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THE SOURCES OF AL-QAZWĪNĪ'S *ĀTHĀR AL-BILĀD*¹

Since the very beginning of modern Arabic studies in Europe scholars have had to face the difficulties connected with the study of post-classical Arabic medieval literature which is, generally speaking, less original than compilatory. It was a risk taken especially by the historians investigating the numerous Arabic manuscripts from the eleventh to the fifteenth century and indeed in many cases it was discovered some time later that a manuscript over which much time and effort had been spent was nothing more than a compilation of the earlier original sources which came down to us as well. In this way a number of historical and geographical sources was published in nineteenth and even in twentieth century in the order which was opposite to the value and originality of these sources — the less original but sometimes more popular appeared first, and the older first-hand but rare sources were published some time later. Although this was by no means a general rule, the mere chance played quite an important part in the work of the philologists for a long time. This was an inevitable and necessary stage in the development of the new branch of philology until a general overall picture of Arabic medieval literature could be drawn. We must not forget, however, that although many problems had been solved, nevertheless the reevaluation of a great number of sources was not achieved or even undertaken at all. It is the main task of the present study to present the reevaluation of *Āthār al-bilād* or the so called

¹ Zakariyā b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād wa akhbār al-'abād*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1849.

„Geography“ by Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (1203—1283).

Up to the present moment *Āthār al-bilād* has been highly esteemed by the European scholars. It has been generally acknowledged at the same time that *Āthār al-bilād* is much inferior to the other compilatory geographical works of the postclassical period, not to speak about the great „Geographical dictionary“ by Yāqūt. A very big number of authorities quoted by al-Qazwīnī in *Āthār al-bilād* and a very rich although somewhat superficial content of this work impressed many scholars who praised the erudition of al-Qazwīnī. In effect the work itself, and especially its quotations of such authorities as Abū Dulaf, Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnatī, Ibn Faḍlān, al-Bakrī and Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb were rather frequently cited in different studies by modern scholars. The evaluation of these quotations as well as of the originality of the rest of the information contained in *Āthār al-bilād* was not based on the results of a systematic research but was expressed vaguely and in an intuitive way.

Ferdinand Wüstenfeld — the editor of *Āthār al-bilād* — was the only scholar who tried to compile a list of the sources utilized by al-Qazwīnī in composing his „Geography“. Wüstenfeld's list comprises some 50 authors, usually the best known representatives of Arabic medieval geography and history whose works were utilized, in his opinion, by al-Qazwīnī². Wüstenfeld mentioned, without publishing the whole list, the names of al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Faḍlān, Abū Dulaf, al-Mas'ūdī, Ibn Ḥawqal, Abū 'r-Rayḥān al-Khuwārizmī al-Bīrūnī, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Muqaddasī, al-'Udhri, Abū'l-Ḥāmid al-Andalusī, Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb, Ibn al-Faḳīh and ar-Rāzī. It is clear that Wüstenfeld did nothing beyond listing some of the best known names mentioned by al-Qazwīnī himself in his *Āthār al-bilād*. It is to be pointed out that Wüstenfeld's edition of *Āthār al-bilād* is rather mediocre as far as editorial work is concerned: there is neither commentary nor index, the text is printed continuously without breaks to indicate where the quotations end or begin; there is also a number of errors and

² „Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen“, Göttingen 1848, F. Wüstenfeld, al-Qazwīnī, t. I, p. 351.

misprints. The new edition which appeared in Beyrouth in 1960 is largely reprint of the old Wüstenfeld's edition — it is supplied with an index and the text is divided into longer and shorter fragments but this is done in quite an arbitrary and unpredictable fashion. The problem of the sources of *Āthār al-bilād* was mentioned by Wüstenfeld at another occasion too. In the introduction to his edition of Yāqūt's „Geographical dictionary“³ Wüstenfeld expressed an opinion that al-Qazwīnī must have drawn largely upon this dictionary without saying it openly. This opinion remained unprecised as well because Wüstenfeld quotes *Āthār al-bilād* very seldom in his commentary to *Mu'jam al-buldān*. Nearly 90 years later Kračkovsky accepted Wüstenfeld's list of the sources of *Āthār al-bilād* and added that because of the general progress of Arabic studies it would be possible to enlarge the list rather considerably⁴. Other scholars merely repeated the Wüstenfeld's opinions.

Of course it is possible now to identify a vast majority of the authors quoted by al-Qazwīnī in his *Āthār al-bilād*, but we must bear in mind that in the study of medieval compilatory work like *Āthār al-bilād* we cannot rely, like Wüstenfeld did, upon the author's assertion that he is quoting such and such an authority. This may in fact mean nothing more than that the information contained in that quotation originates from the authority which was mentioned — but it need not necessarily mean that the compiler, in this case al-Qazwīnī, has drawn upon such an authority directly. He could have utilized another compilatory work by another author and he could have borrowed from it the original information and the quotations coming from the books he had never handled himself. A very big number of authorities quoted in *Āthār al-bilād* and the fact that many of them, including some very famous and voluminous works, are mentioned only once or twice, certainly require of investigating. On the other hand it has already been discovered that a bulk of information supplied

³ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* — Jācūt's Geographisches Wörterbuch, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1866—1873, t. I—VI.

⁴ J. Ju. Kračkovskij, *Izbrannyje Sočinenija t. IV, Arabskaja geografičeskaja literatura*, Moskva—Leningrad 1957, s. 364—365.

by al-Qazwīnī without quoting an authority is very similar or even identical with the information given by other authors, sometimes much older. Of course it is well known that the medieval writers did not feel the necessity of naming all their sources and there was nothing wrong about writing an unoriginal but erudite compilation, but in the course of my study of *Āthār al-bilād* I could not resist an impression that al-Qazwīnī abstained quite deliberately from naming several of the sources upon which he relied very seriously. The problem of the sources of *Āthār al-bilād* i. e. the problem of the origins of the information contained in this book can be solved only by a comparison of the whole text of *Āthār al-bilād* with earlier historical and geographical writings. Of course this is hardly possible since many of these writings have not come down to us and many others have not yet been published and so remain inaccessible. Some of the published ones are actually only partial editions or the later compendia.

Some new light could be thrown by the study of the first version of *Āthār al-bilād* which was entitled '*Ajā'ib al-buldān*' and which remains in a MS and so is inaccessible. In spite of these obstacles the study of the sources of *Āthār al-bilād* has been undertaken. I have mainly concentrated on the geographical and historical sources but the problem of the origin of poetic quotations, of biographical data etc. has not been entirely neglected. First of all the authorities and the books quoted by al-Qazwīnī have been identified and a tentative list of the quotations has been compiled. Afterwards the quotations and the rest of the text of *Āthār al-bilād* has been compared with all the originals of the books quoted by al-Qazwīnī or with the works which seemed to contain some information analogical to the information found in *Āthār al-bilād*. If there was a possibility that some information had been drawn by al-Qazwīnī not from the original but from a second hand source, i. e. from another compilatory work, all the texts concerned i. e. the quotation in *Āthār al-bilād*, the original, and the quotation in another compilatory work have been compared. In this way a number of concordances have been compiled which illustrate the dependence of *Āthār al-bilād* on the older works of medieval Arabic writers. For technical reasons theses concordances cannot be published in full and only some general indications

as to the origin of the information contained in *Āthār al-bilād* are given in this article. Moreover some suppositions have been made on the scope of the original information collected by al-Qazwīnī himself either from his own experience or from his own informants. As far as the poetic and anecdotal quotations are concerned, only some general remarks are given. It is quite possible that al-Qazwīnī knew by heart many fragments of the poems composed by famous Arabic and Persian poets. As he was probably learned in jurisprudence and tradition, it is also quite possible that most of the information on the Moslem traditionists, lawyers, and theologians formed a part of his own education.

The sources of *Āthār al-bilād* will be presented now and finally will follow an evaluation of this work. As has already been pointed out, F. Wüstenfeld was the first scholar to discover the dependence of *Āthār al-bilād* on Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*. Here is what he said on this problem: „Dass nämlich Cazwini den Yacut stark ausgebeutet hat, ohne ihn zu nennen, ist mir wahrscheinlicher, als dass beide aus gemeinschaftlichen, zum Theil noch unbekannten Quellen geschöpft haben sollen: an viele Stellen stimmen beide wörtlich überein“⁵. However, Wüstenfeld did not compare *Āthār al-bilād* and *Mu'jam al-buldān* systematically and did not illustrate his opinion by a comparison of both the texts. New results were obtained much later by W. Jwaideh, who proved that al-Qazwīnī had borrowed from Yāqūt the general introductory descriptions of the climates without omitting the mistakes of the text of *Mu'jam al-buldān*⁶. In the course of comparing *Āthār al-bilād* and *Mu'jam al-buldān* I have discovered that nearly 360 entries of *Āthār al-bilād* which actually is a geographical dictionary, contain some information borrowed from *Mu'jam al-buldān*. 157 of these entries contain nothing but borrowings from Yāqūt. It also seems probable that he mentioned the title of Yāqūt's „Geographical dictionary“ only twice and merely by accident. It is also interesting to note that the quotations from such authorities as al-Ya'qūbī, Ibn al-Faḥh, Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān, Abū

⁵ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, t. V. p. 46—47.

⁶ W. Jwaideh, *The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Mu'jam al-buldān*, Leiden 1959, p. 44.

