakrī al-Jayyānī), known as Al-Ghazāl "because of his extraordinary vigor and beauty which he seemed to have preserved beyond the age of seventy." See A.R. Nykl, Hispano-Arabic Poetry (Baltimore, 1946), 24.
to take his message and go with the ambassadors of their king, by reason of Al-Ghazāl's quickness of perception, presence of mind and the goodliness of his answers, his courage and boldness and (his ability) to enter and leave any door. And he was accompanied by Yaḥyā ibn Ḥabīb. He went to the city of Silves (by) a beautiful and perfectly equipped ship that had been built for the two of them. The king of the Heathen was negotiated with (on the basis) of his letter and he was rewarded for his presents. The ambassadors of their king sailed with the ship of al-Ghazāl in their ship which they came with. When they were parallel to the great cape which goes out into the sea, which is the end of Spain in the end of the west and it is the mountain known as Aluwiyah, the sea swelled and the wind blew on them fiercely and the situation reached the degree that al-Ghazāl has described saying:

Yaḥyā told me: Behold, we have become among waves unto the likeness of mountains;

And winds have befallen us: westerly wind and northerly wind;

They have torn the two sails, and the loops of those ropes have been cut off;

And the Angel of Death, walked towards us stretching his arms;

50. Shilb . A city in southern Portugal where "one would meet even ploughmen capable of improvising verse". See Hitti, Arab History, 562.

51. al-Uraya . Possibly Ulia on the western coast of Galicia.
So, we saw death with our own eyes once and again. O my comrade! the people had no use for us.

It came to pass that al-Ghazāl escaped the dread of those seas and from challenging dangers and he reached the beginning of the land of the Heathen, to one of its islands. They stayed in it (several) days and repaired their ships and rested themselves. And the ship of the Heathen preceded (them) to their king and informed him of the coming of the ambassadors after them; and he was delighted with that. And he treated them with dignity. Then they proceeded to the headquarters of his government, which is a great island in the Ocean Sea, in which there were gardens and flowing waters; between it and the mainland (there were) three water-courses, which are (equal to) three-hundred miles. (There are) in it an uncountable number of Heathen; and near that island (there are) many islands, some are small and some big, and all their inhabitants were Heathen. Those who were next to them on the mainland, who were several-days-journey distant, were also Heathen; but today they are Christians and have abandoned fire-worship and their previous religion and became Christians, except the inhabitants of (some) of their islands (which are) isolated in the sea, who are still on their previous religion of fire-worship, and marrying the mother and the sister and similar types of shame. And these (Christians) fight them and curse them.
Then the king ordered for them one of their (the people's) most beautiful houses (to be prepared) and he dispatched to them (people) who would meet them. And the Heathen gathered to see them and they saw the wonder of wonders in their shapes and dress. Then they were settled with dignity and they stayed that day. Then he (the king) summoned them to see him and al-Ghazāl made a condition on him that he would not prostrate himself and that nothing would ever make them violate their tradition. And he agreed to that. When they proceeded towards him he sat for them in (his) best appearance; and he gave his orders and the entrance which led to him was narrowed such that no one could enter upon him without bowing down. When he (al-Ghazāl) reached it (the door) he sat on the ground and advanced his feet and slid once on his buttocks, and when he passed through the door he stood up, and (behold) the king had decked himself with a great many arms and complete decorations. But that did not awe him (al-Ghazāl) nor did it frighten him, for he stood up presenting himself before him (the king) and said: "Peace be upon thee, O King, and upon those who are within thy sight; noble salutation for thee; and (mayest) thou not cease to enjoy power and endurance and nobility which lead thee to honour in the world and the hereafter which is always related to the neighbourhood of the Everliving, Self-existing, who, everything will perish except He. Judgement is His and to Him is the returning." And the interpreter
translated to the king what al-Ghazāl had said, and the king held the speech to be good and he said: "This is one of the wisemen of the nation and one of their clever men." And he had been astonished at his sitting on the ground and advancing his feet when he entered, and he said: "We wanted to submit him to contempt, but he confronted our faces with his shoes; had he not been an ambassador, we would have abhored that in him!" Then al-Ghazāl passed to him the letter of 'Abd-al-Rahmān, and the letter was read and interpreted for him and he regarded it favorably; then he took it with his hands and lifted it, then he put it on his lap. Then he gave his orders, and the leather-bags of the presents were opened. And he beheld all that they contained of clothes and vessels and he admired them. Then he gave orders and they left for their house; and he enlarged their allowances. Al-Ghazāl held with them memorable councils and made famous speeches, in some of them he argued with their learned men and made them cry; and in some of them he struggled with their courageous men and he disabled them. When the wife of the King of the Heathen heard of al-Ghazāl, she invited him to see him. When he entered her presence, he greeted (her), then gazed at her for a long spell, a look of amazement on his face. So, she said to her interpreter: "Ask him about his gazing at me. Why does he do it? Is it by reason of excess of appreciation or its opposite?" And he
said: "It is for no (reason) but that I never suspected that there was in the world a sight like this; and I have seen with our king women (who) were chosen for him from all the nations, but I never saw among them a beauty such as this." And she said to her interpreter: "Ask him if he is serious or joking." And he said: "Nay, but Serious!" And then she said: "Then there is no beauty in their land." And al-Ghazāl said: "Then show me some of your women, so that I compare with them." And the queen sent for (some) women renowned for their beauty and they presented themselves. Then he looked them carefully, up and down; then he said: "They have beauty, but not in the likeness of the beauty of the queen, for her beauty and her proportionate features are not apparent to everyone, but the poets care for it. And if the queen like for me to describe her beauty, her merits and her intelligence in verse that will be sung in all our land, so, I shall do." She became greatly delighted with that and her face shone and she ordered a gift for him but al-Gazāl refused to take it saying: "I shall not do it." And she said to the interpreter: "Ask him why he does not accept my gift? Is it because he belittles it or because he belittles me?" And he asked him. Then al-Ghazāl said: "Her gift is great, and receiving (a gift) from her is an honor, for she is a queen and a daughter of a king; but it is enough gift for me to look at her and see her friendliness toward me; this is enough gift for me. But I want her to
reward me by allowing me to have freedom to come into her presence always." When the interpreter translated for her his speech she became more delighted and more admiring of him; and she said: "His (desired) reward will be fulfilled and whenever he likes to come to visit me he shall not be stopped, and I shall bestow upon him generosity and welcome." And al-Ghazāl thanked her and prayed for her and went away.

Tammān ibn 'Alqamah said: I heard al-Ghazāl relating this story, so I said to him: "And she had some of that degree of beauty?"; and he said: "By thy father! She had sweetness but I attracted by this speech her love and obtained from her more than what I desired." Tammān ibn 'Alqamah said: And one of his friends told me saying: And the wife of the king of the Heathen became so fond of al-Ghazāl that she could not bear to go without seeing him each day, but she sent after him (everyday) to stay with her telling her of the customs of the Muslims and their stories and their lands and their neighboring nations. He rarely departed from her without a gift of clothes, food or perfume bestowed by her upon him. Then their affair became widely known; and his friends disapproved of it. And al-Ghazāl was warned against (such conduct) and he became cautious. Then he refrained from visiting her for a long time; finally she questioned him about it and he told her of what he had been warned against; and she laughed and said: "In our religion we do not have that
(teaching), and we do not have jealousy; and our women (stay) with our men by the women's own choice. The woman stays with the man as long as she loves (him) and she leaves him when she hates (him). And the custom of the Heathen, before the religion of Rome has reached them, had been that no woman would forbid herself from any man unless a noble woman should befriend a man of low class. Then she would be reviled and her folks would keep him away from her." When al-Ghazāl heard her speech he was delighted with it and returned to his intimacy (with her). Tammām said: Al-Ghazāl in his middle age was handsome and in his youth was beautiful; this is why he was called al-Ghazāl. He went to the land of the Heathen when he was on the verge of the age of fifty, and grey hair had already marked him. But he (still) was wholesome, lean and good to look at. The wife of the King asked him one day, and her name was Nūd, about his age. And he said jokingly, to her: "Twenty years". And she said to the interpreter: "And who is of twenty years (of age) that has so much grey hair." And he said to the interpreter: "And what does she disapprove of in that? Has not she ever seen a pony born an albino?" And Nūd laughed and she admired his speech and al-Ghazāl said extemporaneously:

52. I.e., the gazelle, which is proverbial for its beauty among the Arabs.
54. This is the translation of the poem by A.R. Nykl, ibid. 24-25.
My heart, thou hast undergone
a painful love,
And struggled with it, the
fiercest of all lions:
I fell in love with a Norman
lady fair,
She keeps the sun of beauty
from ever setting,
In the farthest extreme of
God's earth, where
The one who travels, no
longer can travel on!
Oh Theuda, thou
breath of youth and charm,
A star of beauty rises from
thy robe:
By my sire I swear, than
thee I never saw
A sweeter or more pleasant
person to my heart:
If I e'er said that my
eyes had beheld

55. Majusi, i.e., Heathen.
56. Nud in the original Arabic text.
One like thee, it would be
a lie indeed!

She said: "I see his temples
have grown grey"

Jokingly, eliciting my jesting
repartee,

In saying to her: "How does
it come

That a foal at birth is
quite grey?"

She laughed admiringly at
what I had said:

I did so only that I might
see her pleased!

If this poetry had been read to 'Umar ibn abi-
Rabi'ah ⁵⁷ or to Bashshār ibn Burd ⁵⁸ or to 'Abbās ibn
al-Aŷnāf or any other excellent poet who worked in this

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⁵⁷. 'Umar ibn abi-Rabi'ah (ca. 719) was the prince of
erotic poetry, "who made it his business to make love
to the beautiful damsels pilgrimaging in Makkah and
al-Madīnah as well as to such charming residents as
the famous Sukaynah". See Hitti, Arab History, 250-51.

⁵⁸. A blind Persian who was put to death in 783 on account
of the vague charge of zindīqism (Zoroastrian or
Manichaean secret views). Ibn Burd was the earliest
exponent of a new style in Arabic poetry. Ibid., 405-
406.
vein (of poetry), he would have been amazed by it. But its mention had to be forgotten, for it was Andalusian, otherwise it would not have been forgotten; and the like of it is not fair to be neglected. Have you seen a more beautiful (saying) than his saying: "She keeps the sun of beauty from ever setting" or the first stanza of this piece, or his description of the joking that occurred? Is not his description like pearls strung in order? Are not we dealt with unfairly and (are not we) wronged? ... Let us now return to the poetry of al-Ghazāl. And it came to pass that when he sang the poem to her and the interpreter translated it to her, she laughed at it and she ordered him to dye (his hair); so, al-Ghazāl did. Soon after he went to her, with his hair dyed; and she praised his dyed (hair) and she made him like it. About this al-Ghazāl said:

Her flattering concerning my dyed hair
Has brought me back to my youth;
Lo, I regard grey hair and dye
As the sun covered with clouds,
It is hidden for a short while
then the gentle wind uncovers it again
And the cloud will go away for no return.

Do not disapprove of the greyness of the temples for
It is the rose of wisdom and intelligence;
And I have all that you love in youth,
And the smoothness of manners (I also have).

Then al-Ghazālī departed from them and the ambassadors accompanied him to Santiago of Compostela with the letter of the King of the Heathen to its governor; and he stayed with the latter, being treated graciously, for two months, until their pilgrimage ended. Then he travelled to Castile with the travellers and from it he went out to Toledo, until he joined the court of the Sultan ‘Abd-al-Raḥmān after an absence of twenty months.

IX

From the Book of

Al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh

Ibn al-Aṭhīr (A.D. 1160-1234)

He said: And in the year 179/795 Hishām, the governor of

59. Shant Ya‘qūb
60. Qishtālah
61. Ṭulayṭalab
Spain, sent a huge army under 'Abd-al-Malik ibn 'Abd-al-Wahid ibn Mughith to Galicia. They advanced until they reached Astorga. Alfonso, the King of the Galicians, had already assembled and mobilized (his army), and the King of the Basques who were his neighbors had reinforced him, (so did those) who were next to them and the peoples of those regions, until he commanded a great multitude. Then 'Abd-al-Malik advanced against him but Alfonso retreated by reason of his fear of him. 'Abd-al Malik pursued them, killing any of them who were left behind. So, he subdued their country and penetrated far into it and he stayed in it plundering, killing and destroying and he put the women of Alfonso to disgrace and returned safely.

*(The mention of the coming of the Heathen to the land of the Muslims in Spain). He said: 'In this year (meaning the year 230/844) the Heathen went out from the farthest regions of the land of Spain, into the sea, to the land of the Muslims in it (Spain). Their appearance was in Dhi al-Ḥijjah 229/843 near Lisbon. They stayed thirteen days during which (there were) battles between them and the Muslims. Then they proceeded to Cadiz, to Sidonia and in it (there were) battles between them and the Muslims, then they advanced to Seville on the eighth of Muḥarram and landed twelve parasangs away from it; then many Muslims came out against them.

62. Asturqah
63. Baskunas
64. Shadhūnah
and they met, and the Muslims were defeated on the twelfth of Muḥarram and many of them were killed. Then they landed two miles from Seville; its people came out against them and fought them and the Muslims were defeated on the fourteenth day of Muḥarram and many of them were killed and captured, and the Heathen did not withhold their swords from a person or a beast. Then they entered the cultivated district of Seville and stayed in it one day and one night then they returned to their ships. Then the army of ʿAbd-al-Rahmān, the ruler of the land, caught up with them, with several generals (on the head of the army). The Heathen attacked them and the Muslims stood their ground and fought them, and seventy Heathen were killed; and they fled until they entered their ships and the Muslims halted their pursuit against them. And ʿAbd-al-Rahmān heard (of that) and he sent another army and they fought the Heathen severely and the Heathen retreated before them and the army pursued them on the second of Rabīʿ al-Awwal and fought them. Reinforcements came to the Muslims from every direction and they (the people) everywhere rose up to fight the Heathen. Then the Heathen came out and fought them and the Muslims were about to be defeated, but they stood their ground and many of them fought like men. The Heathen were defeated and about five-hundred men were killed and they (the Muslims) captured four ships from them; they took away whatever (there was) in them and then burned them. They remained (several) days being unable to
reach the Heathen because they were on their ships. Then the Heathen went to Niebla and they obtained captives. Then the Heathen landed on an island near Coria del Río. They landed on it and divided whatever booty they had. Then the Muslims were outraged and they entered upon them by way of the river, and killed two Heathen men. Then the Heathen departed and entered Sidonia by night and they obtained food and captives and they stayed two days. Then ships of 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, the ruler of Spain, reached Seville. When the Heathen knew of them they went to Niebla and raided (it) and captured (people). Then they went to Oksonoba, then they departed to Beja; then they transferred to the city of Lisbon. Then they departed and the land never heard of them and the people relaxed. Some Arab historians had mentioned that in 246/860 the Heathen had also attacked Seville; (the attack) was similar to this (i.e., the one we have just described) and I do not know whether it was the same one, except that they differed in dating it, or whether it was a different one. It is likely that they both were the same; but I have mentioned it there because in each one there is something that is not in the other.

65. Qurīs قوريس . See Seippel p. XI. Coria del Río is on Guadalquivir.

66. Akshūnubah أكسونبة
(The mention of the coming of the disbelievers in Spain to the land of the Muslims). He said: In this year (meaning the year 245/859) the Heathen went out from the land of Spain, in ships, to the land of the Muslims. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān, the ruler of the Muslims, ordered the armies to go out and fight them. The ships of the Heathen arrived at Seville; then they entered Algeciras\(^67\) and entered the (main) district of the town and burned the mosque. Then they crossed over and entered Nekur; then they returned to Spain. And the people of Todmir\(^68\) fled and entered the fortress of Orihuela.\(^69\) Then they advanced to the wall of the Franks, and they raided and did much looting and capturing, then they went away. Then the ships of Muhammad met them and fought them, and they burned two ships of the disbelievers and took two other ships and plundered them. Upon that the disbelievers became angry and fought more vehemently and a group of Muslims were martyred. Then the ships of the Heathen left until they arrived at the province of Pamplona\(^70\)

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67. The passage can be translated "...then they landed on the island, etc." but since their next target was Nekur on the North African coast, I deemed it more sensible that they had gone to Algeciras (Al-Jazīrah) as their departing point to North Africa.

68. A province on the east coast of Spain which occupied the territory of the later Kingdom of Murcia.

69. اوریالا, on the Segura River which empties in the Mediterranean.

70. بنبلونة. It was the capital of the Kingdom of Navarre.
and they captured its ruler Garcia\textsuperscript{71} the Frank and he ransomed himself for 90,000 dinars.

X

From the Book of

\textit{Bast al-Ard fi Tuliha wa al-'Urd}

Ibn Sa'id (A.D. 1208)

He said: And to the north of England or somewhat to the north of Britain is the island of Ireland. It is inside the First Part (meaning the First Part of civilization behind the Regions) and the Second, a distance of about twelve days in length and its width in the middle is about four days. It is famous for the abundance of its civil wars. Its people were Heathen, then became Christians, following their neighbors. Much copper and tin is brought from it.

XI

From the Book of

\textit{Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akhbār al-'Ibād}

Al-Qazwīni

(A.D. 1203-4)

He said: Ireland is an island in the north and the west of the Sixth Region. Ahmad ibn 'Umar al-'Udhri said: The

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{71} Gharsiyah غرسية}
Heathen have no capital in all the world but this island. Its circumference is 1000 miles and its people have the customs and dress of the Heathen. They wear mantles, the price of each of them is 100 dīnārs. As for their nobles, they wear mantles set with pearls. It has been related that they fish on its coasts the calves of the whale which is a very great fish. They fish for their calves with which they season (their bread). It has been mentioned that these young (fish) are born in September, and they are fished during the months of October, November, December and January. After that their meat toughens (and becomes) no longer edible. As for how they were fished, al-ʿUdhri has mentioned that the fishermen gather in ships and they have a big thin-bladed sword of iron which has sharp barbs and (there is) a great strong ring in that thin-bladed sword and in the ring (there is) a strong rope. When they find a calf whale they clap their hands and make noise. Thus, the calf whale is entertained and approaches the ship with amusement. Then one of the sailors goes near it and scratches its forehead hard and the calf whale is delighted with that; then he puts the sword in the middle of its head, then he takes a strong hammer of iron and pounds on the sword with all his might three times. The first strike is not felt, but at the second and third blows the calf whale flops about violently and it may hit some

72. This is the description of a harpoon.
ships with its tail, thus causing damage. It does not cease to flop until fatigue overwhelms it. Then the sailors of the ships cooperate in pulling it until they bring it to the coast. The mother of the calf whale may notice its flopping and follow them (the ships) but they have already prepared themselves with plenty of crushed garlic that they mix with the water. When it (the mother) smells the odor of the garlic it hates it and retreats backward. Then they cut the meat of the young whale and salt it. Its meat is as white as snow and its skin is as black as ink.

XII
From the Book of
Al-Bayān al-Mughrib fī Akhār al-Maghrib
Ibn al-ʿIdhārī
(A.D. 976)

He said: As for Asila, it is new and the reason for building it was that the Heathen came to its coast and claimed that they had in it goods and treasures (which) were left for them by the ancients who had lived on the coasts and who had been driven away from them by the tribes. When they landed to take their goods the Berbers gathered together to fight them. But they (The Heathen) said: "We have not come to fight but we have treasures in this place; go to one side until we dig them up and we shall share them with you".
The Berbers withdrew away from them when they heard that from them, and the Heathen dug up their places and brought out a plenty of mouldy millet. When the Berbers saw it they thought it was gold and they attacked them. The Rūm(?) fled to their ships and the Berbers got the millet; they regretted and tried to persuade the Heathen to come back and bring out the goods but they refused and said: "You have betrayed the promise", and they went away to Spain. At that time they appeared in Seville, according to the information that we have about Spain, and the people made Asila a gathering place and they came down to it from all around. A fair used to be held in it three times a year: In Ramaḏān, in the 'Awwāshir and in 'Ashūrā'. Among what I have recorded and summarized from the book of Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik of Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Qarawi (may Allāh have mercy upon him) is (the following): He said: One of the ancient cities on the coast of the Western Sea⁷³ is Asila. It is in a plain. It had been a city of the ancients and then the sea overwhelmed it; then it was rebuilt after that. The reason for building it was that the Heathen appeared in its harbor two times. As for the first time, they went to it claiming that they had goods and treasures and the Berbers gathered together to fight them as I have mentioned. As for their second appearance, (it

⁷³. The Atlantic.
was when) the wind blew them to it and many of their vessels were damaged there until that place came to be known as the Gate of the Heathen.

And he said: And in the year 177/793, the imām Hishām sent ʿAbd-al-Malik ibn ʿAbd-al-Wāḥid ibn Mughīth with the summer army to raid the land of the Rūm; and it was a famous and an important raid. He reached in it Frankland and besieged it and made breaches in its walls with ballistae and approached the land of the Heathen (closely) and wandered in the land of the enemy and stayed for months burning villages and destroying fortresses. He conquered the city of Narbonne⁷⁴ and it was a great victory; and the money brought in from the sale of the imām’s fifth of the captives amounted to 45,000 (dīnars) of pure gold.

And he said: And in the year 179/795 the imām Hishām ibn ʿAbd-al-Rahmān sent ʿAbd-al-Karīm ibn Mughīth with the summer army to raid as far as the city of Astorga inside Galicia. Then it reached him that Alfonso had mobilized his country and that he had been reinforced by the Basques and the inhabitants of those regions, Heathen and others, who were next to him; and (he was also informed) that he had assembled them between Galicia and the Rock and that he had permitted the inhabitants of the plain to scatter in the high mountains of the coasts. Then ʿAbd-al-Karīm sent forth Faraj ibn Kanānah with 4000 horses; then he followed him. He met

⁷⁴️. Arbūnah
⁷⁵️. Al-Bashkansh
the enemies of Allah and fought them until Allah defeated them; and he killed their garrison and captured a group of them; then after the war had ended he ordered them to be killed.

And he said: And in it (meaning the year 229/843) the letter of Wahb-Allah ibn Hazm, the governor of Lisbon, came, in which he mentioned that on the coast before him there appeared fifty-four ships of Heathen with fifty-four small boats. The prince 'Abd-al-Rahman wrote to him and to the governors of the coasts to be on guard.

*(The Heathen's entrance in Seville in 230/844). The Heathen appeared in eighty ships as if they filled the sea with partridge as well as they filled the hearts with grief and sorrow. They entered Lisbon, then advanced to Cadiz (and) to Sidonia. Then they advanced to Seville and occupied it; they attacked it until they forced themselves into it and eradicated its inhabitants by killing and capturing. They remained in it seven days giving its people the cup of death. The news was communicated to Prince 'Abd-al-Rahman and he sent 'Isa ibn Shuhayd al-Hajib at the head of the cavalry and the Muslims were attached to him like the attachment of the eye to the eyebrow. 76 'Abdullah ibn Kulayb and ibn Wasim and others led the cavalry and occupied Al-sharaf and he (al-Hajib?) wrote to the governors of the provinces to convocate the people; and they gathered in Cordova and Nasr al-Fatim...  

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76. I.e., closely.
convoked them. And ship after ship came to the Heathen and they killed the men and captured the women and carried the children away. That lasted for thirteen days; (and it was mentioned in Bahjat al-Nafs and in the Book of Durar al-Qalā'īd, seven days as it has been mentioned). Between them and the Muslims were many battles. Then they went to Captel\textsuperscript{77} and stayed in it three days, and entered Coria\textsuperscript{78}, twelve miles from Seville and killed a great number of Muslims; then at night they entered Talyāṭah,\textsuperscript{79} two miles from Seville and the next day they appeared in a place known as al-Fakhkhārīn (i.e., the potters); then they departed with their ships. And they fought with the Muslims and the Muslims were defeated and an uncountable number of them were killed. Then they (the Heathen) returned to their ships; then they departed to Sidonia and from it to Cadiz, and that was after Prince 'Abd-al-Rahmān had dispatched his generals. Then (the two armies) resisted each other and the ballistae were erected against them (the Heathen) and reinforcements came to them (the Muslims) from Cordova, and the Heathen were defeated and about five-hundred dirty Heathen\textsuperscript{80} were killed and four ships with all that was in them were captured, and ibn Wasīm ordered

\textsuperscript{77} Qabṭīl تطبل; to the south of Seville.

\textsuperscript{78} Qawrah قورة; between Captel and Seville.

\textsuperscript{79} Talyāṭah تليطه; possibly Tharjana.

\textsuperscript{80} meaning ass, non-Arab, disbeliever.
them (the ships) to be burned and their booty was sold.

Then a calamity befell them (the Heathen) in the village of Talyāṭah on Tuesday, five (days) before the end of (the month of) Ṣafar of the (same) year, (where) great number of them being killed and thirty of their ships burned; a great number of the Heathen were hanged in Seville; some of them hanged on palm-tree trunks which were in it (Seville). The rest of them embarked on their ships and went to Niebla; then from there they went to Lisbon and they were no longer heard from.

Their capture of Seville was on Wednesday, Muḥarram 14th, 230/844. Between their capture of Seville and the departure of their remnants there were forty-two days; and their prince was killed. So, Allāh has killed and caused them to perish, and destroyed their equipment and (reduced their) number. The wrath and pain came from Allāh as a punishment for what they had looted. When Allāh killed their prince and caused a multitude of them to perish, and defeated them, letters went out to the horizons (i.e., the far-away provinces) with news of this. And Prince ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān wrote to the Šanḥajah (tribe) in Tangier, informing them of the doing of Allāh against the Heathen and of the wrath and death which Allāh had caused to descend upon them, and he sent to them the head of that prince and the heads of two-hundred of their soldiers.

