Ahmad Taymur Pasha Appendix. This consists of some extra pages purchased by Ahmad Taymur Pasha after his attention had been directed to them by a publication issued in Germany in 1889. These pages were published as an appendix to the Egyptian edition of Al-Fihrist at Cairo, by the Rahmaniyyah Press, in 1929.

Because of the wars and revolutions in medieval times and the insects which thrive in warm climates, great numbers of valuable manuscripts have been lost. It is unfortunate that no complete manuscript exists of a book as important as Kitab al-Fihrist of al-Nadim.
Kitāb al-Fihrist

The Composition of
Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad ibn ʿIsāq al-Warrāq, known as Ibn Abī Yaʿqūb al-Nadīm

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate; I rely upon Allah, the Unique, the Victorious; may Allah lengthen the life of the excellent master. Lord by Thy mercy make it easy for persons accepting conclusions without premises and resting upon the intended purpose without a lengthening of explanations, for we are abridging our statements at the beginning of this book of ours, so as to form a guide to show how we plan to compose it, if Allah so wills. It is said, "Upon Allah we rely," and from Him also do we invoke a benediction for all of His prophets and worshippers who are sincere in obeying Him, for there is no strength and no power except with Allah, the Exalted, the Almighty.

This is a catalogue of the books of all peoples, Arab and foreign, existing in the language of the Arabs, as well as of their scripts, dealing with various sciences, with accounts of those who composed them.

1 The title is taken from MS 1135. Kitāb means "book" and al-Fihrist means "the catalogue" or "the index." A warrāq is a man who sells paper and manuscripts, which are often transcribed by his own hand. A nadīm is a court companion of some high official. These terms and many others are explained in the Glossary. The author of Al-Fihrist was known by the nickname "al-Nadīm," and is listed by this name in the Biog. Index.

2 In the Beatty MS these words, "Lord . . . for," are omitted and the word for "person" is garbled. In the Fligel edition also, some words are omitted. The translation, therefore, follows MS 1135.

3 For the title page of the Beatty MS see the Introduction. Compare this passage with Mez, Renaissance of Islam, p. 170.
them and the categories of their authors, together with their relationships and records of their times of birth, length of life, and times of death, and also of the localities of their cities, their virtues and faults, from the beginning of the formation of each science to this our own time, which is the year three hundred and seventy-seven after the Hijrah [A.D. 987/88].

Summary of What the Book Contains in Ten Chapters

The First Chapter, in three sections.

The First Section, describing the languages of the peoples, Arab and foreign, the characteristics of their methods of writing, their types of script and forms of calligraphy.

The Second Section, about titles of the books of the laws revealed to the sects of the Muslims and the sects of [other] peoples.

The Third Section, describing the Book which has nothing false in front of it or behind it, a revelation from the All Wise and All Praised, with the names of the books composed about its sciences and accounts of the readers [of the Qur’an], with the names of those who quoted them and the digressions from their forms of reading.

The Second Chapter, with three sections, about the grammarians and language scholars.

The First Section, about the beginning of grammar, with accounts of the grammarians of al-Bayrah and the Arabsians who were masters of literary style, with the titles of their books.

The Second Section, with accounts of the grammarians and language scholars of al-Kufah and the titles of their books.

The Third Section, mentioning a group of grammarians connected with both schools and the titles of their books.

The Third Chapter, in three sections, about historical traditions, literary pursuits, biographies, and genealogies.

The First Section, with accounts of the historians, narrators of traditions, genealogists, and authors of biographies and anecdotes, with the titles of their books.

The Second Section, with accounts of the kings, secretaries, writers of correspondence, administrators of the revenue, and keepers of registers, with the titles of their books.

The Third Section, with accounts of the court companions, associates, singers, literary men, buffoons, persons who take slaps good-naturedly, and jesters, with the names of their books.

The Fourth Chapter, in two sections, about poetry and the poets.

The First Section, about the groups of poets who were Pre-Islamic, or else Islamic surviving the Pre-Islamic period, with the composers of their anthologies and the names of those quoting them.

The Second Section, about groups of the Islamic poets and the recent poets coming down to this our own time.

The Fifth Chapter, with five sections, about theology and the theologians.

The First Section, about the beginning of the theological movement and the theologians of the Mu’tazilah and the Muqta’ah, with the titles of their books.

The Second Section, with accounts of the theologians of the Shi’ah, the Imamiyah, and the Zaydiyah, as well as of others among the Ghalib (Ghulah) and the Isma’iliyah, with the titles of their books.

The Third Section, with accounts of the theologians of the Mujtahid and the Hashwahyah, and the titles of their books.

The Fourth Section, with accounts of the theologians of the Khawarij, their types, and the titles of their books.

The Fifth Section, with accounts of the pilgrims, the ascetics, the devotees, those adopting the Sufi practices, and students of...
THE EIGHTH CHAPTER, with three sections, about evening recounts, fables, exorcisms, magic, and juggling.

The First Section, with accounts of those who tell stories at night, tellers of fables, and contrivers of illustrations, with the titles of the books of stories and fables which have been composed.

The Second Section, with accounts of the exorcists, jugglers, and magicians, with the titles of their books.

The Third Section, about books composed on various subjects, the compilers and authors being unknown.