Dulaf, al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Hawqal and al-Muqaddasi were borrowed from *Mu'jam al-buldān*, and not from the originals. The latter will be treated separately and now the condensed concordances of *Āthār al-bilād* and *Mu'jam al-buldān* in general will be given:

The first climate	Q. 9/7—9/21	Y. I, 29 ⁷
Iram dhātu 'l-'imād	Q. 9/22—11/11	Y. I, 212, 213, 214, 215
Bakīl	Q. 11/17—11/20	Y. I, 707
Bilād at-Tibr	Q. 11/21—12/15	Y. I, 821, 822
Bilād an-Nūba	Q. 15/25—15/28	Y. IV, 820
Jābars	Q. 17/17—17/21	Y. II, 2
Jāwa	Q. 18/24—18/28	Y. III, 445
Jazā'ir al-Khālīdāt	Q. 18/29—19/7	Y. II, 69, 70
Jawf	Q. 22/7—22/12	Y. II, 157
Hurath	Q. 22/14—23/13	Y. II, 235, 236, 237, 238
Ḥaḍramawt	Q. 25/6—25/13	Y. I, 598
Dalān wa Damūrān	Q. 25/15—25/20	Y. II, 582
Dunqula	Q. 25/21—25/24	Y. IV, 820
Dhāt ash-Sha'bayn	Q. 26/1—26/8	Y. III, 297, 298
Sijilmāsa	Q. 27/24—28/6	Y. III, 45, 46
Sarandīb	Q. 28/7—28/8	Y. III, 83, 84
	28/12—28/13	84,
	28/17—28/19	83
Sufāla	Q. 29/17—29/20	Y. III, 96, 97
Salūq	Q. 29/24—30/1	Y. III, 125, 126
Samhar	Q. 30/2—30/5	Y. III, 146, 147
Sandābil	Q. 30/7—30/12	Y. III, 451
ash-Shiḥr	Q. 31/4—31/24	Y. III, 263, 264
Shamkh	Q. 32/18—32/27	Y. III, 318, 319
San'ā'	Q. 33/9—34/7	Y. III, 421, 422, 811, 812
	34/15—34/17	IV, 170, 172
	34/26—34/29	III, 470

⁷ Q = al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*; Y = Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*.

Zafār	Q. 36/26—37/10	Y. III, 577
Umān	Q. 37/11—37/19	Y. III, 717, 718
Ghāna	Q. 37/24—37/25	Y. III, 770
Ghadāmis	Q. 38/4—38/8	Y. III, 776
Qal'at ash-Sharaf	Q. 38/12—38/15	Y. III, 277, 278
Kākudam	Q. 38/16—38/21	Y. IV, 229
Kalah	Q. 38/25—38/26	Y. IV, 302, 303
Kuwwār	Q. 39/3—39/8	Y. IV, 315, 396
Lanjūya	Q. 39/9—39/11	Y. IV, 366
Mā'rib	Q. 39/12—39/29	Y. IV, 383, 385, 387, 388
Mudhaykhira	Q. 40/6—40/11	Y. IV, 482
Maqdashū	Q. 40/19—40/20	Y. IV, 602
Muqrā	Q. 40/24—40/28	Y. IV, 603
Wabār	Q. 41/10—42/16	Y. IV, 896, 897, 898
Warwar	Q. 42/17—42/24	Y. IV, 924, 925
al-Yaman	Q. 43/1—43/2	Y. IV, 1036
	44/24—45/8	IV, 327, 328, III, 248, 249
The second climate	Q. 48/4—48/15	Y. I, 29, 30
al-Ablaq	Q. 48/17—49/5	Y. I, 94, 95
Ajā wa Salmā	Q. 49/10—49/13	Y. III, 911, 912
Tubbat	Q. 52/4—52/28	Y. I, 817, 818, 819, 820
Jājullā	Q. 53/9—53/13	Y. III, 454
Jazīrat Suqutṛā	Q. 54/14—54/22	Y. III, 101, 102
Jazīrat Sayalān	Q. 55/1—55/6	Y. III, 218
al-Ḥijāz	Q. 58/12—58/14	Y. II, 790
	58/19—59/20	II, 790, III, 65
	58/29—59/8	IV, 179, 1020
	59/13—60/3	III, 460, IV, 542
al-Ḥijr	Q. 60/4—60/10	Y. II, 208
Khaṭṭ	Q. 60/21—60/22	Y. II, 453, 454
Khaybar	Q. 60/24—61/10	Y. II, 503, 505, 843
Raḥā Bitān	Q. 61/11—61/22	Y. II, 758, 759
Zughar	Q. 61/23—62/2	Y. II, 933, 934, III, 397

Zawīla	Q. 62/3—62/14	Y. II, 960, 961
as-Sind	Q. 62/15—62/21	Y. III, 166, 457, 458
	63/29—63/5	IV, 698
Sanf	Q. 64/10—64/11	Y. III, 429
Saymūr	Q. 64/12—64/20	Y. III, 453, 454
ʿAdan	Q. 67/5—67/9	Y. III, 621, 622
Fās	Q. 67/28—68/11	Y. III, 842, 843
Qubā	Q. 68/15	Y. IV, 23
	68/20—68/22	III, 784, IV, 23
Quzdār	Q. 68/23—69/5	Y. IV, 86, 87
Qishmīr	Q. 69/6—69/8	Y. IV, 103
	69/12—69/15	IV, 103
Kalah	Q. 69/25—69/30	Y. III, 453
Kanza	Q. 70/1—70/14	Y. IV, 310, 311
Kūlam	Q. 70/15—70/27	Y. IV, 455
Madinat Yathrib	Q. 71/14—71/22	Y. IV, 459, 460, 466
	71/25—72/14	I, 433, 434, 656,
		IV, 305
Marrākush	Q. 73/20—73/21	Y. IV, 478
Makka	Q. 74/4—74/12	Y. IV, 619
	74/15—74/19	IV, 625, 626
	74/21—75/20	II, 244, 245, IV,
		278, 279, 280,
		525, 526
	78/11—79/3	II, 212, 213, IV,
		588
	79/19—80/16	II, 228, 941, 942,
		943, IV, 39
Multān	Q. 81/3—81/22	Y. III, 457, IV, 689
Minā	Q. 82/16—82/22	Y. IV, 643
Mandūrafin	Q. 82/22—82/26	Y. III, 454, 455
al-Manṣūra	Q. 83/3—83/5	Y. IV, 663
Najrān	Q. 83/28—84/25	Y. IV, 751, 753, 754,
		755, 756
an-Nudha	Q. 84/26—84/29	Y. IV, 772, 773
Yatrab	Q. 87/19—87/24	Y. IV, 1008, 1009
al-Yamāma	Q. 87/25—90/1	Y. IV, 1027, 1028,
		1029, 1030,

The third climate

	Q. 92/10—92/19	Y. I, 30, 31
Abarqūh	Q. 92/21—93/2	Y. I, 85, 86
Absūj	Q. 93/3—93/10	Y. I, 91
Ajar	Q. 93/11—93/13	Y. I, 134
Ikhmīm	Q. 93/17—94/4	Y. I, 165, 531, 532
Arrajān	Q. 94/23—95/1	Y. I, 194
al-Iskandariya	Q. 96/14—96/29	Y. I, 256, 257
	97/21—97/26	I, 262
	98/17—98/30	I, 263
	99/1—99/5	I, 260, 261
Asyūt	Q. 99/8—99/15	Y. I, 272
Afiq	Q. 100/14—100/21	Y. I, 333
Anṣinā	Q. 100/22—100/29	Y. I, 381
Anṭākiya	Q. 101/2—101/19	Y. I, 382, 383
Uwrim al-Jawz	Q. 102/4—102/13	Y. I, 401
al-Ahwāz	Q. 102/19—102/29	Y. I, 412, 413
Ayla	Q. 103/1—103/4	Y. I, 422
Bāmiyān	Q. 103/20—103/22	Y. I, 481
Badā	Q. 104/5—104/13	Y. I, 775
Burāq	Q. 104/14—104/17	Y. I, 537
al-Bushmūr	Q. 104/18—104/22	Y. I, 634
Baʿalbak	Q. 104/24—104/26	Y. I, 673, 674, 675
al-Balqāʾ	Q. 105/8—105/9	Y. I, 728
Bulyanā	Q. 106/2—106/4	Y. I, 735
Balarm	Q. 106/5—106/11	Y. I, 719
Banāriq	Q. 106/12—106/23	Y. I, 739, 740
Banzart	Q. 106/24—106/29	Y. I, 745, 746
Bayt al-Maqdis	Q. 107/6—108/20	Y. IV, 591, 592, 593,
		594, 595, 596
	109/1—109/20	III, 125, IV, 173,
		174, 598
Bilād Barbar	Q. 109/21—110/9	Y. I, 540, 541, 542,
		543
Tāhart	Q. 113/12—113/18	Y. I, 813
Tadmur	Q. 113/22—114/12	Y. I, 828, 829, 830
Tūnis	Q. 116/6—116/22	Y. I, 897, 898, 899

at-Tih	Q. 116/23—117/4	Y. I, 912
al-Jābiya	Q. 117/7—117/10	Y. II, 3, 4
Jāshak	Q. 117/11—117/16	Y. II, 9
Jazīrat Tinnīs	Q. 117/22—118/4 118/18—120/2	Y. I, 882, 884 I, 882, 883, 885, 886
Jazīrat al-Jasāsa	Q. 120/4—120/13	Y. II, 934
Jifār	Q. 120/28—121/2	Y. II, 90
Jannāba	Q. 121/8—121/11	Y. II, 122
Jūr	Q. 121/17—121/26	Y. II, 146, 147
Jirāft	Q. 122/2—122/5	Y. II, 174
Halab	Q. 122/21—122/29 123/6—123/7	Y. II, 304, 308, 315 II, 308
Himş	Q. 123/29—124/2	Y. II, 336
al-Hīra	Q. 124/18—125/17	Y. II, 191, 375, 491, 492 III, 165
Khabīş	Q. 125/18—125/20	Y. II, 401
Kharibat al-Malik	Q. 125/21—125/23	Y. II, 417
al-Khalīl	Q. 125/25—126/4	Y. II, 468
Dārābjird	Q. 126/12—126/18	Y. II, 560
Dimashq	Q. 126/19—126/29 127/2—127/24	Y. II, 587, 588, 589 II, 590, 591, 592, 593
Damandān	Q. 129/5—129/10	Y. II, 600
Dimyāt	Q. 129/11—129/28	Y. II, 602, 603
Dandara	Q. 130/7—130/10	Y. II, 610
Dawraq	Q. 130/11—130/15	Y. II, 618, 619
Dayr Abī Hūr	Q. 131/1—131/6	Y. II, 641
Dayr Atrib	Q. 131/7—131/10	Y. II, 641
Dayr Ayyūb	Q. 131/11—131/14	Y. II, 645
Dayr Sim'ān	Q. 131/15—131/16	Y. II, 671
Dayr Tūr Sinā	Q. 131/30—132/7	Y. II, 675, 676
Dayr at-Tayr	Q. 132/8—132/14	Y. II, 676
Dayr Nahjā	Q. 132/15—132/26	Y. II, 704, 705
ar-Ruṣāfa	Q. 132/28—133/1 133/5	Y. II, 784, 785 II, 785
Raqqāda	Q. 133/6—133/14	Y. II, 797, 798

