ON THE CREDIBILITY OF EARLY EVIDENCE OF ARAB GEOGRAPHERS ABOUT THE TURKS OF CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS

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Abstract
The article characterizes the sources and historical conditions for obtaining the earliest information about the Turks of Central Asia and the Caucasus in the first works of Arab geography literature. The importance of this information for achieving the political goals of the Caliphate government on the border with the nomadic Turks is pointed out. Special attention is paid to information about the Turks of Central Asia from two chapters of the Mashhad manuscript of the work of Ibn al-Fakih al-Hamadani "Akhbar al-Buldan". It is noted that the Meshad manuscript of this monument of Arab geography literature of the beginning of the 10th century preserved the news of the time of the first contacts of Muslim Arabs with the Turks, characterized by open confrontation and struggle for control over the agricultural areas of Central Asia. At the same time, the news of Ibn al-Fakih makes enables to restore the stages of the gradual transformation of the perception of non-Muslim Turks in Muslim society, as well as to characterize the ideological struggle of the Muslim government aimed at ousting traditional beliefs and spreading Islam among the nomadic Turks. An examination of the composition of the two currently known versions of the text by Ibn al-Faqih gives grounds for the conclusion
about the consistent editing of the text by Arab scribes in order to eliminate the first unfavorable images about the Turks that developed during the period of a fierce struggle for dominatin in Central Asia. The change of the images of nomadic Turks in Muslim public opinion and literature is demonstrated by references from the works of Arab authors who wrote in the era of the penetration and adaptation of the Turks in Muslim society and their gradual Islamization (IX-X centuries).

**Key words:** Ibn al-Fakih; al-Jahiz; Turks; Central Asia; Khazars; Caucasus; medieval cities of Turks; Islamization of Turks.

**Introduction**

The medieval Arab geography and historiography are most important written sources about the history of the Turkic peoples and tribes in the pre-Islamic period. Chronologically and by the content, this information can be conditionally divided into two main blocks. These are the news of the era of fierce military confrontation and the news of the time of the integration of the Turkic guards and the Turkic nobility into the Caliphate Muslim society and the gradual Islamization of the Turks on the borders of the Muslim world. The article characterizes the sources and historical conditions for obtaining the earliest information about the Turks of Central Asia and the Caucasus in the first works of Arab geography literature. The importance of this information for achieving the political goals of the Caliphate government on the border with the nomadic Turks is pointed out.

**Methods**

The work used a comparative historical method to determine the features of the periods of military confrontation and the gradual entry of the Turks into the Islamic cultural space. The evidence from Arab sources was interpreted in accordance with the method of textual analysis of medieval Arabic manuscripts.
Results

Special attention is paid to information about the Turks of Central Asia from two chapters of the Mashhad manuscript of the work of Ibn al-Fakikh al-Hamadani "Akhbar al-Buldan". It is noted that the Meshad manuscript of this monument of Arab geography literature of the beginning of the 10th century preserved the news of the time of the first contacts of Muslim Arabs with the Turks, characterized by open confrontation and struggle for control over the agricultural areas of Central Asia. At the same time, the news of Ibn al-Faqih enables to restore the stages of the gradual transformation of the perception of non-Muslim Turks in Muslim society, as well as to characterize the ideological struggle of the Muslim government aimed at ousting traditional beliefs and spreading Islam among the nomadic Turks.

Discussion

The famous writer, brilliant intellectual of the golden age of the Arab caliphate society Abu Usman Amr ibn Bahr al-Jahiz ((died 869) in his famous Epistle to al-Fath ibn Khakan "On the exploits of the Turks and the rest of the Caliph army" has recited the following mysterious phrase: "You've probably heard about the wall of the descendants of Kantura and that their cavalry will rush to as-Sawad. This hadith was created to horrify and intimidate people with them, but they became a support for Islam and a large army, and for the caliphs - they were protection and a haven, a reliable shield and an undershirt that replaces the overcoat"(al-Djahiz, 1903: 49; Асадов, 1993: 96). The descendants of Kantura mean the Turks. This conclusion can be reached on the basis of the legend preserved in the Muslim tradition about the origin of the Khurasan Turks from the sons of Abraham (Ibrahim), born to him by a certain Kantura bint Maftun, or Maktur (biblical Keturah) (at-Tabari, 1879: ser I, 248; Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhani, 1996: 639-640). Further below al-Jahiz also pays tribute to another legend inherited from the time of the first clashes of the