THE NINTH CHAPTER, with two sections, about schools of thought [sects] and doctrines.

The First Section, describing the schools of thought of the Chaldaeans of Harrân, known in our time as the Ṣabiyan, and of the dualist sects of the Manichaeans, the Dayṣiniyah, the Khurramiyyah, Marcionites, Mazdakites, and others, with the titles of their books.

The Second Section, with a description of the foreign and rare schools of thought, such as the sects of India, China, and other countries.

The TENTH CHAPTER, including accounts of the alchemists and the workers of the Art [alchemy], among the ancient and recent philosophers.
In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate, who is sufficient for us, upon whom we depend and whose aid we invoke

The First Section of the First Chapter

with a description of the languages of the Arabs and foreign peoples, the characteristics of their ways of writing, their types of script and forms of calligraphy.

Remarks on Arabic Writing

Men have differed concerning who first originated the Arabic script. Hisham al-Kalbi said that the first to form it was a group of Bedouin Arabs encamped with ‘Adnan ibn Uld. Their names were Abi Jid, Hawwaz, Hurr, Kalanun, Sida, and Qurussid.5

There is this from [what is written in] the handwriting of Ibn al-Ka‘f in the following way:

The Arabs originated writing for their names and then discovered other letters not in their names: tā, kha, dha, zay, shin, ghayn, which they called ‘al-rawa‘id’. It is said that these men were kings of Midian, whose destruction was on the Day of the Cloud, at the time of Shu‘ayb the Prophet, for whom may there be peace.6

1 Cf. Khadduri, Maghribiinah (Rosenzweig), II, 381 ff.; III, 382. See Fligl’s article in ZDMG, XIII (1898), 599.
2 Tabari, Annals, I, 303, spells these names differently but gives them as legendary giant kings.
3 This word means “palm sprout,” the “back parts,” or the layers of fat on the rear of a camel’s hump. Another form of the plural means one who rides behind on a camel.

SECTION ONE

Kalamun’s elegy was composed by his sister:

Kalamun my support has been stricken down,
The central post of the encampment has been destroyed.
To him chief of the people
Has death come in the midst of a cloud.
Over them has a fire been kindled,
As nought has become their place of dwelling.

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Ibn Abi Sa‘id in the following form and construction: Abja, Hwaar, Haa, Kalamun, Sa, Fa, Qarsat. They say that they were foreign peoples who, while camping with ‘Adnan ibn Iyad and the like, became Arabized and formed the Arabic writing, but it is Allah who knows.

Ka‘b said, and before Allah I am not responsible for his statement, that the first to originate the Arabic and Persian scripts and other forms of writing was Adam, for whom be peace. Three hundred years before his death he wrote on clay which he baked so that it kept safe even when the Flood overflowed the earth. Then each people found its script and wrote with it.

Ibn ‘Abbas said:

The first persons to write Arabic were three men of Bawlan, a tribe inhabiting al-Anbar, who came together and originated letters, both separated and joined. They were Murairun ibn Murwah, Askam ibn Sidra, and ‘Amir ibn Hidra; [the first and the third were] also called Murrah and Hidda. Murairun originated the forms, Askam the separations and connections, and ‘Amir the diacritical points.

When the people of al-Hira paid, “From whom did you derive Arabic?” they replied, “From the inhabitants of al-Anbar.” It is also said that Allah, Blessed and Almighty, caused Isma’il (Ishmael) to speak clear Arabic when he was twenty-four years old.

4 The tribal names in this list and the one in the preceding paragraph evidently belong to foreign tribes which came from the north and ‘adéjat of ‘Iraqi Bedouin peoples, whom they taught how to write. These names do not appear in Durayd, Gmahl, and Qutaibah, Mal‘i‘id. ‘Adnan ibn Iyad was a sub-tribe of Ma‘add in ‘Iraq, rather than the original ‘Adnan. See “Iyad,” Enc. Islam, II, 565.
5 For the tribe of Bawlan, see Durayd, Ibyatqab, p. 397; Durayd, Gmahl, p. 355. Al-Anbar is a city on the Euphrates northwest of Baghdad.
6 Al-Hira was near Babylon, the center of Christian tribes attached to the Sasanid dynasty.
Thus saith Muhammad ibn Ishaq [al-Nadîm]: What is near to the truth, acceptable to the mind, and recorded by a reliable authority is that the Arabic speech was the language of Himyar, Ṭaʾm, Jadhîṣ, Aram, and Ḥawāy, of Arab Bedouin stock. Then when Ismāʿīl arrived at the Ḥaḍram [shrine of Makkan], grew up, and matured, he married into the Ḥumaym clan of Muʿāwiyah ibn Maʿṣād al-Ṣurhūmī, and his children learned their speech from these uncles. At time passed on, the descendants of Ismāʿīl derived one word after another, forming names for many objects as phenomena turned up and appeared.

After speech had been developed, good literary poetry appeared among the people of Adnān, increasing in quantity after the time of Muʿād ibn Adnān. Thus, though each one of the Arab tribes had a dialect by which it was distinguished and which it made use of, at the beginning they shared in common. It is said that the Arabs were prevented from [further] amplifying their language because of the mission of the Prophet, for whom may there be peace, in revealing the Qurʾān.

