

JEAN-CHARLES DUCÉNE

Poland and the Central Europe in the *Uns al-muhağ* by Al-Idrīsī

Abstract

The geographical work of Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq fī htirāq al-āfāq*, written for King Roger II, is well known, but its second treaty, the *Uns al-muhağ wa-rawḍ al-furağ*, it only came under scrutiny twenty years ago. Al-Idrīsī made the plan of the *Uns* like that of the *Nuzhat*. The world is divided into climates, with each climate being divided again into ten sections. The study of some parts of the *Uns* shows that it is not a simple summary of the *Nuzhat*, but a rewriting with some additions, especially for Africa and the Mediterranean Europe. Poland and the Central Europe is situated in the third section of the sixth climate. But in this case, the text and the map are composed of a geographical material extracted from the *Nuzhat*, without real new information.

Introduction¹

In 1937, Lewicki² published an article in this journal entitled *La Voie Kiev-Vladimir (Włodzimierz Wołyński) d'après le géographe arabe du XII^e siècle al-Idrisi*. Seventy years later, we can exploit again the geographical work of Al-Idrīsī. But this time, I want to draw the attention to his second geographical treaty, the *Uns al-muhağ wa-rawḍ al-furağ*. Although it was first made available for study in 1906, it only came under scrutiny twenty years ago. On a first reading, it appears like a rewriting of the *Nuzhat* with some additions but many anomalies in the manuscripts (title, date, etc.) make its study difficult.

Its first manuscript was discovered by Joseph Horowitz in Istanbul in 1906, the Hekimoğlu 688 (for us H1). It consists of 162 folios, dating back to the seventeenth

¹ I thank Mrs Annick Cuniah and Mrs Marcita Johnson for the correction of the English text.

² T. Lewicki, *La Voie Kiev-Vladimir (Włodzimierz Wołyński) d'après le géographe arabe du XII^e siècle al-Idrisi*, pp. 91–105.

century (European paper)³ and its colophon cites the date 588/1192. It is generally accepted, according to L. Africanus although without evidence, that Al-Idrīsī⁴ died around 560/November 1164 – November 1165. Then the author entitled his book in his introduction *Uns al-muhağ wa-rawḍ al-furağ*, where as it is referred to as *Rawḍ al-furağ wa-nuḡhat al-muhağ* in the colophon.

In 1907, Celestino Schiaparelli and Ignazio Guidi were able to make three photographic copies of the manuscript in Roma. One of the copies found its way to Seybold and used by K. Miller in his *Mappæ arabicæ*⁵ where it was renamed «Kleine Idīsī», in 1926. In 1934, Y. Kamal edited part of the ms Hekimoğlu 688 in his *Monumenta*⁶ judging it was only a summary of the *Nuḡhat*: „Le contenu est un abrégé du texte d’Edrisi reproduit à l’an 1154. Il en diffère seulement en ce que le texte, ainsi que les cartes qui accompagnent un des manuscrits, connaissent encore un climat au sud de l’équateur.” His conclusion has been repeated by many Arabists. In his *Eclaircissements*⁷, Kamal published a letter by Kramers dated 1932 in which he defined our text as, „une compilation très réduite du texte du grand Idīsī”, remarking that a citation of Ibn Sa‘īd (d. 685/1286) appeared at the end of the introduction, „Dans le texte, ce climat du sud [de l’équateur] est décrit, en effet, quoique très sommairement; on y trouve une référence à l’auteur Ibn Sa‘īd qui a vécu vers 1270, plus d’un siècle après Idīsī (...). Le reste du texte est – pour autant que j’ai pu voir – une compilation très réduite du texte du grand Idīsī.”

Later, R. Rubinacci⁸ found other traces of Ibn Sa‘īd. For example, the author of the manuscript mentions his first book, saying that he was helped by King Roger while writing the book adorned (*maṭraḥ*) by his name viz. *Kitāb Ruğār*. Now, the first documented mention of this use was made by Ibn Sa‘īd⁹. Besides a paragraph about astronomy of the introduction is reminiscent of a passage in an unpublished manuscript¹⁰ by Ibn Sa‘īd treating the same topic. In 1971, I. Šawkat¹¹ edited a description of Arabia based on the ms. Hekimoğlu 688 and another manuscript, used here for the first time, the Hasan Hüsni 1289 (known to us as H.2). According to Sezgin, it

³ Fuat Sezgin dates H.1 from the 14th century based on the writing but C. Nallino remarks that the paper shows a watermark of the 17th century, Al-Idrīsī, *The Entertainment of Hearts and Meadows of Contemplation*, Frankfurt am Main, 1984, last page of the introduction; M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia, seconda edizione modificata e accresciuta dall'autore a cura Carlo Alfonso Nallino*, III, p. 681, note.

⁴ E.I.², s.v. (G. Oman); G. Oman, *Osservazioni*, p. 215 et p. 232; M. Amari, *Storia...*, op. cit., III, p. 663, note 1. Leo wrote: «Mortuus est Essariph (Aš-Šarīf) aetis suae anno [...] De Elhegira vero quingentesimo sextodecimo in civitate Civitat.» Since 516 of hegira corresponds to 1122–1123 A. D., Mac Guckin de Slane supposed that Leo Africanus had written by mistake sextodecimo for sexagesimo, vis 560/1164–1165. De Slane, review of P.A. Jaubert, *La Géographie d’Edrisi*, p. 381.

⁵ K. Miller, *Mappæ Arabicae*, I. Band 3. Heft, pp. 67–99.

⁶ Y. Kamal, *Monumenta Africae et Aegypti*, III, fasc. IV, ff. 905–907r and maps.

⁷ Y. Kamal, *Quelques éclaircissements*, p. 106.

⁸ R. Rubinacci, *Intorno al cosiddetto Piccolo Idīsī*, pp. 96–98.

⁹ Ibn Sa‘īd, *Al-Muğrib fi ḥulā al-Mağrib*, I, p. 2.

¹⁰ *Kitāb al-badī*, ms. Laud, Boleian Library, f. 27.

¹¹ I. Šawkat, *Ğazrat al-‘Arab min Nuḡhat al-muštāq*, p. 4 et pp. 13–16.

had been copied in 1090/1679 and consisted of 151 folios¹² but problems of dates, titles, and attribution were not solved by the manuscript.

How can we account for this confusion?¹³

Jassim Miẓa¹⁴ considers 588/1192 to be the date of the first copy, but not the date of its production. Indeed, the phraseology is of the kind that signals the end of the copy, *uštumila al-farāğ* 'alayhī fī [the date follows], rather than of the type that marks the end of the book's writing¹⁵. As for the title, we chose to retain *Uns al-muhağ wa-rawḍ al-furağ* because Al-Idrīsī intentionally states in his introduction that his book is «an amenity (*uns*) for the spirit and a joy (*farḥa*, to read *furğā*, pleasure?) for the heart». Finally, we noted ruptures and deficiencies of unity in the style of this introduction. At the beginning, the author uses the first person singular (*wa-qad waḍa'tu la-ka...*), then he changes to the first person plural (*wa-ataynā bi-ḡikr...*), and finally returns to the first person after a transition in the third person (*qāla al-mu'allif wa-lammā ataytu...*). These anomalies concern the paragraphs borrowed from Ibn Sa'īd.

In conclusion, this work appears to have been written by Al-Idrīsī after the *Nuzhat*, maybe under William I (r. 1154–1166). It could have been copied in 588/1192, then finally adapted one century later by another compiler who could have alluded to Ibn Sa'īd without changing the colophon. We know the text circulated in Abū al-Fidā's times, because this latter used it in this *Taqwīm al-buldān*¹⁶.

Text and manuscript

We must add that a third ms. is mentioned by G. Ferrand in a letter sent to O.J. Tuulio¹⁷ in September 1930. It has been copied in *ša'bān* 1277/March 1859. According to Kramers¹⁸, it was a copy of ms. Hekimoğlu 688, it is lost today.

H.2 is not a copy of H.1 as it sometimes renders a text more complete than H.1, although, we must deplore the very badly written text in the two manuscripts, especially where the toponyms are concerned. The same name can appear on the same page under different forms or without diacritical points. Furthermore, the Arabic manuscript writing causes confusion between various letters because of the similarity in their forms¹⁹, and as a result increases the difficulty in identifying the towns or the countries.

¹² We thank Süleymaniye Library for this information, because Sezgin gives 120 folios for this ms.

¹³ For the complete discussion, see the introduction of my *L'Afrique dans le Uns al-muhağ*, Leuven, forthcoming.

¹⁴ Al-Idrīsī, *Los caminos de al-Andalus*, p. 28.

¹⁵ F. Déroche (dir.), *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe*, p. 339.

¹⁶ G. Igonetti, *Le citazioni del testo geografico di al-Idrīsī nel Taqwīm al-buldān di Abū l-Fidā*, pp. 39–52.

¹⁷ O.J. Tuulio, *Du nouveau sur Idrīsī*, p. viii.