Sābūr	Q. 134/2—134/7	Y. III, 5, 6
Sijistān	Q. 134/26—135/10	Y. III, 41, 42, 43
Sakhā	Q. 135/16—135/18	Y. III, 51
Sadūm	Q. 135/23—135/29	Y. III, 59
Samannūd	Q. 136/1—136/5	Y. III, 145, 146
Sinžil	Q. 136/7—136/8	Y. III, 162
Sūbila	Q. 136/13—136/17	Y. III, 183
Sīrjān	Q. 136/21—136/25	Y. III, 213
Saylūn	Q. 136/28—137/1	Y. III, 220
ash-Shām	Q. 137/2—137/12 137/28—138/11 139/2—139/6	Y. III, 240, 243 II, 21, IV, 157, 158 IV, 839
Shaṭā	Q. 139/20—139/22	Y. III, 288
Shi'b Bawwān	Q. 139/23—140/14	Y. I 751, 752, 753, II, 589
Shīrāz	Q. 140/15—140/24	Y. II, 576, III, 348, 349
aş-Sa'id	Q. 142/3—142/16	Y. III, 392, 393
Şafat	Q. 142/17—142/19	Y. III, 399
Şiqiliya	Q. 143/14—144/10	Y. III, 406, 407, 408
at-Tabariya	Q. 145/4—145/19 145/24—146/6	Y. III, 509, 510, 511, 512, 515 III, 511, 512
Tarsūs	Q. 146/7—146/28	Y. II, 526, 527, 528
al-'Abbāsa	Q. 146/29—147/6	Y. III, 600
al-'Arīsh	Q. 147/7—147/15	Y. III, 660, 661
'Azāz	Q. 147/22—147/24	Y. III, 667
Asqalān	Q. 147/25—147/28 148/1—148/4	Y. III, 673, 674 III, 674
'Askar Mukram	Q. 148/6—148/9	Y. III, 676
'Akka	Q. 148/17—149/12	Y. III, 707, 708, 709 758, 759
'Ayn Jāra	Q. 149/13—149/20	Y. III, 760
'Ayn Shams	Q. 149/21—150/3	Y. III, 762, 763
al-Ghariyān	Q. 150/12—150/29	Y. III, 790, 791, 792
al-Ghūṭa	Q. 154/22—154/28	Y. III, 825

al-Fuṣṭāt	Q. 157/12—157/25	Y. III, 896, 898, 899, 901
	157/29—158/5	II, 80
al-Fayyūm	Q. 158/20—159/11	Y. III, 933, 934, 935, 936
al-Qādisiyya	Q. 159/12—159/24	Y. IV, 7, 8, 9
al-Qāhira	Q. 159/25—160/2	Y. IV, 22, 48, 106
Qal'at an-Najm	Q. 160/25—160/26	Y. IV, 165
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Hīt	Q. 186/20—186/28	Y. IV, 997, 998
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Dayr al-Khanāfis	Q. 247/25—247/30	Y. II, 658
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Dayr al-Qayyāra	Q. 248/22—248/26	Y. II, 689
Dayr Kardashīr	Q. 248/27—249/3	Y. II, 690
Dayr Mattā	Q. 249/4—249/11	Y. II, 694
Dayr Mar Tūmā	Q. 249/12—249/15	Y. II, 697
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Shāṭiba	Q. 362/17—362/21	Y. III, 235, 236
Shantara	Q. 364/9—364/11	Y. III, 327
Shanqunīra	Q. 364/30—365/4	Y. III, 329
Ṣughd	Q. 365/5—365/19	Y. III, 394, 395
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Burtās	Q. 390/8—390/12	Y. I, 567
Bilād Bajanāk	Q. 390/13—390/17	Y. III, 446
Bilād Najā	Q. 390/18—390/22	Y. III, 446
Bilād Baghrāj	Q. 390/23—391/2	Y. III, 447
Bilād at-Tughuzghuz	Q. 391/22—391/27	Y. III, 448
Bilād Jikil	Q. 391/28—392/4	Y. III, 447
Bilād al-Khitayān	Q. 392/5—392/13	Y. III, 450
Bilād al-Kharlukh	Q. 392/14—392/27	Y. III, 449
Bilād Khirkhīz	Q. 392/28—393/5	Y. III, 448—449
Bilād al-Khazar	Q. 393/6—393/17	Y. II, 436, 437, 439
Bilād Khuṭlukh	Q. 393/18—393/25	Y. III, 449—450
Bilād ar-Rūs	Q. 393/29—394/8	Y. II, 834
Bilād al-Ghuzz	Q. 395/9—395/10	Y. III, 448
Bilād Kaymāk	Q. 395/13—395/19	Y. III, 448
Baladat Bahī	Q. 395/25—395/29	Y. III, 450
Rūmiya	Q. 397/3—399/25	Y. II, 867—872
Sudd Yājūj wa Mājūj	Q. 400/23—402/28	Y. III, 53, 54, 56— 58
Sharwān	Q. 403/24—403/30	Y. III, 282
Fārāb	Q. 405/17—405/21	Y. III, 833, 834
Farghāna	Q. 405/22—406/1	Y. I, 238, III, 879
Qusṭantīniya	Q. 406/2—406/3 407/16—407/18	Y. IV, 95 Y. IV, 96

al-Kulayb	Q. 408/9—408/15	Y. III, 450
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Saqlāb	Q. 413/26—413/29 414/9—414/27	Y. III, 405 I, 724
Wisū	Q. 416/8—416/10	Y. IV, 944
Yājūj wa Mājūj	Q. 416/17—416/28 416/30—417/6	Y. III, 53, 54 III, 53, 54

THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE WORKS OF HISTORIANS AND
GEOGRAPHERS KNOWN TO AL-QAZWINI FROM *MU'JAM*
AL-BULDAN

Kitāb al-buldān

by Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb ibn Ja'far ibn Wahb ibn Wāḍih
al-Ya'qūbī

The famous historian and geographer Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Ya'qūbī is quoted in *Āthār al-bilād* once only. The quotation originates from *Kitāb al-buldān* of this author but al-Qazwīnī borrowed it from *Mu'jam al-buldān*. Here are the corresponding passages:

Kharibat al-Malik Q. 125/21—125/24 Y. II, 417 al-Y. 333⁸

Kitāb al-buldān

by Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī

Āthār al-bilād contains forty one quotations from *Kitāb al-buldān* of Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī. The major part of these quotations was borrowed from *Mu'jam al-buldān* — they were copied by al-Qazwīnī together with Yāqūt's commentary. The problem is, however, somewhat complicated because five quotations are not to be found in *Mu'jam al-buldān* and five other are not to be found in the compendium of *Kitāb al-buldān* either. We may assume that these ten quotations were borrowed from

⁸ al-Y = *Kitāb al-buldān* auctore Ahmed ibn Abī Ja'qūb ibn Wāḍih al-Kātib al-Ja'qūbī, ed. M. J. de Goeje, BGA, t. VII, Lugduni Bata-vorum 1892.

some unknown compilatory source but not from *Mu'jam al-buldān* directly. It will be possible, perhaps, to explain this problem when the original version of *Kitāb al-buldān* is published. Here are the quotations included in *Āthār al-bilād* compared with the text of *Mu'jam al-buldān* and with the compendium of *Kitāb al-buldān*.

Bilād at-Tibr		
Q. 11/21—11/25	Y. I, 821, 822	I. al-Fq. 87 ⁹
Jazīrat ar-Rāmnī		
Q. 19/13—19/16	Y. —————	I. al-Fq. ———
Jazīrat Zānj		
Q. 20/1—20/5	Y. —————	I. al-Fq. 10, 11
Q. 20/8—20/9	Y. —————	I. al-Fq. 10, 13
Ḥaḍramawt		
Q. 25/13—14	Y. I, 598	I. al-Fq. ———
Sandābil		
Q. 30/25	Y. ———	I. al-Fq. 14
Ṣan'ā'		
Q. 33/11—15	Y. III, 421, 422	I. al-Fq. 34
aṣ Ṣīn		
Q. 36/15—18	1. —————	I. al-Fq. ———
Kanām		
Q. 38/28—39/2	Y. ———	I. al-Fq. 15
Mahra		
Q. 41/1—2	Y. ———	I. al-Fq. ———
Wabār		
Q. 41/13—20	Y. IV, 896, 897	I. al-Fq. 37, 38
al Yaman		
Q. 44/29—45/6	Y. III, 248, 249	I. al-Fq. ———
Jazīrat Bartāyīl		
Q. 53/22—54/1	1. ———	I. al-Fq. ———
Ḳumār		
Q. 69/16—19	Y. ———	I. al-Fq. 15
Makka		
Q. 79/27—80/8	Y. II, 942, 943	I. al-Fq. ———

⁹ I. al-Fq = *Compendium libri Kitāb al-buldān auctore Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī*, ed. de Goeje, BGA. t. V. Lugduni Batavorum 1885.

