



PRIMARY RESEARCH

# The Muslim subjects of the kingdom of Georgia in the 12th-early 13th century

Gotcha Djaparidze <sup>1</sup>, Nani Gelovani <sup>2\*</sup><sup>1,2</sup> Faculty of Humanities, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia

## Keywords

Muslims  
Kingdom  
Early 12 Century  
13 Century

**Received:** 13 June 2018**Accepted:** 17 July 2018**Published:** 9 August 2018

## Abstract

The article aims a) to study the question of peaceful coexistence between Christian Georgia and the Islamic World; b) to discuss and explore the policy of tolerance of other religions pursued by Georgian King David IV the Builder and his successors in their Muslim subjects. It is suggested that the status of the Muslim population in the Christian Kingdom of Georgia resembled that of the dhimmis (or members of the “protected” communities) in the Islamic states, although the Muslims living in the Kingdom of Georgia enjoyed more rights than the dhimmis in Islamic countries, legally and socially they were not equal with Christians. The methodological foundation of the research is the method of historicism, scholarly objectivity, and systematicity, which will enable us to explore the research issues deeply. Statistical, historical-comparative, and chronological methods will be the basis of the analysis of the historical data, and adequate conclusions will be reached. These methodologies made it possible to discuss the politics of religious tolerance from the analytic point of view based on that data and sources belonging to various types (narrative, epigraphic, documental) and various languages (Georgian, Armenian, Arabic, Persian and Turkish). The 12th-13th century Georgian literature and historical sources, expressing negative feelings towards Islam, keep silent about the policy of Georgian kings towards their subjected Muslim population. However, the works of Arab and Persian authors, dating from the same period, contain information concerning this fact. One part of these sources will be studied from the standpoint of the history of Georgia for the first time.

© 2018 The Author(s). Published by TAF Publishing.

## INTRODUCTION

Georgia's relations with the Near-Eastern Islamic world were not limited to wars alone. There also existed normal political, economic and cultural contacts. The attitude to the Muslims residing in the Kingdom of Georgia constituted a major factor in peaceful coexistence. A policy of tolerance in matters of faith in regard to his Muslim subjects was laid down by David IV the Builder. Following the liberation of Tbilisi from Muslim domination (1122), he granted a several of privileges to Tbilisi Muslims.

The most significant source of our study is Ibn al-Azraq al-Fariqi's (d.after 1176) *Ta'rikh Mayyafariqin wa Amid* (Hillenbrand, 1990). Ibn al-Azraq was in the service of king Demetre I and hence was well aware of the events taking place in Georgia. His information about Tbilisi Muslims, which has been in the focus of scholars attention (Amedroz, 1902; Ibn Al-Qalanisi, 1983; Minorsky, 1949;

Puturidze, 1949; Tskitishvili, 1967) is as follows: after the defeat Najm al-Din Il-Ghazi near Tbilisi in 12 August, 1121 (the battle of Didgori), King David attacked Tbilisi, which, as the King's historian writes, has suffered the domination of the Muslims for 400 years (Shanidze, 1992). At the end of A.H. 515/i.e., not later than 11 march, 1122 the date is mentioned in Ibn al-Azraq's short manuscript Or-6310 ((Hillenbrand, 1981; Tsereteli, 1949) but Hillenbrand did not include it in his edition of al-Azraq's text (Hillenbrand, 1990), in our opinion, on February 10-18 (D'Edesse, 1858; Djaparidze, 1995), “He tore down its walls on the west and entered it by the sword, burning and plundering it. After three days he granted its inhabitants security, soothed their hearts and made them fair promises. He laid down for the Muslims all the conditions they wanted” (Hillenbrand, 1990).

\* corresponding author: Nani Gelovani

† email: gocha.japaridze@tsu.ge



## KING DAVID AND RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

The fair promises of King David IV the Builder to the Muslim population of Tbilisi embraced the fiscal, religious and legal spheres and other problems concerning everyday life.