¹⁸ Y. Kamal, *Quelques éclaircissements épars sur mes Monumenta Cartografica Africae et Aegypti*, p. 106, Kramers's letter dated of April 1932.

¹⁹ See T. Lewicki, *Polska i kraje sąsiednie w świetle "Księgi Rogera"*, I, pp. 101–107, for a list of these paleografic confusions. I thank Mrs Julia Haremska for the translation of this Polish text.

Plan

Al-Idrīsī made the plan of the *Uns* like that of the *Nuzhat*. The world is divided into climates, eight for the *Uns* and only seven for the *Nuzhat*, with each climate being divided again into ten sections. Each section is treated as one chapter; its itineraries are described together with a map. We have eight climates because the author describes a climate under the equator, but the ten sections are distributed in five maps, not ten, viz. two sections by map. We therefore have a total of 75 maps.

Poland and Central Europe are situated in the third section of the sixth climate (Cl. VI, 3). The preceding section concerns Burgundy of Franks (*B.rkūniyya al-Ifranġīn*), Burgundy of Germans (*B.rkūniyya li-l.mānīn*), Carinthia, Flanders, etc. And the next section describes ancient Thracia (*arḍ Ġ.rmāniyya*), Macedonia (*arḍ Ġ.tūliyya*) and a part of Russia.

Sources

In his introduction, al-Idrīsī enumerates the same authors as in the *Nuzhat*: Ptolemy al-Uqlūdī, Urusyūs al-Anṭākī, Ḥamāh Ibn Ḥāqān al-Kīmākī, Abū al-Qasim ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Ḥurraḍāḍbih (3th/9th c.), Abū Naṣr Sa‘īd al-Ġayhānī (4th/10th c.), Abū al-Qasim Muḥammad al-Ḥawqalī al-Baġdādī (4th/10th c.), Aḥmad Ibn ‘Umar Ibn Yāsir al-‘Uḍrī (393/1003-478/1085), Aḥmad Ibn Ya‘qūb al-Ya‘qūbī (3th/9th c.), Ishāq Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Munaġġim (5th/11th c.), Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn Aḥmad al-Mas‘ūdī (4th/10th c.) and Qudāma [Ibn Ġa‘far] al-Baṣrī (d. 337/948). It means all anachronical authors for the period. In respect to our subject, two of them may be interesting, Ptolemy al-Uqlūdī and Urusyūs al-Anṭākī. Under the name of Ptolemy al-Uqlūdī we must envision rather a work close or identical to the Al-Ḥwārizmī’s *K. šūrat al-arḍ*, which gave to the *Uns* as to the *Nuzhat* their general sketch of seas and continents²⁰, as well as their cartographical iconography. The hydrography in our section especially seems to go back to Ptolemy / Al-Ḥwārizmī²¹, at least where the Danube is concerned. However the general influence is very remote and our map seems to have been derived from the map of the *Nuzhat*. As for the Urusyūs al-Anṭākī, it was probably translated into Arabic from Orosius’s *Historiae adversus paganos* by Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī²² in the fourth/tenth or fifth/eleventh century. Although he speaks about Europe’s history, he has not been a source for Al-Idrīsī’s European toponymy.

²⁰ W. Hoenerbach, *Deutschland und seine Nachbarländer*, pp. 8–10.

²¹ Ibid., p. 45; K. Czeglédy, *Die Karte der Donaulandschaftsgruppe nach al-Huwarizmi*, p. 69: the Danube is too near to the Adriatic and its source is situated South of the Alps, but its affluents are better identified. However, the Adriatic coast is better drawn by Ptolemy than by Al-Idrīsī, see G. Furlani, *Le carte dell’Adriatico presso Tolomeo e al-Idrīsī* pp. 204–205.

²² M. Penelas, *Kitāb hurūsiyūš (Traducción arabe de las Historiae adversus paganos de Orosio)*, p. 75.

Along with the written sources, Al-Idrīsī²³ mentions the sending of “missions” by Roger II in Europe, especially in Germany (*Almāniya*), France (*Al-Ifranġiyya*), Lombardy (*Al-Anbardīyya*), Gascony, Brittany, Normandy, Aquileian’s land, Tuscany, Longobardy (*Al-Ankubardiyya*), Venetia, Hungary, Comans land and Kimaks land. These missions would have been sent in order to collect information concerning the geographical situation of these countries. Aṣ-Ṣafadī²⁴ alludes to these missions by saying that King Roger II sent intelligent men with draughtsmen to the East and to the West, to the North and to the South to draw what they saw. In my opinion, these missions have been exaggerated because there are no Latin sources referring to them and the European cartography was not advanced enough in the twelfth century to give specimens of maps²⁵.

Here, like in the *Nuzhat*, oral or diplomatic sources have been played an essential role. Concerning the Baltic lands Tallgren-Tuulio, supposed a Swedish informant beside the Normands. And he evoked a Russian fur trader as source for the new information about Russia read in the *Uns*²⁶.

Edited sections concerning Europe²⁷

In 1926, K. Miller²⁸ published a map reconstructed from the photographs of the manuscript. He also studied all the toponyms and proposed various identifications. In 1926, O. Johannes Tallgren-Tuulio²⁹ also edited the text and the map of Finland and the Baltic lands (Cl. VII, 3, 4 and 5) and wrote, „le Petit Idrīsī (...) doit contenir une somme d’informations dépassant, dans certains cas, celle qui avait été déposée dans le Livre de Roger”. Six years later and after studying Ferrand’s manuscript, he published a second edition³⁰ of the text and he wrote about the *Uns*: „Ce manuscrit qui est resté inédit (...) est d’une grande utilité pour la fixation de maints points du texte; mais (...) bien des passages et bien des noms de lieux attendent d’être éclaircis ultérieurement par la découverte de quelque nouveau manuscrit de ce texte assez important et assez difficile qu’est le Petit Idrīsī”. In 1989, Jassim A. Mizal³¹ edited and translated the section concerning Spain (Cl. IV, 1). In 1996, M. Pinna³², without seeing the manuscript but using Miller’s *Mappæ* wrote: “L’opera (...) contiene un ricco corredo cartografico rielaborato sul modello

²³ Al-Idrīsī, *The Entertainment of Hearts*, p. 4.

²⁴ M. Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, p. 658.

²⁵ D. Woodward, *Medieval Mappæ mundi*, pp. 286–370.

²⁶ O.J. Tallgren-Tuulio and A.M. Tallgren, *La Finlande et les autres pays baltiques orientaux* (Géogr, VII, 4), pp. 92–93 et pp. 123–124; O.J. Tuulio, *Du nouveau sur Idrīsī*, p. 210.

²⁷ For other edited extracts, see the introduction of my book, *L’Afrique dans le Uns al-muhağ*.

²⁸ K. Miller, *Mappæ arabicæ*, I, pp. 67–99.

²⁹ O.J. Tallgren-Tuulio and A.M. Tallgren, *La Finlande*, p. 10, pp. 115–116 and pp. 120–121; O.J. Tuulio, *Du nouveau sur Idrīsī*, pp. 32–43.

³⁰ Ibid., p. VIII and pp. 32–43.

³¹ J.A. Mizal, *Los caminos de al-Andalus en el siglo XII*, Madrid, 1989.

³² M. Pinna, *Il Mediterraneo*, I, pp. 36–40.

idrisiano che, pu, presentando numerose lacune rispetto all'originale da cui deriva, ha un suo innegabile valore nell'ambito della produzione dell XII secolo".

Unlike Pinna, others have come to the conclusion that the *Uns* brings new geographical material. Tuulio³³ demonstrated how the river Atil/Itil came to be called Volga. I have already devoted some attention to the new toponyms given to Africa and Mediterranean Sea, for example, the oasis situated in Sahara: Īwālan, Tī-mawsaw (Timmisao/Ti-m-Masao), Karīma, Serdélès (Šardalāš or in Arabic Al-'Uwaynāt) and Hoggar (Huqqār). For the Greek Islands, we have in the *Uns* Mytilène, Μιτυλήνη (medieval name of Lesbos)³⁴, Sérifhos, Σερίφος, Ḥāya for Kéa, Kèα, and T.R.mī for Thermia, Θερμία (medieval name of Kytnos)³⁵.

Therefore, the *Uns al-muhağ* does not simply summarize the *Nuzhat*.

Translation³⁶

When identifying the toponyms, besides the pioneering work of Lelewel, we can rely on the commentaries of many Al-Idrīsī scholars like Amari, Furlani, Miller, Tuulio (Cl. VII, 3, 4 and 5), Hoenerbach (Cl. V, 2 and VI, 2), Lewicki (Cl. VI, 3 and 4), Eisenstein, Kenderova (maps of Cl. V, 4; VI, 4 and 5) and Kononova³⁷. The more acute problem is often to identify the etymon or the language of the etymon, in order to establish the origin of Al-Idrīsī's informant. One of the difficulties derives from the fact that medieval towns had two or more names (vernacular and Latin). Where two languages met, both names were used.