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1 There is a translation of this treatise into English, but this version was proposed by us, since the translation published by C.T. Harley Walker more than a hundred years ago (Walker, 1915: 688) contains some minor inaccuracies.
Arabs with the Turks, which represents the folk etymology of the word “Turk” from the Arabic verb *taraka* (to leave). The meaning of this fictional etymology is that the Türks were so named because Zulkarnein, having built a wall against the warlike peoples of the north to prevent their raids, left (taraka) some of them on this side of the wall. And that's why they got the name "Turk" - "the left by." (al-Djahiz, 1903: 48-49).

Al-Jahiz’s statement about the falsity of rumors concerning the Türks, the descendants of Kantura, can be dated no later than 860, since al-Fath b. The Khakan, to whom the message was addressed, was killed as a result of a conspiracy by the Turkic guards in 861 together with his patron Caliph al-Mutawakkil (847-861) (Бунинтов, 1969: 53). By this time, the main striking force of the Caliph army was made up of Turkic units, initially, during the time of Caliph al-Mamun (813-833), formed from Turkic freedmen around his brother, the future Caliph al-Mutasim (833-842). Subsequently, Turkic mercenaries recruited in Central Asia, as well as in the Caucasus from among the Khazar Turks, were also involved in the service in the Caliph army. (Osman, 1966: 15-16; Golden, 2004: 281-283; Бунинтов, 1969: 51-53).

Fath b. Khakan himself, to whom the message of al-Jahiz was addressed, came from the family of a noble Turkic military leader in the third generation. From childhood he grew up at court in strong friendship with the future caliph al-Mutawakkil. The biography of al-Fatah was an example of the deep integration of the Turkic military nobility into the political structures of the Caliphate. So it is not surprising that he was both the advisor and the right hand of the Caliph in his quest to decrease the importance of the Turkic guards at court. It is also known about the close relations of al-Jahiz with al-Fath. This can also be judged from the content of the "Epistle". It is obvious that there was correspondence between them, or there were

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2 This legend was apparently influenced by the ancient Greek novel "The Story of Alexander the Great", biblical legends about the bloodthirsty peoples Gog and Magog and the existence of the Great Wall of China and the barrier walls built by the Sassanids to protect them from warlike nomads in the Caucasus.
conversations about the importance of the Turkic guards in the army and in the caliphate society. Despite the long history of the appearance of Turkic guards in the army of Muslim rulers and integration into the Muslim cultural environment, their compatriots on the border with Muslim possessions in Central Asia and the Caucasus in the era of al-Jahiz still remained in their faith. This maintained a sense of wariness and a sense of cultural distance even towards the Turkic mercenaries in the Caliph army. And the struggle for political influence under the Caliph with representatives of the traditional Muslim nobility, Arab tribal and Iranian Khorasan, inflated prejudices against the Turks. A far-sighted writer, said wise by many years of observation of the Caliphate society, considers relations with the Turks in the Caliphate only in the context of political intrigue and opposes prejudices regarding the national characteristics and cultural traditions of the Turks. He stands up for the common destiny of various peoples in the Muslim world and strongly opposes the prejudices inherited from the era of the early acquaintance of Muslims with the Turks.

The source of such prejudices, which used to revitalize in Arab society in the middle of the 9th century as a result of the clash of political interests and intrigue, was the news preserved in the popular works of medieval Arab geographers. The best works of Arab geography were created in the 9th-10th centuries, but they contained numerous evidences of the first Arab campaigns and clashes with the Turks in Central Asia and the Caucasus. It should be noted right away that the emotional mood and direction of the early reports of the Arab geographical literature about the Turks sharply contrasts with the spirit of the works of the Arab political polemic literature of later times, of which al-Jahiz was a brilliant representative. Significant shifts in power, which were mentioned above, and the stability of the military-political situation on the border with the Turkic nomads, which was transformed into cooperation for the facilitation of international trade on the Silk Road, led to the transition of information about the Turks from the genre of geographic curiosities to the genre of instructive socio-political treatises similar to the Epistle of al-Fath b. Hakan.
Arab geographical literature was created in response to a request for a description of the extents of the Islamic state, which, as a result of conquests, encompassed previously unknown or little-known lands and peoples. It is no of a coincidence that the authors of the first fundamental works of this literature were high ranking, well informed government officials, travelers and diplomats who went on governmental missions to peoples beyond the borders of the Caliphate. Such authors were, for example, Ibn Khordadbeh, who authored the first detailed book in the genre "al-Masalik wa-l-Mamalik" (died c. 912) (Ibn Khordadhbeh, 1967) as well as his younger contemporary Kudama b. Jafar, author of The Book of Kharaj (Kodama, 1967) - the work that combined practicable recommendations on the profitability of various regions and countries of the Caliphate with curious stories about the customs, traditions and historical events of peoples on the borders of the Muslim world.