1. In 1122 King David removed some taxes imposed on the population of Tbilisi, such as: “the *athqal*, the *mu’an*, the *aqsat* and *kharaj*” (Hillenbrand, 1990; Minorsky, 1949); the latter is a legal tax, all the rest are illegal taxes whose exact meaning isn’t clear). But what is clear is that the abolishing of the taxes was a sort of compensation for the heavy losses suffered by the Muslims after the capture of Tbilisi by the Georgians.

Ibn al-Azraq notes that King David “assessed the *khidma* of a Georgian (*kurji*) at a rate of five dinars per annum, that of a Jew at four dinars and that of Muslim at three dinars” (Hillenbrand, 1990).

H. Amedroz, who was the first to analyze this information of Ibn al-Azraq, considers *khidma* to be “payment due” (Amedroz, 1902). Many Georgian scholars voice the opinion that *khidma* is an annual tax (Alexidze, 1968; Meskhia, 1972; Puturidze, 1949) even per-capita tax (Lortkipanidze, 1974). Sikharulidze (1985) translates it into Georgian as “service” (Sikharulidze, 1985), Hillenbrand (1990) refers to lane’s explanation that *khidma* is “a pay for service” (Hillenbrand, 1990), but fails to exactly define what kind of service it was. It may be conjectured that any service rendered by a Muslim was valued less than that of a Georgian or a Jew, but then it would have been discriminating for the Muslims, whereas Ibn al-Azraq speaks of “David’s good treatment of the Muslims” (Hillenbrand, 1990).

In the Arabic dictionaries, the definition of the term *khidma* is that it was a present to the king or superior, from this subject, a gift of homage (Dozy, 1881; Kazimirski, 1960; Steingass, 1985). It is suggested that al-Fariqi’s *khidma* referred to necessary, fixed, annual present to the Georgian king (or superior), from his subjects, a gift of homage. This meaning of *khidma* (in cash or in commodity) is observed in the 15th cent. epigraphic and documentary sources of Syria and Palestine of Mamluk period (Sirafi, Sulaymān, & Sauvaget, 1948; Sauvaget & Sauvaget, 1933; Sauvaget, 1947). As the gift was not one-sided, it may be presumed that those who offered it enjoyed the king’s favours in their professional pursuit. In this respect the Muslims were granted more allowances than the Jews and Georgians.

It is quite possible that certain layers of the Tbilisi population (merchants and craftsmen) were supposed to offer gifts to the king. Shota Rustaveli, the great Georgian poet (12th-13th centuries), refers to this practice in his poem *The Knight in the Panther’s Skin* (Nozadze, 1958). As the

gift was not one-sided, it may be presumed that those who offered it enjoyed the king’s favours in their professional pursuit. In this respect the Muslims were granted more allowances than the Jews and Georgians.

2. King David granted Tbilisi Muslims “the call to prayer, the prayers, and the reading (of the Qur’an) in public. He also guaranteed that on Fridays sermons and public prayers should be held and prayers are said from the pulpit for the caliph and the sultan and for no-one else” (Minorsky, 1949). It seems that the Muslims of Tbilisi had the right to perform their religious rites unhindered. In this respect they enjoyed more rights than the *dhimmi*s in Dar al-Islam. As is well-known in Dar al-Islam Christians were prohibited from performing “loud beating of the naqus, loud chanting during worship, the carrying of the cross and sacred books in possession, reading religious books in public” (Tritton, 1930). Tbilisi Muslims retained their chief mosque (*jami’*) and other mosques in Tbilisi (see further) and were granted the right to *khutba*.

In Dar al-Islam *khutba* gained a significant political meaning in one of its points: when praying the names of the living caliph and ruler were to be mentioned. Being mentioned in the *khutba* became one of the main external features of the independence of the ruler. *Khutba* expressed the political orientation of the *khatib* and the community he represented: if the name of the ruler was not mentioned it meant either that he was not recognized or was deposed (Khalidov, 1991). No such danger existed in the capital of Christian Georgia. In this case “the right to *khutba*” cannot be considered to have had great political significance, but no doubt it gratified the ambitions of Tbilisi Muslims.