Multān		
Q. 81/22—24	Y. ———	I. al-Fq. ———
Arrajān		
Q. 94/23—95/1	Y. I, 194, 195	I. al-Fq. 199, 200
al Urdunn		
Q. 95/15—18	Y. ———	I. al-Fq. ———
Anṣinā		
Q. 100/22—29	Y. I, 381	I. al-Fq. ———
Khabīṣ		
Q. 125/18—20	Y. II, 401	I. al-Fq. 207
Dārābjird		
Q. 126/13	Y. II, 560	I. al-Fq. ———
Damandān		
Q. 129/5—10	Y. II, 600	I. al-Fq. 206, 207
Sijistān		
Q. 135/4—5	Y. III, 43	I. al-Fq. 208
Shi'b Bawwān		
Q. 139/26—28	Y. I, 751	I. al-Fq. 200
Ṭarsūs		
Q. 146/9—10	Y. III, 526	I. al-Fq. ———
Kirmān		
Q. 164/20—26	Y. IV, 264, 265	I. al-Fq. 205
Asfajīn		
Q. 195/10—28	Y. IV, 645, 646, 647, 648	I. al-Fq. 247, 248, 249, 250
al-Jibāl		
Q. 230/7—12	Y. III, 250, 251	I. al-Fq. 214, 215
232/21—23	Y. IV, 827	I. al-Fq. 259
Ḥiṣn at-Ṭaq		
Q. 239/12—14	Y. III, 491	I. al-Fq. 310
Sinjār		
Q. 263/6—8	Y. III, 158	I. al-Fq. ———
Qirmīsīn		
Q. 290/7—14	Y. IV, 69, 70	I. al-Fq. 209, 211, 217
Qazwīn		
Q. 291/19—25	Y. IV, 88, 89	I. al-Fq. 280, 282
Qaṣr Shīrīn		
Q. 296/10—297/3	Y. IV, 113, 114	I. al-Fq. 158, 159

Kurkân		
Q. 299/2—8	Y. IV, 261	I. al-Fq. 214
Nāwūs az-Zabya		
Q. 311/13—23	Y. IV, 733, 734	I. al-Fq. 255
Nihāwand		
Q. 315/19—27	Y. IV, 827, 881	I. al-Fq. 258, 259
Q. 316/2—8	Y. IV, 828	I. al-Fq. 259, 260
Āmid		
Q. 330/23—27	Y. I, 66, 67	I. al-Fq. 134
Armīniya		
Q. 333/4—7	Y. II, 184	I. al-Fq. ---
Qālīqalā		
Q. 370/20—26	Y. IV, 20	I. al-Fq. 295
Madīnat an-Naḥās		
Q. 375/7—377/6	Y. IV, 455, 456, 458	I. al-Fq. 77, 88—91
Rūmiya		
Q. 397/3—399/25	Y. II, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872	I. al-Fq. 149, 150
Farghāna		
Q. 405/23—24	Y. III, 879	I. al-Fq. -----

The narrative of Ibn Faḍlān's travel

Until the discovery of the so called „Meshhed manuscript“ in 1924 the narrative of the travel of Ibn Faḍlān was known only from the quotations preserved in *Āthār al-bilād* and *Muʿjam al-buldān*. The comparison of the three texts proves that al-Qazwīnī used *Muʿjam al-buldān* in this case too. The description of the country of Khazars is lacking in the Meshhed manuscript but there is no doubt that it was borrowed by al-Qazwīnī from Yāqūt. Here are the corresponding texts:

Khuwārizm		
Q. 353/28—29	Y. II, 484	I. F. 198b. ¹⁰

¹⁰ I. F. = *Putešestrije Ibn Fadlana na Wolgu*, perevod i komentarij pod redakejey akademika J. Ju. Kračkovskovo, Moskwa 1939.

Bilād al-Khazar		
Q. 393/6—17	Y. II, 436, 437, 438, 439	I. F. -----
Bilād ar-Rūs		
Q. 393/29—394/8	Y. II, 834, 835, 840, I, 727	I. F. 207b, 209b, 210a, 212b
Bashghirt		
Q. 411/14—23	Y. I, 468, 469	I. F. 203a
Šaqlāb		
Q. 414/9—27	Y. I, 723, 724, 727	I. F. 204a, 207a, 207b

*The First and Second Risala
of Abū Dulaf*

The original version of the narrative of Abū Dulaf was found in the Meshhed manuscript as well. V. Minorsky — the editor of the „Second Risala“ compared the quotations which are to be found in *Muʿjam al-buldān* and *Āthār al-bilād* and he concluded that the quotations preserved in the latter are possibly based on Yāqūt. V. Minorsky identified 15 fragments of *Āthār al-bilād* which contain information borrowed from the „Second Risala“ of Abū Dulaf. P. G. Bulgakov and A. B. Khalidov identified 9 other fragments¹² but they did not express their opinion on the possible dependence of al-Qazwīnī upon Yāqūt's work. While working on *Āthār al-bilād* I managed to identify 3 other quotations from the „Second Risala“.

As far as the „First Risala“ is concerned, both Grigorieff¹³ who did not know the Meshhed manuscript and Rohr Sauer who translated the „First Risala“ pointed out that there was very little difference between the excerpts preserved in *Āthār al-bilād* and those preserved in *Muʿjam al-buldān*.

¹¹ V. Minorsky, *Abū Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Muhalhils travels in Iran* (circa AD 950), arabic text with an english translation and commentary, Cairo 1955, p. 19—20.

¹² *Vtoraja zapiska Abū Dulafa*, Izdaniye teksta, perevod, vvedenije i komentarii H. G. Bulgakov i A. B. Chalidov, Moskwa 1960, p. 17.

¹³ A. Rohr-Sauer, *Des Abū Dulaf Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestan, China and Indien*, Stuttgart 1935, p. 10.

It seems to be beyond any doubt that al-Qazwīnī borrowed these quotations from Yāqūt because 1^o he does not mention the name of Abū Dulaf in the same fragments in which it was not mentioned by Yāqūt, 2^o he borrowed these quotations together with some fragments of Yāqūt's own text, 3^o there is no any substantial difference between *Mu'jam al-buldān* and *Āthār al-bilād* in this case.

Here are 22 quotations from the „First Risala“ (10 of them anonymous) and 27 quotations from the „Second Risala“ (18 of which are anonymous) compared with the corresponding passages of *Mu'jam al-buldān* and with the text of Abū Dulaf:

The First Risala		
Sandabil		
Q. 30/7—12	Y. III, 451	R. S. 27 ¹⁴
Jājullā		
Q. 53/9—13	Y. III, 454	R. S. 32
as-Sind		
Q. 62/16—21	Y. III, 457, 458	R. S. 38—39
Ṣaymūr		
Q. 64/12—20	Y. III, 453, 454	R. S. 32
Qishmīr		
Q. 69/12—15	Y. IV, 103	R. S. 33
Kalah		
Q. 69/25—30	Y. III, 453	R. S. 30, 31
Kūlam		
Q. 70/15—27	Y. III, 455, 456	R. S. 34, 35, 36, 37
Multān		
Q. 81/3—14	Y. III, 457	R. S. 37, 38
Mandūrafīn		
Q. 82/22—26	Y. III, 454—455	R. S. 33—34
Bilād Bajanāk		
Q. 390/13—17	Y. III, 446	R. S. 18, 19
Bilād Najā		
Q. 390/18—22	Y. III, 446	R. S. 18
Bilād Baghrāj		
Q. 390/23—391/1	Y. III, 447	R. S. 19, 20, 21

¹⁴ R. S. = Rohr-Sauer, *Des Abū Dulaf Bericht...*

Bilād at-Tughuzghuz		
Q. 391/22—27	Y. III, 448	R. S. 22
Bilād Jikil		
Q. 391/28—292/4	Y. III, 446, 447	R. S. 19
Bilād al-Khitayān		
Q. 592/5—13	Y. III, 450	R. S. 25
Bilād al-Kharlukh		
Q. 592/14—27	Y. III, 449	R. S. 23, 24
Bilād Khirkhīz		
Q. 392/28—393/5	Y. III, 448, 449	R. S. 22, 23
Bilād Khuṭlukh		
Q. 393/18—25	Y. III, 449—450	R. S. 24
Bilād al-Ghuzz		
Q. 395/9—12	Y. III, 448	R. S. 21—22
Bilād Kaymāk		
Q. 395/13—19	Y. III, 448	R. S. 21
Bilād Bahī		
Q. 395/25—29	Y. III, 450	R. S. 25, 26
al-Kulayb		
Q. 408/9—15	Y. III, 450	R. S. 26
The Second Risala		
Dawraq		
Q. 130/11—15	Y. II, 618, 619	M. 29 ¹⁵
Māsbādān		
Q. 172/26—28	Y. IV, 393	M. 13
Hindijān		
Q. 186/14—17	Y. IV, 993	M. 29
Urmiya		
Q. 194/23—27	Y. I, 513	M. 7
Iṣfahān		
Q. 196/30	Y. I, 293, 294	M. 27
Īdhaj		
Q. 201/16—202/6	Y. I, 416	M. 27, 28, 30, 31
	IV, 189	
Bistām		
Q. 205/1—6	Y. I, 623	M. 25, 26

¹⁵ M. = Minorsky, *Abū Dulaf...*

al-Jibāl		
Q. 231/14—25	Y. II, 607, 608	M. 22, 23
Jurjān		
Q. 234/1—2	Y. II, 49, 50	M. 25
234/11—12	II, 50	25
Hulwān		
Q. 239/16—17	Y. II, 317	M. 12, 13
Dāmghān		
Q. 245/1—5	Y. II, 539	M. 24
Dayr Kardashīr		
Q. 248/28—249/3	Y. II, 690	M. 19
ar-Rayy		
Q. 251/1—3	Y. II, 93	M. 19
Shahrazūr		
Q. 266/9—22	Y. III, 340, 341	M. 10, 11, 12
Shiz		
Q. 267/3—13	Y. III, 354, 355	M. 2, 3
Qirmisīn		
Q. 290/14—20	Y. IV, 121, 563	M. 16
Qaṣr Shīrīn		
Q. 295/23—24	Y. IV, 113	M. 12
Kankuwar		
Q. 300/17—21	Y. IV, 121	M. 16
Mādhārān		
Q. 302/14—22	Y. IV, 381	M. 24
Mādhārūstān		
Q. 302/23—26	Y. IV, 382	M. 16
Nihāwand		
Q. 316/8—11	Y. IV, 828	M. 18
Urmiya		
Q. 332/12—17	Y. I, 513	M. 7
Armīniya		
Q. 333/8—18	Y. II, 922, 923	M. 7
Aflūghūniyā		
Q. 337/8—15	Y. I, 331	M. 9
Badhdh		
Q. 344/6—9	Y. I, 529, 530	M. 6

Tiflis

Q. 348/25 Y. I, 857 M. 6

Bākūyah

Q. 389/10—12 Y. I, 477 M. 6

Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik

by al-Iṣṭakhri

In spite of the fact that al-Qazwīnī devoted a special biographical note to al-Iṣṭakhri, he quoted his *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* from *Mu'jam al-buldān*. Three quotations were given without mentioning the name of al-Iṣṭakhri but these were simply rewritten by al-Qazwīnī from his own *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*. A few of the quotations are not to be found in *Mu'jam al-buldān* and it is possible that they were copied by al-Qazwīnī from some other compilatory source. The quotations found in *Āthār al-bilād* have been compared with the text of de Goeje's edition of *Kitāb al-Masālik* and with the corresponding passages of the works of Ibn Hawqal and al-Muqaddasī which contain a substantial part of al-Iṣṭakhri's original text.