And he said: And in it (meaning the year 245/859) the Heathen also went out to the coast of the Western Sea in sixty-two ships, and they found the sea guarded and the Muslim fleet
patrolling from the wall of Frankland to the wall of Galicia in the farthest west. Then two of the ships of the Heathen advanced, and the ships which were prepared met with them and they caught up with these two ships off the coast of the province of Beja, and they took them together with the gold, silver, people and equipment that were in them; and the rest of the ships of the Heathen sailed around the countryside until they reached the mouth of the river of Seville in the sea. Then the prince dispatched the armies and the people rose from all sides; and their leader was 'Īsā ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥājib. The ships advanced from the mouth of the river of Seville until they reached Algeciras and they conquered it and burned its mosque. Then they crossed to the shore and ravaged its country-sides, then they returned to the country-side of Spain. Then they reached the fortress of Orihuela, then they advanced to Frankland and they spent the winter there, capturing people and possessions. In it (Frankland) they conquered a province which they settled in, and it is associated with them (their name) until this day; then they departed for the country-side of the Sea of Spain. More than forty of their ships had already gone. And the ships of Prince Muḥammad met them and captured two of their ships in the region of Sidonia with great goods in them. The rest of the Heathen ships went away.

81. I.e. Guadalquivir.

82. Al-Jazīrah al-Khadrā‘, meaning "The Green Island." The Heathen apparently did not enter the river of Guadalquivir at this point of development.
And he said: On the first of Rajab of the year 355/965, a letter came from Alcacer do Sal to al-Mustansir bi-Allah, reporting the appearance of the Heathen fleet in the Western Sea near that place. The people of all that coast were confused because of their known behavior, well remembered from their past comings to Spain. They were in twenty-eight ships. Then letters came one after the other from those coasts (reporting) news of them and that they (the Heathen) had harmed them (the coasts). Then they reached the plain of Lisbon and the Muslims came out to them and a fierce battle took place between them; (many) Muslims were martyred and (many) Heathen were killed. And the fleet of Seville came out and attacked them in the valley of Silves and destroyed several of their ships and rescued the Muslims who were in them, and they killed many of the disbelievers. Upon that they (the Heathen) ran away in defeat. The news of the Heathen continued to reach Cordova from the west coast all the time until Allah Almighty sent them away.

And he said: And in it (meaning the year 355/965) Al-Hakam Ibn Fu'tays ordered a fleet to be built in the river of Cordova and to make the ships there on the model of the ships of the Heathen (may Allah cause them to perish) as a precaution against their coming to it (Cordova).

83. Qasr bani-Danis
84. Guadalquivir.
And he said: And at the beginning of Ramadān of it (meaning the year 360/970), the alarm came concerning the movement of Norman Heathen, may Allāh curse them, and their appearance in the sea and their advance toward the western coasts of Spain as usual. The Sultan ordered the Admiral to go out to Almeria and to prepare the fleet for sailing from it to Seville. And he gathered all the fleets to sail to the west.

XIII
From the Book of
Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar
Abu-al-Fidā
d(A.D. 1273-1331)

He said: And in this year (meaning the year 230/844) the Heathen went out, in the farthest (regions) of Spain, by sea, to the land of the Muslims; and between them and the Muslims several battles took place in Spain, in which the Muslims were defeated, and they (the Heathen) went on killing the Muslims until they entered the cultivated region of Seville. And the army of ‘Abd-al-Rahmān the Umayyad, the ruler of Spain, encountered them. Then the Muslims gathered against them from all sides and they defeated the Heathen and took from them four ships (together) with all that was in them; and the Heathen fled in their ships to their country.

85. Al-Majūs al-Urmandiyyīn, اليمامة الدومنیسینی
(The mention of the coming out of the Heathen to the land of the Muslims in Spain). He said: And in the year 230/844, the Heathen in the farthest (regions) of the land of Spain, came out to the land of the Muslims. Their first appearance was in Dhi-al-Hijjah, 229/843 near Lisbon and they stayed in it thirteen days. During that time there were many battles between the two. Then they advanced to Cadiz; then to Sidonia (where) there was a great battle between them and the Muslims. Then they advanced toward Seville on the eighth day of Muḥarram and they landed twelve parasangs from it (Seville). The Muslims came out to them but the enemy defeated them and many of them (the Muslims) were killed and captured and the Heathen did not refrain from striking with sword either man or beast and they entered the inhabited district of Seville and stayed in it one day and one night. Then they returned to their ships. Then the army of ʿAbd-al-Rahmān encountered them and the Heathen attacked. But the Muslims stood their ground and fought back, and seventy Heathen were killed and they were defeated; then they embarked on their ships and the Muslims refrained from (attacking) them.
Then 'Abd-al-Rahmān sent another army and the Heathen fought it fiercely and retreated. Then the army followed them on the second day of Rabī‘ al-Awwal and fought them. And reinforcements came to them (the Muslims) from every direction and they rose to fight the Heathen from all sides. Then the Heathen were defeated and about five-hundred of their men were killed; and they (the Muslims) took from them four ships. They took what was in them then they burned them. Then the Heathen went out to Niebla and took (some) captives and they landed on an island near Coria and divided the booty which they had. But the Muslims came upon them by the river and killed two men. Then the Heathen departed and entered Sidonia and plundered food and captives; they stayed two days. Then the ships of 'Abd-al-Rahmān arrived at Seville; and when the Heathen knew of their arrival they went to Niebla and they attacked (it) and captured (women); then they went to Oskonoba; then they departed for Beja; then they returned to the city of Lisbon and they departed and there was no further news of them in the land and the people relaxed.

*(The mention of the coming of the Heathen to the land of the Muslims in Spain). He said: In the year 245/859 the Heathen came out in ships to the land of Spain and they reached the city of Seville and occupied the cultivated land and burned the mosque; then they crossed to the coast, 87

86. Qūris قوريس

87. عزوة meaning elevated spot, margin, brink (of a river). I translate it coast because it seems that they crossed the Strait of Gibraltar to North Africa first, and then came back to Spain.
then they returned to Spain. The people of Todmir fled and entered the fortress of Orihuela; then they advanced to the wall of Frankland and attacked (it) and obtained much plunder and many captives, then they departed. The ships of Prince Muḥammad met them and fought them and burned two Heathen ships and captured two ships, plundering whatever was in them. Upon that, the Heathen fought more vigorously and a group of Muslims were martyred. And the ships of the Heathen went away until they arrived at the province of Pamplona and they captured its ruler Garcia the Frank and he ransomed himself for 90,000 dīnārs.

XV

From the Book of

Al-‘Ibar wa Dīwan al-Mubtada wa al-Khabar

Ibn Khaldūn

(A.D. 1332-1406)

He said: Then in those years it came to pass that the Heathen came out into the regions of the land of Spain. They appeared in the year 227/841 on the coast of Lisbon. The war between them and its people continued for thirteen days. Then they advanced to Cadiz, then to Sidonia in which there was a battle between them and the Muslims. Then they advanced to Seville and landed near it and fought with its people in the middle of (the month of) Muḥarram in the year 228/842 and
defeated them and captured some of them and entered Seville and stayed in it one day and one night, then they returned to their ships. And armies came from Cordova with the generals, and the Heathen came down from their ships and the Muslims fought them and defeated them after a stern resistance. Then reinforcing armies came from Cordova and the Heathen fought them but the Muslims defeated them and captured some of their ships and burned them. Then the Heathen departed to Sidonia and stayed in it two days and plundered a bit. Then the ships of 'Abd-al-Rahmān arrived at Seville and the Heathen sailed to Niebla, and they attacked (it) and captured (women). Then they went away to Beja; then to the city of Lisbon; then they sailed from there and news from them ceased, and the land calmed down; that was in the year 230/844. Then 'Abd-al-Rahmān al-Awsat (the Middler) came forth to repair what they had ruined of the country and enlarged its garrison. Some historians have mentioned that this incident of the Heathen (took place) in 246/860, and it probably was another one and Allāh knows better.

And he said: And in the year 245/859 the ships of the Heathen appeared and they landed at Seville and Algeciras and burned its mosque; then they returned to Tōdmir and entered the fortress of Orihuela and they went to the coasts of the Franks and pillaged them and (then) departed. Then the ships of Prince Muḥammad met them and fought them and captured two

88. To be identified as 'Abd-al-Rahmān II (822–52), later surnamed al-Awsat (the middler) for coming between 'Abd-al-Rahmān I and 'Abd-al-Rahmān III. See Hitti, Arab History, 514.
of their ships; a group of Muslims were martyred and the ships of the Heathen departed for Pamplona and captured its ruler Garcia and he ransomed himself for 70,000 dīnārs.

And he said: And in this year (meaning the year 354/965) the ships of the Heathen appeared in the Great Sea and they pillaged the plains of Lisbon. The people flared up and fought against them; so, they returned to their ships and al-Ḥakam dispatched the generals to guard the coasts and he ordered the Admiral, ʿAbd-al-Raḥmān ibn Rumāḥis to hasten the movement of the fleet. Then the news came that the armies struck them grievously from all directions.

And he said: And after him (meaning al-Muʿtaṣim ibn Śāliḥ ibn Manṣūr) his brother Idrīs reigned. He layed the plans of the city of Nakūr on the brink of the valley but he did not finish it, and he died in the year 243/857. After him his son Saʿīd reigned, and he became powerful. He resided in the city of Timsāmān, then he layed the plans of the city of Nakūr at the beginning of his reign and resided in it, which is known to the present as al-Mazīmmah. It is between two rivers. One of them is Nakūr and it flows from the land of Kazanāya. Its springing place is the same as that of the valley of Warga. The other is Ghīs. It springs from the land of the sons of Waryaghāl. The two rivers meet at

89. تسمان, possibly Tlemcen.

90. ورغة; it empties in the Sebu River which in turn empties in the Atlantic, north of Rabat.
Akda, then they depart (from each other) towards the sea.
Opposite to Nakur in the mainland of Spain is Besliana.91
The Heathen had raided Nakur by their fleets in the year 244/858
and overcome it and made themselves free in it for eight (days).
Then the Baranis(?) joined Sa'id and they drove them out of it.

XVI

From the Book of

Nafh al-Tib

Al-Maqqari

(ca. A.D. 1627)

He said: And in the Ocean there are the seven Canary
Islands and they are to the west of the city of Sela, could
be seen in a sunny day when the weather is free from heavy
vapors. In them there are seven idols unto the likeness of
human beings, indicating that (there is) neither passing nor
way after them. In it (the Ocean) northward are the Islands
of the Blessed.92 In them there are uncountable cities and
villages. And a nation come out from them called the Heathen,
and they are Christians. The first one of them (the islands)
is Britain, which is in the middle of the Ocean Sea in the

91. Bizilyannah رَبَّ يَانَا east of Malaga.
92. Jazair al-Sa'dah جَزَائِرَ السَّعَارة the Islands of Happiness.
farthest north of the land of Spain. There are neither mountains nor springs in it:, but they drink and cultivate by rain-water.

And he said: Ibn Ḥayyān and others had mentioned that the reign of al-Nāṣir⁹³ in Spain was of ultimate grandeur and sublimity. The Rūm¹⁰⁴ offered him presents and drew near him requesting to make truce with him and offer him great presents. All the nations of the kings of the Rūm, the Franks and the Heathen and the other nations who heard of him came to him, willingly submitting and departed pleased.

And he said: And ibn Ghālib has mentioned in Farḥat al-Anfus when he praised Spain and its people that Ptolemy attributed to them, because Venus ruled their country, the tendency to good dress and food and cleanliness, purity and the love of pleasure, singing and producing tunes. And because of the rule of Mercury, (he attributed to them) the wisdom of management and keenness in pursuing knowledge and the love of wisdom, philosophy, justice and fairness. Ibn Ghālib mentioned also what they were favored because of the management of Jupiter and Mars. Some have criticized him in that the fourth, fifth and sixth regions of Spain were on its northern coast; and that the seventh was in the islands of the Heathen; and that the Sun was for the fourth, and for

⁹³. ‘Abd-al-Rahmān III (912-61). For full discussion see Hitti, Arāb History, 520.
⁹⁴. I.e., the Byzantines.
the fifth was Venus; for the sixth was mercury and for the
seventh was the Moon; and Jupitor was for the second region
and Mars for the third and they do not include Spain.
Chapter Two

Notices Concerning the Normans

From the Book of

Al-Jughrāfiyyah

The author said: And the land of Armenia Minor: It was mentioned that this land is never free from rain, neither at night nor in the day. If no rain falls in it, there still are weather disturbances and clouds such that the sun is hardly seen in it neither in the summer nor in the winter. Its chief food plants are the leguminous plants; wheat and barley are rare in it; and from it comes the Armenian wormwood. It is the coldest country in the world; and it was called Armenia Minor because the Major (Armenia) is in the country of the Normans in the land of the Rūm.

And he said: And to the west of this country (meaning Rūmya) is the country of the Normans and the people of this country are known as the Urman after the country of Armenia Major. The Muslim raids reached by sea from the land of

1. Al-Urmān
2. Al-Qaṭānī
3. Al-Rumāniyyah
4. Al-Urmān; the writer is possibly confused between "Normans" and "Armenians".

55
Spain to this land and the commander of the fleet then was 
Muḥammad ibn Maymūn al-Murri during the period of the 
Almoravides. After him Ḫūsa ibn Maymūn had raided it from 
the city of Seville. In this land there is the city of 
Nicoteran5 which Muḥammad ibn Maymūn had taken, and the city 
of Augusta6 which Ḫūsa ibn Maymūn had taken. To the north 
of this land is the country of Urmānāya Major. This country 
is the coldest country on earth and it is far into the north. 
It is a great country, in which live (some) sects of Rūm, 
and their origin is from the Khazar but the Rūm dominated 
them and they became Christians. This country has little 
plants but many cattle; and they know no fruit save apples 
which is their (only) fruit. And they have huge apples 
larger than are in (all) the lands of Allāh Almighty. They 
remain on their trees one or two years or more until the 
circumference of the apple becomes four spans or so. These 
apples are brought to Syria and Iraq and they probably 
reached Egypt, and they are known as the Armenian apples. 
They have plenty of nuts, almonds and chestnuts.7 (They 
also have) the pistachios and the pines from which farshaq8

5. Nīqṭahā نَقْطَة ; in Calabria.
6. Ghāzītah غَزِيَّة (or Ghavzat); another variant given by 
Seipped is Ghayṭah غِيَاطَة which is to be identified 
as Gaeta.
7. Al-qastall القسطل ; Lat. Castanea; Gr. κάστανον.
8. Fraschق, possibly "varnish" or "turpentine".
is extracted, but the single seed is in the size of the ostrich egg. Within its rind there are round seeds the size of an almond that has hard rind, that can be broken like an almond. Inside it there is a moist core which tastes like butter and honey; and from nuts they make oil and with it they flavor (their food). The people of this country are a nation who have white faces, blond hair and blue eyes such that there is hardly any black apparent in their eyes. They enter the Caspian Sea and get from it the Rūmi pearls, the mother of pearl and the Jarīb stone\(^9\) which is a kind of ruby. Following the land of Nicotera is the land of Amalfi\(^{10}\) who are a Frankish nation. They were called by this name after one of their cities called Mulandah\(^{11}\) which is one of the greatest Frankish cities and it is near the Rūmi Sea.\(^{12}\) The dresses of Amalfi are made by them, which are beautiful dresses which they make of wool and they excel in dyeing them until they resemble silk dresses. They (the dresses) were associated with them and from them they are brought to the land of the Rūm and Spain. These dresses may be manufactured in many of the Frankish lands but never like those nor do they approach them. To the north of this city is the country of Flanders;\(^{13}\) and in this country the Fustian dresses

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9. Jarīb; possibly "garnet"
10. Al-Malf (Mulfandah), probably Amalfi also.
11. Mulandah, I.e., the Mediterranean.
12. Iflandah
are manufactured, and they are dresses that are made of mallow. These dresses are figured like silk dresses except that they are all white like cotton. Many of them are made in the land of the Franks but they are not like the Flanders ones. To the north of this country is the beginning of the land of Galicia, similarly the city of Barcelona is on the sea coast of the land of the Franks.

And he said: And the land of Galicia is neighboring the land of Galicia (sic) in the west and neighbors the land of the Normans in the east. The land of Galicia is the end of the land of Castile in the north and its mention will come if Allah Almighty wishes. And the land of the Rum, from the land of Constantinople in the east to the land of Barcelona in the west, is fertile, having plenty of cultivation, cattle, fruits and vines, except those parts which are deep to the north like the land of Armenia, the land of the Normans, the land of Galicia and the land

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14. JillĪqydh: the writer is probably confused with Galicia of the Iberian Peninsula, Galicia of Hungary, and Poland and Western Russia, Galatia of Asia Minor and possibly Calais (Calaisia) on the coast of France.

15. Jillīqydh
16. Ghillīsyah
17. Al-Urmān al-dīrān
18. Ghillīsyah
19. Qishtālah fīshālah
20. Al-Rūmāniyyah ar-rumānīyah
21. Jillīqydh
of Galicia, for agriculture in these lands is scarce and wines do not exist. They have plenty of fruits and dairy production and mallow.

And he said: And from this city (meaning Almeria) the Muslims invaded the city of Nicotera in the land of the Normans.

And he said: And in this land (meaning Galicia) is the church which is exalted by the Rūm (and) which they put on the same level with Jerusalem; and the Rūm in Syria and the people of Constantinople, Rūmiyyah, the Normans and other types of Rūm come to visit it as pilgrims.

And he said: And there is no sea that has more civilization than it (meaning the Rūmi Sea) for its civilization is continuous along its two sides. First, (its shores) are inhabited in the south by Berbers from Tangiers to Tripolitania; and it is more than ninety days (in length). There its civilization ceases due to its ruggedness, and it becomes uninhabitable. In it there were Berber and Roman castles but today they are empty except for very few of them. There is a great city of the Rūm in it called Teuchira

22. Ghilliṣyah غلِيسِية
23. Al-Urmān الورمان Calabria.
24. It is the church of Santiago de Compostela.
25. The Mediterranean.
26. Tukīrā تكيرا
but the Berbers took it from them; it is between Tripoli and Alexandria; and the length of this distance is eighteen days. This place is known as Taraf Awtān (Place of Idols).

Civilization is continuous from the city of Alexandria to the city of Tyre and Acre. The inhabitants of this place are a nation of Copts and they are in the province of Egypt.

Civilization is also continuous from the city of Sfax of Syria and Tripoli of Syria to the city of Ascalon, to the city of Suwaidah, to the city of Venice to the Gulf of Constantinople to the land of the Normans to the land of Amalfi, to the land of the Franks, to the beginning of the land of Spain, to Carthagená and Almería to the island of Tarifa to Trafalgar which is opposite to Tangiers.

27. Isfaqis al-Sham
28. Al-Urmān
Chapter Three

Notices Concerning the Varangians¹

I

From the Book of

Al-Tafhīm li-Awā'il Sinā'at al-Tanjīm

Al-Bayrūnī

(A.D. 973-1048)

He said: As for the sea which is to the west of civilization on which coast is the country of Tangiers and Spain, it is known as the Ocean Sea, and the Greeks call it Ṭokianōs. It is not penetratable but it is navigable close to its shore. It stretches from this country to the north parallel to the land of the Slavs. To the north of the Slavs a great gulf comes out of it, and it stretches to the neighborhood of the land of the Muslim Bulgars and they know it as the Sea of Varang, which is a nation on its coast. Then it bends after them eastward. Between its coast and the extremity of the land of the Turks (there are) unknown, waste and untraversed lands and mountains.

And he said: As for the Seventh Region, it does not have much civilization, but it is in the east, (composed of)

¹ Warank مرنك
thickets and mountains, inhabited by groups of Turks like the savages. It (the Seventh Region) passes through the mountains of Bāshkhart\(^2\) and the borders of the Patzinaks\(^3\) and the two countries of Suwar\(^4\) and Bulgar, and the Rūs, the Slavs and the Bulgarians,\(^5\) and it ends at the Ocean Sea. After this region (there are) few nations, such as the Ṣawā\(^6\), the Varangians, the Yūrah\(^7\) and the like.

II
From the Book of
Al-Tadhkirah fi al-Hay'ah
Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī
(A.D. 1210)

He said: And in Al-Qadar al-Makshūf (it is mentioned that) civilization also has many seas, some of them are connected to the Ocean, such as that which is between Maghrib and Spain, and

\(2. \text{ باشخرت; possibly Bashkir.}
\)

\(3. \text{ Al-Bajnākiyyah}\)

\(4. \text{ Possibly Serbs or Sueves, but more likely the former because their location is in the immediate vicinity of the area under discussion.}
\)

\(5. \text{ The reference here is possibly to Great Bulgaria.}
\)

\(6. \text{ يئوسا; possibly the Uzes people on the Dnieper River and the Ural River.}
\)

\(7. \text{ يورة; possibly the Uguri.}
\)
the Southern Sea which is connected to the eastern side from which four gulfs come out of it to the middle of civilization: The Gulf of Barbary and it is the nearest (of the gulfs) to Maghrib, the Red Gulf, the Persian Gulf and the Green Gulf. Each one of them has length and width (which are) good (for navigation) like the Varangian Sea in the north. Some of them are not connected, like the Sea of Tabaristan and the Lake of Khawarizm and other torrents and marshes.

III

From the Book of

Aštār al-Bilād wa Akhbār

al-'Ilbād

Al-Qazwīni

(A.D. 1283)

He said: Varang is a place on the edge of the Northern Sea, i.e., a gulf has come out from the Ocean Sea southward. The place on the edge of that gulf, which the gulf is named after, is called the Varangian Sea which is the most extreme place in the north. Cold is very severe in it, and the air is heavy and the snow is continuous. It is fit for neither plants nor animals. Scarcely anyone reaches it due to the severity of cold and darkness and snow; and Allah knows better.

8. Possibly the Arabian Sea
9. I.e., the Caspian Sea.
IV

From the Book of

Al-Tuḥfaḥ al-Shāhiyyah

Al-Shīrāzī
(A.D. 1311)

He said: And know that the Western Ocean also, after passing Spain to the north, has a section which enters civilization. It stretches from the north of the land of the Slavs to the land of the Muslims of Bulgar. Its length from west to east is one-hundred parasangs and its width is thirty-three parasangs. In ancient books it is called the Sea of Maeotis, and now, the Sea of the Varang, who are a nation on its coast. They are tall and dark. When it passes by Varang eastward it stretches behind the lands of the Turks, in untraversed mountains and uninhabited lands, to the borders of the territory of China. And because (the lands) are uninhabited and because it (the sea) is not navigable, as it has been mentioned, its connection to the Eastern Ocean is not known.

And he said: As for the Danubel River, it is a great river comparable to a sea. It starts from 16° 30' then passes by the house of 16° 29' then 16° 28' then 17° 27', then 17° 26' and 18° 25' and 18° 24' and 19° 23' and 20° 23'.

11. Dunuwā دنوی
and $21^\circ 23'$ and $22^\circ 23'$ and $23^\circ 22'$ and $24^\circ 22'$ and $25^\circ 21'$
and $26^\circ 21'$ and $27^\circ 21'$, which is its mouth in the Sea of
Trebizond. Because it stretches from nearby the north-
western strip, some thought that it was a branch of the sea
of Rūm connected with the Western Ocean; and some (thought)
that it comes out of the Varangian Sea. It has also been
disputed whether it is possible to travel from the Rūs and
the Slavs to Constantinople by land, i.e., without sailing
in ships, or not. There is no reason for this dispute,
because it is possible when the river freezes and it is not
possible when it flows.

V

From the Book of
Nukhbät al-Dahr
Al-Dimāshqī
(A.D. 1256)

He said: there is not much of civilization in the
Seventh Region, save thickets and mountains in the east, in-
habited by groups of Turks like savages. It passes through
the land of the Pätzinaks, the heathen Bulgars, the Rūs,
the Slavs, Bāshkhart, Barā Swād, Varangians and Yūrah and

12. Tarābzūn طرابزون, which may also be identified as
Tiberiopolis (later Varna) on the west coast of the
Black Sea.
its end is 60\degree and its longest daytime is 16 hours. Civilization stretches behind it only up to the borders of latitude 66\degree 15' 10" as we have said before. Then after that to 90\degree is waste, uninhabitable by the peoples of the Regions; and no familiar animals live in it due to the piling of snow on it and the abundance of mist and the remoteness of the sun from it. It is not impossible that it is inhabited by animals which we are not familiar with and which cannot depart from it. Likewise, the peoples of the Regions cannot inhabit it. No one ever entered it and went deep into it but died before coming out of it. It has been mentioned before that it was the region of darkness.

And he said: Then next to it (meaning Mt. Daran)\textsuperscript{13} in length is the Mountain of Al-Bishārah and Al-Fatḥ\textsuperscript{14}, which separates between the west and the east of the peninsula of Spain, from the beginning of the peninsula to its end. From it there is a branch which is connected to the North Sea and to the Sea of Varang, the Slavs and the Croats.\textsuperscript{15}

And he said: It is the Ocean Sea from which all other seas are supplied. No coast is known to it. It has

\textsuperscript{13} جبل درن

\textsuperscript{14} Possibly the Guadarrama Mountains.

\textsuperscript{15} Al-Kilābiyyahالكلابية. I believe that this is a corruption of "Chrobatia".
(different) names in (different) places which the Greeks and the (other peoples) before them had given. Its name in the West is Okianōs and the Green Sea. In the South and the East (it is called) The Sea of Darkness, the Sea of Tar and the Frozen (Sea). In the extreme South (it is called) the Red Sea. And in the north and the West (it is called) the Sea of Darkness, the Sea of Varang and the Northern Ocean.