Another feature of Arabic geographical literature was its entertaining nature, and hence its orientation towards the general reader. These two genre properties can be said to have predetermined the significance of Arabic geographical works as descriptions intended to inform Muslim society about the policies of the central government in the conquered areas and on the borders of the Muslim world (Крачковский, 1957: 16-19). In other words, this literature was an effective instrument of propaganda and popularization of the political goals and objectives of the government.

The evolution of ideas and priorities of the policy of the Abbasid administration regarding the Turks of Central Asia are especially apparent in the study of the reports by the outstanding representative of the Arab geographical literature Ibn al-Fakih al-Hamadani about the Turks and Turkic cities of Central Asia. Little is known about the author himself. But his honorary sobriquet Ibn al-Fakih, i.e. the son of the Jurist, enables to rank him among the circle of high-ranking Muslim lawyers who enjoyed recognition in society and in official government spheres.

The work of Ibn al-Fakih is known under two, almost identical names "Kitab al-Buldan" and "Akhbar al-Buldan". The work on the
book was completed in 903. It is believed that the complete edition consisted of five volumes. In 1022 Ali b. Jafar al-Shayzari compiled a short edition of the work, which was entitled “Mukhtasar Kitab al-Buldan”, i.e. “Abbreviation of the Book of Countries”. It was that one which formed the basis for the publication of 1885 by the Dutch orientalist Michael de Goeje in the renown series "Library of Arab Geographers" (Ibn al-Faqih, 1885).

At the end of the XIX century in the library of the Imam Rza mosque in Mashhad, a voluminous manuscript was discovered, which was called the Mashhad manuscript. In 1923 A. Z. Togan saw and reviewed it. Pages 16-132 of this manuscript contained a previously unknown edition of the work of Ibn al-Fakih (Асадов, 1993: 28-29). The copyist, apparently by his own, called the work "Akhbar al-Buldan" (News of the countries) (Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhani, 1996: 13). This version included several chapters that were missing from al-Shayzari’s edition. Among these newly discovered chapters were "The Word about the Türks" and "About some cities of the Türks and their wonders." I have published a commented translation of these chapters into Russian in 1993. The translation is widely known in academic circles and got a considerable readership (Асадов, 1993). These chapters contain some unique details of the information about the Turks in the early period of the clashes with the Arabs. Along with the reliable data of the source about the Turkic tribes and peoples, the second of the two chapters of the work contains fantastic details about the behavior and customs of the inhabitants of the cities named Turkic in the work.

The names of these cities are presented in an extremely distorted form, which makes it very difficult to localize and compare them with the news of other authors about the cities of Central Asia. The stories about freedom of morals in these cities, sometimes bordering on licentiousness, were extremely opposed to the moral convictions of Muslim society and were capable of causing bewilderment, if not outrage, among devout Muslims.

How striking were the differences in the way of life, daily habits and customs between Muslim Arabs and pre-Islamic Turks can be
judged from the episode about the Arab embassy to the Turkic kagan, most likely the Turkesh Sulu Khan during the reign of the Omayyad caliph Hisham (723-743). The envoy conveyed to the kagan a call to accept Islam, but in response a whole performance was staged - a military parade to emphasize the impossibility of entering the Islamic world because they are not used to peaceful urban professions (Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhani, 1996: 634-635). We do not know the name of the messenger. His trip took place no later than 730, the time of the death of Sulu Kagan. This is a time of confrontation and rejection by societies of the way of life of their opponent. Mobilization to fight the infidel Turks was the most important task of the border Muslim population. The strange details of the life and manners of the enemy were intended to harden the Muslims in the fight against them.