One thing which confirms all of this is the quotation of Makkāl from his men that the earliest innovators of Arabic writing were the Nafs, the Naḍr, the Taymaʿ, and the Dīmāḥ, descendants of Ismāʿīl, who developed it in detail, and then it was made distinctive by Qādīs and Naḍr ibn Hamayaʿa ibn Qādir. It has been said that in ancient times a group of the people of al-Ḫanār formed the letters alf, bāʾ, tāʾ, thāʾ, which the Arabs borrowed. Moreover, I have read in a book of Makkan, written by Umayr ibn Shabbah in his own handwriting, that “A group of the scholars of Muḏar informed me that the person who wrote this...

8 Aram refers to the Aramaeans and Himyar to the ancient kingdom of southern Arabia. For the other names see Durayd, Jihālāt, pp. 362, 524, 556.

9 Jurhum was a well-known tribe which settled at Makkan; see “Djurhum,” Enc. Islam, 3, 1656.

10 The Naʿfis, the Taymaʿ, and the Dīmāḥ were ancient tribes called in Gen. 35:14-15 the Nābīsh, the Tema, and the Dīmāḥ. The Naḍr ibn Kūnānāh was a well-known tribe which employed the Quraysh as guides. See Tabari, Annals, I, 1094, 1103, 1104, 1739.

11 The Beatty MS corrects Flügel’s imperfect text in connection with Naḥ ibn Hamayaʿa.

12 This is equivalent to saying in English, a, b, c, d.

9 Arabic was al-Jazm, a man of the tribe of Mukhallad ibn al-Nadr ibn Kinānāh, after which the Arabs themselves wrote.

From another source: “The person who brought writing to the Quraysh at Makkan was Abi Qays ibn ‘Abi Manāf ibn Zuhrah.” It also is said that it was Ḥurīb ibn Umayyāh. It is related that when the Quraysh demolished the Kaʿbah, they found in one of its supports a stone on which was inscribed, “Al-Sāḥif ibn ‘Abdurrahmān conveys to his lord a salutation.” It was three thousand years old.

There was in the library of al-Mustanṣir something written on hide in the handwriting of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Ḥāshim mentioning the claim of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Ḥāshim of Makkan against so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, the Ḥunayyīt of the ‘Abād Tribe of ‘Ṣām’ for a thousand silver coins (s., dinār) measured by iron. When he called upon him for this, he proffered the witness of Allah and the two angels. It is said that the handwriting was like that of women.

One of the Arab writers was Usayd ibn Abī al-Ṭāʾ. When a flood stream drained off from the ground at the Masjīd al-Sūr (Mosque of the Wall) by the tomb of al-Murrāṭīn, there was found a stone upon which there was inscribed, “I, Usayd ibn Abī al-Ṭāʾ, may Allāh show mercy to the sons of ‘Abd Manāf.” [But] was an Arab called by this name?

From what was written in the handwriting of Ibn Abī Saʿd:

They record that when Ibrāhīm (Abraham), for whom may there be peace, saw the children of Ismāʿīl (Ishaq) with their maternal Jurhum uncles he said, “Oh, Ismāʿīl, who are these?” He replied, “My children with their Jurhum uncles.” Then Ibrāhīm said to him in the tongue with which he used to speak, which was the ancient Syrian, “Unah.” Thus he said to him, “Mingle them together.”

But it is Allāh who knows [the truth].

Remarks about the Himyaritic Script

A reliable authority asserts that he heard some Yamanite chiefs say that Himyar used to write with the Musnad script, with varied forms of alf, bāʾ, tāʾ. I myself have seen a passage in the library of...
al-Ma'mūn which I have translated, “What the Commander of the Faithful 'Abd Allāh al-Ma'mūn, may Allāh honor him, ordered the translators to transcribe.”14 It contained Himyarite script and I give you an exact reproduction of what was in the transcription [Example 1]

Example 1

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Iṣḥāq [al-Nādir]: The first of the Arab scripts was the script of Makkah, the next of al-Madīnah, then of al-,Falsehah, and then of al-Kufah. For the elīf of the scripts of Makkah and al-Madīnah there is a turning of the hand to the right and lengthening of the strokes, one form having a slight slant.15 This is an example of it [Example 2]

Example 2

Scripts of Copies of the Qur'ān
Those of Makkah, the people of al-Madīnah, the Nīm,16 the Muthallathah, and the Madawwar. Also those of al-Kufah and

14 Evidently al-Nādir translated only the title of the passage, not the whole of it.
15 The Arabic phrase translated as "lengthening of the strokes" is literally "raising of the fingers." See Abbott in Art Islamica, VIII, Nos. 1 and 2 (1941), 71. The article deals with other scripts, too. See also Abbott, Rise of the North Arabic Script; Pope, Survey of Persian Art, II, 1707 ff.; Jeffery in Muslim World, XXX, No. 2 (April 1940), 193-96.

Professor Arberry in Islamic Research Association Miscellany, I (1948), 24, thinks that a contribution of Professor Minov in Pope, Survey of Persian Art, II, 1710, is correct. It explains that the Beatty MS is more nearly correct than the Flügel edition and that the words of the script illustrated in the text, "in the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate," are an example of the Makkah-Madīnah scripts.