3. King David paid homage to the customs and traditions of the Muslims protecting them from any undesirable contacts with Georgians and Jews. “(He stipulated) that no pigs should be brought over to the area where the Muslims lived or to the city and that these animals should not be slaughtered there or in the market”. “He also guaranteed that no Georgian, Armenian or Jew should enter the bath of Isma’il in Tiflis” (Asatrian & Margarian, 2004; Hillenbrand, 1990); Minorsky (1949) supposed that the Isma’il bath implied the bath of Isma’il ibn Shu’ayb, father of the amir of Tbilisi Ishaq, (Minorsky, 1949).

Ibn al-Azraq also adds that King David treated the Muslims extremely kindly, whilst to the people of ‘ilm and religion and the Sufis he accorded a level of respect which they did not receive even amongst the Muslims (Hillenbrand, 1990). Sibt ibn al-Jawzi (d. in 1257) who in his *Mir’at al-zaman* repeats Ibn al-Azraq’s information, adding that King David built *ribats* for the (Muslim) guests, houses for

preachers (wu'az), Sufis, and poets and ordered that they are treated with hospitality (diyafa) (Sibt Ibn Al-Jawzi, and Al-Din, 1968; Tskitishvili, 1967). It should be noted that according to the Arab historians qadi Imad al-Din al-Isfahani (end of the 12th century) and Muhammad al-Hamawi (first half of the 13th century), King David was well versed in Islam, Islamic Law (Shari'a) and even held arguments with the qadi of Ganja on a certain theological problem, namely about the creation and eternity of al-Kalimah (expression "Word from God" refers to Jesus Christ) (Al-Hamawi, 1960; Cahen, 1937).

In spite of the fact that the above-mentioned measures, taken by David IV, were very advantageous to the Muslims, part of the population leaving the city and setting down in different parts of the Islamic world. Among them was Hubaysh ibn Ibrahim al-Tiflisi, later a famous scholar, was first lived and worked at the court of the Abbasid caliph, subsequently moving to the court of the Saljuq Sultans of Rum (Hubaysh, 1976; Rayahi, 1981). Sibt ibn al-Jawzi writes that David did not object to the Muslims' emigration and in case they expressed such a wish, he allowed them to be provided with a much property (Sibt Ibn Al-Jawzi, and Al-Din, 1968). And yet during the reign of David and his successors Tbilisi was left by those Muslims who would not be reconciled, though the Muslim population still remained in Tbilisi. According to the epigraphic data, as late as in the 13th-14th centuries (Kakhiani, 1974), Muslims were numerous in Dmanisi, another town of Georgia. Besides, Muslims lived in the following towns of northern Armenia: Ani, Dvin and Qars which were incorporated in the kingdom of Georgia during the reign of Queen Tamar (1184-1210).

#### THE POLICY OF TOLERANCE IN THE PERIOD OF DAVID IV'S SUCCESSORS

How tolerant were David IV's successors to the representatives of other religions? Ibn al-Azraq says that in 548 AH/AD1153-54 when he started to serve King Demetre I, the allowances granted to the Muslims by David were still in force; the historian was an eye-witness of how "one Friday King Demetre visited the mosque and sat down on a dikka opposite on a preacher". Demetre "stayed in his place until the preacher had preached. . . (and) he listened to the entire khutba. Then he went out and donated two hundred gold dinars to the mosque" (Hillenbrand, 1990) in contradistinction with Ibn al-Azraq, Sibt ibn al-Jawzi writes that every Friday King David with his son Demetre went to the mosque and listened to the khutba and reading of the Qur'an (Sibt Ibn Al-Jawzi, and Al-Din, 1968). Ibn al-Azraq used to see King Demetre "honour, reward and respect the 'ulama',

preachers and sharifs who sought him out, Sufis and others who came to him; and (he would) show unparalleled reliance on them". And from him Ibn al-Azraq "saw such esteem for the Muslims as they would not have enjoyed even if they had been in Baghdad" (Hillenbrand, 1990).