And he said: Then (the Ocean Sea) stretches with its coasts from the borders of the Sea of Cadiz to the limit of a branch out of it (which is) thin and long and circular (sic!). Its widest place is three days (journey). As for its length, it is not known. This branch is known as the Sea of England. Then the coasts of the Ocean stretches from the limits of this branch until it turns in the north westward. There is its greatest branch which is called the Varangian Sea. And Varang is the name of a people who do not speak intelligibly and who, almost, do not understand any speech; and they are the pure Slavs. This branch is the Northern Sea of Darkness. Nearby its coasts (there are) five islands whose mention will come. Then its coasts stretch to the north and the west until they enter the Region of Darkness; and there is no knowledge of what is there.

And he said: There have been differences about the arm that comes out of it (meaning from the Rūmī Sea) near Constantinople. Some people alleged that it comes to it from
the Sea of Pontus which is the Black Sea, and it is called
the Sea of the Rūs, and that the Sea of the Rūs is con-
ected with the Sea of the Varangians and the Sea of the
Slavs. Some people alleged that this Rūmī Sea is the one
which pours through this arm into the Sea of the Rūs, and
that the Sea of the Rūs is not connected with the Sea of
the Varangians, because of the continuity of the Great
Land from Spain to beyond the river and to the desert of
Kipchak. Traversing it is interrupted only by sweet-water
rivers.

And he said: And sea-monsters exist abundantly in the
Rūmī Sea, the Caspian Sea and the Varangian Sea. Likewise
(they exist) near the coasts of the Ocean in Spain.

VI

From the Book of
Tagwīm al-Buldān
Abu-al-Fidāʾ
(A D. 1273-1331)

He said: From this mentioned sea (meaning the Sea of
Okianōs) many seas come out; among them are the Sea of
the Rūm, the Sea of Bordeaux16 and the Varangian Sea.

16. Burdīl دیدهٔ; the old name is "Burdegala" in the
district of Burdegalenis. The reference here is
almost obviously to the Bay of Bascay.
The mention of the Varangian Sea: I found no mention of this sea except in the classifications of Abu-al-Rayḥān al-Bayrūni and in Al-Tadḥkirah of Al-NaṣĪr. I quote here what al-Bayrūni has mentioned. He said: The Varangian Sea comes out of the Northern Ocean Sea to the south. It has a length and a width that are fit (for navigation). The Varangians are a nation on its coasts.
Chapter Four
Notices Concerning the Rūs
I
From the Book of
Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik
Ibn Khurdādhbih
(ca. 912)

He said: As for the route of the Rūs merchants, who are a race of Slavs, they carry the skins of Khuzz¹ and the skins of black foxes and the swords from the farthest of Slavland to the Rūmi Sea, and the ruler of the Rūm tithes them. And if they travel (down) the Don², which is the river of the Slavs, they pass by the gulf³ of the Khazar city, and its ruler tithes them. Then they reach the Sea of Jurjān⁴ and they go out on any of the shores that they like. The diameter of this sea is 500 parasangs. They may carry their merchandise from Jurjān on camels to Baghdad. The Slav servants are their translators, and they claim to be Christians, so they pay the poll-tax.

1. بُلوُرُ الْخُرُز
2. تانياس
3. Seippel reads خُليج مَدِينة الخُرُز, but I suggest that it should be read خُليج مَدِينة الخُرُز, where خُليج means "gulf".
4. I.e., the Caspian Sea, or more likely the southern part of the Caspian Sea.
II
From the Book of
Al-Buldān
Al-Ya'qubī
(A.D. 891)

He said: To the west of the city which is called Algeciras (there is) a city called Seville, on a great river which is the river of Cordova. The Heathen, who are called the Rūs, had entered it in 229/843 and took captives, plundered, burned and killed.

III
From the Book of
Al-A'laq al-Nafṣah
Ibn Rusteh
(A.D. 903)

He said: The Bulgar are bordering the land of Bardās and they are on the bank of the river which empties in the Caspian Sea which is called Itil; they are between the Khazar and the Slavs. Their king is called al-Mush and he adopted Islam. Their lands are gardens and forests and they inhabit them. They are three types: one type is the

5. I.e., Guadalquivir.
6. i.e., the Volga River.
Barsūla\(^7\); the other type are the Asghal\(^8\) and the third are the Bulgars. They all live in one place; and the Khazar trade and deal with them. Likewise, the Rūs bring their trade to them. And all those who are on the two banks of the river frequent them with their merchandise, such as the mustella-zibelina, ermines, the minever and others.

And he said: As for the Rūs, they are in an island surrounded by a lake. The island in which they are has three days (journey) of forests and gardens. It is disease-ridden and damp, if a man puts his foot on the ground it quakes due to its dampness. They have a king called Khaqān Rūs. They raid the Slavs: They sail in ships until they reach them and (then) they capture them; then they go to the Khazar\(^9\) and Bulgar to sell them. They have no plantations, but they eat from whatever they carry from the land of the Slavs. If a baby is born to a man he presents to the baby a drawn sword and places it in his arms saying: "I shall not bequeath thee fortune, and there is nothing for thee except that thou obtainest for thyself with this thy sword." They have no estates, villages or plantations, but their profession is trading in mustella-zibelina and the minevers and other furs, (which) they sell to their customers taking

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7. Possibly the city of Prislav (Peristhlabas) on the Danube delta.
8. Possibly Eskistambol (Peristhlabas magna).
9. خزران Khazrān.
the prices in money\textsuperscript{10} which they bind in their bags. Their dresses are clean. Their men wear golden bracelets; and they are kind to their slaves. They are refined in their dressing because they are merchants. They have many cities; and they spend lavishly on themselves, and they are generous to their guests and to the strangers who take refuge with them and to whoever is related to them and they do not allow any one to wrong them or transgress against them; and they assist them and defend them against anyone who tries to hurt them or transgress against them. They have the Sulaymani swords. And if one group is provoked they all go out (for war) and never disperse but become (like) one hand against their enemy until they overcome them. If one of them brings a suit against another, he takes him to the king to try him, and they wrangle. If (the king) gives his judgment, that is what he wants. But if they do not agree to his decision (the king) commands them to be judged by their swords, and the victory goes to the more sharp of the two swords. Then the two factions rise with their arms and fight and the one that overcomes the other can do whatever it wants with the adversary. They have learned men who rule upon their king like gods for them. They command them (to seek favor) with their Creator with whatever they want of women, men and horses. And if the

\textsuperscript{10} البال الصامت lit. *The silent goods.*
learned men pass a judgment they find no way but to fulfill their orders. Then the learned man takes the human being or the beast and lays a rope around his neck then hangs him on a wooden (post) until he dies and then he says: "This is a sacrifice for God". They acquire manhood and courage. If they go out fighting a nation they do not depart from them until they kill them and allow (taking) their women and enslave them. They have (good) physiques, sight and courage. They do not attack on the back (of horses), but their raids and dealings are on ships. They have trousers each one of them is made of one-hundred yards. When one wears them he collects them on his knees and binds them there. The one from them does not go out to finish his business alone, but accompanied by three persons from among his comrades and each one of them is carrying a sword due to their lack of trust and their treachery. If a man has some possession, his brother or friend who is with him (may) be covetous enough to kill him and take it away from him. If a great man dies they dig a grave for him like a huge house and they put him in it, then they put with him his clothes and golden bracelet which he used to wear, and a plenty of food and jars of drink and also money. They put with him in the grave his wife, whom he loved, while she is still alive, then the door of the grave is shut on her, so she dies there.
He said: And among them (meaning the seventy-two men who gathered to build the Tower of Babel) there were fifteen men from the descendants of Japheth; and they lived to the extreme north of the Tigris. And among them are the Turks, the Patzinaks, the Ghuzz, the Tibet, Gog Magog, the Khazars, the Alans, the Abkhasians, the Şanariyyans, Khazrān, Armenia Major, Armenia Minor, Jurzān, Antioch, Chaldians, Paphlagonia, Capadocia, Kharshana, the Greeks, the Rūm, the Byzantines, the Rūs, the Dailem, the Bulgars, the Slavs, the Lombards, the Franks, the Basques and Spain.

11. المطغزغز, Al-Tughuzghuz.
12. جرُان, possibly Jurjān, on the southeast side of the Caspian Sea; (Georgia).
13. الفلاغونية, Aflāghuniyyah.
14. هرِنَة; possibly Cherson, in the Crimea.
15. الدكَبرَة, Al-Ankabardah.
16. الياسقُس, Al-Jāsqs: Identified as "The Basques" on the basis of being mentioned in the text between the Franks and Spain.
V

From the Book of

Masālik al-Mamālik

Al-Iṣṭakhri

(A.D. 934)

He said: As for the Kingdom of the Rūm, the territories of the Slavs and those who neighbor them such as Rūs, Sarṭr\(^\text{17}\), Alans, Armenians and whoever believe in Christianity, are included in them.

And he said: As for the Kingdom of Islam, on the east (it is bordered) by India and the Persian Sea, on the west by the Kingdom of the Rūm and whatever is connected to it such as the lands of the Armenians, Arrān\(^\text{18}\), Sarṭr, Khazar, the Rūs, the Bulgars, the Slavs and a group of Turks. To the north is the Kingdom of China and whatever is connected to it from the country of the Turks. To the south of Islam is the Persian Sea. As for the Kingdom of the Rūm, on its east is the Islamic land; on the west and the south is the Ocean Sea; to the north is China because we have annexed

\[^\text{17}\] السربير, on the western coast of the Caspian Sea.

\[^\text{18}\] Al-Rān: They are definitely to be identified as Arran (or Erran), east of Armenia. The name pronounced in Arabic as "Ar-Rān" even if the definite article al is prefixed to Rān. The writer inserted the definite article because he probably thought that the name is Rān and the syllable "Ar" stands for the definite article "al", pronounced "Ar" because the R of "Rān" is a "sun letter."
(into Islam) whatever nations that are between the Turks and the land of the Rūm such as the Slavs and other nations up to the land of the Rūm.

And he said: And the land of the Slavs is wide and long, about two months. Outer Bulgar is a small territory which does not have many provinces. Its fame is due to its being a port for these kingdoms. The Rūs is a nation near the Bulgars, between them and the Slavs. A group of Turks were cut off from their own land and became between the Khazar and Rūm, and they are called Patzinaks. Their place was not theirs from ancient times but they assumed and conquered it. As for the Khazar, it is a name for a race of people. The country is called Itil; and it has been named after the river that flows through it to the Caspian Sea. This country is not very well off and does not have extended domain. It is a land between the Caspian Sea, the Sarīr, the Rus and the Ghuzz.

And he said: As for the Khazar, it is the name of the region. Its capital is called Itil and this is the name of the river which flows to it (the Khazar region) from the Rūs and the Bulgar. Itil (city) is of two sections: One section is on the western (bank) of this river which is called Itil and it is the largest of the two (sections); the (other) section is on its eastern (bank) ---. This country has no villages, but their plantations are spread. They go out in the summer time in the fields to plant some
twenty parasangs. They gather some of (the crops) on the river and some on the (edge) of the desert. They transport their crops by carriages and by the river. Most of their food is rice and fish. And whatever is carried to them of honey and wax is carried to them from the region of the Rūs and the Bulgars. Likewise, the furry skins which are carried to the far away places do not exist except in those rivers which are in the region of the Bulgar, the Rūs and Kiev$^{19}$ and do not exist in any of the regions which I know.

And he said: As for the River Itil, I was informed that it goes out near Kirghiz and flows between Kīmākiyyah$^{20}$ and the Ghuzz, and it is the border line between Kīmākiyyah and Ghuzz. Then it goes westward through Bulgar and comes back to the east until it passes by the Rūs then it passes by Bulgar and then by the Burtas$^{21}$ until it empties in the Caspian Sea.

And he said: Burtas is a nation which is neighboring the Khazar and no other nation (exists) between them and the Khazar. They are a nation which is spreading over the valley of Itil. Burtas is the name of the nation (as well). Similarly, Rūs, Khazar, Sarīr are names of kingdoms not of cities or peoples.

$^{19}$Kūyābah

$^{20}$Al-Kīmākiyyah; possibly the Cumans who settled around the Dnieper Valley.

$^{21}$بِرطاس, in the northern Don valley.
And he said: The language of the Bulgar is like the language of the Khazar. The Burtas have another language. Similarly, the language of the Rūs is different from the language of the Khazars and Burtas.

And he said: The Rūs are three kinds. One kind are near the Bulgar and their King dwells in a city called Kiev, which is bigger than Bulgar. Another type who are farther than them are called the Șulāwiyyah; another type are called the Artinians whose King dwells in Arta. The people reach to Kiev with their merchandise. As for Arta, it has never been mentioned that any stranger has entered it, because they kill any stranger who steps on their soil. They, however, come down, by water, trading and never give information about their affairs and trade, and they do not let anyone accompany them or enter their land. From Arta come the black mustilla zibelina and (also) lead.

The Rūs are a nation who burn themselves when they die. With their rich people, the young female slaves are burned with pleasure. Some of them shave their beards; some twist them like forelocks. Their dress is (composed of) short tunics. The dress of the Khazar, Bulgar, and Patzinaks is the complete tunic. Those Rūs trade with the Khazar, the


23. Al-Arthānīyyah, who are almost certainly to be identified with Artinia (Aetolia). For other conjecture see Minorsky, Hudūd al-'Ālam, 434.
Rūm and Great Bulgaria. They border the Rūm to the latter's north. They are abundant in number. Their strength is such that they have imposed tribute upon their neighbors of Rūm. The people of Bulgaria Interior are Christians.

And he said: And in this sea (meaning the Caspian Sea) there is no inhabited island (in which) there is civilization as we mentioned about the two seas of Persia and the Rūm. But, nevertheless, there are in it islands in which there are thickets and waters and trees. There are no men on them. One of them is the island of Siyahūn24 which is a big island in which there are springs, trees and thickets. And in it there are wild beasts. And in it (the Caspian Sea) there is an island like the shoe of the ass25: It is big and in it there are thickets, trees and waters. Madder comes from it and it comes to it from the region of Bardha'ah26 and from it they carry the madder. They also carry to it the beasts by ships from the region of Bardha'ah and the rest of the provinces, and there they are pastured until they get fat. And (there is) an island known as the island of Russia and (other) small islands.

24. ﻦﻴﺤﻮ: It is certainly to be identified with the territory of Siabkuh, between the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea.

25. Possibly the peninsula on which the city of Bakū is situated.

26. ﺟﺮدة: It is to be identified with Patrav (modern Tertersk). It was the capital of the province of Albania, in the eastern Caucasus. See N.K. Chadwick, The Beginnings of Russian History (Cambridge, 1946), 54-55.
VI
From the Book of
Murūj al-Dhahab
Al-Mas'ūdi
(A.D. 946)

He said: And after him (meaning Enoch) Methuselah, son of Enoch arose and he built the land, and light was in his forehead. And he begot children; and people spoke much about his sons. The Bulgar, Rūs, and Slavs are his descendents.

And he said: As for the Sea of Pontus, it stretches from the land of Lazica to Constantinople. Its length is 1,100 miles and its width in the main is 300 miles. The great river which is known as Tanais empties in it, and we have already mentioned it before. The beginning of this river is in the north and on it there live many of the sons of Japheth, the son of Noah. It comes out from a great lake in the north (and) from springs and mountains. Its course on the surface of the earth is about 300 parasangs through series of tribes of the sons of Japheth. It then enters the sea of Maeotis, as it has been claimed by the well informed people, until it empties in the Sea of Pontus. This river is

27. הנוوخ (Heb. נוע); Gen. 5:21.
28. חָטָם (Heb. חטם); ibid.
29. לְדַלְעָה (Lādhiqah); on the eastern coast of the Black Sea.
30. דונאי; i.e., the Don River.
a great river. In it (there are many) kinds of stones, herbs and minerals; some early philosophers have mentioned it. Some people call the Sea of Maeotis a lake, fixing its length as 300 miles and its width as 100 miles. The Gulf of Constantinople springs out from it, which empties in the Sea of the Rūm whose length is about 350 miles. Constantinople and numerous tribes are on it from its beginning to its end. Constantinople is on the western coast of this Gulf and it is connected with the lands of Rūmia and Spain and others. Therefore, it must be, according to the sayings of those astrologers and others who preceded (them), that the Sea of Būlgar,31 and Ras, and Bajna,32 Patzinaks and Bajghard33 who are three types of Turks, is the Sea of Pontus. The mention of those nations will come later in this book if Allah Almighty wishes.

And he said: And (some) people made a mistake in claiming that the Caspian Sea is connected with the Sea of Maeotis. But I have never seen any one of the merchants who entered the land of the Khazar and sailed in the Sea of Maeotis and Pontus to Russia and Bulgaria who claimed that the Caspian Sea is connected to any of these seas or any of their waters or gulfs except from the Khazar River34, and we shall mention that when we mention the Kipchak Mountains35

31. Al-Burgar.
32. The reference is probably to Bitzina, a city on the west coast of the Black Sea.
33. Bajghard, possibly Belgrade or Sarkel which was a "white city".
34. The Volga River.
35. Jabal al-Qabaq.
and the city of Bāb al-Abwāb\textsuperscript{36} and the Khazar Kingdom, and how the Rūs entered the Caspian Sea by ships, and that was after the year 300/912. I have found most of the early and late (writers) who have described the seas mention in their books that the Gulf of Constantinople, which extends from Maeotis, is connected with the Caspian Sea; and I do not know how that could have been nor why have they said it: Was it from experience or from deduction and measurement? or whether they were mistaken that the Rūs and their neighbors on this sea were the Khazars? I have sailed in it from Abuskūn, which is on the coast of Jurjān, to the land of Tabaristan and others; and I have never left any of the merchants whom I have seen who have any minimum of knowledge, nor any other sailors, without asking them about that. All of them told me that there was no way to it except via the Khazar River where the ships of the Rūs enter it. Then the peoples of Azerbaijan, Arrān, Beilakān\textsuperscript{37} from the land of Bardhā'ah and elsewhere, and (likewise), the Dailem, Jīlān\textsuperscript{38}, Jurjān and Tabaristan rose against them because they did not experience in the past that an enemy had ever come out to them from it; and that was not even known in ancient times. Whatever we have mentioned of countries, nations and lands are

\textsuperscript{36} Bāb al-Abwāb: A city on the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea, almost on the same site of the modern city of Derbent.

\textsuperscript{37} Al-Baylaqān: A city between the Kura River and the Aras River.

\textsuperscript{38} Jīlān: Almost certainly to be identified as the people of Jīlān, on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea.
famous and well known to them (the writers). That was in the days of Ibn abi-al-sāj.

And he said: And Itil in which the King of the Khazars dwells at this time is in three sections, divided by a great river which comes down from the highlands in the land of the Turks; a branch comes out of it towards the land of the Bulgar and empties in the Sea of Maeotis. This city is (composed of) two sections and an island in the middle of the river where there is the house of government. The palace of the King is on the end of this island. It has a bridge of ships (between it) and one of the city's two sections. In this city there are Muslims, Christians, Jews and Heathen. As for the Jews, they are the King and his companions; the Khazars are of their race. The King of the Khazar adopted Judaism during the Caliphate of al-Rashīd\textsuperscript{39} and he gathered around him many Jews who came to him from the different Muslim countries and from the land of the Rūm, because the King of the Rūm at this time, which is the year 332/943 is Romanus\textsuperscript{40} who has coerced the Jews in his dominion to become Christians. We shall mention later in this book the accounts

\textsuperscript{39} I.e., the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (786-809).

\textsuperscript{40} ارمنوس (Armanūs): He is Romanus I Lecapenus (919-944) of the Macedonian Dynasty. There is, however, an implication in the text that he was a contemporary of Hārūn al-Rashīd. The text, therefore, may be interpreted as saying that the "office of the King" had gathered the Jews from different lands and not necessarily the same king who adopted Judaism in the time of al-Rashīd.
of the kings of the Rūm and their number and the account of this king and whoever shared his kingdom with him at this particular time. Many Jews fled from the land of the Rūm to the land of the Khazar as we have described. The account of the adoption of Judaism by the King of the Khazar has a separate account which has been related in our previous books. As for the Heathen in his land, they are (of different) races. Some of them are the Slavs and the Rūs and they live in one side of this city (Itil); they burn their dead with beasts, tools and jewelry. If a man dies his woman is burned with him alive. But if the woman dies the man is not burned. If a bachelor dies he is then married after his death. The women desire to burn themselves, for they believe that they would enter Paradise. This is an Indian custom as we have mentioned before. But the Indians are not in the habit of burning the woman with her husband unless the woman wishes that.

And he said: And in the court of the kingdom of the Khazar there are seven judges: two for the Muslims; two for the Khazars who make judgments according to the Torah; two for the Christians who are in it (the Kingdom) who make judgments according to the Gospel; and one for the Slavs and the Rūs and the other Heathen who makes judgments according to the Heathen custom and deductions. When something arises of which they have no knowledge, (which may be) of great gravity, they meet with the Muslim judges and accept
them as judges and accept whatever the Muslim law imposes. None of the Oriental kings in this region has mercenary soldiers except the king of the Khazar. Every Muslim in those lands knows the names of those nations: the Ursiyyah, the Rus, and the Slavs whom we have mentioned that they were the King's Heathen soldiers and slaves. In his land there are, beside the Ursiyyah, many Muslim merchants and craftsmen who came to his land because of his justice and security.

And he said: In the upper Khazar valley there is a mouth of a river connected to a gulf of the Pontus Sea, which is the Sea of the Rus. Nobody except them (the Rus) sail in it; they are on one of its coasts. They are a great nation who do not submit to a king or a law. Some of their merchants frequent the city of the Bulgar king. An abundance of silver exists in the land of the Rus; it is as abundant as the silver in the mountain of Banjahir.

And he said: And the Rus are many nations of many kinds. Some of them are a race called the Northmen and they are the majority. They frequent, as traders, Spain, Rumia,

41. الدربية; possibly the Uliches people between the Dnieper and the Bug rivers.


43. اللورعانة (al-Lawdahannah). I fix the name as "Northmen" in accordance with Seippel's argument that this name is a corruption of الأوربانة. I, however, suggest (continued)
Constantinople, and the Khazar. And it came to pass, that after the year 300/912 about 500 of their ships with 100 souls in each ship came and entered the Gulf of Pontus which is connected with the Khazar River. The Khazar king had well equipped men, with strong weapons who were to repel anyone who would come down from that sea or that area where a branch of the Khazar River is connected with the Sea of Pontus; that was because in the Valley of the Turks, the Ghuzz come to that land and spend the winter there. The water which is connected from the Khazar River to the Gulf of Pontus may freeze and the Ghuzz pass on it with their horses. It is a great body of water so that it does not break down under them, due to its great solidity; thus they pass to the land of the Khazar. The king of the Khazar would come out to them, if his equipped men there were unable to repel them, forbidding them from crossing that body of ice, thus, he would save his kingdom. But in the summer, the Turks have no way of passing over on it. So, when the ships of the Rus came to his men, who were stationed on the mouth of the Gulf, they negotiated with the king of the Khazar to pass through his country and come down in his river to enter the Caspian.

43. that the name possibly designated the Lithuanians. In the 10th century the Lithuanians were known as Litva; their branch, the Letts, called themselves Latvis. The Russian chronicles called them Letygola, an abbreviation of Latvin-galas, "the confines of Lithuania". See Encyclopaedia Britannica on the Lithuanians.
Sea, which is the Sea of Jurjān (Georgia) and Tabaristān and the other non-Arab\textsuperscript{44} countries, as we have mentioned, on the condition that they would give him half of whatever they should gain there from the nations on that sea. And he allowed them to do that. They entered the Gulf and reached the mouth of the river and went up in that branch of water until they reached to the Khazar River, then they came by it to the city of Itil. They passed through it and they reached the mouth of the river on the Caspian Sea, and from the mouth of the river to the city of Itil... And it is a great river, with much water. The ships of the Rūs spread in this sea and sent their contingents to the Jīl, Dailem and the land of Tabaristān and Abuskūn which is on the coast of Jurjān and the country of naphtha, and toward Azerbaijan, for (the distance) from the city of Arbadīl in Azerbaijan to this sea is about three days (journey). The Rūs set themselves free with women and children, and they looted, raided, destroyed and burned. The nations around this sea rose up because they were not accustomed to having any enemy ever come to them by sea, except the ships of merchants and fishermen who frequented it. They (the Rūs) had wars with the Jīl and the Dailem, and with a general of Ibn abi al-Sāj. And they ended up on the coast of the naphtha in the kingdom of Shirwān\textsuperscript{45} which is

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{الله عاجم} (al-A'ājim), a term designating the Persians and all non-Arabic speaking people in general.

\textsuperscript{45} On the west coast of the Caspian Sea.
known as Baku. The Rūs retreated, after their return from their raids, to islands near the naphtha, a few miles from it. The king of Shirwān at that time was 'Ali ibn al-Haytham. And the people prepared themselves and boarded the boats and the merchantships and sailed towards those islands. The Rūs fought them and thousands of the Muslims were killed and drowned. The Rūs stayed many months in this sea, as we have described. None of the nations around the sea had any means to reach them. And the people made preparations (to repel them), being cautious about them, because around the sea there are many peoples. When they had enough booty and grew bored with what they were doing, they went to the mouth of the Khazar River\textsuperscript{46}, where it flows into the sea and negotiated with the King of the Khazars and carried to him the wealth and the booty according to the condition he had laid on them. And the King of the Khazars has no ships and his men are not used to them (\textit{i.e.}, the ships), and except for that he would be a great menace to the Muslims. The Ursiyyah and the Muslims in the land of the Khazar knew about them (the Rūs) and they said to the king of the Khazars, "Leave those people to us, for they raided the land of our brother Muslims and shed blood and captured the women and children". He could not forbid them, but he sent to the Rūs informing them

\textsuperscript{46.} \textit{i.e.}, the Volga River.
of the plan of the Muslims to fight them. And the Muslims formed an encampment and marched down the river. When they came face to face, the Rūs abandoned their ships and met the Muslims; and with the Muslims (there were) some of the Christians who lived in the city of Itil. The Muslims were about 15,000 with horses and equipment. The fighting continued between them for three days, and Allāh made the Muslims overwhelm them and the sword took them. Some were killed, some drowned, and about 5,000 of them escaped and embarked for that side which is beyond the land of Burtas, and they abandoned their ships and stuck to the land. Some of them were killed by the people of Burtas, and some reached the land of the Muslim Bulgars who killed them. Those who were counted to have been killed by the Muslims on the coast of the Caspian were about 30,000. Since that year the Rūs have never returned to those regions.