16 Flügel has al-Ta'īm.
Among them [the transcribers] there was Abū Judayy, who used to write the elegant copies of the Qur'ān at the time of al-Mu'taṣim and was one of the great, skillful Cufic writers. Following these there were in the group of writers of the Cufic [script]: Ibn Umm Shaybān, al-Mashhīr, Abū Khāmilī, Ibn Ḥumayrah, and in our own time Abū al-Faraj.


A Copy Transcribed from What Was Written in the Handwriting of Abū al-‘Abbas ibn Thawāhah

Qūṭaḥah was the first transcriber during the period of the Banū Umayyāh. He developed the four forms of writing, deriving one from the other, for Qūṭaḥah was the best Arabic penman on earth.

Al-Daḥšāḥ ibn ‘Aḍām, the scribe, followed him at the beginning of the caliphate of the Banū al-‘Abbas. He added to what Qūṭaḥah did, and next to him was the best calligrapher in the world. After him, during the caliphates of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī, there was Ḫishq ibn Ḥammād, the scribe, who augmented what was accomplished by al-Daḥšāḥ.

Then there were a number of pupils of Ḫishq ibn Ḥammād, among whom was Ṭāṣaf, the scribe, nicknamed Laqwah the Poet, who was the best penman among the people. Among them there were also Ḫūshayīn ibn al-Muṣṭaṣir, who improved on Ṭāṣaf, as well as Ṣuqāyr the Servant, a slave of Ibn Qayyīmā, who was the tutor of al-Qāsim ibn al-Manṣūr. One of them was Ṭhānāt, the woman scribe, who was a slave girl of Ibn Qayyīmā, and among them was ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Rūmī. Among them there were also al-Shāṣīrī, al-Abūrāh; Sulaym the servant-scribe, a servant of Ḥājar ibn Yahyā; Amr ibn Maʿṣūm; Abū Ṭāhā ibn Abī Khālid; Abū Ṣaʿdī al-Kalbī, a scribe of al-Maʿmūn; ‘Abd Allāh ibn Shaddād; ‘Uthmān ibn Ziyād al-Abī; Muḥammad ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh, nicknamed al-Madanī; and Abū al-Jaḍl Sāḥib ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Tantīnī of al-Khurāsān. It was these who wrote the original measured scripts, never since equaled.

Naming of the Measured Scripts and a Description of What Is Written with Each of These Scripts Which None Can Equal

Among them is the Jall script, which is the father of all scripts and which no one can emulate except with rigorous training. Yaṣṣuf

22 The pages were measured with animal hairs (ḥalīl al-birdawān), probably the hairs of donkeys. The full-size page produced in a paper factory was the ṭūmār, 24 hairs in width. The next size was the ṭuḥtaḏaw, 16 hairs, then the ṭiṣṣ, 12 hairs, and finally the ṭuḥtaḏah, 8 hairs. The scripts were measured to fit these different-size pages and named accordingly. For a different theory, see Abbott, Rise of the North Arabic Script, p. 32. Qalqashondi, Sīrāt al-ʿArabī, III, 52, presents several theories about how the scribes were named. He does not make it clear whether by qalam he means "pen" or "style of writing," so that his descriptions are not conclusive. For a description of the measured scripts and their names, see ibid., pp. 27 ff.; Abbott in Ars Islâmica, VIII, Nos. 1 and 2 (1941), 90, and Abbott, Rise of the North Arabic Scripts, pp. 17–20; Durutūyūh, Kābil ibn Ḳamāṭ, pp. 63–74; and Ṭāhī, ‘Jamiʿ Muḥāfazat al-Ḳaṣīrāt al-Kaṭahī.

Ibn Thawāhah gives two lists of twelve scripts each. It seems reasonable to suppose that the lists should be arranged as follows:

First List

Al-Jālī
Al-Sūfīlī
Al-Raḥīmī
Al-Qawāṣī
Al-Muṭaṭṭīr
Al-Ṭāhirī
Al-Ṭūhārī
Al-Taḥfarī
Al-Walīdī
Al-Abūsī
Al-Ṭaḥfāt
Al-Rūmī
Al-Ṣaʿīdī

Second List

Al-Sunayyīn
Al-Aṣrāfīyāh
Al-Khāṭīfī al-Thaqīfī (Khāṭīf al-Ṭūmār al-Kāghīrī)
Al-Khāṭīfī al-Qāṭīfī
Al-Muṭṭadī
Al-Muṭṭabī
Al-Muṣṭafī
Al-Muṣṭafī al-Qāṭīfī
Al-Muṣṭafī al-Thaqīfī
Al-Muṣṭafī al-Qāṭīfī
Al-Muṣṭafī al-Thaqīfī
Al-Muṣṭafī al-Qāṭīfī
Al-Muṣṭafī al-Thaqīfī

Two other scripts are mentioned in the summary and evidently taken for granted as being offshoots from the Jall. They are the Thuluth al-Kāfūr al-Thaqīfī (big, heavy, third-size) and Niṣf al-Thaqīfī (heavy, half-size). A number of the scripts in the list are developments from these two.
Laqwaḥ says that “the Jalīl script vexes the loins of the scribe.” There are written with it the genuine documents sent by the caliphs to the kings of the earth, and derived from it there are two scripts, the Siğīl and the Dībaj. From the medium Sīgil script [al-Awsṭ] are derived two scripts, the Sumayṭī and the Ashrīyāḥ scripts.