Mudhaykhira

Q. 40/1—5 Y. IV, 472 Iṣṭ. 24¹⁶

al-Hijr

Q. 60/4—9 Y. II, 208 Iṣṭ. 19, 20

as-Sind

Q. 62/29—63/5 Y. IV, 698 Iṣṭ. 180

'Adan

Q. 67/11 Y. ——— Iṣṭ. 25

Multān

Q. 81/7—13 Y. IV, 689, 690 Iṣṭ. 173, 174, 175

al-Manṣūra

Q. 83/18—22 Cf. Q. 62, as-Sind

Arrajān

Q. 95/4—5 Y. ——— Iṣṭ. 151

¹⁶ Iṣṭ = Al-Iṣṭakhri, *Viae regnorum. Descriptio ditionis moslemicae*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, BGA. t. I. (2 ed.) Lejda 1927.

Iṣṭakhr		
Q. 99/25—27	Y. ———	Iṣṭ. 150
Jūr		
Q. 121/17—25	Y. II, 146, 147	Iṣṭ. 124, 123, 124, 150, 151 I. H. 279, 278 ¹⁷
Jiraft		
Q. 122/3—5	Y. II, 174	Iṣṭ. 167
Dārābjird		
Q. 126/12—18	Y. II, 517, 560	Iṣṭ. 154, 155 I. H. 300
Sinjil		
Q. 136/7—8	Y. III, 162	Iṣṭ. 59
Kāriyān		
Q. 162/6—7	Y. IV, 225	Iṣṭ. 117
Kāzirūn		
Q. 162/8—14	Y. IV, 225, 226	Iṣṭ. 127, 154 al-Muq. 233, 434 ¹⁸
Mūrjān		
Q. 183/9—11	Y. ———	Iṣṭ. 151, 152
Hindiyān		
Q. 186/18—19	Y. ———	Iṣṭ. 151
Gharshistān		
Q. 285/9—11	Y. III, 785	Iṣṭ. 271, 272
Shāsh		
Q. 362/12—16	Y. I, 238	Iṣṭ. 334
Kishsh		
Q. 372/6—10	Y. IV, 274	Iṣṭ. 324, 325 I. H. 501, 502

¹⁷ I. H. = *Opus geographicum auctore Ibn Hawqal* (Abū'l-Qāsim ibn Hawqal an-Nasībī) ... *Liber imaginis terrae* edidit collato textu primae editionis allisque fontibus adhibitis J. H. Kramers, BGA. t. II, Lugduni Batavorum 1938—1939.

¹⁸ al-Muq. = *Descriptio imperii moslemici auctore Schamso d-din Abu Abdollāh Mohammed ibn Ahmed ibn abī Bekr al-Bannā al-Bas-schāri al-Mokaddasi*. Ed. M. J. de Goeje, BGA. t. III, Lugduni Batavorum 1877.

Ma Wara' an-Nahr		
Q. 374/14—29	Y. IV, 400, 401 402	Iṣṭ. 287, 288, 289, 290 I. H. 463, 464, 465, 466, 467
Farghāna		
Q. 405/26—406/1	Y. I, 238	Iṣṭ. 323, 334
<i>Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ</i> of Ibn Hawqal		
Both quotations from Ibn Hawqal's <i>Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ</i> were borrowed by al-Qazwīnī from <i>Mu'jam al-buldān</i> .		
Balarm	Q. 106/5—11	Y. I, 719 I. H. 118, 120
Bilād Barbar	Q. 110/6—9	Y. I, 542 I. H. 93
<i>Kitāb Aḥsan at-Taḡāsim fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm</i> by al-Muqaddasī		
The quotations from al-Muqaddasī's „Geography“ were copied also from <i>Mu'jam al-buldān</i> .		
Zughar		
Q. 61/27—62/2	Y. III, 397	M. 178
Bayt al-Maqdis		
Q. 107/29—108/6	Y. IV, 595, 596	M. 165, 166, 167
108/1—11	IV, 598	171
109/17—20	III, 125	171
Sābūr		
Q. 134/4—7	Y. III, 6	M. 424
'Akka		
Q. 148/18—30	Y. III, 707, 708	M. 162, 163
Badakhshān		
Q. 204/2—7	Y. I, 529	M. 303
Bilād ar-Rūs		
Q. 393/27	Y. II, 834	M. — —

Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik
by Abū 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-'Azīz al-Bakrī

All the quotations from al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik* were borrowed from Yāqūt. I used Mac Guckin De Slane's translation of al-Bakrī's work for comparison because I did not have the Arabic original at my disposal.

Fās

Q. 68/2—9 Y. III, 842, 843 al-B. 226, 227, 228 ¹⁹
Nafzāwa

Q. 184/19—23 Y. IV, 799 al-B. 101, 102
Waddān

Q. 186/3—7 Y. IV, 911 al-B. 29, 31

OTHER SOURCES UTILIZED BY AL-QAZWĪNĪ

The historical and geographical sources that have come down to us.

Kitāb al-A'lāq an-nafīsa

by Ibn Rosteh

Al-Qazwīnī never mentions the name of Ibn Rusta (Ibn Rosteh), but some fragments of *Kitāb al-A'lāq an-nafīsa* of this author have been found in *Āthār al-bilād* in the description of Constantinople. As there are no other quotations from this source, it seems that al-Qazwīnī did not use *Kitāb al-A'lāq an-nafīsa* and that he copied the information on Constantinople from some unidentified compilatory source. Here are the corresponding passages of *Āthār al-bilād* and of *Kitāb al-A'lāq an-nafīsa*:

Qusṭanṭīniya Q. 406/24—407/25 I. R. 120, 121, 122, 125, 126 ²⁰

¹⁹ al-B. = *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale par El-Bekri* traduite par Mac Guckin de Slane, Alger 1913.

²⁰ I. R. = *Kitāb al-A'lāq an-nafīsa VII auctore Abū Ali Ahmed ibn Omar ibn Rosteh*, ed. de Goeje BGA t. VII, Lugduni Bavorum 1892.

Murūj adh-dhahab

of Abū 'l-Hasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī

The famous traveller and geographer al-Mas'ūdī is quoted nine times but al-Qazwīnī does not mention the title of any of al-Mas'ūdī's works. At any rate *Kitāb at-Tanbih* must be excluded from consideration as there are no quotations from it to be found in *Āthār al-bilād*. Three quotations seem to be borrowed from *Murūj adh-dhahab* but the origin of the rest of them is somewhat obscure. Five of them correspond partially to some fragments of *Murūj adh-dhahab* and one quotation has no counterpart at all. It is probable, therefore, that the last six quotations originate from al-Mas'ūdī's *Kitāb Akhbār az-zamān* or from *Kitāb al-Awsaṭ* which has not come down to us.

The corresponding passages were compared as follows:

Bilād az-Zanj Q. 14/24—15/13 M. III, 6, 7, 8, 26, 27, 29, 30 ²¹

It is possible that the discussion of the physical and psychic qualities of Zanj (p. 14, line 14—21) has been borrowed from al-Mas'ūdī as well. E. Damman ²² who was the first scholar to compare this fragment of *Āthār al-bilād* with *Murūj adh-dhahab*, rejected this hypothesis without giving some thought to other possibilities. Namely, it cannot be excluded from consideration that this fragment which constitutes an integral part of the description of *Bilād az-Zanj*, was borrowed by al-Qazwīnī from some older and more exhaustive version of *Murūj adh-dhahab*.

aṣ-Ṣīn	Q. 35/7—19	M. II, 69, 70, 71
al-Hind	Q. 86/29—87/2	M. II, 95, 96
al-Iskandariya	Q. 96/29—97/11	M. II, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 429, 430
	98/5—16	II, 434—436
Miṣr	Q. 177/15—20	Y. IV, 551—552 M. I, 235—236

²¹ M. = al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, t. I—IX, Paris 1861—1877.

²² E. Dammann, *Beiträge aus arabischen Quellen zur Kenntnis des negerischen Afrika*, Dissertation, Bordesholm 1929. p. 10.

This quotation was borrowed from Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān* most probably. It was borrowed together with the rest of Yāqūt's description of Egypt.

Iṣṭakhr	Q. 99/17—23	M. IV, 76, 77
Antākiya	Q. 101/20—24	M. II, 283, 406
Afranja	Q. 388/5—6	M. III, 67
Siqlab	Q. 413/29—414/8	M. III, 62, IV, 58—59

The comparison of *Āthār al-bilād* and *Murūj adh-dhahab* has revealed that some other passages of the former book are similar to some fragments of the latter. As al-Qazwīnī does not specify his sources in these cases and as the similarity of both texts is sometimes rather vague, we cannot prove that al-Qazwīnī borrowed these fragments from al-Mas'ūdī as well but such a possibility cannot be excluded. Here are the suspected passages:

Bilād al-Ḥabasha	Q. 13
Bilād an-Nūba	Q. 16
Mughammas	Q. 73
Dawraq	Q. 103

Kitāb Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif and Kitāb Yatīmat ad-dahr

by Abū Mansūr 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ath-Tha'ālibī

Al-Qazwīnī mentions Abū Mansūr ath-Tha'ālibī three times only. One of these quotations has been found in ath-Tha'ālibī's *Kitāb Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif* and the second one in the same author's *Kitāb Yatīmat ad-dahr*. The third quotation (183/2—3) has not been found in any of the published works of ath-Tha'ālibī. It has been discovered, however, that al-Qazwīnī had borrowed a number of quotations from *Kitāb Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif* without saying so. It seems probable that al-Qazwīnī did not use *Kitāb Yatīmat ad-dahr* at all— he would have probably used this voluminous book to a larger extent. The quotation which has been found in *Yatīmat ad-dahr* originates perhaps from some other unknown work of ath-Tha'ālibī or from some unidentified compilatory source.

Quotations from *Kitāb Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*

aṣ-Ṣīn	Q. 36/3—6	Th. 127 ²³
al-Jaman	Q. 43/1—2	Th. 102
Makka	Q. 77/11—16	Th. 93
ash-Shām	Q. 137/13—20	Th. 94, 95, 96
al-Baṣra	Q. 206/18—25	Th. 103
Jurjān	Q. 234/2—6	Th. 112, 113
Ghazna	Q. 286/29—287/11	Th. 122, 123
Nisābūr	Q. 316/30—317/12	Th. 114, 115, 116
Samarqand	Q. 360/25—27	Th. 126

Quotation from *Kitāb Yatīmat ad-dahr*

al-Kūfa	Q. 170/21—23	Th. 80 ²⁴
	170/28—29	83
	171/2—23	84, 85, 86, 122, 123
Manya Hisham	Q. 183/2—3	Th. ————

Kitāb al-Āthār al-bāqiya

by Abū 'r-Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Birūnī
al-Khuwārizmī

We do not know all of the works of Abū 'r-Rayḥān al-Khuwārizmī and the problem of the origin of the quotations found in *Āthār al-bilād* cannot be solved adequately. Al-Qazwīnī borrowed six quotations from *Kitāb al-Āthār al-bāqiya* and two other quotations from Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*. Two quotations have not been found in any of the existing works of al-Khuwārizmī.