Unlike the *Nuzhat*, Al-Idrīsī's style is very poor and often his sentences do not have verbs, his main purpose being to give distances. We have chosen to retain his style.

The third section of the sixth climate

The third section of the sixth climate contains part of Veneto, of the Slavonic country, part of Hungary and Bohemia.

³³ O.J. Tuulio, *Du nouveau sur Idrīsī*, pp. 188–187 and p. 212.

³⁴ L. Derooy and M. Mulon, *Dictionnaire de noms de lieux*, pp. 271–272.

³⁵ For details, see the introduction of my book, *L'Afrique dans le Uns al-muhağ*.

³⁶ For the English form of the toponyms, I use J. Everett-Heath, *The Concise Dictionary of World Place-Names*, Oxford, 2005; for the Arabic text, see the appendix.

³⁷ И.Г. Коновалова, *Ал-Идриси о странах и народах Восточной Европы*, Москва, 2006. The French translation by Jaubert, revised by Henri Bresc and Annliese Nef is very useful but it does not explain the hypothetical identifications and it does not update the toponymy, for example for the Adriatic Coast, we still have the Italian names going back to Amari.

Distances between the towns in Bohemia, viz. Ġīk.L.būka (Wieselburg, Mosonmagyaróvár)³⁸, Sopron, Vienna, Vác (Māsū)³⁹, Olomouc (or Meißen?) (Māš.lā)⁴⁰, Eger (Aqrāqta)⁴¹ and Esztergom (Astr.kūna)⁴². From Esztergom to Wieselburg, in the West, 80 miles, from there to Sopron 60 miles and from Sopron, in the South, to Esztergom 80 miles. Also from Sopron to Vienna (Wyāna), in the East [one travels] 40 miles, and from Vienna to Krems (Ġ.r.mīša)⁴³, 40 miles. Also from Vienna to Esztergom, in the South, 50 miles; from this town to Buda (or Petrovaradin?) (B.dwāra)⁴⁴, 40 miles and again from Esztergom to Vác (Bāšū), in the East, 40 miles, and the same distance from Vác to Sopron. From Esztergom, to Székesfehérvár (B.l.ġ.rāna,)⁴⁵, in Carinthia, 30 miles.

The distances in Bohemia, from Pécs (Būza)⁴⁶ to Siklos (Sīqlāwš) 70 miles, from Pécs to Wieselburg 80 miles, then from there to Sopron 60 miles. Then from Székesfehérvár to Poszony (Būzāna, Bratislava) on the Danube (D.nū), 35 miles and from Poszony to Buda (or Petrovaradin) 60 miles.

Distances in the land of Nitra (Nīṭ.r.m)⁴⁷, from Buda (or Petrovaradin?) (B.dwāra) to Nitra, in the North, 70 miles; from Poszony, [one travels] to Nitra, then from Nitra

³⁸ The modern name appears in 1937 by the union of Moson (German name Wieselburg) with Magyaróvár (Ungarisch Altenburg), Wieselburg means “castle in the meadow”. In the 11th and the 12th centuries, the form is Wazenburg or Mesenburg, see A. Room, *Placenames*, p. 256; H. Oesterley, *Historisch-geographisches Wörterbuch des deutschen Mittelalters*, p. 763.

³⁹ In the *Nuḡḡat*, we have the variant Bāšū; T. Lewicki, *Polska i kraje sąsiednie w świetle “Księgi Rogera”*, II, pp. 41–43.

⁴⁰ Lewicki identifies Māš.lā with Meißen on Elbe, in Saxony, but it is strange to find it cited on a list of Hungarian towns. Bresc and Nef’s hypothesis is convincing, however the etymology is difficult to understand. The Latin name of Olomous was Mons Julii, probably the origin of the Arabic form. The name means „bare rock” in old Czech, J. Everett-Heath, *Oxford concise dictionary*, p. 390; T. Lewicki, *Polska...*, II, pp. 107–111; Idriṣī, *La Première géographie*, p. 433.

⁴¹ The Latin form is Agria and the German name Erlau, A. Room, *Placenames of the World*, p. 119; J.R.H. Moorman, *Medieval Franciscan Houses*, p. 698.

⁴² Latin form was *Strigonium*, J. Everett-Heath, *Oxford concise dictionary*, p. 159.

⁴³ W. Hoenerbach, op. cit., p. 72; H. Eisenstein, *Kärnten*, pp. 98–99.

⁴⁴ H.1 and H.2 give B.dwāra for *Badwāra but the edition of the *Nuḡḡat* prefers for this first occurrence Bazwāra. Lewicki reads B.dwāra and identifies it with Buda. The adjoining locality of Pest has a slave origin and its translation in German by “Ofen”, “oven”, is correct. But Eisenstein prefers Bazwāra with the same identification, viz. Buda. The hypothesis of Petrovaradin, southwards on the Danube, is interesting for the other occurrences of the name B.zwāra, further in the text. Petrovaradin has like an ancient form in Hungarian Pétervárad, with the suffix -vár “fort” and can explain the final in -wāra. T. Lewicki, op. cit., II, pp. 56–58; H. Eisenstein, *Kärnten*, p. 88; L. Deroy and M. Mulon, *Dictionnaire*, p. 77 et p. 377; A. Room, *Placenames*, p. 294; *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, II, col. 899 (E. Fügedi).

⁴⁵ Lewicki reconstitutes Bal(i)ġrāra for Białogród stołeczny, its Latin form being “Alba regalis”, in Hungarian Székesfehérvár “Seat of the White Fortress”, T. Lewicki, op. cit., II, pp. 59–61; H. Eisenstein, op. cit., p. 88. In the middle of the 11th century, the Hungarian form was Feher(ü)varu, B. Kálmán, *The World of Names*, p. 151.

⁴⁶ The modern name coming from the Turkish name Peçüy, its medieval name is Quinqueecclesiae, Fünfkirchen, see J. Everett-Heath, *Oxford Concise Dictionary*, p. 408; *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, IV, col. 1026–1027 (E. Fügedi), for a hypothetical etymology, see B. Kálmán, *The World of Names*, p. 142.

⁴⁷ Its medieval form is Nitra, in 1109, H. Oesterley, *Historisch-geographisches Wörterbuch*, p. 481.

to Eger in the North, 40 miles. From Eger, to Buṭ.s⁴⁸ 40 miles; also from Eger to Győr (Arīnya)⁴⁹ 80 miles. From Győr to Bač (B.q.šin)⁵⁰, on the Danube, 60 miles. From Bač to Kovin (Qāw.n.) on the river, 60 miles. From Eger to Kovin 160 miles. From Eger to Vác, in the East 80 miles and from Vác to Olomouc (M.š.la) in Bohemia 150 miles. From the town of Siklos to Mangjalos (Af.r.n.k Bīla)⁵¹, [remain] 80 miles. There are 40 miles connecting Buda (or Petrovoradin?), in the Southeast. From Buda (or Petrovoradin?) to Titel, on the Danube, 75 miles and from Titel to Bač, 95 miles. From Braničevo (Ab.r.n.d.s.)⁵² to Bač, 90 miles. From Titel to Mangjalos, 43 miles. From Braničevo, in the East, to Banja (Bāniya), 75 miles and from there to [Velika] Plana (Ablana), 90 miles. From Plana to Čuprija (Rabna)⁵³, around 100 miles. From Kovin, to Belgrade (F.l.ġ.r.dūn) on the Danube, 70 miles and from there to Braničevo (Af.r.nīs.fā)⁵⁴, in the East, on the Danube, 170 miles.

Distances in Hungary, from Kovin to Senta (Š.n.t) by the Sava River (As-Šīn.r/As-S.n.r) 120 miles; from Senta to Csongrád (Ĝ.r.n.ġāta)⁵⁵ 90 miles. From Csongrád to the town of Dān.la/Rān.la (which could be identified with Zlata or to read as Wālba: Alba Julia)⁵⁶, [remain] 150 miles, and from there to Temesvár 110 miles.

⁴⁸ The town, Buṭ.s (or Buṭ.š), in the vicinity of Eger and, further in the text, to East of Māš.la (Olomouc) is localized in Carpathians. Lewicki suggested Budeč, southward of Prague or Trencin in Moravia, among other hypotheses, T. Lewicki, op. cit., II, pp. 46–50. The identification with Bač is impossible from a geographical point of view.

⁴⁹ The Latin and Roman name is Arrobana and its German name Raab, J. Everett-Heath, *Oxford Concise Dictionary*, p. 201.

⁵⁰ T. Lewicki, op. cit., II, pp. 80–81; Miller thought to Pančevo, see K. Miller, *Mappae arabicae*, p. 77 et p. 144. But considering the position of B.q.šin, between Győr and Kovin, the identification with Bač in Vojvodina is better. Its Hungarian name is Bács and Latin name is Bachinum, J.R.H. Moorman, *Medieval Franciscan Houses*, p. 699.