With the Dībaj script are written the official documents and from it is derived the Tūnār al-Kabīr script, also used for documents, and an outgrowth of the Dībaj. From it is derived the Khirfaj or the Thuluthayn al-Saghīr al-Thaqīl script, which is derived from the Tūnār and with which are written communications from the caliphs to the agents and emirs in the outlying regions. From it are derived three scripts: the Zanbur script, which grows out of the Thuluthayn and is used for writing on the half-size sheets of paper (inṣaf) and from which nothing is derived—the Muḥattah script is derived from it; the Ḥāram script, which is written on the half-sheets sent to the kings, derived from the Thaqīl; the Muṣammāt script, derived from the Thuluthayn—with it are written the half-sheets [exchanged] between the kings.

Four other scripts spring from these two scripts, that is, from the Ḥāram script and the Muṣammāt script: the ‘Uḥd script, an outgrowth from the Ḥāram, used for writing on the two-thirds-size sheets, from which nothing is derived; the Amthāl al-Nisf script, from which are developed two scripts, light (kaḥfī) and open (muḥattah); the Qiṣāṣ script growing out of the Ḥāram and the Muṣammāt script, written on the half-size sheet and from which nothing was derived; and the Aqīwāb script, derived from the Ḥāram and the Muṣammāt script, used for writing on the third-size sheets of paper (al-thulīb), nothing being derived from it. These are twelve scripts from which twelve other scripts are derived.

Among them is the Khirfaj al-Thaqīl script, which is the light form of the Tūnār al-Kabīr and developed from it. With it are written official documents and from it is derived the Khirfaj al-Khāṣf script. There is also the Sumayṭī script, which resembles the Sīgil handwritings and springs from the Siğīl al-Awsṭ. With it are written official documents and other communications.

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Among them there is also a script called the Ashrīyāḥ script, derived from the Siğīl al-Awsṭ handwriting. With it are written emancipations of slaves and sales of land and houses and other things. Among them is a script called the Muḥattah, sprung from the Thaqīl al-Nisf. The Munṣak script, with which they write on the half-size sheets, is derived from it. Three scripts grow out of it: a script called the Mudawwar al-Kabīr, which the scribes of this period call the R̄ūzī and which is written on the half-size sheets; also derived from it is a script called the Mudawwar al-Saghīr, a general-utility script with which are written records, traditions, and poems; and a script called Khāṣf al-Thuluth al-Kabīr. It is written on the half-size sheets, being derived from Khāṣf al-Nisf al-Thaqīl. From it there springs a script called the Riṣāqī, which is derived from Khāṣf al-Thuluth al-Kabīr and with which are written signed edicts and similar things.

Among them is a script called the Muḥattah al-Nisf, derived from al-Nisf al-Thaqīl, and among them also is the Narjis script, written on the third-size sheets and derived from Khāṣf al-Nisf.

These are twenty-four scripts, all of which are derived from four scripts: the Jalīl script, the Tūnār al-Kabīr script, the Nisf al-Thaqīl script, and the Thuluth al-Kabīr al-Thaqīl script. The derivation of these four scripts is from the Jalīl, which is the father of the scripts.

From [Sources] Other than the Handwriting of Ibn Thawībāḥ

People continued to write according to the forms of the ancient script which we have mentioned until the beginning of the 'Abbasid rule, and at the time when the Khašlimīs appeared, the copies of the Qurʿān were written specifically with these forms [scripts].

Then there developed a handwriting called the 'Iraqī, which was the Muḥaqqaq known as Warrāqī. Elaboration and improvement continued until it culminated for al-Maʿnīn, whose companions and scribes undertook to beautify their calligraphy, concerning which the people vied with one another.

38 Probably the Muḥattah was derived from the Zanbur.

39 The Banū al-Abbas, or caliphs of the 'Abbasid dynasty.
Then there appeared a man known as al-Ahwāl al-Mulḥarrir, a craftsman of the Barmakids, who was acquainted with the significations and forms of writing. He spoke about its forms and rules, dividing it into categories. This man used to write the communications dispatched by the sultan to the kings of the distant regions in the official documents. He was in the depths of misfortune and filth, as well as coarse, not fit for anything. When he classified the scripts, he gave precedence to the heavy scripts. The finest among these is the Tūnār script, which is written on the full-size page (al-ṭūnār), either with a piece of palm or perhaps it is written with a pen. With it they transmit letters to the kings.

Among the scripts there are the Thuluthayn script, the Siqlūk script, the ‛Uḥūd script, the Muḥarrāt script, the Aḥāṣ script, the Dībāj script, the Mudībbay script, the Muṣṣaṣa script, and the Ṭasīḥ script.

When Dhū al-Riḍāstāy al-Fārī ibn Sahl arose, he invented a script which was the best of the scripts and known as the Riḍā. It branched into a number of scripts, among which there are: the Riḍā al-Kabīr script, the Niṣf script from the Riḍā, the Thuluth script, the Ṣaghīr al-Nisf script, the Khasīf al-Thuluth script, the Muḥaṣṣaq script, the Muḥarrāt script, the Wāshi script, the Riqq script, the Muṣṣaṣ script, the Ghubār al-Ḥilya script, the Ṣaḥīf script, and the Ṭaḥāṣ script.