We can speak about the favourable conditions the Tbilisi Muslims lived in by the 12th century abridged version of Ibn Hawqal's Kitab Surat al-Ard (Paris manuscript No. 2214 of the Bibliotheque Nationale) in which there are additions relating to the period 534 till 580 AH/AD1139-1184 (Ibn Hawqal, 1938). According to one of the additions "in spite of being an infidel the king of the Georgians (al-Kurj) takes care of the (Muslim) population, protecting them from all the misfortunes and damage. The rules of Islam are observed as they were used to be. The chief mosque is protected from any kind of abuse. The king lights a candle and a lamp and (does everything) that it necessary. In all his mosques adhan is performed loudly and no one does them any harm" (Ibn Hawqal, 1938; Sikharulidze, 1985).

In the 1220s an anonymous Persian author writes in his (Ajaib Al-Dunya, 1993) that "Tbilisi Muslims are staunch in their devotion to their religion, worship one God and are friendly to the aliens. There are many mosques (in Tbilisi) which are ardent in calling on the believers to pray" (Ajaib Al-Dunya, 1993; Kiknadze, 1979; Miklukho, 1954).

Zakariyya al-Qazwini (d.1283) in his Athar al-Bilad wa akhbar al-'ibad speaks of Tbilisi as well: "The citizens of Tbilisi are Christians and Muslims, on one bank of al-Kurr (the river Mtkvari) the Muslims are called on to pray, whereas on the other bank the bells ring. One of its wonders is a very hot bath whose water is never heated. A merchant was telling me that the bath was meant only for the Muslims, no infidel ever entering it" (Al-Qazwini, 1848, 1975). Though this work was written in 1275 there is no mention of the invasions of Khwarazmians or Mongols in the information concerning Tbilisi. So it must reflect the situation before the 1220s of the 13th century. A bath which could be used only by the Muslims is mentioned by Yaqut (d. 1229) as well in his Mu'jam al-buldan (Yaqut, 1886, 1964).

It is evident that during a century David's successors pursued the policy of tolerance towards the Muslim subjects. They had many mosques where adhan was called loudly. They were free to perform their religious rites, were protected from undesirable contacts with the Christians and Jews. Their religious and cultural elite stood high in the favours of Georgian kings. The mechanism of justice legally protecting the Muslims was in force during the reign of King David's successors too.

Before 1122 and later on the office of qadi continued to ex-

ist in Tbilisi (?; [Ibn Hawqal, 1938](#); [Yaqut, 1886](#)). In Dar al-Islam qadi was appointed by the caliph; after the disintegration of the Caliphate he was appointed by the sultan or some other Muslim governor; it is not known what was the procedure in Tbilisi before the 1240s of the 13th century. But as [Ibn Al-Fuwati \(1965\)](#) writes, Fakhr al-Din al-Khilati (1191-1282) a well-known scholar from Tbilisi, received the manshur to become qadi of Tbilisi from the 'Abbasid caliph al-Musta'sim bi'llah (1242-1258), ([Ibn Al-Fuwati, 1965](#); [Djaparidze, 1995](#)). The appointment of qadi and his office in Tbilisi must have had some peculiar features as well. The person nominated to the post of qadi, whoever may have appointed him, had to be approved by the Georgian feudal society. Qadis were also appointed in other towns and cities of the Georgian Kingdom, such as Dmanisi (The tombstone found in the village of Gverdisubani in Dmanisi district bears the name of Biramidz, who was the son of qadi Hasan Barkas ([Kakhiani, 1974](#)), Ani and Dvin. In 1216 the qadis of Tbilisi, Ani and Dvin, together with the shaykh of Surmari, the Armenian and Georgian dignitaries took part in the court proceedings arranged in Dvin by the Atabag Ivane Mkhargrdzeli to settle the argument between two Armenian anti-Chalcedonian monasteries ([Abuladze, 1948](#); [Javakhishvili, 1966](#); [Orbeliani, 1864](#)). Fadl Allah Rashid al-Din, a Persian historian (d.1318) provides very interesting information to the effect that in 533 AH/AD1138-9 Ismailites assassinated the qadi of Tbilisi because he had sentenced an Ismailite to death ([Natroshvili, 1975](#); [Rashid Al-Din, 1960](#)). On the basis of this evidence it may be conclude that Tbilisi Muslims were under the jurisdiction of the qadi, which is analogous to the practice observed towards the dhimmis (Christians, Jews). Dhimmis founded autonomous communities under the jurisdiction of their church leaders (patriarch or catholicos for Christians) but the latter had no right to pass a death sentence, a right enjoyed by the Tbilisi qadi even after 1122.