⁵¹ The form would be Afr(a)nk-bīla or '(I)fr(a)nk-bī(l)la for Francavilla/Franchavilla, former capital of Slavonia according to Miller who identifies it with [Sremska] Mitrovica, but the site of Francavilla would be identified with Mangjalos, where there would be later a Franciscan house belonging to the custode of Symium. Now, Mitrovica is the Roman site of Sirmium and the modern name tracing back to [Saint] Demetrius. K. Miller, op. cit., II, p. 144; T. Lewicki, op. cit., II, pp. 71–72; J.R.H. Moorman, op. cit., p. 286.

⁵² The town is situated in the mouth of the Mlava river in the Danube, in the East of Belgrad. The Slavic name appears in 879 and correspond to Βρανίτζοβα or Βρανιζόβη, but the site is an ancient Roman colony, Viminacium. Its modern name is Kostolač, see, *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, II, col. 572 (S. Ćirković); S. Kenderova, *La péninsule balkanique*, p. 120; Б. Недков, *България и съседните ѝ земи през XII век според «Географията» на Идриси*, p. 116, note 74. We thank Mrs Kenderova for the translation of this note.

⁵³ The medieval name is Ravno, Čuprija is the Ottoman Turkish name, J. Everett-Heath, *Oxford Concise Dictionary*, p. 125.

⁵⁴ Marqart thought that Af.r.nīs.fā (= Βρανιζόβα) and A.b.r.n.d.s were the same town, but the second name derived from a “fränkishen Form”. This is the Slavonic Braničevo. I do not agree with Bresc and Nef, who identify it with [Veliko] Gradište, in the East of Belgrad, see J. Marqart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, p. 140; Idrîsî, *La Première géographie*, p. 440.

⁵⁵ It is from the Slavonic Czernigrad “Black Castel”, see J. Everett-Heath, *Oxford Concise Dictionary*, p. 124; B. Kálmán, *The World of Names*, p. 130.

⁵⁶ Our manuscripts give Dān.la/Rān.la, and the map Zān.la. This name also appeared in the *Nuzhat* under different forms and Tuulio identifies it with Zlatna in Transylvania, today Romania. Its Hungarian name is Zalatna and in Slavic is Zlatna and derived from *zlat'na* “gold”. The site is known by the Romans as Ampelum and the

Distances in Poland (Q.lūniya for F.lūniya⁵⁷), from Vác to Olomouc, 150 miles, from there to B.ṭ.š (for B.ṭ.s), in the East, 150 miles. From Olomouc to Kraków (Iqrāq.l)⁵⁸ 130 miles. From Kraków in the East to Gniezno (Ġ.nāziya)⁵⁹, 100 miles. From there, to Wrocław (B.n.qlyā for *R.ṭīs.lāba)⁶⁰, in the East at 60 miles. From here, [one reaches] Przemyśl (S.r.m.lī)⁶¹, town of Sandomierz (arḍ Š/Sūbāra for *Sadmāra)⁶² after 100 miles.

Distances in Saxony, from Kraków to Halle in the West, 100 miles, it's a Saxonian town. From Kraków to Nienburg⁶³ 100 miles, between Halle and Nienburg 40 miles. From there to Osnabrück (W.z.n.b.r.ka)⁶⁴ in the West, 60 miles. Again from Nienburg to Gozlar⁶⁵ in the South, 100 miles. From there, to Herford⁶⁶ in German country, [remain] 60 miles. From Halle to Olomouc (Mašla), 30 miles. From Nienburg to Bremen (W.z.ra)⁶⁷ on the river, 25 miles and from there to the North Sea 25, miles again and the same distance from Gozlar. From Vienna, in Bavaria, it takes 125 miles.

Distances in the Venitian Gulf, from Rovinj/Rovigno (Rīgnū) to Pula/Pola (Buwāla), 12 miles, from there to Labin/Albona (Al-Būna), 50 miles, and from there to Lovran (Al-Aw.r.na) again 5 miles. This is the last town of Aquileia. From Lovran to Senj (Š.na)⁶⁸

modern appellation dates back to the 13th century, however this site is far away from the Maros. Lewicki prefers reading Wālba and identifies the town with Alba Julia, antique Apulum, on the Maros in Transylvania, but he recognizes the difficulty of the Arabic form. Bresc and Nef propose Arad, more western than Zlatna and Alba Julia, see O.J. Tuulio, *Du nouveau*, pp. 160–161; T. Lewicki, *Polska...*, II, pp. 93–96; Al-Idrīsī, *La Première géographie*, p. 441.

⁵⁷ O.J. Tuulio, *Du nouveau*, pp. 77–78.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 113–114, remarks that everywhere in the manuscripts we have I/Aqrāql and not I/Aqrawū, but we can identify it with Kraków, but the distances given by the *Nuḡḡat* contradicts this idea. Tuulio thinks it is a place in Brandebourg, near Berlin.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 116–117.

⁶⁰ Both mss give B.n.q.lāya but we consider it as deformation of R.ṭ.š.lāba. For Lewicki, this latter would be read *B.r.ṭīs.lāba and changing from Vratislavia, Latin name of Wrocław. И.Г. Коновалова, op. cit., p. 149; Bresc and Nef write in note „Le nom arabe est celui de Wrocław (Breslau), mais la situation correspond à celle de Włocławek”, Idrīsī, *La Première géographie*, p. 441.

⁶¹ O.J. Tuulio, op. cit., pp. 117–118, notes that the form is almost everywhere s.r.m.lī and thinks that it is a graphic deformation of s.n.w.b.lī, Snovsk, but this town is too far away on the Dniestr. Lewicki prefers to read R.m.s.lī, surmises *Biramislī and identifies it with Przemyśl, in South-eastern Poland, in Ruthenia. This name appears in the *Nuḡḡat* also in Cl. VI, 4 under the same form. Its identification with Przemyśl is beyond doubt but the Arabic form remains enigmatic, see И.Г. Коновалова, op. cit., p. 149.

⁶² Lewicki read S.d.māra and thought to Sandomierz but Tuulio identified the form *Swmarh* with Severia or the land of the Severians, East Slavic tribe. This land lay in the northern Ukraine and Southwestern Russia, O.J. Tuulio, *Du nouveau*, pp. 147–148.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 85–86.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 114–116. If the end of the Arabic form of the toponym (-brkh) expresses the German word Brück, the beginning, dūl-, is perhaps, according to Tuulio, a graphic deformation of 'zL-, the original form would have been 'zLbrkh: *'Uz(i)labruk(k)a.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 110–111.

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 111–112.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 83–85. Al-Idrīsī attributed to the city of Bremen the name of its river, the Weser.

⁶⁸ In Hungarian it is Zengg, in Italian Segna and in Croation Senj.

in the Slavonic country, 55 miles. From Senj to Omišalj/Moschau⁶⁹ (M.ṣ.q.la) 20 miles, then to Zaton (Ṣ.n.ṭ.ū) 45 miles, then to Nona/Nin (Nīn.ṣ) 20 miles, then to Zara/Zadar (Ġādra)⁷⁰ 12 miles, then to Biograd/Zaravecchia⁷¹ (D.ġwāṭa) 30 miles. From there, [one continues] to Šibenik (S.b.nāḡī) 20 miles away, then to Trogir (Wāwġūrī)⁷² 50 miles, then to Split (Asbāl.ṭū)⁷³ 20 miles, then to Ston (Ṣ.ṭ.ġ.nū)⁷⁴ 25 miles, then to Ragusa (R.ġūṣa) (today Dubrovnik) 30 miles, then to Kotor (Qātra)⁷⁵ 20 miles. It is the last town of Croatia. From there, [one covers again] 30 miles to Bar (Antāb.rū)⁷⁶ and from there to Ulcinj (D.lūḡiya)⁷⁷, [remain] 70 miles.

Commentary

From a textual point of view, we are presented with the same geographical material – itineraries and distances – as the one found in the *Nuzhat* and almost in the same order, but not situated in the same section of the sixth climate. In the *Uns*, it appears in the third section of the sixth climate but in the *Nuzhat*, the towns are distributed in three sections. We can read the distance between Titel and Mangjalos (?) (Af.r.nīk) 43 miles, a figure which disappeared in the *Nuzhat* mss.

Based on the territorial definitions of the author, we have Bohemia (in the *Nuzhat*, 2nd section)⁷⁸, the land of Nitra (approximatively Hungary and the Danubian valley), Hungary, Poland and Saxony. The third section of the *Nuzhat* covers the same material⁷⁹. Finally, we follow an itinerary, along the South of the Venetian Gulf like in the last paragraph going from the third section of the fifth climate in the *Nuzhat*⁸⁰.

Only the text renouncing all descriptive information remains silent on the local production or economy, and the quality of life. We have a dry list of routes.