In the second half of the IX century qualitative changes are taking place in the relations and perception of each other by the Turks and Arabs. Undoubtedly, they were caused by numerous episodes of cooperation in international trade, the spread of Islam among the Turkic population of the cities of Central Asia, and the involvement of the Turks in military service in the Caliphate army. The testimony of the Arab traveler Isa al-Marvazi, known for his stories about the wonders of the population of the eastern regions of the Caliphate, also dates back to this time. Ibn al-Fakih cites the news of the conversations between Isa al-Marvazi and the son of the Oghuz Yabgu. The Turkic prince, whose name is given as Balkik, tells the traveler about the power of the Turkic shamans to cause rain and bad weather against their enemies. Expressions are put into the mouth of Balkik, recognizing the power of Allah and the insignificance of shamans, whose strength is not in divine blessing, but in the possession of a miraculous rainstone (Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhani, 1996: 640, 642-643). As you can see, some of the Turks and representatives of the Turkic nobility, and not only the Turkic guards in the Caliphate service, converted to Islam a hundred years before the adoption of the Islamic faith by Abd al-Karim Satuk Bogra khan from the Karakhanid dynasty, noted in the sources shortly before his death in 955.
It is also curious that, in the small text of chapters about the Turks by Ibn al-Fakih, there is also a place to explain the power of the rainstone through the prism of Muslim traditions and faith. The Turks of Khorasan allegedly received these stones from their ancestors, the sons of Abraham from Keturah, who came either from the Copts, or from the so-called true Arabs, or the ancient Semitic population of Arabia (Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhani, 1996: 639-640). The same Isa al-Marvazi continues his search, and from an old official of the local administration receives a copy of al-Mamun's letter to the founder of the Samanid dynasty in Maverannahr, Nuh b. Assad. In this letter, the Caliph demands to find out about the power of the rainstone of the Turks (Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhani, 1996: 641-642).

The culmination of the storyline about the confrontation between Islam and the pre-Islamic faith of the Turks, the symbol of which is represented by the rainstone, falls on the story of the campaign of Ismail al-Samani against the Central Asian Turks. We dedicated a special article to this story and the problem of its reliability and the information sources (Асадов, 2008). The armies of the Samanids and the Turks clash in a great battle. The power of the shamans is on the side of the Turks, who caused a thunderstorm and hail against the army of Muslims. On the side of Ismail and his soldiers, among whom were already many Muslim Turks, there was the blessing and support of Allah, to whom Ismail's soldiers earnestly pray, asking for help. Allah averted the cloud and directed its destructive force against the unfaithful Turks themselves. The details and circumstances of the campaign do not coincide with the reliable news of Arab historians about the military campaigns of Ismail al-Samani. This made it possible to make a cautious assumption that the story was composed of various reliable news about Ismail, but was rather disseminated as a subject of propaganda of a new faith among the Turks and evidence of a guarantee of the safety of the Muslim population, rather than as a documented evidence of a historical event.

However, let us return to the earliest, fantastic stories about the inhabitants of the Turkic cities. The description of the cities begins with a curious and not entirely clear-cut testimony from a certain Said
b. al-Hasan al-Samarkandi on social groups within the Turkic tribe. This message was the subject of special consideration by the outstanding Russian Turkologist S.G. Klyashtorny. Well known Russian türkologists N.N. Seregin and V.V. Tishin returned to this text in a publication in 2016 for its closer study (Серегин & Тишин, 2016: 172). A special mention of this evidence here is caused by the unresolved issue of attributing the legendary stories about Turkic cities that followed this testimony to the authorship of the same Said al-Samarkandi. It is not possible to establish the identity of al-Samarkandi himself. It is not excluded that his information about the social status of women captured from a neighboring tribe as coerced subjects does not accidentally precede the fantastic information about the freedom of morals of the inhabitants of Turkic cities. It is possible, however, that the news about the Turkic cities is simply anonymous.