Al-Mas'ūdi said: We have mentioned this story to refute those who assert that the Caspian is connected with the Sea of Maeotis and the Gulf of Constantinople, for if there was a connection between this sea and the Gulf of Constantinople from the side of the Sea of Maeotis and Pontus, the Rūs would have come through it for that was their sea as we have mentioned. There is no difference (in opinion) among the nations who are neighboring this sea, whom we mentioned, in that the sea of the Persians has no gulf which is connected to
any other sea because it is a small sea and so can be well known. That which we have mentioned about the ships of the Rūs is well known in those lands among the nations and the year is known and it was after 300/912, but I cannot recall it. Perhaps, whoever mentioned that the Caspian Sea is connected with the Gulf of Constantinople has confused the Caspian with the Sea of Maeotis and Pontus, which is the sea of the Bulgar and the Rūs; and Allāh knows better about that.

And he said: And the length of this gulf (meaning the Gulf of Constantinople) is 350 miles and it was said that it was less than that; its width at the place where the Sea of Maeotis flows into it is about 10 miles. And there are huge tribes and a city for the Rūm called Mesene, which bar the Rūs ships and others that come from that sea. This gulf narrows down near Constantinople and its width, which is the passing point from the eastern side to the western side in which is Constantinople, becomes about four miles.

And he said: The third type of emerald is known as the Western (emerald). By this name (by referring it to the West) they mean that the kings of the West: Franks,

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47. مضناه (Masnāh); a city in Thrace.
48. البحري (Al-Maghribi).
Lombards\textsuperscript{49}, Spaniards, Galicians, Basques\textsuperscript{50}, Slavs and Rūs (most of these nations touch Jarbi\textsuperscript{51}, which is between the east and the west, as we described when mentioning the lands of the sons of Japheth, son of Noah) are competing for this type of emerald just as the kinds of India and China are competing for the type called "the maritime emerald".

And he said: (And we have mentioned) that in the land of the Khazars there are people from the Slavs and the Rūs and they burn themselves with fire.

\section*{VII}
From the Book of 
Al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf
Al-Masʿūdi
(A.D. 947)

He said: And the fourth sea is the Sea of Pontus, and it is the sea of the Bulgars and the Rūs and other nations. It extends from the north from about the city which is called

\textsuperscript{49}المونكورد (Al-Nokbārd).

\textsuperscript{50}ويسكونسن (Wisconsin).

\textsuperscript{51}جربي (Syr. جزم or جزم); it seems to be a western route, probably Scandinavia or western Germany.
Lādhiqah (Lazians), which is beyond Constantinople. Its length is 1300 miles and its width is 300 miles. It is connected to the Lake of Maeotis which has a length of 300 miles and a width of 100 miles. It is on the edge of civilization in the north and some of it is under the North Pole; there is a city (or land) near it (the Pole) after which there is no civilization and it (that land) is called Thule.

And he said: And the sixth margin (meaning on the Gulf of Constantinople) is known as Abydos which is the mouth of the gulf which is pouring in the Sea of Egypt and Syria and its beginning is from the Sea of Maeotis which is known as the Caspian Sea. Its width at the beginning is about ten miles and there, there is a city of the Rūm called Mesene which forbids whatever ships that are coming down to them which belong to the Kūdkānah and other kinds of Rūs; the

52. لَدَقْفَةٍ: This city may be identified either as Ladoga on Lake Ladoga or Aleshki, a city not far from the mouth of the Dnieper. I, however, prefer the former because the author stretches the boundaries of Pontus as far north as the North Pole. It is also possible that he confused Ladoga with Aleshki.

53. أُبْدُرو (Abudërwa); Abydos on the Dardanelles.

54. الكوردكانة. Seippel (P. XXX) suggests that this should be identified with the دورعانة. See Footnote 43 above.
Rūm call them Arūsiya, which means the "Red". Many of them were absorbed in our times into the Rūm as were the Armenians and the Bulgars who are a kind of Slavs, and the Patzinaks from the Turks and they filled with them their forts which are next to the Syrian ports and put them next to Burjān and the other nations that are everlastingly (hostile to) them and surrounding them.

And he said: (And we have mentioned) those who lived in the mountain of Qabaq such as the Al-Lakz and those who are neighboring Bāb al-Abwāb, and the nations who are near this mountain such as the Alans, Sarīr, Khazars, Jurzān, Abkhasians, Sabiri, Burjān, Cossacks, Iberians, Rūs, Bulgars, Franks and Slavs.

VIII

(This section contains a poem of Al-Mutanabbi. The translation of this poem will not be included in this volume).

55. Ρωσία (Gr. Ρώσια).  
56. برجان; possibly Jurjān on the Caspian Sea.  
57. جبل القباق.  
58. النكر; possibly Lucuci on the Sea of Azov.  
59. جرزان; possibly Jurjān.  
60. السارية; the name indicates either the Saxiner (south of Bashkir) or Sabiri, where the letter (א = b) has been replaced mistakenly by (א = n).  
61. الكاسكية, Al-Kāsakiyyah.
IX
From the Book of
Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik
Ibn Hawqal
(A.D. 977-8)

He said: The land of the Slavs is wide and long; about two months (journey) each direction. Bulgar is a small city which does not have many provinces. It was famous because it was the capital of these kingdoms, but the Rūs, the Khazars, Itil, and Semender 62 have swept it off in the year 358/968 and went immediately to the land of the Rūm and to Spain. And the Rūs are a nation in the Region of Bulgar, between it and the Slavs.

And he said: And the cavalry detachment of 'Abd-al-Rahmān 63 never amounted to five-thousand horsemen paid by him and guarding his court, because he was content with the people of the frontier to defend him against the danger of his hostile neighbors, the Rūm. He had no enemies except them (the Rūm); and he seldom bothered with them. The ships of the Rūs, the Turks, the Slavs and the Patzinaks, who are a generation of Turks neighboring the land of the Khazars and the Bulgars, may sometimes come and loot the provinces of Spain; but they may (also) return in defeat.

And he said: As for the city of Bardha' a, it is the

62. سمندر a city on the west coast of the Caspian Sea.
63. He must be 'Abd-al-Rahmān III (Caliph 929-61), a contemporary of Ibn Ḥawqāl (943-77).
mother city of Arrān and the eye\textsuperscript{64} of those lands. It is a very big city, a parasang in length and less than that in width. It is magnificent for its beauty, fertility and the abundance of plants, fruits, trees, and rivers. It has many markets, hotels and baths in spite of the disturbances that befell it and in spite of the events since the days of the Rūs until now, i.e., the transgressions of rulers and the mismanagement of the insane.

And he said: And this sea (meaning the Caspian Sea) has no connection with any of the seas which are on the face of the earth, in spite of the similarity of substance and mixture, except what comes to it from the river of the Rūs which is known as Itil, which is connected with a branch that brings it to the gulf which comes out of the land of Constantinople to the Ocean Sea.

And he said: As for Khazar, it is the name of the region and its capital city is called Itil. And Itil is the name of the river which flows to it from Russia and the Bulgars and ends up in the Caspian Sea. Itil is (divided) into two sections: One section is on the western bank of this river which is called Itil, and it is the bigger. There is a section on its eastern bank. This city has no villages, and their plantations are spread out. All of them go out in

\textsuperscript{64}. I.e. the most important city.
the summer to what they have sown, and that is about twenty parasangs, and they take it (the crop) by carts to the river, and to a position near it (the town); and they transfer that which was gathered near the river by ships, and that which is near the town by carts. Most of their diet is rice and fish. Whatever of honey, wax and fleeces that is carried to them comes from the region of the Rūs and the Bulgars. Likewise, the fine skins which are carried to the distant countries exist nowhere but in those northern rivers which are in the region of the Bulgars and the Rūs and Kiev. The fine skins which are in Spain come from the rivers which are in the regions of the Slavs and they are shipped to the gulf on which is the land of the Slavs. This gulf has already been described. Most of these skins are in the land of the Rūs and some are from Gog Magog, and they are of excellent quality. They reach the Rūs because they are neighboring Gog Magog who carry them (the skins) to them. They sold them (the skins) in Bulgar before they destroyed it in the year 358/968. Some of that is exported to Khwarizm due to the frequent visits of the Khwarizmians to the Bulgars and the Slavs, and their raids on them and capturing them. The mart of the Russian trade, which was in Khazrān, is still so.

And he said: The Khazar have another city also called Semender, and it is between Itil and Bab al-Abwāb. In it there were many gardens which were said to have included 40,000 vineyards; I asked a contemporary in Jurjan about
them, in the year 358/968 and he said: "If there was any vineyard or garden, the poor now get no alms from it, nor has Allah created there a leaf on a branch", meaning that all those things have perished along with the land. Most of them (their trees) were vines. Muslims and others inhabited it, and they had their mosques; the Christians had churches and the Jews synagogues. But the Rūs put an end to all that and destroyed all that was on the Itil River and which belonged to the creatures of Allah: The Khazars, the Bulgars and Burtas, and they conquered them. Then the people of Itil took refuge in the peninsula of Bāb al-Abwāb and fortified themselves in it. Some of them (took refuge) in the isthmus of Siabkuh. 65

And he said; And the Rūs are three types. One type is nearer to the Bulgars and their king is in a city called Kiev, which is bigger than Bulgar. Another type, which is higher than them, are called the Sulāwiyyah 66 and their king is in a city called Sulā. Still another type is a nation called the Artinians and their king dwells in Arta. 67 People reach with trade to Kiev. As for Arta, I did not hear anyone mentioning that a stranger ever entered it, because they kill every stranger who steps on their land. They, however, travel by water trading and never telling (others)
about any of their affairs and commerce; and they do not let anyone accompany them or enter their land. And from Arta they carry the sable and the black foxes and lead. The Rūs are a people who burn themselves when they die. With their rich men the maidens are burned willingly as it is done in Ghanah 68 and Kūghah 69 and the regions of the land of India in Canoge 70 and others. Some of the Russians shave their beard and some of them twist it, like the manes of beasts, and plait it. They wear small tunics. The Khazars and the Bulgars wear the complete tunic. The Rūs are still trading with the Khazars and the Rūm. Great Bulgaria is bordering the Rūm in the north and they are many in number. Their strength was such that they imposed tribute in the past upon the Rūm who were next to them. In Inner Bulgaria there are Christians and Muslims. In our time nothing has been left from among the Bulgars, the Burtas and the Khazars because the Rūs have done away with them all and wrested all those lands from them and have taken them over. Those who escaped their hands are scattered around neighboring places because of their love of dwelling their country, hoping that they may placate them (the Rūs) so as to (be able) return under their overlordship.

68. غانه, possibly the Ganges River, or Ghana in Africa.
69. كوفة
70. قنوج, on the northern Ganges River.
X

From the Book of
Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Maʿrifat
al-Aqālīm
(A.D. 985-6)

He said: Itil is a large city on a river called Itil\(^{71}\) which extends to the lake (meaning the Lake of Tabaristan\(^{72}\)). The name of the city on its bank in the region of Jurjān is called after it. Around it (the city of Itil) and in it there are trees. There are many Muslims in it; and their king was a Jew who had laws, and Muslim, Jewish and Christian judges. I have heard that Al-Maʿmūn\(^{73}\) had invaded them (attacking) their king from Jurjān\(^{74}\) and called upon him (the king) to become Muslim. Then I heard that a race of Rūm, called the Rus, invaded them and ruled their land.

\(^{71}\) I.e., The Volga River.

\(^{72}\) The Caspian Sea.

\(^{73}\) Son of Hārūn al-Rashīd; he was Caliph at Baghdad (813-33).

\(^{74}\) Al-Jurjāniyyah.
XI
From the Book of
Al-Fihrist
Al-Nadîm
(A.D. 995)

He said: Someone whom I trust has told me that some of the kings of the Mountain of the Caucasus\textsuperscript{75} has sent him to the king of the Rûs and claimed that they had an inscription engraved on wood. He showed me a white piece of wood on which there were engravings and I do not know whether they are words or individual letters; for example:

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\textsuperscript{75} Jabal al-Qabaq. See Birkeland p. 53.
XII
From the Book Composed by Al-Āṯārī according to the History of ibn al-Batriq

He said: And in this year (meaning the year 329/940) the Rūṣ invaded Constantinople and reached the gate of the Acropolis in the Caspian Sea. The Rūm fought them and drove them off and overcame them.  

And he said: And the Bulgars took the opportunity of Emperor Nicephorus' activity in raiding the Muslim countries and they disturbed his provinces, invading what is neighboring them of his countries. Then he advanced against them and hurt them and made peace with the Rūṣ who were at war with him. He agreed with them (the Rūṣ) to attack the Bulgars and crush them. Enmity was inflamed among them and each one was busy fighting the other. And the Rūṣ overcame the Bulgars and they captured their city which is called

76. باب اقرالي Bāb Aqrūbuli. It is the Acropolis of Greek Byzantium. The reference to its being on the Caspian Sea is, obviously, due to a geographical confusion on the part of the author.

77. This is the expedition of Oleg "which the Povest claims as a great victory for the Russians." See Chadwick, Russian History, 44.

78. Obviously the Bulgars of the Danube.

79. نقفور Naqfur. He is certainly to be identified as Nicephorus Phocas (963-969) who was assisted by the Russian Prince Sviatoslav in his struggle against the Bulgarians. See A. A. Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire (Madison, 1958), 319.
Dristra\textsuperscript{80}, which is their capital and they took it by \textit{amān},\textsuperscript{81} and took away two sons of Samuel\textsuperscript{82}, the king of the Bulgars, who were there.

And he said: And Tzimisces\textsuperscript{83} was informed that the Rūs who had been pacified by Nicephorus and with whom he agreed to invade the Bulgars were intending to attack him and fight him and get revenge for Nicephorus. So, Tzimisces took the initiative and advanced towards them and besieged them in the city of Dristra which the Rūs had conquered from the Bulgars. And he fought them for three years. Then the king of the Rūs asked Tzimisces to give him surety and allow him to go out of the city to return to their own country; and he gave him that (request) and received the city from him as well as the fortresses which are next to it and which the Rūs had captured. He also received from him the two sons of Samuel, the king of the Bulgars, who were with him (\textit{i.e.}, the king of the Rūs), and he put the fortresses under his (own commanders) and returned to Constantinople.

\textsuperscript{80} طلسترا (Ṭalastara), it is Dristra (Durostolus, Silistria), on the lower Danube.

\textsuperscript{81} Amān is the surety given by the conqueror to the inhabitants of the surrendering city that the conqueror would not inflict revenge on the capitulating city.

\textsuperscript{82} صموئيل (Samwīl), the greatest of the Bulgarian tzars, and a contemporary and enemy of Basil II Bulgaroctonus. Samuel died in 1014 of a shock after he saw 14,000 Bulgarians blinded by Basil II and sent back to their homeland. See Vasiliev, \textit{Byzantine Empire}, 319-20.

\textsuperscript{83} ابن الشيخ مؤصف. (Ibn al-Shamashqīq). He is John Tzimisces who became emperor (969-976) after the death of Nicephorus II Phocas.
XIII
From the Book of
Al-Tafhim li-Awā'il Sinā'at
al-Tanjīm
Al-Bayrūnī
(A.D. 973-1048)

He said: Then in the midst of civilization in the land
of the Slavs and the Rus there is a sea known as Pontus among
the Greeks. Among us it is known as the Sea of Trebizond\textsuperscript{84},
because that is a city on it.

XIV
From the Book of
Al-Yamīnī
Al-'Utbi
(A.D. 1036)

He said: And Bughrajiq\textsuperscript{85} marched until he reached
Bushanj\textsuperscript{86} Tāhir ibn-Khalaf met him together with his

\textsuperscript{84} پرازنة (Tāribizundah).
\textsuperscript{85} بغاقيق . He possibly is either King Bagrat III or King
Bagrat IV, members of the Armenian Bagratid dynasty who
were agents of the Arabs in Armenia (A.D. 806-1045). See
V. Minorsky, Studies in Caucasian History (London, 1953),
41, 43, 47, 57, 75, 110. See also A. A. Vasiliev,

\textsuperscript{86} بوشنج , possibly Ushnej near lake Urmia; if this is
true then the "B" in Bushanj is the preposition meaning
"at".
heavily armed followers\textsuperscript{87}. They fought, cutting the heads (of each other) through the partings of the hair and nibbing the bodies (of each other) from the waist and extracting the souls (of each other) by spear heads, and dicapitating (each other) with swords like the swords of the Rūs.\textsuperscript{88}

XV

From the Commentary on Diwān

Al-Mutanabbi

Al-Wāhidi

(A.D. 1075-6)

He said: And Sayf al-Dawlah\textsuperscript{89} advanced toward al-Ḥadath\textsuperscript{90} to build it. Its inhabitants had already surrendered it by agreement to the Domesticus\textsuperscript{91} in the year 337/948. Sayf al-Dawlah entered it on Wednesday, twelve nights before the end

87. (those who are loyal to him (who are) under iron (arms)).

88. I am not sure that the mention of the "swords of the Rūs" has much significance here, at least as far as the author- al-ʿUthbi-is concerned. It seems that he mentioned the Rūs in order to fit his rhyme after mentioning the word "heads" which is rūṣ in Arabic.

89. He is Sayf al-Dawlah (944-67) the founder of the Hamdanid dynasty of northern Syria which lasted until 1003. See Hitti, Hist. of Arabs, 457.

90. ʻal-Ḥadath, apparently a town on the Syrian-Byzantine frontier, described as a flourishing and prosperous borough, small, but having many fields and running waters. See V. Minorsky, Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam, 149.

91. al-Dumustuq).
of Jamāda al-Ākhirah\textsuperscript{92} in the year 343/954 and he started immediately to mark out the foundations and he dug the first (dirt) with his hands asking (the favor) of Allah Almighty. By Friday Phocas\textsuperscript{93}, the Domesticus of the Christians, challenged him with about 50,000 knights and infantry men of Rūm, Armenians, Rūs, Slavs, Bulgars and Khazars. The battle took place on Monday, the last day of Jamāda al-Ākhirah, from the beginning of the day until the afternoon. Then Sayf al-Dawlah charged on him himself with about five-hundred of his young men and others of his men; he directed (his attack) toward his retinue and defeated him and Allah Almighty made him triumph over him and he killed about three-thousand of his soldiers and captured many of his scholarii\textsuperscript{94} and archons\textsuperscript{95} and he killed most of them save some. And he captured Theodosius\textsuperscript{96}, the one-eyed, the patriarch of Samandwā\textsuperscript{97} and Lycandi\textsuperscript{98} and a son-in-law of the Domesticus; he also captured the grandson of the Domesticus. He remained in al-Ḥadath until he built it

\textsuperscript{92} The fifth month in the Muslim calendar.

\textsuperscript{93} Ibn al-Faqās). He is Nicephorus Phocas who was at this period a Byzantine general. See Footnote 79 above.

\textsuperscript{94} Iskhalāriyyah).

\textsuperscript{95} Arākinah): a generic plural of, possibly, Arkhūn (Archon).

\textsuperscript{96} Tūdhis)

\textsuperscript{97} ; possibly Samosata, on the Syrian-Byzantine border.

\textsuperscript{98} (Laqandwā), in southeastern Anatolia.
and with his own hand he put the last merlon in it on Tuesday, the 13th of Rajab of the (same) year.

And he said: And the news came to Sayf al-Dawlah at the end of the day, Tuesday the sixth of Jamā'īdā al-Ūlā in the year 344/955 that the Domesticus and the Christian armies had attacked the frontier city of al-Ḥadath on Sunday and had erected clever fortresses against it estimating, falsely, this was an opportunity (for them) because they doubted the perfection of its construction by the hand of Sayf al-Dawlah; and because their king had ordered them to advance on it and reinforced them with (all) types of Heathen: Bulgars, Rūs, and others and sent with them the munitions. Sayf al-Dawlah started immediately and shifted his headquarters. And he looked into whatever he had to look into that night and he departed from Aleppo99 early Wednesday, the seventh (of the month) and reached Ra'ban, although the news from al-Ḥadath was not clear to him because they (the Byzantines) were in control of (all) the roads in order to leave him ignorant of what they were doing. When the dawn came he wore his arms and commanded his men to do likewise and advanced slowly. When he approached al-Ḥadath, the scouts came back (with the news) that the enemy of Allāh Almighty had departed when the horses of Sayf al-Dawlah approached them on a high place called al-

Ibrānī100 and they (the enemy) had still been wandering. And

99 Ḥalab
100 ; other variant readings given by Seippel (p.
XXXIV) are al-'Arānī al-'Arānī, (al-'Arānīs).
the people of Al-Ḥadath had refused to fight (receiving their orders by messengers) because they had feared that the messengers might be ambushed. Sayf al-Dawlah, then, halted outside (the walls) and his lieutenant told him that they (the enemy) had challenged him and besieged him, and Allāh had not allowed him to overcome them because they had made holes in an old wall of the city. Then their scouts had brought to them the news of Sayf al-Dawlah and his reaching of the frontier town of Raʿbān. So, they became panic stricken and confusion befell them (the Byzantines) all and each group went astray and the people of Al-Ḥadath went out and charged against some of them (the Byzantines) and took their war machine and fixed it in their own fortress.

XVI

From the Book of

Al-Ḥasaṣīk wa al-Mamālik

Al-Bakri

(A.D. 1068)

He said: With these (meaning the Bulgars) are connected the Rūs and they are many races and they possess islands, ships, and ability and are experienced seamen. They are connected with the Sea of Pontus which has been mentioned before. This is a Heathen nation and they come to Spain every two-hundred
years. They have an access to it (Spain) through the Gulf of the Okianos Sea not through the gulf on which is the copper tower which is a gulf connected to the Sea of Maeotis and Pontus.

And he said: And the Slavs are the descendant of Madai the son of Japheth. Their dwelling places are in the north until they are connected with the west. Ibrahīm ibn Yaʿqūb al-Isrāʾīlī said that the land of the Slavs extended from the Syrian Sea to the Ocean Sea in the north. Some of the tribes of the steppes have occupied some of it and they are still living among them. They are many and different races and they were gathered in the past by a king called Mākha and he was from a race of them called Walītābā which is an esteemed race among them. Then there was a schism among them; so, their organization withered away and their races clattered in (disputing) parties and each race is ruled by a (different) king. Their kings now are four: the king of


102 (Al-Bahr al-Shāmī), where "Shām" is Syria.

103 other variants given by Seippel (p. XXXV) are Mājak (Mājāk), Māma (Mājk). For the race of (Walītābā) Seippel (ibid.) gives the variants (Walīnābā), (Linbābā) and (Walīnānā). It is possible that this is an allusion to an ancient Slavonic national legend connected with the ancient deity Mokosh (Sanskrit mokṣa which means "liberation", "redemption"). On Mokosh see Vernadsky, History of Russia, II, 55, 58; and Chadwick, Russian History, 91.
the two Bulgarias\textsuperscript{104}; Boleslav\textsuperscript{105} the king of Prague\textsuperscript{106} and Bohemia\textsuperscript{107} and Cracow\textsuperscript{108}; Mieszko\textsuperscript{109} the king of the interior and Nāqūn\textsuperscript{110} in the farthest west; and neighboring the land of Nāqūn in the west are the Saxons\textsuperscript{111} and some of the Northmen\textsuperscript{112}. As for the land of Boleslav, it extends from the city of Prague to the city of Cracow, a walking distance

\textsuperscript{104} \textit{البلغاريين} (al-Bulghārayn), the dual form of "Bulghār". Another variant reading given by Seippel (p. XXXV) is \textit{البلغراة} (al-Bulghariyyīn) which is a sound masculine plural meaning "the Bulgarians".

\textsuperscript{105} \textit{بريشلاف} (Burišlāw): He is Boleslav I of Poland (992-1025).

\textsuperscript{106} \textit{فراغة} (Frāghah).

\textsuperscript{107} \textit{بوبية} (Būymah).

\textsuperscript{108} \textit{كراكو} (Krākū).

\textsuperscript{109} \textit{مشفية} (Mishquh); he must be identified with Mieszko of Poland who was baptized in 966. See George Vernadsky, \textit{A History of Russia} (New Haven, 1948), II, 61.

\textsuperscript{110} Nāqūn; other variant readings given in Seippel (p. XXXV) are Naqūr, Yaqūn, Maqūr (Maqūn). It should, probably, be read Maqūr who possibly are the Magyars; but in another instance (see footnote 117 below) the author mentions the Magyars (or the Hungarians) as \textit{الناقرون} (al-Unquriyyīn), and it is unlikely that he could have considered the Magyars and the Hungarians as two different peoples. It is, therefore, possible that Nāqūn (Naqūn) and its variants are a serious corruption of Magdeburg.

\textsuperscript{111} \textit{سكسون} (Saksūn).