⁶⁹ According Furlani, this is [Castel] Muschio; in Croatian, Omišalj and in German, Moschau, in Italian [Castel] Muschio, see G. Furlani, *La Giulia e la Dalmazia*, p. 58.

⁷⁰ In Latin Jader or Jadera and in the 10th century Diadara, J. Everett-Heath, *Oxford Concise Dictionary*, p. 578. This is the sole toponym cited also by Al-Ḥwārizmī, K. Czeġlédy, *Die Karte der Donaulandschaftsgruppe nach al-Huwarizmi*, p. 56.

⁷¹ This is a hypothesis coming back to Amari who writes: „Biograd (...) è già ricorda da Costantino Porfirogenete col nome di Βέλογραδ. Per il facile scambio in arabo della lettera r in w il d.ġwāṭah dei codici potea in origine leggersi d.ġrāṭah, trascrizione di Diograd per Biograd.”, M. Amari and C. Schiaparelli, *L'Italia*, p. 107 and note 7. This hypothesis remains valid despite of the phonetic changes. In Croatian, the name is Biograd no Moru.

⁷² In Greek Trogurion, in Latin Tragurium, J. Everett-Heath, *Oxford Concise Dictionary*, p. 532.

⁷³ Ancient forms: Ασπάλαθος/Spalatum, see J. Everett-Heath, op. cit., p. 497.

⁷⁴ Roman and medieval names are Turris stagni and Stagnum, ibid., p. 501.

⁷⁵ In Latin Catarum, ibid., p. 272.

⁷⁶ The old names are Antivaris and Antibarum, ibid., p. 51.

⁷⁷ Founded by the seafarers from Colchis, its first name is Colchinium, but its phonetic evolution leads to the medieval form Dulcigno, close with our Arabic form, ibid., p. 540.

⁷⁸ Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat*, pp. 877–879.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 882–891.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 767–768.

Predictably, we are confronted with the same geographical inaccuracy as in the *Nuzhat*, for example in the first paragraph supposedly dedicated to the Bohemia, the towns listed are chiefly Hungarian with the exception of Vienna, in the West of Esztergom. The second paragraph extends Bohemia further South, to the point of including towns like Pécs and Siklos, in the northern part of Slavonia. Perhaps Al-Idrīsī's interpretation of the Bohemian claim to control Moravia can account for this inaccuracy. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Moravia had been assigned as the appanage principality to the Přemyslid family, the Bohemian sovereign family⁸¹.

Since the third paragraph is dedicated to Nitra – the historical capital of the Moravia – we would expect the itineraries to be centered around the Carpathian land but in fact, they describe a vast country stretching from the center of Hungary to the South all the way to Braničevo, East of Belgrad, with the Danube as the axis. Even if the routes are accurate, the distances are not. For example, Bač is actually between Győr and Kóvin, on the Danube but its remoteness from Győr is underestimated. In his itineraries Al-Idrīsī goes back from Braničevo – Banja [on the Lim River] – Plana [Velika] – Čuprija to West back to Plana before diverting to the East. Then Al-Idrīsī returns following to the Carpathians to reach Temesvár. His extension of the Hungarian territory follows the extension of the political power of the kingdom of Hungary⁸² dating back to the first half of the twelfth century. Poszony, today Bratislava, is called by its Hungarian name. Although the town was given the German name⁸³ Brezalauspurc (907), it later changed to Brezislburg (1042).

The fifth paragraph starts with Germany, covers the Czechian country and continues with the South of Poland, to Kraków. The itinerary proceeds toward to the North to Gniezno then Wrocław or Włocławek on the Vistula.

The next paragraph deals with Saxony but in the broadest sense of the name, from Halle to Bremen, in Lower Saxony, prominent by the number of its toponyms. Finally, Al-Idrīsī completes his description with a detailed itinerary along the Venetian Gulf, crossing Aquileia, Istria, Slavonia, Dalmatia and Croatia.

The names of the places point to the various origins the informants. Some are Hungarians (Poszony for Pressburg, Bratislava), Slaves (B.l.ġ.rāna, *Białogród stołeczny for Székesfehérvár), German (Čik.L.būka, Wieselburg for Moson). Some toponyms are also derivatives Latin names, like M.š.lā, Mons Julii, Omolouc, probably originating from official documents.

The author compiled information gathered from various sources or informants and tried to order his material in a unified work. The result shows doublets (Ab.r.n.d.s probably Af.r.nīs.fā) and wanderings in the itineraries.

⁸¹ J. Macek, *Histoire de la Bohème*, pp. 25–27, in 1182, Frederick I Barbarossa separated Moravia from Bohemia and created two margravates.

⁸² S. Csernus and K. Korompay, *Les Hongrois et l'Europe, Conquête et intégration*, pp. 189–190.

⁸³ L. Deroy and M. Mulon, *Dictionnaire de noms de lieux*, pp. 70–71.

For the hydrography, the main river is the Danube, whose name D(a)nū is derived not from the Slavic but from the Hungarian and Turkish forms⁸⁴. A l - I d r ī s ī situated the town Titel on the Danube but removed the town 8 km away from the confluence of the Danube and the Tisa. And Senta is not on the Sava but on the Tisa. As a result it is impossible to go from Kovin to Senta by Sava.

A comparison between the distances given in both of A l - I d r ī s ī's works shows repetition of most of them, except those summarized in this table.

Stages	<i>Uns al-muhağ</i>	<i>Nuzhat</i>
Esztergom – Buda	40 miles	Not mentionned
Esztergom – Vác	40 miles	Not mentionned
Vác – Sopron	40 miles	Not mentionned
Pécs – Siklos	70 miles	3 days
Pécs – Wieselburg	80 miles	3 days
Eger – Buř.s	40 miles	Not mentionned
Buda – Mangjalos	40 miles	Not mentionned
Titel – Bač	95 miles	75* miles
Braničevo – Bač	90 miles	Not mentionned
Titel – Mangjalos	43 miles	Not readable
Braničevo – Banja	75 miles	Not mentionned
Plana – Čuprija	ca 100 miles	120 miles
Belgrade – Braničevo	170 miles	75 miles
Kovin – Senta	120 miles	4 days
Senta – Csongrád	90 miles	3 days
Csongrád – Rān.la/Zān.la (?)	150 miles	5 days
Rān.la/Zān.la (?) – Temešvar	110 miles	4 days
Vác– Olomouc	150 miles	Not mentionned
Olomouc – B.ř.s/š	150 miles	Not mentionned
Nienburg – Gozlar	100 miles	100 or 4 days
Gozlar – Herford	60 miles	60 miles
Halle – Olomouc	30 miles	Not mentionned
Gozlar – North Sea	25 miles	Not mentionned
Vienna – North Sea	125 miles	Not mentionned

* Maybe an error in writing: *tis'ūn/sab'ūn*.

⁸⁴ M. Espéronnier, *Le cadre géographique des pays Slaves d'après les sources arabes médiévales*, p. 17, with reference to T. Lewicki, *Znajomość krajów i ludów Europy u pisarzy arabskich IX i X w.*, p. 80; see also J. Everett-Heath, *Oxford Concise Dictionary*, p. 129.

My impression is that Al-Idrīsī has again taken his information and has detailed his itineraries. For the distances expressed in “days” in the *Nuzhat*, it is difficult to say in which sense the conversion was made, miles to days or days to miles. Maybe some of Al-Idrīsī’s informants may have expressed the distances in days and later Al-Idrīsī converted them into miles, applying the formula one day = *ca* 25 miles. However, the same formula is not used everywhere in the table.

Map⁸⁵ (see ill. 1, ill. 2 and ill. 3)

A comparison between the two maps of the third section of the sixth climate in our two manuscripts do not yield a significant difference, except for the varying in the talent of the painter. A comparison of these two maps with its analogue⁸⁶ in the *Nuzhat* shows little change in the drawing of the rivers and of the mountains. As such, it cannot be determined whether or not the map of the *Uns* is drawn from that of the *Nuzhat*. At this stage of our research, the relations between the two sets of maps remain unclear.