Be that as it may, considering the information of Ibn al-Faqih about the customs of the population of Turkic cities as solid evidence of the state of Turkic society does hardly suffice. And it is no coincidence that these chapters about the Turks of Ibn al-Fakih were not fully translated into other languages until our publication of the Russian translation in 1993. And after the publication of the Azerbaijani translation in 2017, some colleagues in our country even expressed doubts about the relevance of spreading this news to a wide readership, since the presented picture of freedom of relations between the sexes did not correspond to the knowledge of family relations among the pre-Islamic Turks. Undoubtedly, this cannot be considered a professional attitude to the development of one of the most interesting collections of information in Arab geographical literature about the pre-Islamic Turks. Moreover, the analysis of this information can lead to important conclusions about the political situation in the Eurasian steppes on the border with the Muslim world, as well as about the socio-psychological and political aspects of the attitude towards the Turks on the part of the Caliphate government and the Arab Muslim administration in the border areas.

In total, the text of this chapter describes 11 cities, which our informant calls Turkic. Some, in terms of their name and the scanty
details of their localization, can presumably be correlated with real cities in Central Asia or the Caucasus. Eight of the first cities can probably be located in Central Asia, and the last three in the north of the Caucasus range, since their proximity to the Khazars and Byzantines is indicated. A general analysis of these news allows us to formulate several important conclusions characterizing the origins of the attitude of Muslim Arabs to the pre-Islamic Turkic peoples.

In addition to its cognitive and educational value, Arab geography literature about non-Muslim peoples was also an instrument of propaganda and shaping of public opinion for the priorities of the policy of the Caliphate government.

Ibn al-Faqih's information about the Turks is the most complete set of information about the Turks in the early Arab geography literature, the study of which allows us to see the evolution of political priorities in relation to the Turks within the Caliphate government and society.

Highly likely that some cities in the Caucasus were not inhabited by the Turks, although they were called Turkic. In particular, the inhabitants of one of these cities, called Sukub, allegedly spoke as-sarmaniyya, i.e. Sarmatian language (Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhani, 1996: 647). This is consistent with our knowledge about the population of the Khazar Kaganate.

The information of Ibn al-Fakih allows us to conclude that the name "Türk", which served to designate the leading Ashina group of the Türkic Kaganate in the 6th-7th centuries, began to be used by Arab authors as a generic term to designate the ethno-cultural massif of Eurasian nomads speaking Turkic languages. In particular, we note that the cities that were supposedly included within the borders of the Khazar Kaganate are also ranked among the cities of the Turks. The term "Turk" was also used as a political name. Moreover, this meaning of the word could be derived from its meaning as a generalizing cultural and linguistic concept. Thus, we owe the creation of the concept of a Turkic cultural-historical community and the semantic transformations of the term to the early authors of Arabic geographical and historical literature.
It is difficult to imagine that the original five-volume edition of Ibn al-Fakih's work, if it existed, could have been addressed to the general reader. For a circle of educated people interested in geography and information about the peoples of the Muslim world, a compact book in one binding was required, including the basic information of interest to the reader. This was how the scribes created abbreviated editions of large works. The compilation of an abridged edition of al-Shaizari falls on the time after the mass conversion of the Central Asian Turks to Islam and immediately precedes the establishment of the power of the Seljuk Turks in the Islamic Middle East. And naturally, the information about the Turks in the book of Ibn al-Fakih, reflecting the era of confrontation and cultural conflict, did not agree with the political moment and mentality in Muslim society, and therefore did not go into the edition of 1022. Around the same time, the life and work of an intellectual, a high state official Abu al-Al-Al Ibn Hassul (d. 1058), who first served in the administration of Mahmud Ghaznavid (998-1030) in Ray, and then at the court of the Seljuk sultan Togrul-bek (1038-1063). For Togrul-bek, he wrote a panegyric essay on the merits of the Turks “Kitab tafdyal al-atrak ala sair al-ajnad” (Book on the merits of the Turks over other warriors), which echoed the work of his distant predecessor, the aforementioned al-Jahiz in its content and motives (Ibn Khassul, 1940; Асадов, 1993: 103-118).