Account of al-Barbāri al-Mulḥarrir and His Son

This point of the book requires that we mention him. He was Ḥaqq ibn Iḥrām ibn ‘Abū Ḥaṣān ibn Ḥār ibn Sūwāyid al-Aswad al-Tamīmī and subsequently al-Sa’dī. Iḥrām was squint-eyed, but Ḥaqq taught al-Muḥtaṣār and his children. He was nicknamed Abū al-Ḥusayn, and this Abū al-Ḥusayn wrote an epistle about penmanship and writing entitled The Precious Object of the Lover.

No one else appeared during his time who was a more skillful penman or better acquainted with writing. His brother, Abū al-Ḥasan, was like him, walking in his footsteps. His son was Abū al-Qāsim Ismā’il ibn Ḥaqq ibn Iḥrām, whose son, Abū Muḥammad, was al-Qāsim ibn Ismā’il ibn Ḥaqq. Among his children there was also Abū al-Abbās ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Ḥaqq. These men were preeminent for their beauty of penmanship and knowledge of writing.

Before the time of Ḥaqq there was a man known as Ibn Ma’dīn, whom Ḥaqq drew upon for information. Among the young men of Ibn Ma’dīn there was Abū Ḥaqq Iḥrām al-Nims. Among the writers there were also the sons of Wāḥ al-Na’jah, in addition to Ibn Muṭr, al-Zanjalātī, and al-Zawwā’dī.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ḥaqq [al-Nadīn]: Among the viziers and secretaries who wrote with ink there were Abū Almād al-Abbās ibn al-Ḥasan and Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Isa ibn Dā‘ūd and Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Mqawḥ, whose birth was after the afternoon prayer on Thursday, nine nights before the end of Shawwāl, in the year two hundred and seventy-two [A.D. 885/86], and who died on Sunday when ten nights of Shawwāl had gone by during the year three hundred and twenty-eight [A.D. 939/40]. Abū Ḥaqq, and his brother, Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Muqawḥ, also wrote with ink. He was born at daybreak on Wednesday at the end of the month of Ra‘dād during the year two hundred and seventy-eight [A.D. 891/92] and died in the month of Ra‘b al-‘Akhir during the three hundred and thirty-eight [A.D. 949/50]. The like of these two men has not been known in the past, or even as late as our own time. They wrote according to the calligraphy of their [grand] father Muqawḥ. The real name of Muqawḥ was ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Abū Allāh Ḥaqq, Muqawḥ being a nickname.

88 The Bentley MS has “and secretaries,” evidently referring to members of the government secretariat who were not viziers. Two words are used for “ink”: al-mamlūk is used here, and al-ḥācriptors in the sentence following. See Fīgūd, p. 9 n.
89 The system of dividing the lunar month into halves and counting the days and nights of the first half forward and the last half backwards is explained in Durūs al-‘Umayyah, Kitāb al-Kāthib, p. 80. Roughly, 30 sun months are similar to 31 moon months.
CHAPTER ONE

Some of their kinsmen and children wrote during their lifetime and afterward, but they did not maintain their standards. One of these kinsmen might excel in connection with one letter following another or one word after another, but it was Abū 'Ali and Abū 'Abd Allāh who achieved perfection as a whole.

Those of their children who were penmen were Abū Muhammad 'Abd Allāh, Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Abī 'Ali, Abū Ahmad Sulaymān ibn Abī al-Ḥasan, and Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī 'Ali. I have read a copy of the Qurʾān written in the handwriting of their grandfather Muqālah.

The Names of Persons Who Wrote Copies of the Qurʾān in Gold and Who Are Remembered


Names of the Bookbinders Who Are Remembered


Remarks about the Excellence of the Pen

Al-ʿAṭābī said, "Pens are the beasts of burden of understanding." Ibn Abī Duwād said, "The pen is the ambassador of the mind, its apostle, its furthest reaching tongue, and its best interpreter." Ṭurāyḥ ibn Ismāʿil al-Thaqāfī said, "Men's minds are under the nibs of their pens." Aristotle (Arīṣṭāṭīs) said, "The pen is the active cause, the ink the material one, script is the principle of form, and style is the cause of perfection."

Al-ʿAṭābī said, "Books smile as pens shed tears." Al-Kindī said, "The pen (al-qin) has the same value as 'usefulness' (ṭāʿa'), for

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31 As only a few vowel signs are given in the Arabic text, the names in this and the following list may not be entirely correct.

32 Khirīmat al-Ḥikmah; the library attached to the Bayt al-Ḥikmah or research center established by al-Maʾmūn, a.d. 830, at Baghdad.
said, "Handwriting is rooted in the spirit, even though it appears by means of bodily senses."

Remarks about Ugliness of Handwriting

It is said that bad penmanship is one of the two chronic diseases. It is also said that bad handwriting is, in connection with culture, a disease. It is further said that ugly penmanship is sterility of culture.