However, the map pinpoints many toponyms ignored by the text. The map is approximatively oriented toward the East. Bavaria appears in the bottom with Macedonia appearing at the top. On the right edge, we read *ġanūb* “South” and *al-ḥaltġ al-banadiqt* “Venitian Gulf”. The center of the map is labelled *Buwābīh* for *Bū’amiya* or *Buwāmya* “Bohemia”, but the variant *Buwābīh* is also mentioned in the *Nuzhat*. *Q.nūniyya* for *F.lūniyya* (Polonia) appears on the left of the map. It is only from a geographical point of view that we discover that the Venetian Gulf is drawn horizontally instead of being oblique. The same error is evident in the *Nuzhat*; the width of Europe is undervalued, resulting in close European cities. Three rivers are named, *nahr Q.ṭ.r.lū* (*Nuzhat*: *Q.ṭ.lū*), *nahr al-Ba* and *nahr D.rūš* (*Nuzhat*: *D.rwa*), which are the Götaälv, the Elbe⁸⁷ and the Drava. The latter takes the place of the Danube. The hydrography is clear, the Danube (not the Drava) flows by W.r.yāna (Vienna), As.t.r.‘ūna (Esztergom), before meeting the Elbe (!) and continuing southward by Būšāna (Preßburg/Bratislava) until it joins up with the Drava (anonym), after passing through Nīt.r.m (Nitra) and B.d.wāra (Buda), Ar.b.niyya (Győr) and Tīt.lūs (Titlos), and joins after Baq.sīn (Bač) a third affluent coming from the North on the banks of which sits S.n.t (Senta). The Danube continues by Qāw.r. (Kovin), Faḡardūr (Belgrade), Bā.ʔ.ī (Banja) finally receiving two last affluents, one of which comes from Nīsū (Niš). The Drava flows between B.l.ġrāniya (Székesfehérvár) and Sīqlūs (written S.qrā) (Siklos). As for the rivers, with exception to the mistake concerning the junction between the Danube and the Elbe, we can identify the Drava, the Tisa (flowing

⁸⁵ For a general appreciation, see A. Maqbūl, *Cartography of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī*, pp. 163–167.

⁸⁶ K. Miller, *Mappe arabicae*, VI, taf. 53, mss from Paris, Oxford and Saint Petersburg.

⁸⁷ O.J. Tuulio, *Du nouveau sur Idrīsī*, p. 64 and pp. 99–101. It is tempting to compare the *nahr Q.ṭ.r.lū* with the Vistul, but the Arabic form cannot be explained from Latin (Vistula), the Polish (Wiśła), the High German (Wihsela) or the Byzantine Greek (Bislas), unless one supposes the Arabic form **F.sṭlū* and not *Q.ṭ.lū*, L. Deroy and M. Mulon, *Dictionnaire*, p. 510.

by Senta) and Morava (approximatively flowing not far from Niš). Ar.b.niyya (Győr) is situated too far southward, and the order for the Danubian cities of Serbia (Bač, Belgrade and Kovin) is accurate.

List of toponyms

Number on the sketch	<i>Uns al-muhağ</i>		<i>Nuzhat</i> Edition	Modern towns
	H.1	H.2		
1	Māl.sūda	<i>Omitted</i>	Māl.šuya	Malešovo ¹
2	R.b.na	R.ba	R.b.na	Ćuprija
3	A.f.r.d.sqā	A.f.r.d.sqā	A.f.r.nīsnā	Braničevo
4	B.n.q.lāya	B.n.q.lāya	B.n.q.lāya	*R.tīs.lāba/Wrocław ²
5	Al-R.f	<i>Omitted</i>	/	Not identified
6	S.tīf	T.sīf	T.nīsb.r	Temešvar
7	Nān.lah	Rān.la	/	Zlatna/Alba Julia
8	Nībū	Nīsū	Nīsū	Niš
9	Bā.?. ī	Nāf	Bāniya (?)	Banja
10	Ḥ.nār.?.a	Ḥ.nāriyya	Č.nāziyya	Gniezno
11	Asbāl.tūwā	Asbāl.tūwā	Asbāl.tū	Split
12	F.l.ġ.r.dūr	F.l.ġ.r.dūr	F.l.ġ.r.dūn	Belgrade ³
13	Gāw.r	Gāw.r	Qāw.n	Kovin
14	Č.r.?.ġ.zāna	Ḥ.r.?.ġ.rāna	Č.r.n.ġāta	Csongrád
15	B.r.‘ūrī	Yar.‘udī	Wāwġūrī	Trogir
16	B.q.š.b.r	<i>Omitted</i>	Baqšīn	Bač
17	S.n.t	S.n.t	S.n.t	Senta
18	Sīnāġī	Sīnāḥī	S.b.nāġī	Šibenik
19	Tītlūs	T.s.tlūs	Tītlūs	Titlos/Titel
20	Ar.b.niyya	Ar.m.niyya	Arīnya	Győr
21	B.t.s	Č.r.n.ġ.rāna	B.t.s	Not identified
22	Ḥā.d.ra	Ḥāw.ra	Čādra	Zara/Zadar
23	Aqrāq.l	Aqrāq.l	*Aqrāquw	Kraków
24	Ar.n.š	Ar.n.š	Ar.n.s	Arbe ⁴ (?)
25	Af.ra	Af.ra	Aq.ra/Aqrāta	Eger
26	M.s.la	M.s.la	Mašla/Māšla	Olomouc
27	Š.na	Š.na	Š.na	Senj

Number on the sketch	<i>Uns al-muhağ</i>		<i>Nuzhat</i> Edition	Modern towns
	H.1	H.2		
28	B.dwāra	?rwārd	B.ḡ.w'ra	Buda
29	Nītr.m	Nītr.m	Nītr.m	Nitra
30	Nāṣū	Nāṣū	Māsū/Bāsū	Vác
31	Hāla	Hāla	Hāla	Halle
32	Y.nūzīr.k	B.nū.r.k	Nyūn B.r.k	Nienburg
33	D.rūna	D.rūna	al-Aw.r.na	Lovran
34	Būṣāna	?ṣāna	Būṣāna/ Būzāna	Preßburg/Bratislava
35	Qulāza	Q.lāza	Q.z.lāra	Goslar
36	Būba	Nūba	Albūna	Albona
37	As.t.r.'ūna	As.t.r.'ūna	As.t.r.kūna	Esztergom
38	W.riyāna	W.riyāna	Wyāna	Vienna
39	Rīgnū	Rīgnū	Rīgnū	Rovinj
40	S.qrā	<i>Omitted</i>	Sīq Lāwš	Siklos (?) ⁵
41	B.l.ğrāba	B.l.ğrāba	B.l.ğrāna	Székesfehérvár
42	Š.rūna	Š.rūna	Š.brūna	Sopron ⁶
43	Hīr.d	Hīr.d	H.r.b.r.d	Herford
44	Ḍul.b.r.la	Zulīr.la	W.z.n.b.r.k	Osnabrück
	<i>Omitted</i>	M.n.šūniyya	Š.šūniyya	Saxony
45	Nahr Q.ṭ.r.lū	Nahr Q.ṭ.r.lū	Q.ṭ.lū	Götaälv
46	Nahr Alba	Alba	Alba	Elbe
47	Nahr D.rūš	<i>Omitted</i>	Ḍ.rwa	Drava

¹ St. Kenderova and B. Besevliev, *La Péninsule balkanique représentée sur les cartes d'al-Idrīsī*, pp. 49–50.

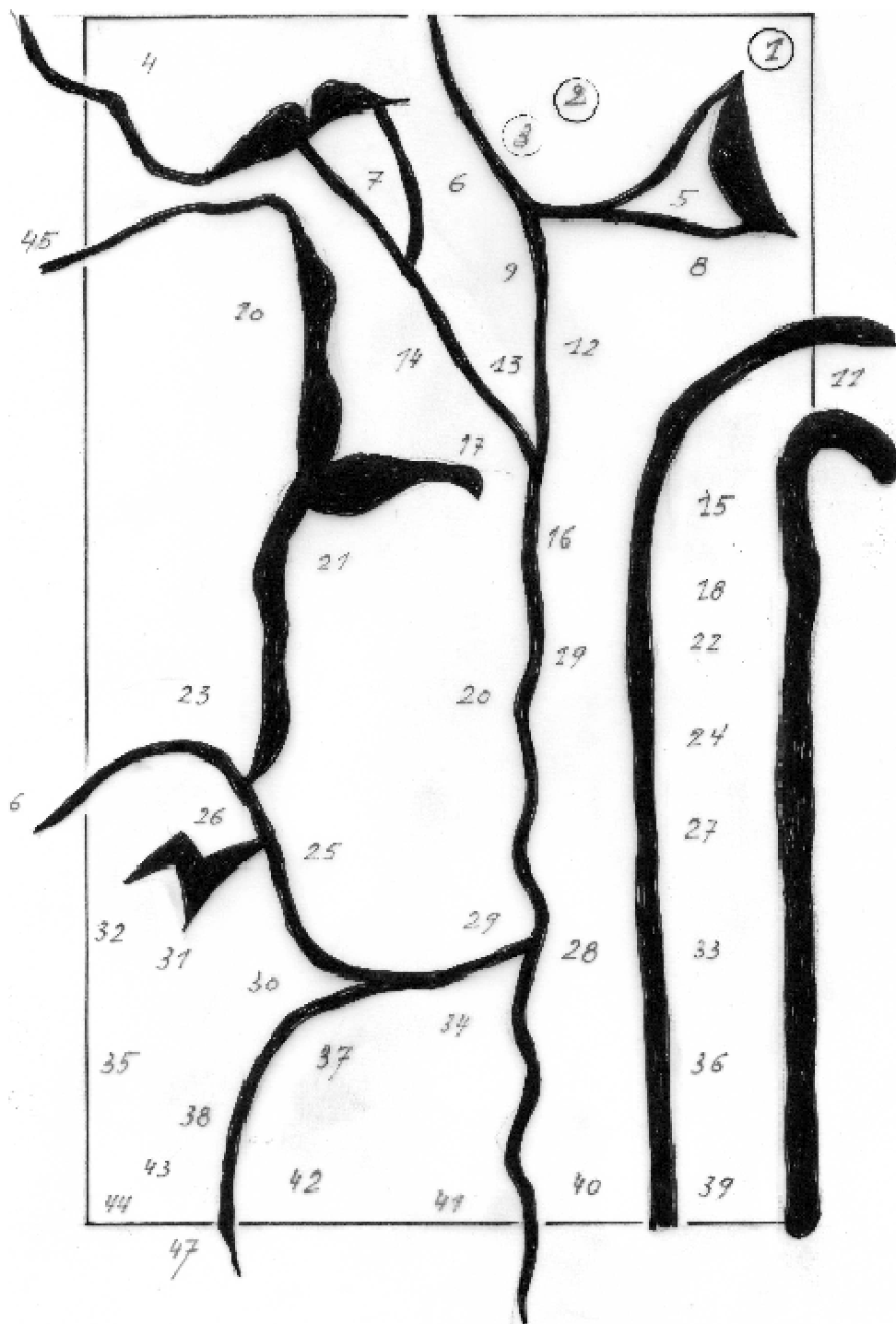
² Not identified until T. Lewicki, *Polska...*, II, pp. 117–120; K. Miller, *Mappae arabicae*, II, p. 143; Plotzk; O.J. Tuulio, *Du nouveau sur Idrīsī*, p. 117.