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ცენტრალური აზიისა და კავკასიის თურქების შესახებ არაბული გეოგრაფიული ლიტერატურის ადრეული ინფორმაციის სანახავად სამუშაოები

აბსტრაქტი

ყველაზე მნიშვნელოვანი წერილობითიწყაროები თურქული მოდგმის ხალხებისა და ტომების ისტორიის შესახებ წარმოადგენს შუა საუკუნეების არაბული გეოგრაფიული ლიტერატურისა და ისტორიოგრაფიის ნაშრომებს. ჭეშმარიტობულად და წმინდაობით ეს ინფორმაცია პირველი მოლოდინია თურქების ცხოვრების ტექნიკურ პერიოდში ამხსნება მეორე ეპოქაში. პირველი დაპირისპირება - სასრული ხალიფატის მოღვაწეობების ხაზი ესმება ამ ინფორმაციის მნიშვნელობას მომთარგარებს. ხაზი ესმება ამ ინფორმაციის მნიშვნელობას მიმართული მასწავლებელთა და მსახრებთა საქმეს საბუთო გამოყენებით თურქების თანამშრომლობით მოღვაწეობის პოლიტიკურ წარმოების გამოჩენას.

სტატიის შედეგში აღნიშნებული არაბული გეოგრაფიული ლიტერატურის ისტორიული ნაშრომები შესახებ, რომლებიც არისი აღმართული თურქების ყოფილი და შუა საუკუნეების საზღვარზე ხალიფატის მთავარობის პოლიტიკურ წარმოებების გამოჩენას.

მეთოდები

სამხედრო დაპირისპირების პერიოდებისა და თურქების რქაქციულ მემკვიდრეობამ შესახებ მიღებული მტკიცებულები ინტერპრეტირებულ იქნები შუა საუკუნე
ექსპორტი არაბული ხელნაწერების ტექსტური ანალიზის მეთოდის შესაბამისად.

შედეგები

ექსპორტი არაბული ხელნაწერების ტექსტური ანალიზის მეთოდის შესაბამისად.

შედეგები განსაკუთრებული ყურადღება ეთმობა იბნ ალ-ფაკიჰის ნაწარმოების "ახბარ ალ-ბულდანის" მაშჰადის ხელნაწერის ხელნაწერით. აღნიშნულია, იბნ ალ-ფაკიჰის ნაწარმოების ზედაპირული ღია დაპირისპირებით და უდიდო ბრძოლით შუა აზიის სასოფლოს მტკიცებაზე. ეთმობა, იბნ ალ-ფაკიჰის მონაცემები საშუალეოდ გამოირჩევს არაბული გეოგრაფიულ ლიტერატურის დინამიკას და ირუნდელოვანი მსუბუქი სასამართლო მოქმედება შუა აზიის თურქებთან პირველი კონტაქტების დროიდან, თუმცა რამდენიმე სახის სამოქალაქო გამოცემაში შედგენილი ინფორმაცია მოქმედნისთვის არსებობდა.

დისკუსია

იბნ ალ-ფაკიჰის ნაშრომის ტექსტი ამჟამად ცნობილი გამოცემის განხილვა იძლევა დასკვნის საფუძველს რომ, ტექსტი თანმიმდევრულად იყო რედაქტირებული არაბული მწიგნობრების მიერ. იბნ ალ-ფაკიჰის ნაშრომი სახის შორის, არაბული გეოგრაფიულ ლიტერატურის სამოქალაქო გამოცემის მოქმედება ცნობილი ითამაშს არაბული მოქალაქო გამოცემის შესახებ. იბნ ალ-ფაკიჰის ნაშრომი დამსახურებული, როგორც არსებობა მოქალაქო გამოცემის შესახებ, რომლებიც ძალაუფლების მზადყოვნის ფარგლებში ისლამიზაციაში ჩამოყალიბდნენ. ეთმობა, იბნ ალ-ფაკიჰის ნაშრომი საშუალეოდ გამოირჩევს არაბული გეოგრაფიულ ლიტერატურის შორის ისლამის გავრცელებას და შემდეგ თხოვნების გამო მოქმედნის შესახებ.
უმეობით მუშაობას πატროული და საყოველთაოდ გაშენებული უზარგული საქმე უსაფრთხო და სტაბილურობის უზრუნველყოფის საქმეებში.

საკვანძო სიტყვები: იბნ ალ-ფაქიჰი; ალ-ჯაჰიზი; თურქები; შუა აზია; ხაზარები; კავკასია; თურქების შუა საუკუნეების ქალაქები; თურქების ისლამიზაცია.