Remarks about the Excellencies of Books

Someone said to Socrates (Sūqārī), "Are you not afraid that you will injure your eyes by continually looking into books?" He replied, "If I save my insight, I don't attend to weakness of eyesight." Muhammad said, "If books had not bound together the experiences of former generations, the shackles of later generations in their forgetfulness would not have been loosened."

Buzurjmihr said, "Books are the shells of wisdom, which are split open for the pearls of character." Another has said, "These sciences are camel stallions—use books to line them up; these couples are runaways—use books for them as halters."

By Kalhūm ibn 'Amr al-'Amāh

We have counsels of whose conversation we never weary; Confiding and trustworthy whether absent or present; They give us the benefit of their knowledge, a knowledge of what has passed; With wise opinion, discipline, and instruction well-guided, Without cause to be dreaded or fear of suspicion. Neither their fingers nor their hands shall we fear; If you say they are living it is no lie, Or if you say they are dead you will not be held in error.

Nāḍibah has said, and his name is Ahmad ibn Ismā‘il, surnamed Abū ‘Ali, a more complete account of whom will follow when telling about the secretaries, "The book, he is a companion who does not bother you at the time of your work, nor call you away when you are preoccupied, nor demand that you treat him with courtesy. The book, he is the comrade who does not flatter you too much, but...

The third consonant in this word is uncertain and the name cannot be clearly identified.

the friend who does not tempt you, the companion who does not weary you, the counselor who does not mislead you."

Al-Sari ibn Ahmad al-Kadri recited one of his own compositions to me, saying, "I wrote on the back of a piece of a composition, which I gave to a friend of mine and which I bound with black leather:

A black object unveils its opposite, As night the uncovering of the dawn. I have sent you this, and though dumb It holds conversation with the eyes about that with which it is entrusted. Silent it is if its veil be clapsed; Sparkling when it is opened for enjoyment. A cover encompassing its light Goes back and forth (opens and shuts) containing it. By means of its souls find enjoyment While worries are cast down abased. Rank nothing with it for enjoyment, For all that you desire it contains."

Albū Bakr al-Zuhayri recited to me [some verses] of Ibn Ťabūibā about the volumes (dajātīn):

By the favor of Allah have these brethren attained their glory, And by their association and fidelity I am exalted (made greater). They speak without visible tongues. Searching are they for hidden secrets. If I seek knowledge of some past happening from Arab or Persian, About it the books give me information, As though I were an eyewitness living in their time, Even though generations have come and gone. If oratory I seek, orators arise, My hand sufficeing as a pulpit for the volumes. How often have I tested men with them! For the mind of a youth is tested by a book of knowledge. How often have I defeated a companion by means of them, When even an army could not have put him to flight!

Thus said Muhammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadim]; I have dealt with this subject and similar ones in the chapter on writing and its instruments in a book which I have composed about descriptions and comparisons (al-awaj 'wa-al-tathkhīb).
Remarks about the Syriac Script

Theodore (Tiyādūrās) the Commentator recorded in his commentary on the first book of the Torah that “God, Blessed and Exalted, addressed Adam in the Nabataean dialect, which was purer than the Syriac one. The people of Bābil also used to speak it. Then when God made a babel of tongues, the nations being scattered to their districts and localities, the language of the people of Bābil was unchanged, but the Nabataean spoken by the villagers became a broken Syriac incorrectly pronounced.”

Another person said, “The language used for books and reading, that is the literary form (al-fasāḥ), is the dialect of the people of Syria and Harrān. From it the scholars derived the Syriac script, coming to an agreement about it. So it was with the other written forms.”

Another said, “In one of the Gospels or some other Christian book, an angel called Saynūrūs taught Adam the Syriac writing as it exists in the hands of the Christians of our own day.”

The Syrians (al-Sūrīyānīyūn) have three scripts: al-Maftūḥ, which is called the Estrangelo (al-Astrāngālā) and is the finest and best—it is spoken of as the Thaqīl script, resembling the Masāhiq (Qurānī) script and the Taḥrīr; al-Muḥāqqaq, called Scholasticic (Askulhiya) and spoken of as the Mudawwar (round) form, similar to the script of al-wurrāṣm; al-Serṭo (al-Sarț), with which they write missives and which resembles the Arabic Riṣā script.

Here are designs of the Syriac script.

Remarks about the Persian Script

It is said that the first person to speak Persian was Gaynarmath (Gayo Marea), whom the Persians call al-Gil Shāh, which means King of Clay. He was their Adam, father of mankind. It is said, the first person to write Persian was Bīwarasp (Bīwārāb), the son of Wadāsab known as al-Ḍahbākh, the master of al-Ajlāhanī. 38

38 Saynūrūs may be confused with the symbol of heaven, portrayed by the samayyil or šeṣaw. Refer to Ingholt in Memoirs, Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences, XII (July 1954), 17–22, 25, 43–46.

39 The designs do not appear in either Fīlāg or the Beatty MS. For the Syriac scripts, see Abbott, Rise of the North Arabic Script, pp. 17–21.