³ The origin of the Arabic form is Greek, the last letter, *rā'*, is a bad drawing of *nūn*. For the etymology, see L. Deroy and M. Mulon, *Dictionnaire*, p. 53.

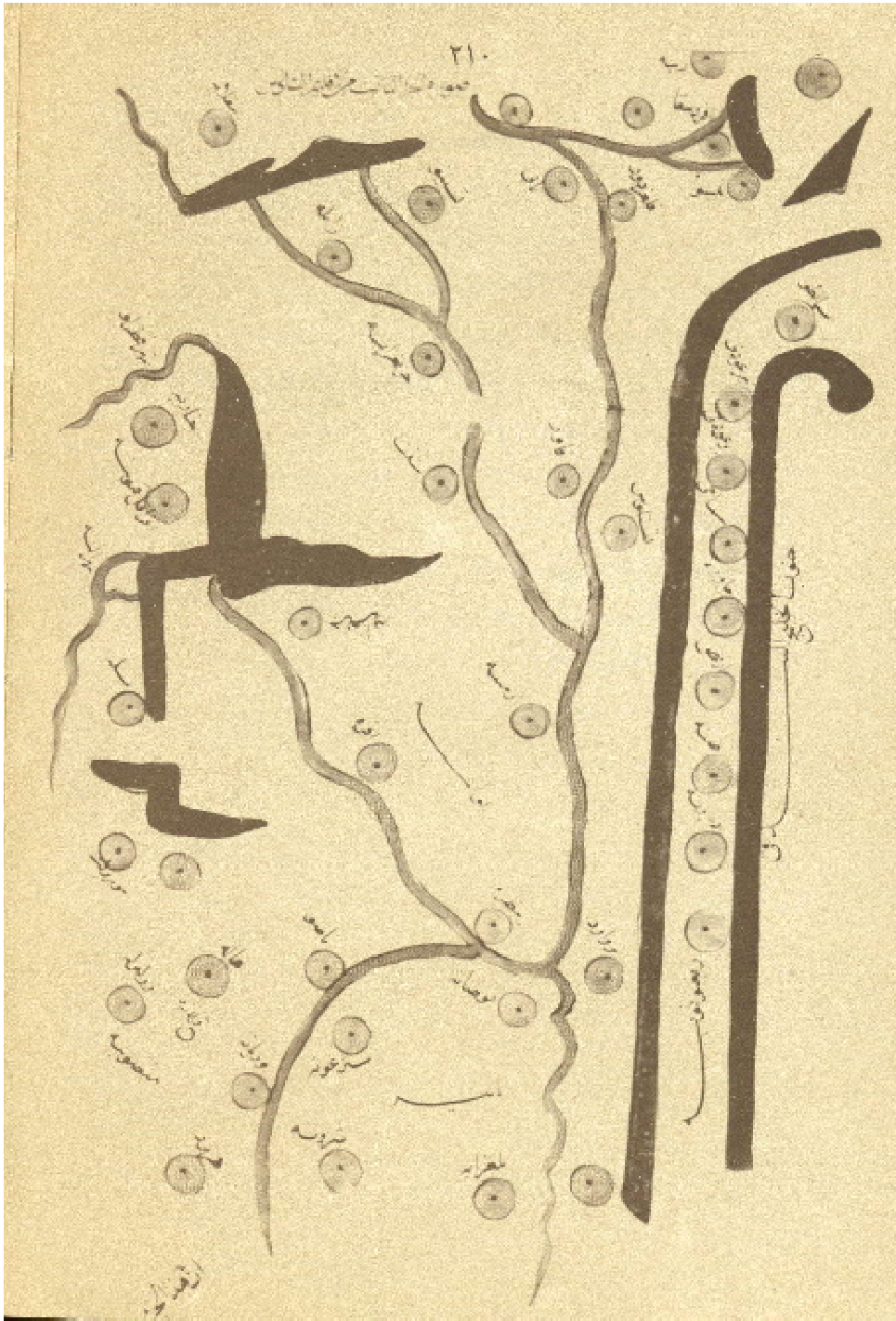
⁴ M. Amari and C. Schiaparelli, *L'Italia*, p. 107; G. Furlani, *La Giulia e la Dalmatia*, p. 58, this is a hypothesis.

⁵ T. Lewicki, op. cit., II, p. 55.

⁶ Uncertain etymology, but this form appears with the Hungarian's settlement in the region. In 1065, its German name was Ödenburg, see L. Deroy and M. Mulon, *Dictionnaire*, p. 453.



III. 2: Sketch of the map



III. 3: Map of H.2

Conclusion

As evidenced, the text from the chapter we studied is not solely composed of a geographical material extracted from the *Nuzhat*. We have some distances unknown in the *Nuzhat* or illegible as for example, the distance between Titel and Mangjalos (?) (Af. r.nīk) 43 miles. However, the new geographical material does not allow us to solve the problems of identification, viz. B.ḏwāra (Buda or Ptrovaradin), Māš.la (Olomouc/Meißen), Dān.la/Zānla (Zlata, Alba Julia or Arad).

In the *Nuzhat*, the matter is distributed in three different sections (sixth climate, second and third section ; fifth climate, third section). In the *Uns*, the map is what unifies these extracts. It appears that the map was first drawn and the text was written to correspond with its division. But, estimating the relationship between *Nuzhat* (maps – text) and *Uns* (maps – text) would at this state be premature. In his introduction, Al-Idrīsī specified that it was his intention to write a book, which would be easier to copy and use. In fact, he condensed his text, sometimes adding information to the itineraries taken from geographical material compiled for the *Nuzhat*. The map has been drawn following to the same principles as the *Nuzhat*, but with a more simplified iconography.

I am soon to release a complete edition of the work that I hope will improve the understanding of its genesis and deliver to geography historians the second treaty of Al-Idrīsī.

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Appendix: Arabic text¹

[الجزء الثالث من الاقليم السادس]

[٢٨٧] ² خريطة .

[٢٨٨] إن هذا الجزء الثالث من الاقليم السادس تضمن بعض ارض البنادقية والصقلب وارض انكرية وارض بؤابية³ .

المسافات بين ارض بؤابية⁴ وبلادها جيك لبوكة⁵ وشبرونة⁶ وويانة⁷ وماصو⁸ وماشلة⁹ واقراقطة¹⁰ و¹¹استركونة فمن استركونة الى جيك لبوكة غربا ثمانون ميلا [و] من جيك لبوكة الى شبرونة ستون ميلا ومن شبرونة الى استركونة جنوبا ثمانون ميلا ومن شبرونة الى ويانة¹² شرقا اربعون ميلا [و] من ويانة¹³ الى غرميشة¹⁴ اربعون ميلا ومن ويانة الى استركونة جنوبا خمسون ميلا ومن استركونة الى بذوارة¹⁵ اربعون

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1. For the Arabic text, I follow H.1 and H.2 according to the facsimile, pagination of H.1 is given between [...], abbreviations: om. means omitted.
 2. H.2, p. 210.
 3. H.1 and H.2: بوامية, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 882.
 4. H.1: توابة ; H.2: بوابية .
 5. H.1 and H.2 here and after: جبل لنكه, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 877.
 6. H.1 and H.2 here and after: شرونة, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 877.
 7. H.1 and H.2: ويانه, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 877.
 8. H.2: ماسور.
 9. H.1: ماساه ; H.2: ماصله, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 877.
 10. H.1 and H.2: افراقطه, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 877.
 11. H.2: om.
 12. H.1: وبانه.
 13. H.1: نبانة ; H.2, effaced, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 877.
 14. H.1: غرمنشة.
 15. H.1 and H.2: بدواره, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 882.