Introduction to

<i>Āthār al-bilād</i>	Q. 7/18—24	Y. I, 15, 16	al-B. 120, 121 ²⁵
Jazā'ir al-Khālīdāt	Q. 19/2	Y. II, 70	al-B. ——— ²⁶
al-Iskandariya	Q. 97/26—98/2		al-B. ———

²³ Th. = Tha'ālibī, *Kitāb Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, ed. de Jong, Lugduni Batavorum 1867.

²⁴ Th. = Tha'ālibī, *Kitāb Yatīmat ad-dahr fī maḥasin ahl al'aṣr*. Dimashq 1304 AH. I—IV.

²⁵ al. B. = Al-Birūnī, *Kitāb at-Taḥīm li Awā'il Ṣinā'at at-Tanjīm*, ed. R. R. Wright, London 1934.

²⁶ al. B. = Al-Birūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Al-Bērūnī*, ed. C. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1923.

al-Fuṣṭat	Q. 157/26—28	al-B. 259
Miṣr	Q. 179/21—26	al-B. 246
Jurjān	Q. 234/12—13	al-B. — — —
Zanjān	Q. 257/13—15	al-B. 230
Ṭabaristān	Q. 270/21—24	al-B. 246
Turkistān	Q. 348/6—8	al-B. 246
Bilad Kaymāk	Q. 395/19—24	al-B. 264

al-Mu'rib 'an ba'd 'ajā'ib al-buldān

by Abū Hāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnātī

Although it is clear that the work of Abu Hāmid al-Andalusī was one of the most important sources of *Āthār al-bilād*, nevertheless we do not know which of the works of Abū Hāmid was utilized by al-Qazwīnī. In *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*²⁷ al-Qazwīnī quotes the work of this traveller as *Kitāb al-'ajā'ib* and he adds that this book had been compiled for the vezir Yahya b. Muḥammad b. Hubayra²⁸. This remark indicates that this book should be identical with the work known as *al-Mu'rib an ba'd 'ajā'ib al-buldān*. C. E. Dubler published a fragment of Abū Hāmid's narrative which had probably been taken from *al-Mu'rib* but the work as a whole still remains in a manuscript. The comparison of the fragment published by Dubler with the quotations found in *Āthār al-bilād* seems to corroborate Jacob's hypothesis that it was *al-Mu'rib* which al-Qazwīnī used as a source²⁹. Here are the quotations which have their counterparts in the fragment published by Dubler dealing with the peoples and countries of Eastern Europe and Middles East:

Bulghār	Q. 412/10—413/19	D. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, 21, 35, 37, 38 ³⁰
Yūrā	Q. 418/5—28	D. 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20

²⁷ Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* hrsg. von F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1849.

²⁸ Ibid. p. 129.

²⁹ G. Jacob, *Des spanisch-arabischen Reisenden Abū Hāmid Kosmographie „Tuḥfat al-albāb“ und ihre wissenschaftliche Ausbeute* („Studien in arabischen Geographien“, Heft III, Berlin 1892) p. 73.

³⁰ D. = Dubler, *Abū Hāmid el Granadine su relacien por tierras Eurasiáticas* por. C. E. Dubler, Madrid 1953.

Ṣaqlāb	Q. 414/28—415/16	D. 22, 24, 25
Saqsīn	Q. 402/30—403/15	D. 5, 6, 7, 8, 14
Khuwārizm	Q. 354/7—20	D. 41, 42, 43

In the light of this fact the hypothesis of Ferrand who asserted that al-Qazwīnī had used Abū Hāmid's *Tuḥfat al-albāb* must be rejected. The following quotations have no counterpart in *Tuḥfat al-albāb* at all:

Ṭulayṭula	Q. 366/25
Bayḍā'	Q. 345/4
Gharnāṭa	Q. 367/25—30
Sabta	Q. 134/19—25
Jazīrat al-Kanīsa	Q. 120/19—22
Jīza	Q. 122/6—14
Adharbayjān	Q. 189/2—13
Mughān	Q. 379/8—13

The problem of the relation between *al-Mu'rib* and *Tuḥfat al-albāb* cannot be solved because the former has not yet been published. It is most probable, however, as it was already pointed out by Jacob, that both of them contain much of the same information. The following quotations can be compared partially with the corresponding passages of *Tuḥfat al-albāb*:

Madīnat an-Naḥās	Q. 377/7—27	Tuḥfat 61, 62, 63, 64 ³¹
Iskandariya	Q. 97/14—21	Tuḥfat 72, 73
'Ayn Shams	Q. 150/3—11	Tuḥfat 73, 74
Ardabil	Q. 193/17—20	Tuḥfat 82, 87
Bākūjah	Q. 389/13—22	Tuḥfat 144
Zereh Gerān	Q. 399/30—400/22	Tuḥfat 84—86

An unidentified work entitled *Kitāb 'ajā'ib al-akḥbār* is quoted by al-Qazwīnī several times. This may be identical, perhaps, with the work of Abū Hāmid al-Andalusī mentioned as *Kitāb al-'Ajā'ib* in *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* al-Qazwīnī's. Unfortunately neither *Tuḥfat al-albāb* nor the fragment published by Dubler contain

³¹ Tuḥfat = *Le Tuḥfat al-albāb de Abū Hāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnātī*, ed. G. Ferrand, JAS 1925 (p. 1—148 and 193—304).

any details about the places mentioned in these quotations and thus we lack any concrete arguments for the equation of *Kitāb 'ajā'ib al-akhbār* with the work of Abū Hāmid al-Andalusī. Here are the quotations in question:

Wādī ar-Raml	Q. 184/24
Marw	Q. 306/6
Qift	Q. 160/19
Kankuwar	Q. 300/21
al-Hind	Q. 86/23

Kitāb al-Kāmil

by Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī

Most probably *Kitāb al-Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr was known to al-Qazwīnī directly but he quotes it only five times. The following quotations contain information of fantastic or half-fantastic character:

'Uman	Q. 37/19—23	Ibn al-Athīr IX, 17 ³²
Sūmanāt	Q. 63/7—29	Ibn al-Athīr IX, 127, 128, 129
Tifand	Q. 66/26—76/3	Ibn al-Athīr IX, 124
Iṣṭakhr	Q. 99/23—25	Ibn al-Athīr X, 20
Ifriqiya	Q. 100/11—13	Ibn al-Athīr IX, 120

THE SOURCES WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN PRESERVED

*The narrative of the journey
of Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb*

Among the sources which have not come down to us and which are known from the quotations preserved in *Āthār al-bilād* and in some other works, the narrative of the journey of Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb is perhaps the most interesting. Here are the descriptions in which the name of this traveller is quoted:

Lūrqa	Q. 373/20—25
Abūlda	Q. 387/21—30

³² Ibn al-Athīr = Ibn al-Athīr, *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī 't-ta'rikh*. Bū-lāq 1290 AH I—XII.

Rodhūm	Q. 396/22—397/2
Shleshwiq	Q. 404/19—28
Madīnat an-Nisā'	Q. 208/25—30
Maghānja	Q. 409/1—7

Most probably the following information was delivered by Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb as well although his name is not mentioned by al-Qazwīnī:

Afsh	Q. 388/10—12
Inṭraht	Q. 388/13—20
Burdhīl	Q. 389/29—390/7
Shūshīt	Q. 413/20—24
Meshq	Q. 415/17—27
Wāṭarbūrūna	Q. 415/28—416/2

Niẓām al-marjān fī 'l-mamālik wa 'l-masālik

by Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn Anas al-'Udhri

As it has been suggested by T. Kowalski, al-Qazwīnī borrowed the fragments of Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb's narrative from the geographical treatise by al-'Udhri. Al-Qazwīnī calls this treatise *al-Mamālik wa 'l-masālik al-Andalusīya* but it was probably entitled *Niẓām al-marjān fī 'l-mamālik wa 'l-masālik*. Here are the passages which originate from this work but it must be remembered that the limits of the quotations are in some cases quite hypothetical:

Siqiliya	Q. 144/12—17
Qibrus	Q. 160/7—11
al-Ushbūna	Q. 333/26—334/4
Ilbira	Q. 337/21—27
al-Andalus	Q. 338/3—339/8 339/27—340/7
Baṣṭa	Q. 344/21—24
Saraqūṣṭa	Q. 359/17—21
Shāshīn	Q. 362/23—363/10
Shaghnaṣa	Q. 364/1—3
Shalab	Q. 364/4—8
Shant Mariya	Q. 364/21—27

Turtūsha	Q. 365/28—366/12
Tarrakūna	Q. 366/14—18
Tulayṭula	Q. 367/2—4
Gharnāṭa	Q. 368/1
Fibra	Q. 368/27—369/3
Qurṭuba	Q. 371/2—14
Kaṣṭalūna	Q. 371/18—19
Labla	Q. 372/23—28
Lūrqa	Q. 373/3—29
Wādī al-Ḥajāra	Q. 381/11—14
Walwaṭa	Q. 381/18—27
Asht	Q. 388/1—4
Irlānda	Q. 388/21—389/9
Kurtuna	Q. 408/16—17
Karmāla	Q. 408/18—24
Bāṭin ar-Rūm	Q. 410/24—411/13

Some other description of the different localities in Spane and in other parts of Europe may originate from al-'Udhri's work but the alternative that they come from the narratives of Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb or from the one of Abū Ḥamid al-Gharnāṭī cannot be excluded. Here are the passages in question:

Ishbīliya	Q. 334/5
Afranja	Q. 334/21
Bajjāna	Q. 342/19
Balquwār	Q. 344/25
Balansiya	Q. 344/28
Runda	Q. 358/11
Shantara	Q. 362/9
Shantarīn	Q. 362/12
Ṭalabīra	Q. 366/19
Farāgha	Q. 369/4
Farmanṭira	Q. 369/12
Fahmiyin	Q. 369/17
Māliṭa	Q. 373/30
Afsh	Q. 388/10
Inṭraḥt	Q. 388/13
Bānī wa Arīsha	Q. 389/23