In Queen Tamar's period the Muslims living in the Georgian Kingdom paid pall-tax, their testimony at court against the Christians was not accepted, marriage to Muslims were prohibited (with the exception of dynastic marriages, or marriages of representatives of the elite of the feudal society contracted for political motives). Muslims largely engaged in trade and artisanship, and didn't take part in commanding war operations and in bodies of state administration. Their integration into the Christian population didn't take place, or the process was slow. Muslim communities in Tbilisi and in other towns and cities of the Georgian Kingdom led their autonomous lives.

The privileges granted to Muslims, on the one hand, and the

limited political rights, on the other, created fertile soil both for political loyalty and for anti-Georgian and anti-Christian attitudes, which manifested itself especially in conditions of political destabilization, in particular during the invasions of Khwarazmians (1225-1231). Certain circles of Tbilisi Muslims found religious links with the Islamic World more important than political loyalty. They supported Jalal al-Din when he seized Tbilisi. It should be further stressed that when on 9 March, 1226 Jalal al-Din captured Tbilisi, he didn't kill and loot only Georgians. Khwarazmians killed and robbed part of Muslims as well ([Al-Athir, 1966](#)). And it was those Muslims who, in February-March, 1227 informed Georgians that only a small garrison of Khwarazmians was stationed in Tbilisi at that time and called on them to liberate the city ([Al-Athir, 1966](#)). When the Khwarazmians left Georgia in 1231 and the Mongols reappeared, when the Islamic World was seized with panic, Georgian didn't resort to taking revenge, at least the sources don't contain any information about Georgians persecuting and oppressing the Muslims in Tbilisi and or elsewhere. The Muslim population continued to reside in Georgia. Qadi Fakhr al-Din al-Khilati, a well-known scholar, astronomer, mathematician and physician flourished here. In 1259, when by the order of Ilkhan Hulagu, Nasir al-Din Tusi founded the famous observatory of Maragha and invited outstanding scholars, Fakhr al-Din al-Khilati was among them ([Djaparidze, 1995](#)).

## CONCLUSION

1. In spite of the fierce military-political confrontation and ideological struggle with the Islamic world no religious fanaticism was ever observed in Georgia; at least no discriminating measures resorted to against the Muslim subjects of the Georgian kings (measures usually taken against the dhimmis in Dar al-Islam such as prohibition against riding a horse, the demand that they should wear different garments, or put insulting and humiliating signs on their doors and windows) are mentioned either in oriental or Georgian sources; no mention is made of the Muslims' houses having been raided and looted, or their mosques having been desecrated and destroyed (save in war) or of having been forcibly converted to Christianity.

2. So it may be said that David IV the Builder's successors also implemented a policy of tolerance towards their Muslim subjects. This was due to the desire of the Georgian Royal Court to maintain normal relations with the Muslim merchants, thus participating in international commercial activities which were mainly in the hands of the Muslims. The policy of tolerance towards the Muslim subjects facilitated Georgians' enjoying privileges in Palestine (where

they had a number of churches and monasteries), in the Holy Land, eventually promoting the maintenance of internal peace and integrity in the multi-national Georgian Kingdom.

3. The situation and status of Muslims in Georgia are reminiscent of that of the dhimmis in Dar al-Islam. The Muslim subjects of Georgia, like the dhimmis of the Islamic world, were free to confess their religion, perform their religious rites and observe their customs and traditions.