\textsuperscript{112} \textit{مربان} (Murmān)
of three weeks. It is neighboring, lengthwise, the land of the Turks. The city of Prague is built of stones and lime; and it is the greatest city in commerce. The Rūs and the Slavs come to it from Cracow with merchandise. From the land of the Turks, Muslims, Jews and Turks come to it with merchandise as well as with Byzantine gold coins\textsuperscript{113}. And they carry from them slaves, silk and different kinds of furs... Neighboring Mieszko to the east are the Rūs, and in the interior are the Prussians\textsuperscript{114}. And the Prussians dwell on the Ocean Sea and they have a different tongue and they do not know the languages of their neighbors. They are famous for their courage: If an army comes to (attack) them, each man of them does not wait until his comrades join him, but he goes out alone and strikes with his sword until he dies. The Rūs raid them by ships from the west. To the west of the Rūs is the city of Women to which belong (many) territories and slaves. And they (the women) bear (children) from their slaves. If a woman gives birth to a male she kills him. They ride horses and practice warfare and they are courageous and brave. Ibrāhīm ibn Yaʿqūb al-Isrāʾīlī said: The information about this nation is true, and Otto\textsuperscript{115}, the king of the Rūm told me of that. In general, the Slavs are (people)

\textsuperscript{113} \textit{al-mathāqīl al-bīzanṭiyyah}

\textsuperscript{114} \textit{B?rūs}.

\textsuperscript{115} A. Hūtuh. He must be Otto III (983-1003), who was Byzantine-educated and who called himself \textit{imperator romanorum}. See Vasiliev, \textit{Byzantine Empire}, 328-9.
of bravery and roughness; and if not for their dissensions by reason of the branching of their clans and the scattering of their tribes, no other nations would have paralleled them in strength. They have lived in the most generous of lands and the most abundant in foodstuff. They apply themselves in farming and searching for livelihood; and in that they are superior to all the nations of the steppes. They frequent with their merchandise, in land and sea, the Rūs and Constantinople. Most of the tribes of the steppes speak Slavonic because they are mixed with them such as the tribes of the Ṭudishkīn, the Hungarians, the Patzinaks, the Rūs and the Khazars.

XVII
From the Book of

Takmilat Tārīkh al-Ṭabari

Al-Hamadānī

(A.D. 1127)

He said: And in this year (meaning the year 332/943) the army of the Russians went out to Azerbaijan and conquered Bardha'ah and occupied it and enslaved its inhabitants. Then

116. الطورشكيين; other variants given by Seippel (p. XXXVI) are the تورشكيين (al-Turishkīn), the تورشكييين (al-Ṭudishkiyyīn) and the تورشكييي (al-Ṭurishkiyyah). They are the Germans (Deutsch, Tedeschi). But, on the other hand, they are wrongly placed geographically for Germans. This word, then, could be derived from Tchud, Slavonic for peoples of Finnish (e.g., Estonians) speech.

117. الدنقربيين (al-Unquriyyīn).
the Marzubān\(^{118}\) ibn Muḥammad gathered his army and the volunteers came to him until he had 200,000 men but he could not resist them. Their king used to ride an ass; and the Marzubān prepared for them an ambush but he (the Rūs king) escaped from their hands. Then he (the Marzubān) asked the people to counter-attack but no one would go with him because of the fear that became deep in their souls. So, he returned alone hoping for martyrdom; then some Dailamites were ashamed and they returned with him. And their (the Rūs') prince was killed (together) with seven-hundred of them and he (the Marzubān) forced them to take refuge in a fortress. Then plague inflicted the Russians when they ate fruit; and when one of them died he was wrapped with his possessions and arms and his wife was buried with him, and (also) his slave if he loved him. When they (the Rūs) went away the Muslims dug out from their graves (many) possessions. Then they (the Rūs) carried on their backs their possessions and jewelry and burned everything else, and they took the women and the children and went to their ships. Five of them gathered in a garden in Barda'ah, among them there was a beardless lad and with them there were women captured from the Muslims. The Muslims surrounded them and a group of Dailamites gathered against them and no one of them (the Rūs) was reached until they killed a number of Muslims; none of them could be captured. The beardless lad was the last one of them to remain and he killed himself.

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\(^{118}\) مارزبان; he is Marzubān b. Muḥammad b. Musā Tir, the second ruler of the Dailamite dynasty of the
XVIII
From the Book of
Nuzhat al-Mushtāq
Al-İdrīsī
(A.D. 1153)

He said: As for the city of Semender it was in the past a big and prosperous city and it was built by Anūsharwān; and there were uncoutable trees and vineyards in it, but the tribe of Rūs invaded it and destroyed it and its condition changed (for the worse).

And he said: As for the land of the Russians, it is a big land with few cities and isolated cultivations. Between one town and another there are vast distances and isolated provinces. They have wars and continuous battles with their kinsmen and with those who are near their country.

And he said: And the city of Matriga is a big and

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119. He is the great Persian king Anūsharwān (531-78) who built a great academy of medicine and philosophy at the city of Jundi-Shāpur about the year 555. See Hitti, Arab History, 308-9.

120. (Matrakha), a city near the mouth of Kuban River, across the strait from the Crimea. Al-İdrīsī confuses the Kuban River with the Don River (Tanais). See Footnote 121 below.
prosperous city with many regions and wide land. Its villages are civilized and it has continuous plantations. It is on a great river called Tana'is\(^{121}\) which is a branch that reaches it (Matriga) from the Itil River\(^{122}\) most of which passes by the city of Itil\(^{123}\) which is on the Sea of Tabaristan\(^{124}\); and from the city of Matriga to the city of Rūsiyyah\(^{125}\) there are twenty-seven miles. And between the people of Matriga and the people of Rūsiyyah there is always a war full of dangers. The city of Rūsiyyah is on a big river coming to it from the Qarbāta Mountain\(^{126}\). And from the city of Rūsiyyah to the city of Būtar\(^{127}\) there are twenty miles.

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121. تنعس; i.e., the Don River. It has been already pointed out (Footnote 120 above) that the Don has been confused with the Kuban.

122. The Volga River.

123. Modern Astrakhan.

124. I.e., the Caspian Sea.

125. The author is referring very clearly to a city and not to a district or country. Rūsiyyah, therefore, must be identified as the city of Russiā near the mouth of the Don River and not as the land of the Rūs.

126. جبل قربان; the author is almost certainly referring to the Carpathian Mountains.

127. بوتز; it is possibly the city of Poti on the Abkhaskan Black Sea Shore. The distance of twenty mile between Rossia and Poti should not be considered seriously because of the general inaccuracy in Al-Idrīsī's estimation of distances.
And he said: And Kiev\(^{128}\) is the city of the Turks who are called Rūs. And the Rūs are three types: One of them is a branch called Brūs\(^{129}\) and their king dwells in the city of Kiev; another type is called the Ṣalāwiyyah\(^{130}\) and their king dwells in the city of Ṣalāwah and it is a city on the top of a mountain. A third type is called the Arthāniyyah\(^{131}\), and their king dwells in the city of Arthā. And the city of Arthā is beautiful, on an impregnable mountain. And it is situated between Ṣalāwah and Kiev. From Kiev to Arthā there are four stages\(^{132}\), and from Arthā to Ṣalāwah four-days (journey). The Muslim merchants reach from Armenia to Kiev. As for Arthā, the Sheikh al-Ḥawqalī\(^{133}\) related that none of the strangers entered it, because they (the people of Arthā) kill absolutely any stranger that reaches them and no one dares to enter their

\(^{128}\) كُوِبِأَبَة (Kūyābah).

\(^{129}\) يِسِيِّ بِروُس (yusammā birūs). This expression can be translated as "called by (the name of) Rūs", considering the prefix "b" in "birūs" as the Arabic preposition meaning "by...". But I prefer to translate the expression as "called Prussians" in spite of the inaccuracy of his classification, because he does not use this preposition when he enumerates the other two peoples.

\(^{130}\) الصلروية . See Footnote 22 above.

\(^{131}\) الدثنية . See Footnote 23 above.

\(^{132}\) Possibly four-days journey.

\(^{133}\) I.e., Ibn Ḥawqal (fl. 943-77), the Arab geographer.
land. The skin of black tigers and black foxes and lead are brought out from them, and the merchants of Kiev bring these from them. The Rūs burn their dead and they do not bury them. Some Rūs shave their beards and some twist them like the manes of beasts. Their dress is (composed of) small tunics; but the dress of the Khazars, the Bulgars and the Patzinaks are complete tunics (made) of silk, cotton, linen and wool, ...

Burtas have a language which they speak which is different from the language of the Khazars, as well as from the language of the Russians. The Russians are two kinds: One kind are those whom we spoke of already. Another kind of them are neighboring the land of the Hungarians\(^{134}\) and Jathūliyyah\(^{135}\), and they have now, at the time of compiling this book, already defeated Burtas, the Bulgars and the Khazars and have wrested the land from their hands; nothing has remained to the other nations except their names on the land.

\(^{134}\) 'Unkariyyah.

\(^{135}\) Jathūliyyah; possibly Gotthia (modern Crimea).
XIX

This section contains excerpts from Tārīkh Ṭabaristān by Ibn Isfandiyār. The language of the book is Persian, hence, the translation of this section will not appear in this volume. Ibn Isfandiyār's work, however, has been translated by E. G. Browne, History of Tabaristan (London, 1905).
From the Book of
Mu'jam al-Buldân
Yâqūt al-Ḥamawi
(A.D. 1179-1229)

He said: And Aḥmad ibn Faqlān, the ambassador of al-Muqtadir to the Slavs said in a letter of his, mentioning what he saw in those lands, that Khazar is the name of a region whose capital city is called Itil; and Itil is the name of the river which flows to the Khazars from the (land) of the Rūs and the Bulgars. Itil is a city and Khazar is the name of the Kingdom not the name of a city. Itil has two sections: One section is on the western (bank) of this river which is called Itil and it is the bigger of the two; and (another) section is on its eastern (bank) -- This city has no villages but (its people's) plantations are spread out. They go out in the summer for about twenty parasangs and sow; then when it becomes ripe, they gather some of it near the river and some near the desert. Then they carry it by carts and by water. Most of their food is rice and fish

المقدّرر

136. an Abbasid caliph whose reign of twenty-four years (908-32) was marked by political instability. Al-Muqtadir was dethroned by the eunuch Mu'imin al-Muẓaffar, the chief of the bodyguard, then killed after a brief restoration to the throne. See Hitti, Hist. of Arabs, 468-9.
and whatever they have other than that is carried to them from the Rūs, the Bulgars and Kiev.

And he said: Rūs, and sometimes called Rus, are a nation whose land is bordering the Slavs and the Turks and they have a unique language and religion and law which are peculiarly theirs -- Al-Muqaddasi said: They are in a diseased island which is surrounded by a lake. It (the island) is a fortress for them against whoever seek (to attack) them. Their number is estimated at 10,000 persons. They have neither fields nor animals. The Slavs raid them and take away their possessions. If a boy is born to one of them he throws him a sword saying: "Thou hast nothing save what thou gainest by thy sword." If their king judges between two opponents and they do not accept (his judgment), he says: "Have your trial by your swords, and whichever sword is sharper wins the case." It was they who conquered Bardha'ah for one year and devastated it until Allāh regained it from them and exterminated them. And I have read in the letter of Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn Rāshid ibn Ḥammad, the client of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān and the ambassador of al-Muqtadīr to the King of the Slavs, in which he has related what he saw from the time he departed from Baghdad until he came back to it; and I shall relate what he mentioned in it as it has been said because it is wonderful: --
He said: And I saw the Rūsiyyah when they brought their trade and halted on the Itil river. I have never seen more perfect bodies (than theirs); they are like palm-trees, blond and ruddy; they wear neither tunics nor Khaftans, but a man wears a dress with which he wraps one of his two sides and he brings out one of his hands from it. There is with each one of them a sword, a knife and an axe which are always with them. Their swords are ridged Frankish plates. From the toe-nail of each one of them up to his neck there tattooed images of trees and figures and the like. Each woman among them has a small brassiere bound on her breasts. It is (made) of iron, copper, silver or gold according to the ability and wealth of her husband. Each brassiere has a ring in which there is a knife bound on the breast too. On the women's neck there are necklaces of gold or silver, because when the man possesses 10,000 dirhams he makes a necklace for his wife. When he possesses 20,000 he makes two necklaces for her; and every time (his wealth) increases by 10,000 dirhams he adds to her another necklace. So, on the neck of some of them you may find many necklaces.

The most prized jewelry among them are the green beads of pottery which are formed on the polishing stone. They have been mistranslated by Robert Blake and Richard Frye—quoted by Carleton S. Coon, A Reader in General Anthropology (New York, 1948), 411. Blake and Frye translate this clause as "which are found on ships". I, however, am convinced that يكُون must be read Yukawwanu, "is formed" and not Yakunu, "is" or "is found"; likewise السفن must be read al-safan, "polishing stone" and not al-sufun "ships."
are exceedingly proud of them and they buy one bead for one dirham and they make them into necklaces for their women. And they are the filthiest creatures of Allāh; they do not purify themselves from excrement nor do they wash themselves from impurity, just like the asses going astray. They come from their country and anchor their ships in Itil which is a large river and they build on its bank large wooden houses and in each house ten or twenty or less or more may gather and for each one of them (there is) a bed on which he sits with his female slaves who are comely for trade. A man may perform sexual intercourse with his female slave while his comrade is looking at him; and a group of them may gather together in this state, next to each other. A merchant may enter upon them to buy a female slave from one of them and he may find him performing sexual intercourse with her, but he does not remove himself from her until he satisfies his desire. It is indispensible for them that early every morning a female slave should come with a big vessel of water and she offers it to her master; he washes in it his face and his hands and the hair of his head he washes and combs with a comb in that vessel, then he blows his nose and spits in it and he saves nothing filthy which he does not do in that water. When he is through with doing what he needs the female slave carries it to the one next to him who will do what his comrade did. And she does not cease to carry it from one to another until she hands it round to everybody in the house and each one of them blows his nose and spits in it and washes his face and his hair in it. As soon as their ships reach this harbor each one
of them goes out with bread, meat, milk, onions and wine until he comes to a tall wooden pole which has the face of a human being and around it (there are) small figures and behind these figures there are tall poles which are erected on the ground. He comes to the big image and bows down to it and says: "O Lord! I have come from far away and I have with me so many female slaves and so many sable skins", until he mentions all that he brought with him of merchandise. Then he says, "I have brought thee this present," then he leaves what he has in front of the pole saying, "I want thee to make it easy for me to find a merchant who has (many) dinars and dirhams to buy from me whatever I want (to sell him) and who will not dispute with me on anything I say." Then he goes away. When it becomes hard for him to sell and his days (of stay) extend he comes back with a second and a third present. If it becomes difficult for him to obtain what he wants he carries a present to one of those small images asking it for mediation; and he says: "These art the wives and daughters of our Lord"; and he goes on from one image to another asking them and seeking mediation from them and beseeching them.

His selling may become easier for him and when he sells (all) he says: "My Lord hast satisfied my need and I must reward him." Then he goes to several cows and sheep and kills them and gives away some of the meat as alms, then he carries the rest and throws it in front of that large pole and the little ones around it, and he hangs the heads of the cows and the sheep on those wooden poles which are erected on the ground. When night falls, dogs come and eat that, and the one who did
it says: "My Lord is satisfied with me and He ate my presents." If one of them becomes sick they erect for him a tent apart from themselves and put him in it and leave with him some bread and water, and they do not approach him or speak to him; nay, they do not even take care of him, especially if he is poor or a slave. If he recovers and rises he returns to them; and if he dies they burn him. But if he was a slave they leave him to the dogs and the flesh-eating fowl. When they catch a thief they bring him to a high great tree and they tie around his neck a strong rope then they hang him on the tree; he remains hanging until he falls into pieces from staying in winds and rain. And I was told that what they do to their chiefs, after death, things the least of which is cremation. So, I wanted to witness that, until (finally) I was informed of the death of a respected man of theirs. They put him in a grave and built a roof on it (leaving it) for ten days until they completed cutting and sewing his clothes. They make a small ship for one of their poor men and put him in it and then burn it. But they collect a rich man's possessions and divide it in thirds. One third goes to his family; another third for making his clothes, and with (the last) third they buy wine which they drink the day his female-slave kills herself and is burnt with her master. They drink wine excessively, for they drink it night and day.
One of them may die with a cup in his hand. And if a chief among them die his family says to his female-slaves and his boy-servants: "Who will die with him?" And somebody may say: "I". And if they say that, it becomes an obligation on them and it is not possible for them to back out at all; and even if they want (to withdraw) they are not allowed. The female-slaves often do that. When that man, whom I mentioned before, died they said to his female-slaves: "Who will die with him?" And one of them said "I". Then they appointed two female-slaves to keep her and be with her wherever she went and they would even wash her feet with their own hands. And they began to prepare (for the ceremony) and make his clothes and do whatever was needed; and the female-slave drank and sang everyday happily and rejoicingly. When the day came on which he and the female-slave were to be burnt, I came to the river in which there was his ship. And behold, it was brought out and four supports of heath and other wood were erected for it. And around it there were put some wooden human statues; then the ship was brought and put on that wood. They, then, went back and forth talking with a speech which I did not understand. All that took place while he (the dead chief) was still in his grave; they had not yet brought him out. Then they brought a bed and put it on the ship and covered it with Rūmi colorful brocade and Rūmi brocade pillows. Then an old woman came, who was called
the Angel of Death, and she made the bed which we have mentioned. She was the one in charge of its sewing and preparation and she was the one who killed the female-slave. And I perceived her to be a quack\textsuperscript{138}, huge-sized and stern-looking. When they came to his grave they removed the earth from the wood and they removed the wood and brought him out (wrapped) in the same mantle in which he died. And I saw that he had turned black by reason of the coldness of the country. They had put with him in his grave wine, fruits and a lute. They brought out all that and behold, nothing had changed in him except his color. They dressed him, then, with trousers, rān(?), shoes, tunic, and a silk shirt with gold buttons on it. They put on his head a cap of silky sable and they carried him and placed him in the cabin which is on the ship and they made him sit on the bed and supported him with pillows. Then they brought wine, fruits and flowers and put them with him. And they brought bread, meat and onions and laid them between his hands. Then they brought a dog and cut it up in two pieces and threw it in the ship; and they brought all his weapons and put them beside him. Then they fetched two beasts and they made them run until they sweated and then cut them into pieces with swords and threw their flesh in the ship; then they brought two cows and cut them into pieces and threw them in the ship; then they brought a cock and a hen and 

\textsuperscript{138} Juwānbīrah.
killed them and threw them in it. (All that was happening) while the female-slave who was to be killed was going to and fro, entering each of the men's rooms, and the owner of each room had sexual intercourse with her saying to her: "Say to thy lord: I have done this for your love." When it was Friday afternoon they brought the female-slave to something they had built resembling the frame of a door; then she put her feet on the palms of the hands of the men and she went over that frame and said her say; then they brought her down, then they lifted her up and she did as she did the first time; and they brought her down then lifted her up a third time and she did as she had done in the first two instances. Then they gave her a hen and she cut off its head and threw it (the head) away. Then they took the hen and threw it into the ship. Then I asked the interpreter about her action and he said: "She said in the first time, 'Behold, I see my father and mother!'; and in the second time she said, 'Behold, I see all my dead relatives sitting'; in the third time she said, 'Behold, I see my lord sitting in Paradise and it is beautiful and green and with him there are men and boy-servants sitting, and he is calling me, so take me to him!'". Then they took her toward the ship and she took off two bracelets which she had on and gave them to the old woman who is called the Angel of Death and who was to kill her. Then she took off
two anklets which she was wearing and gave them to the two maidens who were serving her and they were the daughters of the (woman) known as the Angel of Death. Then they took her up to the ship but did not make her enter the cabin. Then the men came with shields and wood and they gave her a cup of wine. She sang over it then drank it, and the interpreter told me that she was bidding farewell to her maiden companions. Then another cup was given to her and she sang for a long time while the old woman was urging her to drink it and enter the cabin in which there was her lord. I saw her, then, looking stupid; and she tried to enter the cabin but she entered her head between the cabin and the (side of) the ship. Then the old woman took her by the head and led her into the cabin and she entered with her. Then the men started to beat the shields with the wood lest her cries be heard and the other maidens might be frightened and would not volunteer to die with their masters. Then six men entered the cabin and they all had sexual intercourse with the maiden; then they laid her down beside her dead master. Two of them took hold of her feet and two took hold of her hands. The old woman who is called the Angel of Death put a noose around her (the maiden's) neck and gave (the two ends of the rope) to two men to pull it. Then she came with a great wide dagger and kept pushing it between the maiden's ribs and pulling it out while the two men were strangling her with the rope until she died. Then the closest
relative139 of that dead man came along and took a piece of wood and lit it. Then he walked backward toward the ship, with the piece of wood in one hand and the other hand on his anus; and he was naked. He set fire to all that wood which was piled up under the ship. Then the people came with wood and fire-wood and with each one of them there was a piece of wood whose end he had lit, and he threw it into that wood. Then fire was set in that fire-wood, then in the ship, then in the cabin and the man and the maiden and all that there was in it (the ship). Then a great wind blew and the flame of the fire increased and its burning became fierce. Beside me there was a man of the Rūsīyyah, and I heard him talking to the interpreter who was with me. I asked him about what he had said and he told me that he was saying: "You Arabs are foolish, because you take your most beloved and generous person and lay him into the soil so that the animals and worms may eat him; but we burn him with fire in one moment so that he may enter Paradise immediately." Then he laughed excessively and said: "Because of the love of his Lord for him, He sent a wind in order to take him away in one hour." And no more than one hour elapsed and behold, the ship, the fire-wood, the dead man and the maiden were all ashes. Then they built on the site

139. الناس must, obviously, be read النَّاس "the people".
of the ship, which they had drawn out of the river, something like a rounded mound, and in its middle they erected a big wooden post and wrote on it the name of the man and the name of the King of the Rūs; then they went away.

He said: Among the regulations of the King of the Rūs was one that there should be with him four-hundred of his strong and trustworthy men. They die with him and shed their blood defending him. With each one of them there is a maiden who serves him and washes his head and prepares for him his food and drink; he also has another maiden with whom he has sexual intercourse. Those four-hundred men sit under his bed. His bed is huge and set with precious jewels. Forty maidens sit with him on his bed; and he may have sexual intercourse with one of them in the presence of his companions whom we have mentioned. He does not descend from his bed. When he wants to defecate he does that in a wash-basin. When he wants to ride they bring his beast to the bed and he mounts it from there. When he wishes to descend, his beast is brought forth so that he descends on it (directly). He has a viceroy who commands the armies and fights the enemies and represents him before his subjects.

This what I have quoted from the letter of Ibn-Faḍlān letter by letter and on him lies the responsibility of what he related and Allāh knows better about his accuracy. As for now, Christianity is their common religion.
*(Notices on the conquest of the city of Bardha'ah by the Rūs). He said: In this year (meaning the year 332/943) a group of Russians went out by sea to the region of Azerbaijan. By sea they sailed to the Kurr River which is a large river. They reached Bardha'ah. The viceroy of al-Marzubān in Bardha'ah came out to them with a crowd of Dailamites and volunteers exceeding 5000 men. They met the Rūs, but hardly one hour had elapsed before the Muslims fled and the Dailamites were completely annihilated. The Rūs pursued them to the city; and whoever had anything to ride fled and left the city. The Rūs entered it and gave surety (to the people) and behaved well. The Muslim armies

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140. بزنعة; the capital of the province of Albania, in the eastern Caucasus. Bardha'ah is to be identified with the metropolis Patrav (modern Tertersk). See Chadwick, Russian History, 54-5.

141. نهر أكر; it is the old Cyrus River which empties in the Caspian Sea several miles south of Baku.

142. ديلم (al-Daylam); the inhabitants of the Province of Dailam, southwest of the Caspian Sea.
came from every direction and the Rūs fought them and the Muslims could not stand fast against them. The populace of the city went out and pelted the Rūs with stones and shouted at them; and the Rūs asked them to refrain from that but they did not refrain except the wisemen who withdrew themselves; but the populace and the commoners did not discipline themselves. When that situation lasted for a while their (the Russian's) herald announced that the people of the city should leave it and should not stay after three days. Those who had an animal to ride left, but most of them stayed after the dead-line. Then the Russians used arms against them and killed a great number of them and captured, after the killing, some 10,000 souls and they gathered the rest in the mosque and said: "Ransom yourselves or else we shall kill you."

A Christian person mediated for them and it was decided that for each person twenty dirhams (should be paid). None but their wisemen accepted. When the Russians saw that there was no hope in receiving anything from them they killed them all and no one escaped from them except those who fled. They captured the possessions of its people and enslaved the captured women and chose those women whom they considered beautiful.