Burdhīl	Q. 389/29
Shūshīṭ	Q. 413/20
Wāṭarbūrūna	Q. 415/28

AN UNIDENTIFIED TREATISE OF MUḤAMMAD IBN ZAKARĪYĀ' AR-RĀZĪ

An unknown treatise of ar-Rāzī is quoted six times by al-Qazwīnī:

Jazīrat ar-Rāmī	Q. 19/6—16	Ibn Khurdadhbeh	65 ³³
Jazīrat Zānj	Q. 19/18—24	" "	65, 68
Jazīrat Wāq Wāq	Q. 22/2—4	" "	69
Sarandīb	Q. 28/8	" "	64
Silā	Q. 33/3—4	" "	70, 170
Adharbayjān	Q. 189/28—29	" "	172

It is noteworthy that in the last citation ar-Rāzī is quoting *al-Masālik al-mashriqiya* of al-Jayhānī in his turn so that we can conclude that most probably two other quotations from al-Jayhānī's lost treatise were copied by al-Qazwīnī together with the quotations from ar-Rāzī. Here are these quotations:

Mūta	Q. 183/4—5
al-Qayruwān	Q. 161/13—16

The quotations from ar-Rāzī's unidentified treatise are identical with some passages from Ibn Khurdadhbeh's *Kitāb al-Masālik*. This is caused probably by the fact that ar-Rāzī's work constituted one of the principal sources of al-Jayhānī's *al-Masālik al-mashriqiya*³⁴.

It is also possible that a certain Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Jahānī whose name was mentioned by al-Qazwīnī on page 378 is identical with al-Jayhānī though the latter had a *kunya* Abu Abdallāh. On the other hand, the *nisba* al-Jahānī could be changed to al-Khurāsānī

³³ Ibn Khurdādhbeh = *Kitāb al masālik wa 'l-mamālik auctore Abū 'l-Qāsim Obaydallah ibn Abdallah ibn Khurdādhbeh*, ed. de Goeje, BGA, VI, Lugduni Batavorum 1889.

³⁴ Al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, p. 189/29.

or to al-Jibālī and then we should be able to identify this unknown al-Jahānī as Ibn Khurdadbeh. The problem cannot be solved adequately because we do not know the original version of the work of Ibn Khurdadbeh, while the works of ar-Rāzī and of al-Jayhānī have not been preserved.

THE LAWYERS, TRADITIONALISTS AND PHILOSOPHERS KNOWN TO AL-QAZWĪNĪ

Some traditionalists, lawyers and philosophers are occasionally quoted by al-Qazwīnī. These quotations originate from some unidentified source and it is also possible, as has already been said, that al-Qazwīnī knew some of them by heart. The following authors are cited:

- Abū Ishāq Ka'b ibn Māti' ibn Haysū' al-Aḥbar (†652 or 654 A. D.)
Hadramawt 24/7—25/6
- Abū Hurayra (†676 or 678 A. D.)
al-Yaman 46/7—47/6
Madīnat Yathrib 71/11—15
- Abū Sa'īd ibn Mālik ibn Sinān ibn Tha'laba al-Khudrī (†693 A. D.)
Yājūj wa Mājūj 417/16—29
- Abū 'Isa 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Laylā Yasār (Dawud) ibn Bilāl
al-Anṣārī (642 † circa 702 A. D.)
al-Yaman 47/18—22
ash-Shām 137/21—26
- Abū Muḥammad Sa'īd ibn al-Musajjab al-Qurayshī (636—713 A. D.)
Qazwīn 291/30
- Abū Burda 'Āmir ibn Abī Mūsā al-'Ash'arī († about 721, 725 A. D.)
Bilād Tatar 391/6—11
- Abū 'Abd Allāh Wahb ibn Munabbih (†728 or 732)
al-Yaman 47/24—27
Makka 75/10—15
Ufsūs 335/12
- Abū 'Amr Zabbān ibn al-'Alā' ibn 'Ammār al-Māzinī al-Baṣrī
(†770 or 775 A. D.)
al-Hijāz 58/23—26

- Sufyān ibn Sa'īd ath-Thawrī (715—778 A. D.)
aṭ-Ṭā'if 66/22—25
- Ḥammād ibn Salama (†781 or 783 A. D.)
al-Kūfa 169/4—7
- 'Isā ibn Yūnus ibn Abī Ishāq 'Amr ibn 'Abd Allāh as-Sabī'ī
al-Ḥamdānī (†806 A. D.)
al-'Irāq 282/22—28
- Abū Bakr ibn 'Ajjāsh ibn Ṣālim al-Khayyāt al-Asadī al-Kūfī
(†809 A. D.)
al-'Irāq 283/28—283/2
- Abū Muḥammad Sufyān ibn 'Uyayna ibn Abī 'Imrān Maymūn
(725—814 A. D.)
Abīward 192/9—16
- Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ash-Shāfi'ī al-Kurayshī
(767—820 A. D.)
al-Jaman 45/22—27
- Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Faḍl ibn ar-Rabī' ibn Yūnus (†823 A. D.)
Ghazza 151/7—20
- Al-Ḥasan ibn ar-Rabī' (†836 A. D.)
Marw 307/3—12
- Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'il ibn Yaḥyā al-Muzanī (794—877 A. D.)
Ghazza 154/14—21
- Ṣāliḥ ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (818—880 A. D.)
Baghdād 213/2—8
- Abū Muḥammad ar-Rabī' ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār
al-Baṣrī (†884 A. D.)
Ghazza 154/3—7
- Abū 'l-'Abbās Muḥammad ibn Jazīd al-Mubarrad ath-Thamālī
al-Azdī al-Baṣrī (826—898 A. D.)
Dayr Ḥizqīl 247/14—24
- Abū 'l-Qāsim Junayd ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Junayd al-Qawārīnī
al-Khazzāz al-Nihāwandī (†910 A. D.)
Baghdād 215/16—24
Baghdād 216/5
- Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Ishāq az-Zajjājī (†950 or
951 A. D.)
Halab 122/22—26
Baghdād 216/25—28

- Abū Muḥammad al-Khāwaṣ Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Khuldī
(al-Khālidi) (866—959 A. D.)
Baghdād 216/24—25
Baghdād 217/11—14
- Abū 'l-Faraj Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Abī Ya'qūb an-Nadīm al-
Warrāq al-Baghdādī (X c.)
Bāmiyān 103/25
- Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī ad-Daqqāq (†1021 A. D.)
Tustar 115/9—17
Sābūr 134/8—16
Shibliya 363/15—17
- Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kaffāl al-Marwazī
(†1026 A. D.)
Baghdād 213/17—22
Bayhaq 227/10—12
- Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṭalḥa
b. Muḥammad al-Qushayrī (986—1074 A. D.)
Iṣfahān 197/23—29
- Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Firūzabādī ash-Shirāzī (1003—1083 A. D.)
Ṭabaristān 144/28—30
- Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Alī b. Ishāq b. al-'Abbās aṭ-Ṭūsī Nizām
al-Mulk (1018—1092 A. D.)
Ṭūs 276/9—23
- Abū 'Ubayd 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Muḥammad al-Jūzajānī (XI c.)
Afshana (193/3—22)
- Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarirī al-Baṣrī
al-Ḥarāmī (1054—1122 A. D.)
Hamadhān 326/24
- Abū 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar Jār Allāh az-Zamakhsharī
(1075—1144 A. D.)
Jurjāniya 349/5
Khuwārizm 353/4
- Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh Tiqat ad-Dīn
b. Asākir ash-Shāfi'ī ad-Dimashqī
(1106—1176 A. D.)
ar-Rayy 252/14—20
- Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū 'l-Futūḥ (Aḥmad) Jaḥyā b. Habash Amīrak
al-Maqtūl as-Suhrawardī (†1191 A. D.)
Yūnān 383/19—23

- Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū Hafs 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh
b. Ammūya as-Suhrawardī (1145—1234)
Suhraward 264/9
- Athīr ad-Dīn al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Abharī (†1264 A. D.)
Samarqand 361/2—3

THE UNIDENTIFIED INFORMANTS OF AL-QAZWĪNĪ

We find among the authorities quoted by al-Qazwīnī a number of persons whose identity cannot be established because of the lack of any biographical or bibliographical data. Most probably they were not al-Qazwīnī's personal informants. We are inclined to assume that in this case he borrowed information from some unknown compilations. Here are the passages in which these persons are quoted:

Ṭaymāth al-Ḥakīm speaking	about Bilād Ḥabasha	Q. 12/26—13/3
Māhān b. Baḥr as- Sīrāfi	„ Jazīrat Zānj	Q. 19/24—28
Zakariyā' b. M. b. Khā- qān	„ Jazīrat Zānj	Q. 20/8—11
Mūsā b. al-Mubārak as-Sīrāfi	„ Jazīrat Wāq Wāq	Q. 22/2—6
Abū'r-Rabī' Sulaymān az-Zanjānī	„ Dhīmār	Q. 26/—13
Muḥammad b. al-Jahm Muḥammad b. Abī 'Abd Allāh	„ Sufāla	Q. 29/22—23
Ibn Fanajawayh	„ aṣ-Ṣīn	Q. 36/13—15
'Abd al-Wahhāb	„ al-Yaman	Q. 44/20—23
b. M. al-Askarī	„ 'Askar Mukram	Q. 148/10—16
Muḥammad b. Dhi 'l-'Aqār al-'Alawī al-Marandī	„ Adharbayjān	Q. 189/25—28
Muḥammad b. Ibrā- hīm aḍ-Ḍarāb	„ al-Jibāl	Q. 231/25—29

Ja'far b. Muḥammad		
ar-Rāzī	about ar-Rayy	Q. 251/10—23
Abū Ishāq aṭ-Ṭālī-		
qānī	„ Marw	Q. 305/23—26
Baṣīl at-Tarjumān	„ Anqara	Q. 340/8—15

An anonymous treatise entitled *Tuḥfat al-Gharā'ib*, probably cosmographical in character, poses another riddle. According to Wüstenfeld³⁵ who quotes Ḥājji Halīfa'³⁶, this treatise was probably composed by Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī. We can only add that most of the information derived from it is of half-fantastic nature. All the quotations listed here are to be found in 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt as well:

aṣ-Ṣīn	Q. 35/20	
al-Yaman	Q. 45/8	A. m. ³⁷ 188
Irām	Q. 51/11	
Jazīrat Salāmat	Q. 54/26	A. m. 112
Kalbā	Q. 69/20	
al-Hind	Q. 86/14	
	Q. 87/2	A. m. 173
	Q. 87/10	A. m. 193
Bāmiyān	Q. 103/22	
	Q. 103/25	A. M. 190
Sinwan	Q. 136/11	
ash-Shām	Q. 137/26	
Ṭabariya	Q. 145/20	A. m. 182
	Q. 145/22	A. m. 193
Miṣr	Q. 180/7	A. m. 195
Mukrān	Q. 181/28	A. m. 185
Adharbayjān	Q. 189/30	A. m. 176
	Q. 190/1	A. m. 189
Urmīya	Q. 194/28	
Ilābustān	Q. 202/14	A. m. 189

³⁵ „Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen“, t. I, p. 352.