4. It seems that the Georgian Royal Court took into consideration the principles and practice accepted and widespread in the Islamic world and quite well known in Tbilisi as well during the Muslims' 400 year-long rule. The legal status of the Muslims in Georgia, discussed above with the example of Tbilisi, was much higher than that of dhimmis in Dar al-Islam. But, naturally, in Christian Georgia, whose official religion was Christianity, the Muslim population could not enjoy the same rights as the Christians. Various layers of

the society of Christians and Muslims living in Georgia must have maintained economic, commercial and cultural contacts, but Muslims never integrated into Christian society. However, if they did, the process was apparently very slow. Muslim communities in Tbilisi and in other towns and cities of the Georgian Kingdom led their autonomous lives.

5. Allowances and privileges on the one hand, and the limited political and civilian rights on the other, created a fertile soil for both political loyalty and anti-Georgian and anti-Christian feelings, which gained particular force under the condition of political destabilization during the invasions of Jalal al-Din in 1225-1231. But the conditions for the coexistence of Christians and Muslims, created during the reign of David IV the Builder, seem to have continued even to 1230-1250s as well.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This work was supported by Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation of Georgia (SRNSFG) [FR17\_138].

#### REFERENCES

- Abuladze, I. (1948). On the explanation of one piece of information of stephanoz orbelaiani. In *Proceedings of Tbilisi University*, Tbilisi, Georgia.
- Ajaib Al-Dunya. (1993). *Wonders of the world, a critical text*. Moscow, Russia: Nauka Publishing House.
- Al-Athir, I. (1966). *Al-kamil fil-ta'rikh*. Beyrouth, Dar Sader: Dar Beyrouth.
- Alexidze, L. (1968). The legal rights of the aliens and the followers of alien religions in Georgia of Shota Rustaveli's Epoch (comparative study of international laws), problems of the history of 12th century Georgia. In *Proceedings of Tbilisi State University*, Tbilisi, Georgia.
- Al-Hamawi, M. (1960). *Al-ta'rikh Al-Mansuri (Mansuri's chronicle)*. Moscow, Russia: Nauka Publishing House.
- Al-Qazwini, Z. (1848). *Zakariya ben mahmud el-cazwini's kosmographie. Die Wunder der Schopfund/Hrsg.* Gottingen, German: Dieterich.
- Al-Qazwini, Z. (1975). *The evidence on Georgia and Caucasus by Zakariyya al-Qazwini*. Tbilisi, Georgia: Metsniereba.
- Amedroz, H. (1902). Three Arabic MSS on the history of the city of mayyafariqin. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 34, 785-812. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1017/s0035869x00029816>
- Asatrian, G., & Margarian, H. (2004). The muslim community of tiflis (8th-19th centuries). *Iran and the Caucasus*, 8(1), 29-52. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1163/1573384042002966>
- Cahen, M. C. (1937). Une chronique syrienne du vi e/xii e siècle: Le "bustān al-jāmi". *Bulletin d'études orientales*, 7, 113-158.
- D'Edesse, M. (1858). *Chronique de Matthieu D'Edesse 962-1136*. Moscow, Russia: Ripol Classic.
- Djaparidze, G. (1995). *Georgia and the near Eastern Islamic world in the 12th-first third of the 13th century*. Tbilisi, Georgia: Metsniereba Publishing House.
- Dozy, R. P. A. (1881). *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Publisher.
- Hillenbrand, C. (1981). Some medieval Islamic approaches to source material: The evidence of a 12th century chronicle. *Oriens*, 27(7), 197-225. doi:<https://doi.org/10.2307/1580567>
- Hillenbrand, C. (1990). A muslim principality in crusader times-the early artuqid states. *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 14(1), 313-317.
- Hubaysh, T. (1976). *Description of the krafts*. Moscow, Russia: Nauka Publishing House.
- Ibn Al-Fuwati. (1965). *Talkhis majma' al-adab fi mu'jam al-alqab*. Djawad, Dimashq: Wizarat al-Thaqafah wa al-Irshad al-Qawmi.
- Ibn Al-Qalanisi. (1983). *Ta'rikh dimashq*. Damascus, Syria: Dar Hassan li-lTiba' wa-l-Nashr.