(The mention of the advance of al-Marzubān against them and his victory over them). When the Rūs did to the people of Bardha'ah what we have mentioned, the Muslims were indignant
and called upon each other for mobilization. Al-Marzubān ibn Muḥammad gathered the people and urged them to war. The number of his men reached 30,000 and he marched with them. He started skirmishing with them but came back defeated (every time). They stayed so for many days. In the meantime the Russians advanced toward Marāghah and they ate much fruit and a plague inflicted them, and disease and death became abundant among them. When the affair lasted for a long while al-Marzubān employed cunning. He saw that he (should) set an ambush. He would meet them with his army and pretend running away from them, and when the ambush appeared he would come back to (attack) them. He suggested that to his people and the ambush was set. Then he met them and fighting ensued between them. Then al-Marzubān and his companions pretended defeat and the Russians pursued them until they passed the position of the ambush, but the people continued running away astray. Al-Marzubān related (the story); he said: "I shouted to the people to come back but they did not do so, by reason of the fear of the Russians which penetrated their hearts. Then I knew that if the people continued running away, the Russians would kill most of them; then they would return to the ambush and they would discover the ambushers and would kill them all." He said: "So, I returned alone, and my brother and my friend followed me, disposing myself for martyrdom. Upon that most of the

\[\text{Marāghah}; a\ city\ in\ Azerbaijan\ described\ as\ "a\ large\ town,\ flourishing\ and\ pleasant,\ with\ running\ waters\ and\ flourishing\ gardens."\ See\ Minorsky,\ \textit{Hudud},\ 65,\ 142.\]
Dailamites returned because they were embarrassed, and they
came back and we fought them (the Russians). Then we called
upon the ambushers with the signal which we had agreed upon
and they came out from behind them (the Rus), and we fought
them very hard and we killed many people among them including
their prince; the rest took refuge in the fortress of the city
which is called Shahristan\textsuperscript{144} to which they had transferred
much of their supplies and they took with them their captives
and possessions." Al-Marzuban besieged them and displayed
patience in that; but the news came to him that Abu-Abdullah
al-Husayn ibn Sa'id ibn Hamdan\textsuperscript{145} had advanced toward
Azerbaijan and that he had reached Salmas\textsuperscript{146}. His cousin
Nasir al-Dawlah\textsuperscript{147} had sent him to conquer Azerbaijan. When
the news came to al-Marzuban he left some to continue be-
sieging the Russians, and advanced against Ibn Hamdan and
fighting ensued between them. Then snow came down and the
people of Ibn Hamdan scattered away because most of them were
Bedouins. Then a letter from Nasir al-Dawlah came to him

\textsuperscript{144} A town in Jurjan. \textit{Ibid.}, 133.

\textsuperscript{145} Apparently a leader of the Hamdanids who were estab-
lished in northern Mesopotamia; then, under the leader-
ship of Sayf al-Dawlah they became a major power in Syria

\textsuperscript{146} ساماس\textsuperscript{(also Salmas)}: A town in Azerbaijan.

\textsuperscript{147} ناصر الدولة: A Hamdanid chief who established himself as
the chief ruler of Baghdad in 942. See Minorsky, \textit{Hudud},
20 (Footnote 2).
informing him of the death of Tūzūn¹⁴⁸ and that he wanted to go down to Baghdad, and ordered him to come back to him; so he did. As for the followers of al-Marzubān, they continued fighting the Russians. Pestilence became more severe upon the Russians, and when they buried a man they buried with him his weapons; and the Muslims dug up again much such gear after the Russians had withdrawn. It came to pass that they (the Russians) went out of the fortress at night, carrying on their backs whatever they needed of possessions and so forth, and they went to the Kurr River and they embarked their ships and went away, and the people of al-Marzubān were unable to pursue them and take away what they had, so they left them, and Allāh had purged the land of them.

(Notices on a raid by Sayf al-Dawlah ibn Ḥamdān).

He said: In the year 343/954 in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal Sayf al-Dawlah ibn Ḥamdān had raided the land of the Rūm¹⁴⁹; he had killed, captured, enslaved and obtained booty. Among those killed was Constantine the son of the Domesticus.¹⁵⁰ This became distressing to the Rūm and to the Domesticus. He gathered his armies from among the Rūm, the Rūs, the Bulgars and others and advanced to the frontiers, and Sayf al-Dawlah

¹⁴⁸. Tūzūn; a Turkish chief at Baghdad, ibid.
¹⁴⁹. I.e., the Byzantines.
¹⁵⁰(Qustānṭīn ibn al-Dumustuq).
ibn Ḥamdān marched against him. They met near al-Ḥadath in (the month of) Shaʿbān. Fighting was fierce between them and the two parties stood fast. Then, it came to pass, that Allah Almighty rendered the Muslims victorious and the Rūm were defeated and many of them and of those who were with them were killed, and the son-in-law (or brother-in-law) of the Domesticus, his grandson and many of his patricians were captured; and the Domesticus returned defeated and plundered.

XXII
From the History of
Ibn al-ʿAmīd
(A.D. 1205-1273)

He said: And in this year, which is the year 329/940 the Rūs raided Constantinople, but the Rūm fought them and drove them back and they fled back to their own country.

XXIII
From the Book of
Basṭ al-Arnd fī Tilīha wa al-ʿUrd
Ibn Saʿīd Al-Maghribi
(A.D. 1208)

He said: And to the northeast of Naqjuwān\(^{151}\) is the

\(^{151}\) It is Naxua (Nakhichevan, Nascivan) on the Arxes River in Caucasia.
city of Al-Bāb\textsuperscript{152}, the capital of the sultanate of Al-Bāb. It is, in three sections on the great Itil River, near its mouth on the Sea of Ṭabaristān.\textsuperscript{153} The southern section was for the Muslims, the northern section was for the Jews, the Christians and the Heathen, and the section which is on the island was for the Khaqān of the Khazars who was a Jew. Then the Rūs destroyed it and abolished the sultanate of the Khazar in it.

And he said: And to the east of Alania\textsuperscript{154} on a gulf at the very end of the Sea of Sinūb\textsuperscript{155} there is the city of Khazariyyah which belonged to the Khazars who were anihilated by the Rūs. This sea may be called the Sea of Khazariyyah\textsuperscript{156} after it (the city). It (the city) is on 71° longitude and 45° 30' latitude; and it is on a river which flows into the sea in its northern side.\textsuperscript{157}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{152} I.e. Bab al-Abwāb (modern Derbent).
\textsuperscript{153} It is not clear whether the author is describing the city or the sultanate. If the description is that of the city of Bab al-Abwāb, then he is confusing this city with the city of Itil (Astrakhan). If, however, he is describing the sultanate then we understand that this sultanate of Bab al-Abwāb had extended over a large territory embracing a large portion of the eastern and northern coasts of the Caspian Sea (which the author calls the Sea of Ṭabaristān).
\textsuperscript{154} عَلَانيَة (Allānīyyah).
\textsuperscript{155} Sinūb may be identified with Sinope on the Black Sea. This, however, presents the possibility that the author is confusing the Black Sea with the Caspian Sea.
\textsuperscript{156} I.e., the Caspian Sea.
\textsuperscript{157} It seems that the city under discussion is Itil (Astrakhan).
\end{flushright}
And he said: In the north of this sea (meaning the Sea of Maeotis) there pours a river which springs from the great sweet Lake of Ṭūmā.  

On the western bank of this river is Rossia which is the capital of the Rūs, and they are a numerous people. They are the most handsome of all the creatures of Allāh; their faces are rather lengthy. This city is 57° 32' in longitude and 56° in latitude. On the Sea of Pontus and Maeotis they have many obscure cities. To the east of it is the Lake of Ṭūmā - - - Into this lake many rivers pour. Al-Bayhaqi mentioned that they numbered over one-hundred and the largest was Ṭanābris, the long one, on which there were many Bulgarian and Turkish tribes.

XXIV

From the Book of

Āthār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-'Ībād

Al-Qazwini

(A.D. 1283)

He said: The Rūs are a great nation of Turks; their country is bordering the country of the Slavs. Al-Muqaddasi

158. Ṭūmā. This river is the Don River (Tanais). The name Ṭūmā is possibly a corruption of "Don".

159. Rūsya (Rūsyā) a city on the Don near Sarkel.

160. Ṭanābris. It is the Dnieper River (old Danapris).
said that they were in a diseased island surrounded by a lake which is their fortification to repel their enemies. Ahmed ibn Faqlan said in his letter: I saw the Rusiyyah when they brought their trade and halted on the Itil river. I have never seen more perfect bodies than theirs; they are like palm-trees, blond and white. They have a law and a language which are different from those of the rest of the Turks. But they are the filthiest creatures of Allah. They neither clean themselves nor do they keep themselves away from filth. It is the custom of their King to be in a huge and high palace, and with him there are four-hundred of his favored and trusted men. They sit below his bed. He has a great bed set with jewels. Forty maidens sit with him on the bed. He may have sexual intercourse with one of them in the presence of his companions. He never descends from his bed. If he wants to excrete, a wash-basin is brought to him. When he wants to ride, his beast of burden is fetched beside his bed. He has a viceroy who leads the armies and manages the affairs of subjects and fights enemies. Among their habits is that whoever possesses 10,000 dirhams provides a gold necklace for his wife; when he possesses 20,000 he provides two necklaces, and so on. So, on the neck of a woman there may be many necklaces. If they find a thief they hang him on a high tree and they leave the body hanging until it falls to pieces.
XXV
From the Book of
Manahij al-Fikar
Al-Watwät
(A.D. 1318)

He said: And among the sons of Japheth are the Rūs, who are associated, as the author of the book of Nuzhat al-Mushtāq\textsuperscript{161} claimed, with one of their cities which is called Rossia. In the sea of Maeotis they have islands, which they inhabit, and warships with which they fight the Khazars whom they reach from a gulf which pours into this sea from the Itil River. When they reach the end of the river\textsuperscript{162} they enter another gulf which pours into the Caspian Sea and raid them (the Khazars). They believe in Heathenism and they burn their dead with fire. Some of them shave their beards, some twist them and some plait them. They have a language of their own. The neighbors of this nation are the Alans and the Burjāns.

\textsuperscript{161} The author of Nuzhat al-Mushtāq is al-Idrīṣī (fl. A.D. 1166) of Palermo.

\textsuperscript{162} فذا صاروا إلى عمور النهر
XXVI
From the Book of
Nukhbat al-Dahr
Al-Dimashqi
(d.A.D. 1327)

He said: And Ṣa'īd al-Andalusi said: The Sudān and the Berber are a nation and to their north are the Copts and the Franks. Then, the Indians and the Negroes are a nation and to their north are the Arabs, Syria\(^{163}\), Iraq and Persia. Then China\(^{164}\), and China is a nation and to its north are al-Khaṭa\(^{165}\), the Turks, Gog Magog. Then the Greeks and the Rūm are a nation and to their north are the Rūs and the Slavs, one nation.

And he said: And the River of the Slavs and the Rūs is a great river; it comes from the mountains of Saqsīn\(^{166}\) and from the mountains of al-Kilābiyyah. There pour into it rivers (which come) from the land of Bāshqar\(^{167}\) and Magyar\(^{168}\) and from the land of Sardāq\(^{169}\). It also freezes

\(^{163}\) al-ṣa'am.

\(^{164}\) al-ṣīn wa ṣīn.

\(^{165}\) al-šīr; certainly to be identified as Kathay.

\(^{166}\) ṣāqisīn; possibly the Saxin people, south of Bashkir.

\(^{167}\) ẓākhar; i.e., Bashkir(?).

\(^{168}\) Mājar (Majār).

\(^{169}\) Sardāq; other variant reading given by Seippel (p. XLVII) is Sūdāq. It is either to be identified with Sardica (Sardaca) in Hungary or, and most likely, with Sudak, in the Crimea.
in the winter more so than the Itil River.

*{The Fifth Chapter: Description of the Sea of Trebizond, the Sea of the Rūs and it is called Pontus and the Black}. He said: The people who are concerned to learn about that said: The Sea of the Rūs and Surdāq is a dark sea, abundant in tempests, of great waves, awful, quick in sinking ships in it due to the severity of its foaming and tempests and due to the different stormy winds in it. It has nothing much that is useful for people except the sable and the fur of beaver and the slaves who are brought from the land of the Turks. There are seven islands of the Rūs in it; and the pirates are still operating in its western regions.

And he said: And the Rūs are associated with a city called Rossia on the north shore of the sea which is called after them. And it is said that they are descendants of Rūs son of Turk son of Tūj.

XXVII

From the Book of

Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbar al-Bashar

Abu al-Fidā
c

(A.D. 1273-1331)

He said: In this year (meaning the year 332/943) a group of Rūs went out in the sea and entered the Kurr River from the sea, then reached the city of Barda'ah. They captured
Bardahah and killed and looted, then they returned by ships to their country.

XXVIII
From the Book of Taqwīm al-Buldān
Abu al-Fidāʾ

He said: It is said in al-'Azīzī Ḥ that on the right of the land of the Bulgars, toward the south, is the Kingdom of the Kāsāq, a nation between the Abkhasians and the Alans. Then, to the right and the south of the land of the Bulgars is the kingdom of the Alans to the end of the border of the Bulgars. Then it is connected after that from the south with the Kingdom of the Khazars, which is the end of the border of the Kingdom of the Bulgars, because it comes to a nation called al-Murdasiyyah, who are akin to the Bulgars. They are strong and of great stature, such that ten of the strongest men from other peoples are not equivalent to one of them; they are heathen and worship the sun. In the east of

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170. This, obviously, is a reference to a certain historical work. This work, perhaps, is that which al-'Utaqī (d. A.D. 955) wrote under the Egyptian Fatimid al-Azīz. On al-'Utaqī see France Rosenthal, A History of Muslim Historiography (Leiden, 1952), 53.

171. الكاساق; they are the Casachians or the Circassians (Cassacks, Kazaks).

172. المرسية; possibly the Mordavians.
the al-Murdasiyyah, to the country of the Russians and in the north of the Slavs there are deserts void of civilization (extending) to the Ocean Sea. They (the deserts) cannot be inhabited due to the severity of cold, up to the confines of the Russians who are a nation of Turks connected from the east with the Ghuz Turks.

XXIX

From the Book of

Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab

Al-Nuwayri

(A.D. 1332)

He said: In the middle of Shawwāl\textsuperscript{173}, 353/964, Manuel\textsuperscript{174} advanced with all his army of Heathen, Armenians\textsuperscript{175} and Rūs, in a multitude the like of it never entered the island\textsuperscript{176} before. When al-Ḥasan ibn 'Ammar\textsuperscript{177} knew about

\textsuperscript{173} It is the tenth month of the Muslim Calendar.

\textsuperscript{174} مَنْرِئِلٌ (Manwīl). He was a Byzantine general. He was sent by the Domesticus to aid the rebels of the town of Rametta against the Muslims. The account of this campaign is given in a previous passage by al-Nuwayri which appears in Michele Amari, \textit{Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula} (Lipsia, 1887), 438.

\textsuperscript{175} الدَّرَمَنِ (Al-Arman).

\textsuperscript{176} I.e., the island of Sicily.

\textsuperscript{177} A general of the Fatimid Caliph Al-Mu'izz (952-75). He was commissioned by the Caliph to crush the revolt at Rametta. \textit{Ibid.}, 438.
their advance he prepared himself for combat. He put an army in the pass of Miqush\textsuperscript{178} and in the pass of Dimnush\textsuperscript{179}. The news reached Manuel and he dispatched two armies to confront them and a third one to the road to the city in order to forbid whoever (tried) to reach them with reinforcements. Al-Hasan prepared the fighters in the fortress and appeared with the soldiers to meet the infidel, with the determination that they would die. The infidel advanced in six contingents and surrounded the Muslims from all sides. The people of Ramțah\textsuperscript{180} descended against those who were next to them; and they met. Each group fought with those who were next to them. They fought until the Muslims entered a district of their own people.\textsuperscript{181} The enemy was sure of his victory; but the Muslims chose death and thought that it was better and more fortunate for them. And the battle became more fierce, and al-Hasan ibn 'Ammār called at the top of his voice: "Good Allāh! The sons of Adam have spared me! Do not spare me!" Then he charged with his companions like one man. Then Manuel shouted upon the infidel saying: "Where is your boasting in front of your king? Where is what you have promised him concerning this little party of men?" Upon this

\textsuperscript{178} It has been mentioned by al-Idrīsī as Miqush, situated between Messina and Taormina. \textit{Ibid.}, 65-66.


\textsuperscript{180} i.e., Rametta.

\textsuperscript{181} Seippel suggests that the meaning of Hayy designates a circle or area (continued)
the battle kindled furiously and Manuel charged and killed a Muslim man, then he was stabbed several times but he was not affected at all by reason of the immunity of the armor which he had on. Then a Muslim man charged him and stabbed his horse and hocked it, and he (Manuel) was killed. Then a dark thunder-cloud with lightning came and Allāh aided the Believers with a victory from His own, and the infidels fled and the Muslims were riding them down and killing them. Then they came to a place which they thought to be a plain, but they came upon a rugged slope which led them to the edge of a great moat like a ditch in the remoteness of its bottom. They fell in it and then they killed each other and the ditch was filled with them in spite of its length, width and depth, until the horses passed over them hurriedly. Those who remained of them ended in rugged places and huge moats. The battle continued from the beginning of the day until after the noon prayer. The flight of those who remained continued until the night and the Muslims spent the night killing them everywhere. Some of their important men were captured, and the Muslims took as spoil uncountable number of horses, possessions and weapons. The killed were more than 10,000. Among the plunder was a sword on which was engraved: "This is an Indian sword; its weight is

in which were settled fighting Muslims, thus, they entered a world made by themselves, i.e., in which they were protected. It seems, moreover, that "circle" was the original signification of the word Ḥayy. See Seippel (p. XLVIII).
170 mithqals; for long, in the hand of the Prophet of Allah himself (may Allah praise him and have peace upon him) it struck (his enemies)". Al-Hasan sent it to al-Mu'izz li Din Allah\textsuperscript{182}, with two-hundred dignitaries of those dirty disbelievers\textsuperscript{183}, shields, coats of mail and many weapons. Very few of the infidel escaped, and they embarked on their ships.

XXX

From the Book of

\textit{Jami' al-Funun}

Al-Ḥarrānī

(A.D. 1332)

He said: The land of the Rūs is a wide land but its cities are few and its inhabited places are isolated. Between one city and another there is a great distance. They are great nations who neither follow king nor law. They have gold. No stranger ever enters them without being killed. Their land is among mountains which surround it. From these mountains many springs come out, all of which

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{182} Al-Mu'izz (952-75) was the fourth Egyptian Fatimid caliph with whom the golden age in the history of Fatimid Egypt began. See Hitti, Hist. of Arabs, 623.
\item \textsuperscript{183} \textbf{\textit{ṭalāa}} ('ilj) means "ass, wild ass, foreign to the Arabian race, unbeliever, strong and stout, hairy, and thickbearded." J. G. Hava, Arabic-English Dictionary (Beirut, 1915).
\end{itemize}
pour into the Lake Ṭūḥā\(^{184}\) which is a huge lake in the midst of which there is a high mountain where there are many antelopes and cheetahs. From its region the Dnieper River comes out from meadows.

XXXI

From the Book of

Al-‘Ibar wa Dīwān al-Mubtada'

wa al-Khabar

Ibn Khaldūn

(A.D. 1332-1406)

He said: When the Rūm adopted the Christian religion they converted their neighboring nations by persuasion or coercion. Some nations adopted it among whom were the Armenians whose ancestry goes back to Nahor\(^{185}\), the brother of Abraham (Peace be upon him). Their country is Armenia and its capital is Khīlāt, and also the Georgians\(^{186}\) who are among the peoples of the Rūm and their country is between Armenia and Constantinople to the north, in impregnable mountains. Among them also are the Circassians\(^{187}\) who are

\(^{184}\) ٌطَوْسِي‌; it can also be read "Ṭūḥī", but I prefer to read it "Ṭūḥā" because it seems to be a corruption of طوسر (Ṭūsār) or طوس (Ṭūsā) as Seippel suggests (p. XLIX). See also footnote above.

\(^{185}\) ناهور (Heb. ٌناحور). Gen. 11:26.

\(^{186}\) أنكرع (Al-Kurj).

\(^{187}\) الهَرْكَشٌ (al-Jarkash).
in mountains on the eastern shore of the Sea of Pontus. And among them (as well) the Birjān, a great nation in the deep north; no information is known about them due to their remoteness. All these are Turkish peoples. The greatest of those nations who adopted it (Christianity) were the Franks.

And he said: And in the year 332/943, groups of Rūs went out in sea to the regions of Azerbaijan, and they entered the Kur River to Barda'ah in which there was the deputy of al-Marzubān ibn Muḥammad ibn Musāfir, the king of the Dailamites in Azerbaijan. He went out with multitudes of Dailamites and volunteers and fought them. But the Rūs defeated them and took the city. Then the Islamic armies came from all directions to fight them, but they fortified themselves in it (the city). Some of the populace stoned them, but they (the Rūs) expelled them (the citizens) from the city and killed whoever remained and looted their possessions and made free with their boys and women. Al-Marzubān convoked the people and advanced against them with 30,000 and fought them but he could not defeat them. Then he set an ambush one day and defeated them and killed their prince. The rest escaped to the fortress of the city. Al-Marzubān besieged them patiently. Then news came to him that Abu Abd-Allāh al-Husayn ibn Sa'id ibn Ḥamdān had reached Salamās and was advancing in the direction of Azerbaijan, to which he had been sent for the purpose of seizing it, by his cousin Nāṣir al-Dawlah. So, he equipped an army to besiege the Rūs at Barda'ah and he
himself marched to fight Ibn Ḥamdān. Then Ibn Ḥamdān departed, returning to his cousin for he had summoned him to Baghdad when Tūzūn had died. The army remained besieging the Rūs in Barда'ah until they fled the city and carried whatever they were capable of carrying and Allah purged the country of them. And he said in another place: *(The Rūs's conquest of the city of Barда'ah and al-Marzubān's victory over them)*. Those Rūs are a group of Turks and they are neighboring the country of the Rūm. They adopted the Christian religion a long time ago. Their country borders the country of Azerbaijan. A group of them embarked upon the sea in the year 332/943, then they went up from the sea into the Kur River and they ended up at the city of Barда'ah in the country of Azerbaijan in which was the deputy of al-Marzubān. He appeared to them with about 5,000 fighting men from the Dailamites and others, but the Rūs defeated them and killed the Dailamites and pursued them to the city and captured it. They proclaimed surety and behaved well. Then the Islamic armies came from all directions but they could not defeat them. The commoners and the ruffians backed them up but when the armies went away the Russians treacherously killed them and looted their possessions and enslaved them.188 That had

188. From the previous paragraph we understand that the citizens of Barда'ah had backed the Muslim armies up by stoning the Rūs.
saddened the Muslims and al-Marzubān convoked the people to war. He marched with 30,000 (soldiers) and besieged the Russians and remained for a while fighting them. Then he prepared an ambush against them and advanced toward them. They came out against him and he simulated flight until they passed the place of the ambush, but his people continued to run away. Then he, with his brother and a companion, returned seeking death and the ambushers came out from behind them. The Russians and their prince were surrounded. Their remnants escaped to the city and fortified themselves in its fortress and they had already transferred to it their captives and booty. Al-Marzubān besieged them and they stood firm. Then, it came to pass, that Naṣir al-Dawlah ibn Ḥamdān, the governor of Mosul, had sent his cousin Abu Abd-Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Saʿīd ibn Ḥamdān, in this year to capture Azerbaijan. News came to al-Marzubān that he (ibn Ḥamdān) had reached Salamās. So, he equipped an army against the Rus̱ and marched to fight ibn Ḥamdān. He fought him for days. Then his [the latter's] cousin Naṣir al-Dawlah from Mosul recalled him and informed him of the death of Tūzūn and that he (Naṣir) was marching toward Baghdad; and he ordered him to return and he returned. As for the Rus̱, the army besieged them for several days, then pestilence befell them severely and they descended from the fortress at night and carried whatever they could of possessions and reached the Kur and embarked [on] their ships and went away
to their country, and Allāh has purged the country of them.

And he said: Then in the year 343/954 Sayf al-Dawlah entered the land of the Rūm and harried it mercilessly; and he killed Constantine, the son of the Domesticus among others. The Domesticus gathered the armies of the Rūm, the Rūs and the Bulgars and marched toward the frontier towns. Then Sayf al-Dawlah ibn Ḥamdān marched against him and they met at al-Ḥadāth. The Rūm were defeated and the Muslims let themselves go in killing and capturing them. The son-in-law of the Domesticus, some of his grand-sons and many of his patricians were captured; and Sayf al-Dawlah returned with victory and loot.

XXXII

From the Book of

'Iqd al-Jumān

Al-ʾAyni

(A.D. 1360)

He said: A group of Rūs came by sea to the regions of Azerbaijan. They went toward Bardi'ah and besieged it. When they defeated its people they killed them all, looted their possessions and carried away those women of theirs whom they considered beautiful. Then they turned to Marāghah and they found there much fruit and they ate it; then a severe pestilence
befell them and most of them died. And when one of them
died they buried him with his arms and possessions which the
Muslims later took away. Then al-Marzubān Muḥammad advanced
against them, fought them and killed a great number of them
in addition to the severe epidemic which befell them. And
Allāh has purged that land of them.

XXXIII
From the Book of
Nashq al-Azhār
Ibn Iyās
(A.D. 1516)

He said: The Rūs are a great nation of Turks. Their
country is unhealthy, and it is near the Slavs. They are
in an island surrounded by a lake. It is a fortress for
them which repels their enemies. Yellow copper is brought
from them to the lands of India and China. They have a king
who sits on a bed of gold, and he is surrounded by forty
maidens with censors of gold and silver loaded with
rosemary incense. And the people of this land are ruddy, blond and of tall stature; and they are the most evil creatures
of Allāh Almighty, and they have a strange language.

189. يمن (al-ḥasālubān). It is found (hasā libān akhdār) — Badger's English-Arabic
Léxico and (hasalubān) — Socrates Spiro,
Arabic-English Dictionary. Both give the meaning of
"rosemary" to the variants of this word.
Chapter Five
The Conquest of Sidon by the Franks
in the Year 504/1099-1100

From the Book of
Al-Kāmil fī al-Taʾrīkh
Ibn al-Athīr
(A.D. 1160-1234)

He said: Then it was the year 504/1099-1100 (Notices concerning the conquest of the city of Sidon by the Franks). In this year, in Rabīʿ al-Ākhir\(^1\), the Franks conquered the city of Sidon on the Syrian coast. The reason for the conquest was that sixty Frankish ships arrived by sea at Syria, and they were loaded with men and equipment, and with them there were some of their kings. They came to perform pilgrimage to the Jerusalem, and by this pretense to invade the Muslims. Baldwin\(^2\), the King of Jerusalem, met with them and the plan was drawn between them that they would attack the land of the Muslims. They departed from Jerusalem and landed at the city of Sidon on the third of Rabīʿ al-Ākhir of this year and besieged it by land and sea. The Egyptian fleet was

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1. The fourth month of the Islamic calendar. This event then falls in A.D. 1099.
2. بِغْرُوْن (Baghdawīn); in modern French it is Baudoin.