ميلا ومن استركونة الى باصو شرقا اربعون ميلا ومن باصو الى شبرونة اربعون ميلا ومن استركونة¹ الى بلغرانة² من ارض قرنطارة³ ثلاثون ميلا .

مسافات [بؤابية]⁴ من بوزة⁵ الى سيق لاوش⁶ سبعون ميلا ومن بوزة الى جيک لبوكة ثمانون ميلا ومن جيک لبوكة الى شبرونة ستون ميلا ومن بلغرانة⁷ الى بوزانة⁸ على نهر دنو⁹ خمسة وثلاثون ميلا ومن بوزانة¹⁰ الى مدينة بذوارة¹¹ ستون ميلا¹² .

مسافات ارض نيطرم¹³ ومن بذوارة¹⁴ الى نيطرم¹⁵ شمالا سبعون ميلا ومن بوضانة الى نيطرم الى اقرة¹⁶ شمالا اربعون ميلا ومن اقرة الى بطس اربعون ميلا

1. استرونه: H.1.

2. بلغرانه: H.1.

3. H.1 and H.2: حرنطارة, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 878.

4. Add. H.2: موامه.

5. H.1: يوزه ; H.2, here and after: بور.

6. H.1: سولاولوس ; H.2: سيق لاوس, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 882.

7. بلغانه: H.1.

8. H.1 and H.2: بحانه, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 883.

9. H.2: here and after: دنو.

10. بورانه: H.1.

11. H.1 and H.2: بدوارة, here and after, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 882, but in the same passage the edition of the *Nuzhat*, p. 878, prefers بزواره.

12. H.2: om.

13. H.2: om. ; I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 883.

14. H.1 and H.2 : بدواره.

15. H.1, without point ; H.2: بيطرم, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 883.

16. H.1: here and after: افره.

ومن اقرة شرقا الى مدينة ارينية¹ ثمانون ميلا ومن ارينية الى بقصين² على نهر دنو ستون ميلا ومن بقصين الى قانون³ [٢٨٩] على النهر ستون ميلا ومن اقرة⁴ الى قانون مائة ميل وستون ميلا ومن اقرة الى باصو غربا ثمانون ميلا ومن باصو الى مشلة⁵ من ارض بؤابية⁶ مائة ميل وخمسون ميلا وايضا فان من مدينة سيق لاوش⁷ الى مدينة افرك بيلة ثمانون ميلا ومن بذوارة⁸ ايضا الى بلد⁹ افرك جنوبا وشرقا اربعون ميلا ومن بذوارة الى مدينة تيتلوس على نهر دنو خمسة وسبعون ميلا ومن مدينة تيتلوس الى بقسين خمسة وتسعون¹⁰ ميلا *ومن ابرندس¹¹ الى بقصين تسعون ميلا ومن تيتلوس الى افرك ثلاث اربعون ميلا¹² ومن ابرندس شرقا الى بانية¹³ خمسة وسبعون ميلا ومن بانية¹⁴ الى ابلانة تسعون ميلا ومن ابلانة الى رينة¹⁵ مائة ميل وبعضا¹⁶ فان من قانون

1. H.2: ارمينه, here and after, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 884.

2. H.2, here and after: نقصين.

3. H.2: فاو.

4. H.2: om.

5. H.1 and H.2: مسكه, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 885.

6. H.1: دواسيه.

7. H.1: سيق لاوش; H.2: سيق لاوس.

8. H.1: بدوابة; H.2: بدواره.

9. H.2: om.

10. H.2: سبعون.

11. H.1, here and after : ابريدس.

12. H.2: for فذلك من بذوارة الى نقصين مائتا ميل ومن افرك بيلة الى ابرندس خمسون ميلا
ابرندس الى بقصين تسعون ميلا ومن تيتلوس الى افرك ثلاث اربعون ميلا.

13. H.1: ياسه; H.2: نايته.

14. H.1: تايته; H.2: نايته, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 887.

15. H.2: رينة.

16. H.2: ايضا.

الى فلغردون¹ على نهر دنو سبعون ميلا ومن فلغردون الى افرنيسفا² على نهر دنو شرقا مائة وسبعون ميلا.

مسافات انكرية من قاون الى صنت على نهر السينر³ مائة وعشرون ميلا ومن صنت الى جرنغراتة⁴ تسعون ميلا ومن جرنغراتة الى مدينة دانلة⁵ مائة وخمسون ميلا ومن دانلة الى تنيسبر⁶ مائة ميل وعشرة اميال.

مسافات قلونية من باصو⁷ الى ماشلة⁸ مائة ميل وخمسون ميلا ومن ماشلة الى بطش شرقا مائة وخمسون ميلا ومن ماشلة الى اقراقل⁹ شرقا [٢٩٠] مائة وثلاثون ميلا ومن اقراقل الى جنازية مائة ميل شرقا ومن جنازية الى بنقلاية¹⁰ شرقا ستون ميلا ومن رتصلاية الى سرمل¹¹ من ارض شربارة¹² مائة ميل.

مسافات شصونية ومن اقراقل الى هالة غربا مائة ميل وهي من ارض شصونية ومن اقراقل الى نيون برك¹³ مائة ميل وبين هالة ونيون برك¹⁴ اربعون ميلا ومن نيون

1. H.1: فلعدون.

2. H.1: اقربدسقا, H.2: افريدسقا, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 882.

3. H.2: السنر.

4. H.1: جرنغرانه, H.2: جراغرانه, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 882.

5. H.2, here and after: رانله.

6. H.1: تنسينو; H.2: تنسونو, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 889.

7. H.1: ناصو.

8. H.1: مسكه, H.2: ماسله, here and after, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 877.

9. H.1 et H.2 here and after : اقراقُل, I follow everywhere the form given by the *Nuzhat* mss, p. 890, اقراقو, not the corrected text.

10. *Nuzhat*, p. 890, corrected text : رتصلاية.

11. *Nuzhat*, p. 890, corrected text : رمسلي.

12. H.2: شوباره; *Nuzhat*, p. 890, corrected text : سدمارة.

13. H.1 and H.2: نيوربرك, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 890.

14. H.1: بنوربُرك; H.2: نيور ترك, here and after, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 890.

برك الى وزنبركة¹ غربا ستون ميلا ومن نيون برك الى قزلارة جنوبا مائة ميل ومن قزلارة الى هربرد من ارض اللمانية ستون ميلا ومن هالة الى مشلة ثلاثون ميلا ومن نيون برك الى مدينة وزرة على² النهر خمسة وعشرون ميلا³ ومن وزرة الى البحر خمسة وعشرون ميلا شمالا ومن مدينة قزلارة ايضا [ومن] ويانة التي من ارض بافير⁴ مائة وخمسة وعشرون ميلا.

مسافات بلاد الخليج البنادقي : من ريغنو الى بُوالة اثنا عشر ميلا الى ألبونة⁵ خمسون ميلا الى الاورنة⁶ عشرة اميال وهي اخر مدن ايكلاية⁷ ومن الاورنة الى صنة من بلاد الصقلب خمسة وخمسون ميلا ومن صنة الى مصقلة عشرون ميلا الى صنطو خمسة واربعون ميلا الى نينص⁸ عشرون ميلا الى جاذرة⁹ اثنا عشر ميلا الى دغواطه ثلاثون ميلا الى سبناجي¹⁰ عشرون ميلا الى واوغوري خمسون ميلا الى اسبالطو عشرون ميلا الى شتغنو¹¹ خمسة وعشرون ميلا الى رغوصة¹² ثلاثون ميلا الى قاترة

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1. H.1 and H.2: ذولبرلة, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 890.
 2. H.1: الى.
 3. H.1 ditto: ومن وزرة الي البحر خمسة وعشرون ميلا.
 4. H.1: يافر.
 5. H.1 and H.2: المونه, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 767.
 6. H.1: الوزنة ; H.2: لوزنة, here and after, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 767.
 7. H.1 and H.2: انكلاية, here and after, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 767.
 8. H.1: يونيص; H.2: بونيص, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 761.
 9. H.1: حاذرة; H.2: خاذرة, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 761.
 10. H.1 and H.2: سناحي, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 768.
 11. H.1: شتغنوا; H.2: شتغاني, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 769.
 12. H.1 and H.2: رعوصة, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 769.

عشرون ميلا وهى اخر مُدن جرواسية¹ الى [٢٩١] انتابروا ثلاثون ميلا ومن انتابرو²
الى ذلوجية³ سبعون ميلا

1. حرواسيه: H.1 et H.2.

2. انتبرو: H.1.

3. H.1 et H.2: دلوحينه, I follow the *Nuzhat*, p. 769.