- Ibn Hawqal. (1938). *Kitab surat al-ard: Opus geographicum*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.
- Javakhishvili, I. (1966). *History of the Georgian people*. Tbilisi, Georgia: Metsniereba Publishing House.
- Kakhiani, T. (1974). On two Arabic inscriptions on tombstones. *Series of Language and Literature*, 2(1), 141-146.
- Kazimirski, A. (1960). *Dictionnaire Arabe-Francais*. France, Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie.
- Khalidov, A. (1991). *Khutba Islam encyclopaedic dictionary*. Moscow, Russia: Nauka Publishing House.
- Kiknadze, R. (1979). *Evidence on Georgia: Wonders in the world*. Tbilisi, Georgia: Metsniereba Publishing House.
- Lortkipanidze, M. (1974). *History of Georgia in the 11th century and the beginning of the 13th century*. Tbilisi, Georgia: Metsniereba.
- Meskhia, S. H. (1972). *Marvellous victory*. Tbilisi, Georgia: Metsniereba Publishing House.
- Miklukho, M. N. D. (1954). A 13th century work on geography in the Persian language. In *Proceedings of Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, Moscow, Russia.
- Minorsky, V. (1949). Caucasia in the history of mayyāfāriqīn. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 13(1), 27-35. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1017/s0041977x00081830>
- Natroshevili, T. (1975). On the history of ismailit movement. *Series of History, Archaeology, Ethnography and art History*, 2(5), 64-74.
- Nozadze, V. (1958). *Study of society according to the knight in the panter's skin*. Hauppauge, NY: Nova Publisher.
- Orbeliani, S. T. (1864). *Histoire de la siounie, traduite de l'armenien par m. brosset, premiere livraison*. St. Petersburg, Russia: Academie Imperiale des Sciences.
- Puturidze, V. (1949). An Arabian historian on the 12th century Tbilisi. *Bulletin de L'Institute Marr de Langues*, 13(5), 139-142.
- Rashid Al-Din. (1960). *Jami'a al-tawarikh, part of the isma'ili history by rashid ad-din fadl allah*. Tehran, Iran: Shirkat-i Nasbi Muhammad Husayn Iqbal va Shuraka.
- Rayahi, M. (1981). Teflisi pisahang-e farsi dar diar-e rum. *Ayandeh*, 7(8), 620-625.
- Sauvaget, J. (1947). *The umayyad mosque of Medina: Study on the architectural origins of the mosque and the Basilica*. Damascus, Syria: French Institute of Damascus.
- Sauvaget, J., & Sauvaget, M. (1933). D 'e mamelouk crusts of syria (second article). *Bulletin D'Etudes Orientales*, 3(8), 1-29.
- Shanidze, M. A. (1992). *The life of David king of kings*. Tbilisi, Georgia: Metsniereba Publishing House.
- Sibt Ibn Al-Jawzi, and Al-Din. (1968). *Mir'at al-zaman fita'rikh al-acyan*. Hyderabad, India: Da'irat al-Ma'arif al'Uthmaniya.
- Sikharulidze, E. (1985). *Al-Fariqi in Georgia*. Tbilisi, Georgia: Metsniereba Publishing House.
- Sirafi, A. Z. H. I. Y., Sulaymān, & Sauvaget, J. (1948). *Ahbar as-sin wa l-hind: Relation de la chine et de l'inde rédigée en 851*. Damascus, Syria: Belles Lettres.
- Steingass, J. (1985). *Arabic-English dictionary*. New Delhi, India: Cosmo Publications.
- Tritton, A. S. (1930). *The caliphs and their non-muslim subjects*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Tsereteli, G. (1949). *Reader in Arab texts*. Tbilisi, Georgia: Tbilisi State University Publishing House.
- Tskitishvili, O. (1967). Sibt ibn al-jawzi's evidence on david the builder. In *Proceedings of the Tbilisi State University*, Tbilisi, Georgia.
- Yaqut, A. (1886). *Jacut's geographisches wörterbuch aus den handschriften zu berlin*. St. Petersburg, Russia: Auf Kosten der Deutschen Morgenländischen.
- Yaqut, A. (1964). *Evidence of Yaqut on Georgia and the Caucasus*. Tbilisi, Georgia: Metsniereba Publishing House.