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stationed in Tyre; thus, it could not help Sidon. The Franks, then, made a wooden tower and fixed it well and made it such as to resist fire and stones; then they marched forward with it. When the people of the city saw that, their souls weakened and they feared that they would suffer as the people of Beirut had suffered. So, they sent their qādī with a group of their elders to the Franks to ask the King for surety. He gave them surety for their lives, possessions and soldiers. He also guaranteed that whoever wanted to stay with them would be safe and whoever wanted to depart would not be hindered. And he took an oath on it. The governor and a big party of the nobles of the city departed on the twentieth of Jamāda al-Ūlā\(^3\) for Damascus, and a great number of people stayed in the city under surety. The siege had lasted for forty-seven days. Baldwin departed for Jerusalem, then returned to Sidon after a short while and imposed upon the Muslims who stayed there 20,000 dīnārs, thus, impoverishing them and draining their money away. *(Notices concerning the conquest of the fortress of Al-Athārib\(^4\) and others by the Franks). In this year, the governor of Antioch gathered his Frankish soldiers and mobilized the cavalry and the infantry and advanced toward the fortress of Al-Athārib, which is near the city of Aleppo, a distance of three parasangs. He besieged

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3. The fifth month of the Islamic calendar.
4. Southwest of Aleppo.
it and cut off supplies from it. The situation became distressing for the Muslims there and they made a hole in the fortress from which they intended to reach the tent of the governor of Antioch and kill him. When they did that and approached his tent, an Armenian youth sought protection from him and informed him of the plot. So, he took precautions against them and fought them fiercely until he conquered the fortress by force and killed 2,000 men of its people and captured the rest and took them prisoners. Then he moved to the fortress of Zardana and besieged it, then conquered it and did with its people as he had done with the people of al-Athārib. When the people of Manbij heard of that they departed from fear of the Franks; and so did the people of Bālis. The Franks advanced to the two towns and did not find a single person in them and they turned back. Then a Frankish army moved toward the city of Sidon and its people asked them for surety. They gave them surety and occupied the city. Then the fear of the Muslims was great and their hearts came up into their throats and they were certain that the Franks would conquer the rest of Syria.

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7. بلغت القلوب الخناجر is an Arabic metaphor indicating extreme fear. خناجر is the plural of هنجرة (Larynx).
because of the absence of protection for it as well as of a repeller to drive them from it. The governors of the Muslim cities in Syria began to negotiate truce with them, but the Franks refused but did agree to make short-time agreements in return for tribute-payments. King Ridwān\(^8\) of Aleppo reached an agreement with them to pay them 32,000 dīnārs in addition to horses and clothes; the ruler of Tyre pacified them with 7000 dīnārs; ibn Munqidh the ruler of Shayzar\(^9\) with 4000 dīnārs; 'Alī al-Kurdi of Ḥamāh with 2000 dīnārs. The term of the truce would continue until harvest season. Then it came to pass that ships had departed from Egypt in which were merchants and a large quantity of merchandise. The ships of the Franks attacked them and captured them and took away the merchandise and carried the merchants away as prisoners. Then a group of the people of Aleppo went to Baghdad agitating against the Franks. When they arrived at Baghdad a great number of theologians and others joined them and went to the mosque of al-Sultān\(^10\).

8. He is Ridwān ibn Tāj al-Dawlah Tutush, a Saljuq prince who ruled Aleppo from 1095-1113. Toward the end of the eleventh century Ridwān was won by the Assassins as convert. See Philip K. Hitti, An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades (New York, 1929), 62, 63. See also Hitti, Hist. of Arabs, 447, 635.

9. Shayzer, a castle on the Orontes in Northern Syria, was held by the banu-Munqidh after 1081. This ibn-Munqidh was 'Izz al-Dīn abu-al-'Agākir Sultān (d. 1154). The Memoirs of his nephew, Usāmah, are an important source of history from that period. The Memoirs are translated by Philip K. Hitti, An Arab-Syrian Gentleman. See footnote 8 above.

10. It is the mosque of the Saljūq Sultan Barkiyāruq (1094-1118).
They asked for help and interrupted prayer and destroyed the pulpit. The Caliph\textsuperscript{11} promised them to send an army to the Holy War; and a pulpit was sent from the court of the Caliph to the mosque of al-Sulṭān. Next Friday (the delegation) went to the mosque of the Palace in the court of the Caliph together with the people of Baghdad. The door-keeper tried to prevent them from entering but they overcame him and entered the mosque and broke the window of the balcony and charged on the pulpit and broke it, and the Friday prayer was cancelled again. Then the Caliph ordered the Sultān to consider this breach and repair it. Only then did he ask his fellow princes to move to their lands and prepare for the Holy War; and he sent his son, King Mas'ūd, with Prince Mawdūd\textsuperscript{12} the governor of Mosul. They went to Mosul to have the princes join them and advance to fight the Franks; and the year came to an end.

\textsuperscript{11} Al-Mustaṣẓhir (1094-118)

\textsuperscript{12} Sharaf al-Dīn Mawdūd ibn Altuntikin. See Hitti, Arab Gentleman, 97, 98.
II

From the Book of

Mirʾāt al-Zamān

Ibn al-Jawzī

(A.D. 1186-1257)

He said: And in it (meaning the year 503/1109) Baldwin, the ruler of Jerusalem, and ibn Ṣanjīl
landed in Beirut, and Joscelin, the ruler of Tell Bāshir marched on to aid them and reenforce them against Mawdūd who had expelled Jūslīn from Mosul and occupied al-Jazīrah by orders from the Sultan and advanced on Edessa. Then the Egyptian fleet came with men and supplies and entered Beirut and its people were encouraged. Then Baldwin sought help from the Genoese and they came in forty ships. Then they marched on Beirut by land and sea and entered it by sword. They killed, looted and captured and they did there as they had done in Tripoli; and they chose the best of possessions and treasures for themselves. Then Baldwin departed and advanced against Sidon. He wrote to its people (asking them) to surrender the city, but they asked him to give them a delay for some specified length of time and he agreed. Then he received money from them and returned to Jerusalem for pilgrimage.

13. ابن صنيل. He is Raymond, Count of Toulouse (called Ray- mond of St. Gilles).
14. جوسلين (Jūslīn).
15. الرهاء (al-Ruhaʾ), in northern Syria.
And in it (the same year) Muhammad Shāh\textsuperscript{16} corresponded with Sukmān\textsuperscript{17} the ruler of Armenia, Khilāṭ and Mayyafārīgü\textsuperscript{18}, and Sharaf al-Dīn Mawdūd the ruler of Mosul and Najm al-Dīn Īl-Ghāzi the ruler of Mardin suggesting cooperation in the Holy War against the Franks. They joined forces and they had a great multitude of people; and they said: We shall start with Edessa and when we achieve its conquest we shall advance toward Syria. They attacked it in Shawwāl\textsuperscript{19} and besieged its people and cut off their supply. When this became known to the Franks Tancred\textsuperscript{20}, the ruler of Antioch, ibn Sanjīl the ruler of Tripoli and Baldwin the ruler of Jerusalem joined forces and allied themselves to march toward Edessa to defend it and continue the war with patience. They all departed for Edessa. Tughtīkīn\textsuperscript{21} was

\begin{itemize}
\item[16.] Ruler of Ispahan.
\item[17.] سكمان; he is Sukmān (or Suqmān) al-Qubṭi, founder of the Shāh-Armin dynasty. See Hitti, Arab Gentleman, 118 n. 149.
\item[18.] مايافارقي; a town inside (sic) a fortress, on the frontier between Armenia, the Jazīra, (and) Rum. See Minorsky, Ḫudūd, 143.
\item[19.] The tenth month of the Islamic calendar.
\item[20.] طنكري(Tankari)
\item[21.] لهكليم. He is Atābeg Tughtīkīn, ruler of Damascus. Formerly he was a slave of the Saljūq Sultan Tutush. See Hitti, Hist. of Arabs, 641.
\end{itemize}
informed (of this movement); he marched with his army toward al-Raqqa and the fort of Ja'bar, and found the Franks on the Euphrates reluctant to cross it fearing the Muslims. This (situation) was communicated to the Muslims and they departed from Edessa for the Euphrates seeking (to fight) the Franks. They found out that the (Franks)h cavalry had already crossed the Euphrates with some of their equipment; and they attacked them killing, capturing and drowning them in the Euphrates. Their hands were full of loot, captives and horses; and the Franks returned to their centers. Toghtkhain was intending to join the Muslims against them, but when they retreated he went back to Damascus fearing an attack on it. Then the Muslims returned to Edessa, but the war was prolonged and they dispersed (and returned) to their lands. When Baldwin withdrew he made his way through al-Biqa' capturing and killing. Then he returned to Sidon and attacked it and erected towers against it. Its people became certain of death and they sent out their qāḍi and a group of their eminent people; they asked for surety and he (Baldwin) offered it to them. Then the governor, the army and the people of the city departed for Damascus unhindered. Then he (Baldwin) returned to Jerusalem. It has been said that Sidon was conquered in the year 504/1100.

22. الرقة; a town on the upper Euphrates.

23. It is Coele-Syria in classical literature.
III
From the History of
Ibn al-'Amīd
(A.D. 1205-1273)

He said: And in the year 504/1100 the Franks conquered Sidon and Zardanā and fostered their power in the land of Syria, and all the coasts came into their hands.

IV
From the Book of
Al-Mukhtasar fī Tarīkh al-Bashar
Abu al-Fidā'ī
(A.D. 1273-1331).

He said: Then it was the year 504/1099-1100. In this year the Franks conquered the city of Sidon in Rabī' al-Ākhir and occupied it by surety. And in it (the same year) the ruler of Antioch and the Franks who had joined him marched against al-Athārīb which is near Aleppo and besieged it. Fighting continued between them until they conquered it at swordpoint and killed 1000 men of its people and carried away the rest as prisoners. Then they marched against Zardanah and conquered it at sword point; the people of Zardanah suffered as the people of al-Athārīb had suffered.
Then the Franks marched against Manbij and Balis and found them evacuated by their people, and they returned from there. Then King Ridwan of Aleppo compromised with the Franks with 30,000 dinars to be paid to them with horses and clothes. The people of Syria feared the Franks and the rulers of the land paid them money and compromised with them.

V

From the Book of
Tārīkh al-Islām
Al-Dhahabi
(A.D. 1274-1348)

He said: And in the year 504/1099-1100 Baldwin and ibn Ṣanjīl landed in Beirut; then the Genoese Franks came with forty ships and besieged it and then took it at sword-point. Then they fought Sidon on the third day of Rabi‘ al-akhir and took it at sword-point after more than forty days. They gave surety to its people; some of them transferred to Damascus but most of the people stayed subjects of the Franks and a tax of 20,000 dinars was imposed on them.
VI
From the Book of
Al-`Ibar wa Dīwān al-Mubtada
wa al-Khābar
Ibn Khaldūn
(A.D. 1332-1406)

He said: Then the Franks occupied Sidon in Rabī' al-Ākhir of the year 504/1099. That happened when a Frankish fleet of sixty ships loaded with men and equipment—and in them there were some of their (the Franks') Kings—came with the intention of performing pilgrimage and invading. It (the fleet) joined Baldwin, the King of Jerusalem, and attacked Sidon by land and sea while the Egyptian fleet was at Tyre, thus, unable to come with help. Then they advanced against the walls with fortified wooden towers. Their (the people of Sidon's) morale weakened fearing that they would suffer as the people of Beirut had suffered. Therefore, they asked for surety which the Franks gave to them in (the month of) Jamādā al-Ūlā. They departed for Damascus after a siege of forty-seven days; and many people stayed in the city under surety and Baldwin returned to Jerusalem.

And he said: Then Tancred of Antioch mobilized his army and marched against the fort of al-Athārib, three miles
from Aleppo, and besieged it then conquered it by force and killed and captured many. Then he marched against the fort of Zardana and did likewise. The people of Manbij and Balis fled from their cities. Then an army of Franks marched against the city of Sidon and occupied it by surety. Then the Muslims feared that the Franks might conquer all Syria; so, they negotiated with them to conclude a truce.
Chapter Six

Notices Concerning Some Northern Lands and Seas

I

From the Book of

Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik

Ibn Khurdādhbih

(A.D. 912)

He said: As for the sea which is beyond the Slavs on which is situated the city of Thule, no ship or boat sails it nor anything comes from it.

II

From the Book of

Al-Buldān

Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadāni

(A.D. 903)

He said: And (in) the Sixth Region there are the Franks and other nations. And in it there are women whose custom is to cut off their breast and burn it (i.e., its place) lest it grows.

And he said: And the Fourth (Sea) is between Rūmiyah and Khwārizm, and there is a city in it called Thule and no
boat ever anchored on it.

III

From the Book of

Rasm al-Ard

Ibn al-Bahlul

He said: *(the islands in the Outer Western and Northern Sea)* Among those is the island of Canturia\(^1\) and its area is 2 parts by 1 1/2 parts. Its middle is on longitude 8\(^0\)5\(^1\) and latitude 10\(^0\)30\(^1\); the island of Canaria\(^2\) which has 1 part by 1 1/4 parts; its middle is on longitude 7\(^0\)4\(^1\) and latitude 11\(^0\)4\(^1\); the island of Harad\(^3\) which is 1 1/2 parts by 1 part; and latitude 13\(^0\)5\(^1\); its middle is on longitude 8\(^0\)5\(^1\); the island of Kasbarriya\(^4\): it is 1 1/2 parts by 1 part; its middle is on longitude 6\(^0\)5\(^1\) and latitude 12\(^0\)30\(^1\); the island of Darutula, it is 1 1/2 parts by 1 part and its middle is on longitude 8\(^0\)10\(^1\) and latitude 13\(^0\)40\(^1\); the island of Aqanthus which is round (in shape): it has 1 1/2 parts and its middle is on longitude 8\(^0\)20\(^1\) and latitude 16\(^0\)20\(^1\); the island of Yabarriya\(^5\): there are many cities on it; its beginning is on longitude 17\(^0\)30\(^1\) and latitude

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1. Canturia (Qanturyia): I.e., Canterbury, (Gr. Καντούρια) - Seippel, p. LIV.
2. Canaria (Qanarya) - **ibid.**
3. Har (Gr. Ἡρα) - **ibid.**
4. Kasbarriya (Gr. Κασβαρρία) - **ibid.**
5. Yabarriya (Gr. Ιοβαρρία). Another variant given by Seippel (p. LIV) is Nubazita (Nubazita); it is possibly "Hibernia" (i.e., Ireland).
53°5' and crosses longitude 14°40', and latitude 57°30', then crosses longitude 18°40' and latitude 58°50', then crosses longitude 16°30' and latitude 61°40', then crosses longitude 14°5' and latitude 61°5', then crosses longitude 11°10' and latitude 61°30', then to longitude 12°5' and latitude 60°30', then it crosses the place where it starts, on longitude 17°30' and latitude 53°5'. The island of Ulyā has many cities; it begins with longitude 18°30' and latitude 51°30', then passes as does al-Quwārah then through latitude 51°5', then it passes through longitude 18°5' and latitude 52°30', then passes through longitude 19°45' and latitude 52°40', then passes through longitude 22°40' and latitude 55°30', then passes through longitude 22°5' and latitude 56°5', then passes through longitude 23°5' and latitude 56°30', then passes through longitude 22° and latitude 57°40', then passes through longitude 23°5' and latitude 58°10', then passes through longitude 21°45' and latitude 59°15', then passes through longitude 23°5' and latitude 59°10', then passes through longitude 22°40' and latitude 59°45', then passes through longitude 27°30' and latitude 53°, then passes through longitude 26°45' and latitude 59°20', then passes through longitude 27°15' and latitude 59°40', then passes as does al-Quwārah, then passes through latitude 59°10', then passes through longitude 31°10' and latitude 60°15', then passes through longitude 28°20' and latitude 60°30', then passes through longitude 27°5' and
latitude 61°30', then passes through longitude 28°30',
and latitude 60°45', then passes through longitude 20°20',
and latitude 61°15', then passes through longitude 20°25',
and latitude 60°40', then passes through longitude 19°20',
and latitude 60°40', then passes through longitude 19°45',
then passes through longitude 18°5', and latitude 60°5',
then passes through longitude 16°40', and latitude 59°40',
then it passes as does al-Ṭaylasan through longitude 16°10',
and latitude 58°5', then passes as does al-Quwārah,
then it passes through latitude 57°20', then through longi-
tude 19°30', and latitude 58°5', then it passes through the
place where it started which is on longitude 18°30' and
latitude 51°30'.

In the island of Thule there is a city which starts with
longitude 26°20' and latitude 63°5', then it passes, as
does al-Quwārah, through latitude 60°5', then it passes
through longitude 30°5' and latitude 62°10', then passes
through longitude 32°20', and latitude 63°10', then passes
as does al-Quwārah through latitude 64°40', then passes
through longitude 26°20' and latitude 63°5' which is the
place where it has started.

In the island of Saqandiyā there is a city which starts
from longitude 42°30' and latitude 59°40', then passes, as
does al-Quwārah, through latitude 59°45', then passes through

6. Scandia (Gr. Σκανδία) (Scandia)
longitude 46°5' and latitude 59°45' then passes, as does al-Quwārah, through latitude 60°30', then it passes through the place where it starts on longitude 42°30' and latitude 59°40'.

The island of Amazānūz7 in which is the City of Men: Its beginning is on longitude 49°40' and latitude 64°45', then it passes through longitude 50°20' and latitude 62°20', then passes through longitude 54°50' and latitude 65°20', then passes through longitude 54°20' and latitude 66°40', then it passes through the place where it has started on longitude 49°40' and latitude 64°45'.

The island of Amazānūs on which is the City of Women begins with longitude 50°30' and latitude 61°10', then passes through longitude 52°30' and latitude 61°20', then it passes, as al-Ṭaylasān does, through longitude 50°25' and latitude 62°40', then it passes through the place where it starts on longitude 50°30' and latitude 61°10'.

And he said: And among the springs and rivers which are beyond the Seventh Region is a spring in the island of Thule which begins at longitude 27°20' and latitude 63°20', from which a river flows and passes through the city of Athlī and pours into the sea at longitude 31°5' and latitude 62°30'.

7. Αμαζόνοι (Gr. Αμαζόνες and Αμάζωνες). It is the land of the Amazons.
IV
From the Book of
Murūj al-Dhahab
Al-Mas'ūdi
(A.D. 947)

He said: Then they (meaning the wisemen) looked into the latitude and found that civilization ends north of the Equator at the island of Thule which is in Britain⁸ where the length of daytime is 20 hours.

And he said: And I have found in some books added to those of al-Kindi⁹ and his disciple al-Sarakhsi¹⁰ the companion of al-Muʿtaḍid bi-Allah¹¹ that at the end of civilization, in the north, there is a great lake, some of it is under the North Pole, and near it there is a city after which there is no civilization and it is called Thule; and I have found in some treatises of banu-al-Munajjim a mention of this lake.

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8. بريطانية (Barīṭānīyah)

9. Abu-Yūsuf ibn Ishāq, "was born in al-Kūfah about the middle of the ninth century and flourished in Baghdaḏ". He was a philosopher, astrologer, alchemist, optician and music theorist. See Hitti, Hist. of Arabs, 370.

10. Aḥmad ibn al-Tayyib; he accompanied al-Muʿtaḍid on a military expedition to Palestine in 884-5 and kept a careful diary of the expedition. See Rosenthal, Muslim Historiography, 152.

11. Al-Muʿtaḍid (892-902) was an Abbasid Caliph.
He said: According to Ptolemy the extent of civilization northward is the island of Thule in the extreme north of the Western Sea. Its width as from the average of daytime in the north is 63 parts. He also relates that from Marinus\(^\text{12}\) in his discussion on the boundaries of the civilized world.

And he said: From the land of Burtas the black fox skins are carried, and they are the most noble and most expensive of furs. Some of them are red and some white which cannot be distinguished from al-Fanak and al-Khalanji, and its worst kind is the one known as al-Aʿrābi. The black kind cannot be found anywhere else in the world except in this region and the regions nearby. The kings of the non-Arabian nations boast of wearing these skins which are used for hats and furs. The black kind reach very high prices and are carried to Bāb al-Abwāb and to Bardhaṭah and to other (places) in the land of Khurasan. It may also be carried from the land of the Slavs to the country of al-Jarbī\(^\text{13}\)

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\(^{13}\) See footnote 51, p. 92 above.
because of the former's connection with al-Jarbi. Then it is carried to Frankland and Spain. Then the black and red kinds of these skins are taken to the land of Maghrib, thus, some make the mistake of thinking that they come from Spain, and Frankland and the land of the Slavs which are connected to it (Spain).

VI
From the Book of

Al-ʾAjāʾīb

(Attribute to al-Masʿūdī)

The author of the book said: The Slavs are several nations, some of them are Christian, some profess Heathenism and worship the sun. They have a great river\textsuperscript{14} of sweet water, which flows from the north to the south. They also have another great river which flows from west to east until it joins another great river coming from the region of the Bulgars. They have many rivers, all of them are in the north. They have no salt sea because their country is far from the sun, and hence, their water is sweet, because those (seas) which are near the sun become salty. Whatever (lands) which are beyond theirs to the north are uninhabitable.

\textsuperscript{14}  \textit{bahr} (bahr) is a "sea" or any "great river". The Nile, for example, is called the "Nile Sea" even in modern times.
because of their cold and abundance of earthquakes. Most of their tribes are Heathen who burn themselves with fire and worship it. They have many cities and temples which have suspended bells which they ring like church bells. There is a nation among them, between the Slavs and the Franks, who believe in the religion of the Sābians\(^\text{15}\) and profess the worship of planets. They have fine minds and trades of all kinds. They fight the Slavs, the Turks and the Burjāns. They have seven feasts in the year named after the planets; the greatest one is the feast of the sun.

And he said: As for the Franks, they also are descendants of Japheth. Their kingdom is large and they have kingdoms which have been gathered together by one king. It was mentioned that the Franks had ninety cities ruled by one king, and their greatest city is Drywah\(^\text{16}\). They are also Christians, and today they are in fourteen tribes. Beyond them are many races who belong largely to the Slavs and they have a great domain and civilization. They fight the Rūm and the Lombards, and they practice magic. Among them there are Christians, Heathen and Zindīq\(^s\)\(^\text{17}\), as well as some who burn themselves.

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15. They are the Mandeans, known as the Christians of St. John. This sect still exists in the south of Iraq. See Hitti, Hist. of Arabs, 233, 357-8.

16. ديرية . Other variant readings given by Seippel (p. LVI) are ديريو (Dūr?wh) and برزة (Br?zh).

17. The term Zindīq was used by early Arab writers to designate Muslims harboring Persian, and particularly Manichaean dogmas. See Hitti, Hist. of Arabs, 359.
VII
From the Book of
Al-Tafhim fi Awā'il Šinā'lat
al-Tanjīm
Al-Bayrūnī
(A.D. 973-1048)

He said: As for civilization, Ptolemy claimed that its farthest extent is the island of Thule whose latitude approaches the exact (summit) of the Great Incline and it is approximately 63 parts. But the nations which are between the end of the Seventh Region and that end are more like beasts than they are like men; and their lives are beyond the limits of distress.

VIII
From the Book of
Al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik
Al-Bakri
(d.A.D. 1094)

He said: As for the beginning of the width of the country, it is from the region of the flowing place of the Nile in Abyssinia, a distance of twenty nights (journey) from the zenith, southward from Aden, up to Thule, the island
which is situated below the line which extends to the extreme north; it is beyond the land of the Slavs and the Khazars.

And he said: As for the other sea which comes after the South Sea in size, it is the North Sea which extends from north to south. It begins at longitude 1 and extends to longitude 17 in the shape of a hood, until its shape becomes that of a sector of a circle, then it passes on convexwise until its shape becomes that of mist (sic). There are no cities on this sea except the city of Thule. No one sails in it due to the roughness of its nature and due to its darkness and the thickness of the air on it.

IX
From the Book of

PT Dhikr al-Aqālīm

Al-Zayyāt

He said: And after this region (meaning the Seventh Region) there are many inhabited countries up to latitude 63°, in which civilization is continuous, and it is inhabited by Heathen, Slavs, Patzinaks, Alans, Tughuzghuz\textsuperscript{18} and Rūs. Their longest daytime is 20 hours and the shortest is 4 hours.

\textsuperscript{18} Possibly the Ghuzz or the Tungus.
From the beginning of civilization, after the Equator in the south, to the end of civilization after the Seven Regions in the north parallel to the aforementioned Heathen, Slavs and Rūs, there are 79°.

And he said: Then the Western Ocean Sea comes down to the land of the Franks then to the land of the Slavs going eastward to the lands of the Turks and the Tughuzghuz, then to the barrier of Gog Magog where it is connected with the Dark Sea — which is known as (the Sea of) Darkness — in which there are many great unknown islands. Among its great islands are the islands of Awbāsūh and Ulia which is in the northern part of Spain. And in it (the sea) is the island of Thule which is to the north of the land of the Slavs; there are also the two islands of Women and Men, who are a nation that segregates women from men because of their jealousy for them.