³⁶ Muṣṭafā b. 'Abd Allāh Ḥājji Khalīfa, *Kaṣḥf az-ẓunūn fī asāmī 'l-kutūb wa 'l-funūn*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig-London 1835—1858. I—VII. Nr 2621.

³⁷ A. m. = al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al makhlūqāt*.

Bulūr	Q. 225/11	
Jurjān	Q. 234/13	A. m. 192
Dāmghān	Q. 245/9	A. m. 158
	Q. 245/11	A. m. 190
Ṭabaristān	Q. 270/25	A. m. 167
Qaṣrān	Q. 295/15	
Nihāwand	Q. 315/27	A. m. 195
Ninaway	Q. 320/4	
Armīniya	Q. 333/18	
al-Andalus	Q. 339/14	A. m. 154
Turkistān	Q. 347/28	A. m. 162
	Q. 348/5	A. m. 173
Khuttalān	Q. 352/9	
Samarqand	Q. 360/25	A. m. 190
Turkistān	Q. 396/16	A. m. 162
Qusṭantīniya	Q. 407/25	

THE PERSONAL INFORMANTS OF AL-QAZWĪNĪ

The most interesting original information that we find in *Āthār al-bilād* is that delivered by al-Qazwīnī's personal informants on North and West Africa. Their names are: al-Faqīh Abū 'r-Rabī' Sulaymān al-Milyānī and Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Janaḥānī³⁸. The following places are described by these travellers:

Ghāna Q. 37; Marrākush Q. 73; Ifriqiya Q. 100; Jāliṭa Q. 117; Shirsāl Q. 139; Milyāna Q. 182; (from al-Milyanī) Bilād as-Sūdān Q. 15; Taghāza Q. 16; Takrūr Q. 17; Kākudam Q. 38; Zakandar Q. 133; (from al-Janaḥānī).

It is also possible that the description of Tilimsan was given by one of them. Al-Qazwīnī does not mention the name of his informant but he says: „I was told by certain foreigner“ (Q. 115/26). As this foreigner knew Tilimsan from personal experience, we may assume that it was al-Milyanī or al-Janaḥānī.

³⁸ M. Kowalska, *Zwei wenig bekannte muslimische Reisende in West-Sūdān im 13 Jh.* („Folia Orientalia“, t. III, s. 231—241. Kraków 1961).

Al-Qazwīnī had some personal informants on the Eastern part of the world of Islam as well. He was quite well informed on Khurasan especially. He mentions twice a certain faqīh from this country (Q. 228/19; 242/17); and he gives the name of his informant on Khūst as Awḥad al-Muqrī al-Ghaznawī (Q. 244/21).

The following entries contain the information delivered to al-Qazwīnī by al-Amīr Abū al-Mu'ayyid Ḥusām ad-Dīn ibn al-Nu'mān: Takinābādh Q. 53/1; Āmul Q. 190/10; Iṣfahān Q. 198/22; Khurāsān Q. 243/12; Ṭamghāj Q. 275/14; Yamkān Q. 328/12 and 329/2.

Zakhār — The capital of Lakzān in Caucasus was described to al-Qazwīnī by certain Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Janẓī (Q. 405). It is possible that the same informant described also Shinās (Q. 404), another town in the Lakzān country.

In 1233 al-Qazwīnī had a chance to meet in Damascus the famous Arab philosopher — Ibn al-Arabī. He mentions him as an authority only once in the description of Egypt.

It seems also that al-Qazwīnī met the famous Spanish geographer Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī al-Gharnātī whose name is mentioned by him in a similarly shaped sentence „I was told by..." (Q. 367/30).

The same may apply to several *faqīhs* whose names are not mentioned by al-Qazwīnī. It is possible that al-Qazwīnī made their acquaintance during his travels. They are mentioned in the following entries: Sāwah Q. 259; Khawī Q. 354; Sibīrī Ḥiṣār Q. 359; Marāgha Q. 377; Shiwan Q. 404.

THE OBSERVATIONS AND TRAVELS OF AL-QAZWĪNĪ

In accordance with the practice of the medieval Arabic writer al-Qazwīnī did not indicate the passages containing the information collected by himself in the field work. He was simply unaware of the necessity of doing it. Wüstenfeld was also the first scholar to point that al-Qazwīnī had visited Damascus. It is to be noticed, however, that al-Qazwīnī says that he saw Jannāba (p. 121), al-Jibāl (p. 232), Sinjār (p. 263) and al-Mawṣil (p. 310) as well. It is most difficult to judge which descriptions are based on his own

experience and observation — the example of the description of Qazwīn which contains a lengthy excerpt from Yāqūt must prevent anybody from making any hazardous speculations. On the other hand, it must be stressed that a considerable number of descriptions of towns from the region of Qazwīn, of Jilān, Ṭabaristān, Adharbayjān and of Armania, Syria and probably of Asia Minor, Irāq, al-Jazīra, Fārs i. e. of the territories where al-Qazwīnī spent his life, do not contain, on the whole, any borrowings from the writers known to us. It may be possible that this is at least to some extent the original achievement of al-Qazwīnī as a traveller.

A REEVALUATION OF *ĀTHĀR AL-BILĀD*

In general, however, the analysis presented in this article supplies enough of reliable data for a reevaluation of *Āthār al-bilād*. It has been proved that al-Qazwīnī was an unscrupulous compiler who plagiarized the writings of the older geographers and historians. He composed his work rather late in life, probably after his withdrawal from the public functions. It seems most probable that he did not travel extensively and he described the world not so much from his personal experience as from the books. We may call him an amateur geographer whose activity was thoroughly influenced by the decadent practice of the scholars of his time. *Āthār al-bilād* is very considerably inferior to *Mu'jam al-buldān* as far as the number of original and valuable information is concerned. Al-Qazwīnī selected the available data rather uncritically often in a quite accidental way. Usually, however, he selected the material which seemed to him attractive and interesting and he did not bother too much about its scholarly value. We can assume that he collected the information which was really interesting to the average readers of his time. Although the condensation of the material was sometimes rather unfortunate, if judged from the twentieth century scientific point of view, nevertheless we must admit that he possessed some talent of synthesis — this may explain the fact that *Āthār al-bilād* was at times more popular than the bulky „Geographical Dictionary“ of Yāqūt. It can be accepted that al-Qazwīnī was a popularizer,

of a kind ³⁹, though he was probably rather unaware of this aspect of his activity. How popular *Āthār al-bilād* al-Qazwīnī's was can be proved by mentioning the work of al-Bakuwī as well as the influence of *Āthār al-bilād* upon Ibn al-Wardī, and the abbreviated translations of it into Persian and Turkish. The quotations from al-'Udhri, Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb and from Abū 'l-Hāmid al-Gharnātī (in so far as his work has not been published in its entirety) preserved in *Āthār al-bilād* constitute a very important part of it. However, we must be extremely cautious when making use of any quotations contained in this work. The compilatory method of al-Qazwīnī, was usually limited to a rather mechanical shortening of the text by other writers, changing the composition and often to paraphrasing the original. In effect the language and the style of *Āthār al-bilād* is very peculiar. It seems that numerous grammatical and stylistic errors are due not only to the fact that Arabic was not probably al-Qazwīnī's mother tongue but they may have been result of his method of quoting from his sources. The study of the language and style of *Āthār al-bilād* if done properly, may perhaps supply some data for the history of the Arabic language.

To conclude this article it must again be stressed that the analysis the sources of *Āthār al-bilād* cannot now be considered as accomplished and that some substantial corrections may well be expected in the future.

³⁹ Kračkovskij, *Arabskaja geografičeskaja literatura*, p. 358.

WŁODZIMIERZ ZAJĄCZKOWSKI

ZWEI TÜRKISCHE ZUCKUNGSBÜCHER (*SEĞİRNÂME*)

Seit langer Zeit haben die interessanten islamischen Literaturdenkmäler, die das Wahrsagen aus dem Zucken der Glieder des menschlichen Körpers enthalten, die Aufmerksamkeit der Wissenschaftler auf sich gezogen ¹.

Diesbezügliche Vorbedeutungen waren schon in alten Indien bekannt. Das Wahrsagen haben auch die islamischen Völker und unter ihnen die Türken übernommen. Zum Beispiel können wir die Uiguren und die Kasantataren nennen. Die ebenerwähnten Vorbedeutungen erscheinen auch bei den Krimkaraimen ² und Karaimen von Troki ³.

Die Traktate, die sogenannten Zuckungsbücher *seğirnâme* erhalten, finden eine weite Verbreitung bei den Türken.

Während meines Aufenthaltes im Januar 1960 J. in Sarajevo (Jugoslawien) habe ich in der Gāzi Hüsrev Bek — Bibliothek eine Handschrift mit Signatur 3551 u. T. *ta'bīrnâme* gefunden und ein Bruchstück davon u. T. *Kitāb seğirnâme* abgeschrieben.

¹ H. L. Fleischer, *Über das vorbedeutende Gliederzucken bei den Morgenländern*. „Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philol.-hist. Classe“. I 1849 S. 244—256.

² W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme VII* St. Petersburg 1896 S. 200—203 [*sekirme yoraları*].

³ A. Zajączkowski, *Wróżby z drgania części ciała* [Wahrsagen aus dem Zucken der Glieder des Körpers] „Myśl Karaimska“, II/1 1929 S. 23—31.

Idem, „*Objaśnienia drgań*“ części ciała [Zuckungsbuch] „Myśl Karaimska“, XI 1936 S. 24—36.