19. Seippel (P. LVII) suggests that this is a corruption of نرباغة (Nurbāghah) or نرباجة (Nurbājah), i.e., Norway.

20. On the coast of Galicia.
He said: And in this sea (meaning the Western Ocean Sea) there is the island of Sheep which is a great island surrounded by darkness. It has uncountable number of sheep which are small in size; and no one can eat their meat because of its bitterness. Those who were deluded have related that (report) also. After it comes the island of Raqâ\textsuperscript{21} which is the island of birds. It is said that in it (the island) there is a kind of bird which resembles the eagles. They are red and have claws by which they prey on the beasts of the sea; and they do not leave this island. And it is said that in it (the island) there are fruits which resemble the large figs which, when eaten, counteract all kinds of poison. The author of the book of Al-\textit{\textsuperscript{\textbf{I}}}Ajâ\textit{\textsuperscript{\textbf{I}}}ib has related that a Frankish king had been informed about that (i.e., the fruits) and he dispatched a ship to fetch him some of that fruit and to hunt for him some of those birds, because

\textsuperscript{21} ṭara\textsuperscript{\textbf{a}}. Another variant (See Seippel, p. LVII-LVIII) is ḍara\textsuperscript{\textbf{a}} (Lāqah).
he had knowledge concerning their blood and gal-vesicles; but the ship which he dispatched was wrecked and did not return to him. And among them (meaning the islands of the Ocean Sea) is the island of Shetland\textsuperscript{22} whose length is fifteen days (journey) and whose width is ten days (journey). In it there were three large cities where there are people who inhabit them. Ships used to pass by them, stop and buy ambergris and colored stones. But evil befell the inhabitants of that country and they fought each other until most of them perished. Some groups of them transferred to the shores of the sea on the great land of the Rūm where there is now a great number of its (the island's) inhabitants. We shall mention this island when we mention the island of Ireland. In this sea there is the island of Lāqah\textsuperscript{23}; it is said that in it there are trees of odorless aloes-wood. But if it is taken and carried in the sea, its odor becomes good. It is heavy and black. Merchants used to go to it (the island) and bring the aloes-wood from it to sell it in the Far West, to the kings there. It is also mentioned that it (the island) was inhabited with many people, but it was destroyed and snakes became abundant in it such that no one can enter it now for this reason.

\textsuperscript{22} al-Shāṣland

\textsuperscript{23} See also Footnote 20 above. This, probably, is the island of Lewis (Liodhus), one of the Hebrides islands.
And he said: (The first part of the Seventh Region).
This first part of the Seventh Region is a completely dark sea. The whole of its islands are obscure and uninhabited. Its largest island is Ireland, which was mentioned before; between its upper end and Britain there are three and a half water-courses. 24 Between its lower end and the waste island of Scotia 25 there are two water-courses. The author of the Book of al-‘Aǧāʾib mentions that there were three cities in it which were inhabited. Ships used to stop in them and pass by them buying ambergris and colored stones from the inhabitants. One of them (the natives) wanted to reign over the people and he fought them with his relatives and they fought him. So, enmity spread among them and they destroyed each other. Some of them transferred to the shore of the Big Land; and their cities were destroyed and none of the inhabitants remained in them. The first part of the Seventh Region is completed and Praise be to Allāh.

And he said: From the edge of the waste island of Scotia to the edge of the island of Ireland there are two water-courses on the west, and we have already mentioned that.

24. تذاته حجر ونصف
25. سقوسة (Siqūsiyah), i.e., Scotland.
From the edge of the island of England to the island of D(?n(?)'s²⁶ there is one water-course. From the northern edge of Scotia to the island of Iceland there are two-thirds of a water-course. Between the fringe of Iceland and the island of Ireland there is one water-course. Similarly between the eastern edge of Iceland and the island of Norway²⁷ there are twelve miles. The length of the island of Iceland is 400 miles and its width is 150 miles. We shall mention these islands later with the help of Allah Almighty and the excellence of His good order.

The second part of the Seventh Region has been completed, and Praise be to Allah. It will be followed by the third part if Allah Almighty wishes.

(The third part of the Seventh Region): In the third part of this Seventh Region is the coast of the lands of Poland²⁸, Ziwadah²⁹, Finmark, and the peninsula of Denmark and Norway. We shall mention these coasts and islands as we have done before, with the help of Allah Almighty. Among

--- Footnotes ---

²⁶. دنیس, Seippel (p. LX) suggests that it is the Isle of Man (Menavianis).

²⁷. نمواره (Nurwāghah).

²⁸. بولونيي (Bülüniyah), either Poland or, starting from the English Channel to go northeastward toward Denmark, it may be Boulogne.

²⁹. زوراده; probably, but unlikely, Sweden.
these is the city of Verden\textsuperscript{30} which is on its river. Between it and the sea there are fifteen miles. Between the city of Verden and the city of Ni\u{u}burk\textsuperscript{31} there are twenty-five miles. Between Verden and the Elbe\textsuperscript{32} River there are 100 miles. Between the Elbe River and the beginning of the peninsula which is called Denmark there are sixty miles. The peninsula of Denmark itself is circular in shape and sandy. It has four important cities and many villages and flourishing and protected anchorages. Between the edge of the peninsula and the city of Alsey\textsuperscript{33}, to the left of the incoming, there are twenty-five miles. It is a small and civilized city with (well) established markets and permanent buildings; and it is on the sea coast. Between it (Alsey) and the harbor of \textsuperscript{34}Turd\textsuperscript{\textdollar}rah there are fifty miles; it is a harbor that is well protected against wind and has (many) buildings. From this harbor to the harbor of Hawn\textsuperscript{35} there are 100 miles, and this harbor is well protected from wind;

30. \hbox{\footnotesize وردة} (Wardah), a city on the Aller River.

31. \hbox{\footnotesize نيوبروك} (Nayuwarburk) and \hbox{\footnotesize نويدبربك} (Nayunburk). Other variants given by Seippel (p. LX) are \hbox{\footnotesize نيدنبرغ} (Nienburg) on the Weser River.

32. \hbox{\footnotesize ألفا} (Albah)

33. \hbox{\footnotesize السينا} (Alsiyah)

34.\hbox{\footnotesize لودربره}; Seippel (p. LX) suggests it to be Tonder, on the west coast of Denmark.

35. I.e., Hafnia (Copenhagen).
in it there are wells of fresh water. Between this harbor and the harbor of Vandilskagí there are 200 miles; it is a well populated harbor. From this harbor one enters the island of Norway. Between them there is a strait of one-half water-course in length. Between this harbor and the city of Horsens there are 200 miles. This is a nice small city. Between it and the Fort of Lund there are eighty miles. Between this fort and the city of Slesvik there are 100 miles. Between it (Slesvik) and the beginning of the peninsula there are twelve miles. The circumference of the peninsula, therefore, is 750 miles. Between the beginning of this peninsula and the city of Jütah there are 100 miles. It is a small and civilized city with markets and buildings. Between it and the city of Landsudun there are 100 miles. It is a large and prosperous city. Between this city and the River Quṭalw on which is a city called Sigtun there are 190 miles. The city of Sigtun is a beautiful city. Between it and the city of Kalmar there are 200 miles. We shall

36. (Wandilsqādah), in the extreme north of Denmark.
37. (Hurs Nas)
38. (Lundūnah). Older names are Lundona and Lundia.
39. (Salisbūli). Seippel (p. LXI) suggests that the termination ویق has been corrupted into .
40. Possibly Gothland or Goteborg or even Jutland.
41. (Landskrona).
42. (Seippel, p. LXII).
43. (Siqṭūn)
44. (Qalmār)
mention the remainder of this coast in detail with the help of Allah and His succour.

Let us return now and say that from the coastal city of Jūtah to the city of Ziwādah to the east there are 100 miles. The city of Ziwādah is a big and cosmopolitan city and its territory was named after it. This land is scarce in civilization and has much cold and ice. Between Ziwādah and the city of Albah there are 100 miles eastward. To the east of it, (a distance) of 100 miles is the city of Kemi. Between Kemi and the sea there are 100 miles. Opposite to it in the north, on the Sea of Darkness, is the city of Landsūndun; and from the city of Landsūndun to the river of Quṭalw, and it is also called Quṭarlu, on which is the city of Sigtun (situated), there are 190 miles. Between the Quṭarlu River, also, and the city of Kalmar there are 200 miles. We shall discuss the other coasts later. The Quṭarlu River is named after a city on it. It is a great river that passes from west to east and empties in the Dark Sea. Between the mouths of the two arms of this river there are 300 miles. As for the great island of Norway, most of it (is) wasteland; it

45. See Footnote 28 above.

46. Possibly Elbing on the Baltic.

47. فمیة(Qīmiyyah): A town on the extreme northern coast of the Gulf of Bothnia.
is a large country with two tips. One of them is connected from the east with the peninsula of Denmark and it is opposite to its harbor, Vandilskagi. Between them there is a small strait of about one-half water-course. The other tip is connected to the great coast of the land of Finmark. In this island there are three prosperous cities. Two of these cities are in the land of Finmark and the third city is in the peninsula of Denmark. All of these cities are similar in characteristics. Their income is scarce and their livelihood is strained because of the abundance of rain and the constant changes in weather. They sow their plants and reap them while green; then they dry them in houses where they light fire, by reason of the scarcity of sun-shine. In this island there are huge sized trees which do not exist abundantly anywhere else. And it is said that in this island there is a savage nation that lives in wilderness, and their heads are stuck to their shoulders, and they have no necks at all. They dwell in trees where they use their hollow insides as houses to live in. Their food is acorns and chestnuts. In this island there is the animal which is called "cheetah"; it is found in abundance but it is smaller in size than the Russian cheetah and we have mentioned that before. The third part of the Seventh Region has been completed, and Praise be to Allah. It will be followed by the fourth part if Allah Almighty wishes.
*(The fourth part of the Seventh Region). In this fourth part of the Seventh Region are most of the land of the Russians, the land of Finmark, the land of Tavastehus, Estland and the land of the Heathen. Most of these lands are waste and wilderness, obscure villages and constant snow. Their cities are few. As for the land of Finmark, it is a land of many villages, buildings and sheep. It has no prosperous city except the city of Abūdah and the city of Kalmar which are two great cities, but nomadism is common in them and misery is distressing their inhabitants. And in them (the cities) food is so scarce that it is less than sufficient for them. Rain is continually and constantly falling on them. From the city of Kalmar westward to the city of Sigtun (the distance) is 200 miles. The king of Finmark owns cities and inhabited regions in Norway which has been mentioned before. Between the city of Kalmar and the second arm of the Qūṭarlu River there are eighty miles. And between the Qūṭarlu River and the city of Daghwādah there are 100 miles. Daghwādah is a huge and prosperous city which is on the mouth of the sea, and it is thought of as being part of the land of Tavastehus. This

48. طبست (Tabast)
49. استونيا (Istāndah), i.e., Estonia.
50. ابوزة. Identified by Seippel (p. LXIII) as Åbo. The author is, obviously, identifying Finmark with Finland. Finmark, therefore, in this text should not be understood as Finmark of the northern Scandinavian peninsula.
51. دغوارة, possibly the island of Dago (Dageyden) off the coast of Estonia.
land is of many villages and much prosperity, but its towns are few. This land is colder than the land of Finmark: Ice and rain do not cease not even for a twinkling of an eye. Between the city of Anhu\(^{52}\) and the city of Daghwādah there are 200 miles. Anhū is a beautiful, majestic and prosperous city, and it is in Estland. ---

In the Dark Sea there are many uninhabited islands. There are two inhabited islands in it called the two islands of the Heathen Amazons. The western island is inhabited by men only and there is not one woman in it. In the other island there are women only and no man is with them. Every year, in the spring, the men cross the channel between them with their boats and each man goes to his woman and has sexual intercourse with her and stays with her for about a month. Then the men depart for their island and stay in it until the same time of the next year, then they go to the island where their women are and do with them as they had done in the previous year, i.e., the man has sexual intercourse with his wife and stays with her for a complete month then returns to the island where he dwells. And all of them do the same. This is a well known custom of theirs and an established tradition among them. The nearest place to reach them is from the city of Anhū, for between them there are three water-courses. And it is

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52. "انهو". See Birkeland, p. 151, n. 55.
possible to reach them from the city of Kalmar and from the city of Dagü. It is almost impossible to reach these islands due to the abundance of fog in this sea and due to its extreme darkness and the lack of light in it.

The fourth part of the Seventh Region is completed, and Praise be to Allāh.

XI
From the Book of

Bastṣ al-Ard
Ibn Saʿīd
(A.D. 1208)

He said: To the north of this second part (of civilization beyond the Regions) there is the island of Ḥarmūsah. Its length is about twelve days (journey) and its width in the middle is about four days (journey). Good sanāqir are brought from it. Its middle is on longitude 28° and latitude 58°. There are many islands around it where the sanāqir are found. To its west is the island of white sanāqir: Its length from west to east is about seven days (journey) and its width is about four. From it and from the small northern islands the white sanāqir are brought, then carried

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53. I.e., Denmark. Seippel (pp. LXIV-LXV).
54. السناقير
from there to the Sultan of Egypt. The revenue from them for his treasury is 1000 dinārs. If they bring them dead 500 dinārs would be paid to them. And there is the white bear which enters the sea and swims and catches fish. The sanāqir snatch away whatever it (the bear) leaves out or neglects; and thus they live for there is no bird there due to the severity of cold. The skins of these bears are soft and they are brought to Egypt as presents.

And he said: And in this part (meaning the third part of civilization beyond the Regions) the city of women. Thickets are surrounding it. Its longitude is 44° and its latitude is 9° (different) from the Seventh Region. No one reigns over them except a woman. In these thickets they have male-slaves. When night comes each male-slave knocks at the door of his mistress and spends the night with her. When dawn comes he goes away to his place. When a woman gives birth to a boy she kills him; but if she gives birth to a girl she lets her live. No man appears in their city at all. In the Ocean Sea, which is in this northern region, is the island of women. Its length from east to west, with an inclination southward, is about 250 miles; and its width in the middle is about 120 miles. Its middle is on longitude 38° and latitude 60° from the Equator. To the east of it is the island of men.
Between the two islands there is a channel of ten miles. Its (the islands) width in the middle is about 170 miles. These men do not get together with the aforementioned women except for one month every year, in the time of the equinox. Then the men embark in their boats for the island of Woman. Each man knows his woman and goes unto her for a period of one month, then returns to the island of men. If a woman gives birth to a male she brings him up until he approaches manhood, then she sends him to their island. If she gives birth to a female she lets her live with the women. To the east of these two islands there is the great island of the Slavs where (there is) no civilization beyond it, eastward and northward, in the Ocean Sea. Its length is about 700 miles and its width in the middle is about 330 miles. In it there are many mountains, rivers, cities, prosperous places and people. It is said that they still are Heathen and fire-worshippers, and they consider nothing more useful than it (the fire) due to the severity of cold. Crops in this island and its like are not dried up in the sun, but they are dried up by smoke and by putting them close to fire. The author of the Book of Roger56 has mentioned that there are people in that land whose heads are stuck to their shoulders, and they mostly dwell in big trees, which they hollow out and enter. The capital of

56. I.e., al-Idrīsī.
this island is the city of Burghārīnā after which the Bulgars are named, for it is said their origin is from this city. It is on the Ocean Sea, in the island where longitude 45°30' and latitude 57°.

XII
From the Book of
Āthār al-Bilād
Al-Qazwīnī
(A.D. 1283)

He said: Slesvik is a very great city on the coast of the Ocean Sea. There are springs of sweet water in it. Its inhabitants worship Sirius except a few who are Christians and they have a church there. Al-Ṭurtūshī related that they had a feast in which they all gather to glorify their deity, to eat and to drink. If someone slaughters a sacrifice he erects a post in the door of his house and puts the sacrifice on it whether it was a cow, a ram, a billy-goat or a swine in order to let the people know that he has sacrificed it in glorification of his deity. The land has few resources. Most of their food is fish for it is abundant

57. برغرینا, certainly the city of Bulgar in Great Bulgaria.
58. سلشوین (Salshawīq), in Denmark.
there. If boys are born to one of them he throws them in the sea in order that he may be relieved of their expenses. It is also said that among them the woman has the right to divorce; the woman can divorce herself whenever she wants. They have artificial antimony which can never be removed when it is put on; and it increases the beauty of men and women. And he said: I never heard more ugly songs than the songs of the people of Slesvik, for they are a mumbling that comes out of their mouths like the barking of dogs and even worse.

And he said: And the city of Women is a large city and wide in area; it is in an island in the Western Sea. Al-Ṭurtūshi said: Its inhabitants are women, and men have no authority over them. They ride horses and fight all by themselves. They have great courage in combat. They have slaves; and each slave frequents, during the night, his mistress and stays with her all night, then rises at dawn and leaves secretly. If one of them gives birth to a male she kills him immediately, but if she gives birth to a female she allows her to live. And al-Ṭurtūshi said: The city of Women is a fact; there is no doubt about it.

And he said: Burjān\(^{60}\) is a lowland in the north. The minimum of daytime in it is four hours, and the night is twenty

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\(^{60}\) Burjān, it is possibly Nurman (Nurmān), i.e., the land of the Norse.
hours, and vice versa. Its inhabitants are Heathen and disbelievers. They fight the Slavs. In most of their affairs they are like the Franks. They are skillful in industry and in sea-ships.

XIII

From the Book of

Al-Tuḥfah al-Shāhiyyah

Al-Shīrāzī

(A.D. 1311)

He said: As for the islands, in the section which enters the northwestern quarter and connected with the Western Ocean there are three (islands), their largest is the Island of England\(^{61}\) whose area is twelve squares: From \(7^\circ 19'\) to \(7^\circ 21'\); and from \(8^\circ 19'\) to \(8^\circ 21'\); and from \(9^\circ 19'\) to \(9^\circ 21'\); and from \(10^\circ 19'\) to \(10^\circ 21'\). The smallest is the Island of Ireland which has six sections: \(8^\circ 22'\), \(8^\circ 23'\), \(20^\circ 22'\), \(20^\circ 23'\), \(5^\circ 22'\) and \(5^\circ 23'\). The best hunting fowl, which is known as ṣanqar\(^{62}\), is found there. The middle (island in size) is the Island of Orkney\(^{63}\) and it is in eight sections: \(5^\circ 28'\), \(5^\circ 29'\), \(6^\circ 28'\), \(6^\circ 29'\), \(7^\circ 28'\), \(7^\circ 29'\), \(8^\circ 28'\) and \(8^\circ 29'\).

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61. انكليس (Inkiliṣî)

62. صقر, probably it should be read صقر (saqr) which is a small falcon.

63. أركنية (Urkaniyah).
And he said: The longest daytime, also, reaches seventeen hours where the latitude is 54° and a fraction, eighteen (hours) where the latitude is 58°, nineteen where the latitude is 61° and twenty (hours) where the latitude is 63°. And there is an island called Thule. It is said that its inhabitants dwell in baths due to the severity of its cold. It is known as being on the latitude where civilization ends. It (daytime) is twenty-one (hours) on latitude 64°30'. Ptolemy said: The inhabitants of this place are an unfamiliar Slavic nation, therefore, it is the limit.

XIV

From the Book of

Manahij al-Fikar

Al-Waṭwāṭ

(d.A.D. 1319)

He said: And the remainder of civilization, which we have said that its end is 66°, is added to this Region (meaning the Seventh Region), and is counted with it. It is inhabited by groups of people who resemble the beasts in forms and character more than they resemble human beings. It is also related that in one of the islands of the Ocean Sea, beyond Thule whose latitude approximates the zenith of the Great Inclination, there is a savage nation who dwell in wilderness.
Their heads are stuck to their shoulders and they have no necks. They inhabit old trees, using them as houses for dwelling. Their food is acorn. This island is called the island of Norway; and it is said that there are three prosperous cities in it. Their income is scarce and their livelihood is strained due to the frequent weather changes and rain. They sow and reap their crops green. Then they dry them with fire which they build close to them (the crops), because of the lack of sun-shine due to the thickness of clouds. It is said that in some islands beyond Thule there is a nation called the Qalgar who are crossbreeds between men and sea beasts. They have horns and small eyes and they (go about) naked. They eat the beasts of the sea and the plants of the earth, and they drink salt water if they cannot obtain sweet.

And he said: And in it (meaning the Ocean Sea), beyond the Great Land, is the peninsula of Denmark. Its circumference is 750 miles. There are four cities in it, and in each city there is a king. It is round and has an isthmus of land. The island of Norway has a circumference of 4,500 miles; there are three prosperous cities in it. Its income is little, and it is abundant in weather changes and rain. Its inhabitants reap their crops before they are dry, because of the scarcity of sun-shine. They put them in houses and light fire around them until they become dry. We have mentioned this island before.
He said: And the frozen lake beyond the Deserts of Kipchak, on longitude 63°, has a length of about eight days-journey and width of about three days-journey, and they may be more or less. There is a big island in it, inhabited by people of huge statures, with white bodies and hair and blue eyes. They hardly understand a word. It is called "frozen" because it freezes all over in the winter until it becomes surrounded by mountains of ice. It is so, because when its edges freeze and the air moves its water, the waves move the frozen parts and whatever comes above that ice freezes; then it accumulates little by little and layer above layer until it becomes like hills, plateaus and a wall surrounding it.

And he said: And near the frozen lake, a distance of twenty days-journey to the west, and to the north of the land of al-Kilābiyyah there is a large island called the "Illuminated Island", and it is inhabited by a group of Slavs. At night lights are always seen in it just like the light of fire; but there is neither fire nor illuminating bodies such as the illumination of stars or the building of
fire. To the south of Gog Magog there is a group of people whose heads are stuck to their shoulders without apparent necks. They live on hunting and plants which they eat. They are like the savages in strength, ignorance and might. They have a salt lake of thirty by twenty parasangs ****. They take refuge in it when they fear their enemy, and it is called the island of R(?)[wā]thah\textsuperscript{66} and Allāh knows better. To their east there is a large lake, where the Eastern Ocean joins, and it is called Thule. It has many islands and numerous tribes. Their inhabitants are a group of the Qargaz\textsuperscript{67}, and it is (also) said that they are different from them, and they are crossbreeds between men and some sea beasts; and that some of them have horns and small eyes, and (go about) naked; they eat the beasts of the sea and the plants of the earth and drink salt and sweet water; and Allāh knows better.

And he said: And if the investigator looks into this extension (meaning the extension which comes out of the Pitch Sea at the extreme east of China) he will find its coast extending northward to the confines of the mountain of Balharā. From there the Pitch Sea extends with its coast continuously surrounding the land of the Qargaz in the extreme

\textsuperscript{66}. رواة. Possibly a corruption of نوروانغ (Nurwāghah), i.e., Norway.

\textsuperscript{67}. Possibly the Kirghiz.
northeast. Another (extension) comes out of it there whose length is one month and a half (journey) and whose width is twenty days (journey). There are islands in it which are inhabited by groups of people, whom we have described before, such as the inhabitants of Thule and the island of R(?)fā'ah. Then it comes back and extends northward behind the mountain of Gog Magog, then it meets their mountains from the south, east and north. Another extension comes out of it north of Gog Magog and it is called after them. Then its coasts extend until it passes the mountain of Qāfūniyā where there is a sweet lake whose water alternates between salty and sweet, and it is connected to it. There its coasts enter the Region of Darkness where there is no route for people. This falls under the North Pole.

And he said: And in this sea (meaning the Sea of Okianos), beyond the land of the Slavs, there are two big islands: One of them is the island of the men Armiyānūs \(^{68}\) and the other one is the island of the women Armiyānūs. The first one is inhabited only by men, and the other one is inhabited only by women. Every spring they meet for two months having sexual intercourse then they depart. The one who wishes to enter these two islands can hardly see them, by reason

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\(^{68}\) It is obviously a corruption of Amazons.
of the abundance of mist and the darkness of the sea and the
magnitude of waves. These wonders which are spread over
the horizons are rarely seen, and only by accident. To the
west of these two islands there are two islands with tall
trees and high mountains, and they are covered with trees and
fruits. Their most common bird are the white sanāqir.

XVI

From the Book of
Jāmi' al-Funūn
Al-Ḥarrānī
(A.D. 1332)

He said: The end of the Dark Sea stands at the north of
Russia, then it bends westward and beyond its bend there is
no reachable place. To their (the Russians') west, in the
Dark Sea, there is the peninsula of Denmark. In this
peninsula there is an uncountable number of huge and great
trees. Its inhabitants light fire in their houses in day-
time due to the darkness and the lack of light, because the
sun does not shine on them except for a few days in the year.
And it is said that in this peninsula there are savage nations
who live in the wilderness; their heads are stuck to their

69 دارمشة (Dārmūshah).
shoulders and they have no necks. They cut holes in the trees and use their interior for dwelling places. Their food is the acorns. There is an animal in it (Denmark) called cheetah, and found in large numbers.

And he said: The land of Finmark is large and has many cities, villages and tribes. But misery is common among its inhabitants due to the scarcity of food and the abundance of rain and snow in the land, both in summer and winter.

XVII

From the Book of

Kharīdat al-'Aṣā'ib

Al-Wardi

(A.D. 1419)

He said: To the west of the land of the Rūs there is the peninsula of Denmark. In this peninsula there are ever-living big trees. Some of these trees, if twenty men surround the trunk of one of them and stretch their arms around it, will not be able to circle it. Its inhabitants light fire in their houses in daytime, because the sun is far away from them, and because light is scarce. In this peninsula there a savage nation known as the wilderness (sic) whose heads are stuck to their shoulders and they are without necks. They cut the big trees and use their insides as houses to dwell in. Their food is acorns. In it the
animal which is called cheetah is found in large numbers. It is an animal of strange description, and it does not exist or live except in those places.
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