For the Persian scripts, see Browne, Literary History of Persia, I, 76; and Pope, Survey of Persian Art, II, 1707. Al-Ḍahbākh was Ḍahbā Dāhkā, a legendary dragon. 40

It is said that Feridūn, son (descendant) of al-Kayān, when he divided the earth among his sons Salm, Tūr, and Īrāj, gave a share to each one of them a third of the inhabited land and wrote a deed for them. Amād the Priest told me that the deed is with the King of China, carried away with the Persian treasures at the time of Tashkīrī; it is Allah who knows.

It is said that the first person to write was Jamshīd, the son of Hīshāŋ, who lived in the royal courts of the regions of Tustar. The Persians supposed that when he ruled the world and the jinn and men submitted to him, there yielded to him also the Devil (Iblīs), whom he commanded to make manifest what was in his consciousness, whereupon he [the Devil] taught him [Jamshīd] writing.

I have read what was written in the handwriting of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdūs al-Jahāshiyyārī in the Book of Vicipants, which he wrote, that “There were few books and epistles before the regime of Aḥshtāsp the son of Luhraš, the people lacking the ability to speak plainly and to bring forth their inner intentions by clearness of expression.”

One of the things preserved and recorded from the sayings of Jamshīd: “From Jamshid son of Husnāng to Adarbādānī, I have commanded thee to administer the seven regions; accomplish this and establish the regime which I have ordered for you.”

From those [the sayings] of Feridūn, son of Nazkā and Anqāyān: “From Feridūn, son of Anqāyān, to ———: I have presented you with a land in which is Dāmāwand. Receive this and accept a throne of silver gilded with gold.”

Among [the records] there was from Kāi Kāūs: “From Kāi Kūs son of Kāi Kūš to Rustām: Verily I have set thee free from

40 Fīlāg gives Hūshang, the Beatty MS gives Awīljan, but the word in Arabic is usually written as Udhlanjī.

41 In Arabic, Kūsāb ibn Luhrāb.

42 This is a form for the Persian name Ahrava, a legendary form of Maqā. The word later became contaminated and connected with the provincial name of Adharbaigān. See Ferdowsī, Shāhnameh, I, 166. For Hūshang, see n. 39.

43 Ferdōšī’s mother was Farangī and his ancestor al-Kayān. The names given in the text may be the Persian forms of these two names. Dēywānd, which is Dāmāwand in Arabic, is the great mountain north of Tūrīs where Ḍahbā Dāhkā was chained so that Feridūn could rule.
CHAPTER ONE

the bondage of slavery and made thee to rule over Sijistān. Yoke no one to servitude and rule Sijistān as I have commanded thee.”

When Gushṭāp became king, writing was used more extensively. Then there appeared Zoroaster, son of Spitama, lord of the law of the Magi. With the divulging of his wonderful book in all languages, the people themselves began to learn penmanship and writing with more general use and greater skill.

‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffa’ said, “The languages of the Persians are the Pahlavī, the Derī, the Parsī, the Khurāsanī, and the Syriac. The Pahlavī (al-Fahlavīyah) is related to Pahlav (Fahlah), a region which includes five cities: Ishbahān, Rayy, Hamadhān, Mahdahān, and Adharbayjān. The Derī (al-Durīyah) was the language of the cities of al-Ma’dā’in, spoken at the king’s court. It was derived from presence at the court (al-bāb), coming chiefly from the language of the people of Khurāsan and the East, the speech of the people of Balkh. Priests, scholars, and their like speak Parsī (al-Farsiya), the speech of the people of Farā. The kings and nobles used to speak the Khurāsanī (al-Khūzīya) in privacy, in places of play and amusement, and with their retainers. The people of al-Sawād’ used to speak Syriac (al-Suriyaniya), writing in one form of Persian Syriac.

Ibn al-Muqaffa’ said, “There are seven types of handwriting in Persia.” One of them is the form of writing for religion called Din Dafriyānah66 with which the religious devotees67 write, and of which the following is an example.

Another form of writing is called Wash Dabiriyah,68 which has three hundred and sixty-five letters. They use it to write about physiognomy, divination, gurgling of water, ringing of the ears,

The Arabic names are given in parentheses in the sentences which follow.

66 See Yaqūt, Gorg, IV, 96.66
67 See Glossary.
68 The correct form is Dabiriya.
69 “Religious devotees” is a translation of al-wustāh, a term used for those among the Zoroastrians who called upon God. In the Beata MS the word is clearly written as al-wustāh, but as no such word seems to exist, it may be meant to be either al-wustāh, as above, or Aḥ al-Rustāq (People of al-Rustaq). See Yaqūt, Gorg, II, 799. The example referred to in the text is missing.
70 Wash means “small.” In the Beata MS the word is not clear, but Dabiriya is written with a sh in a clear way.

SECTION ONE

beckonings of the eyes, nodding, winking, and the like. This script has not been handed down to anyone, so that none of the sons of Persia write with it today. When I asked Amid the Priest about it, he said, “It is going the way of translation, being translated into Arabic writing.”

Another form of writing is called the Kushṭāb,69 which has twenty-eight letters. With it they write contracts, inheritance assignments,70 and land transactions. The rings in Persia are inscribed with this script, and also decorations for garments and rugs, as well as dies for silver coins (s., dihām); this is an example of it [Example 3].

Example 3

Another form of writing is called Nim Kushtab,71 which has twenty-eight letters and is used for medicine and philosophy. This is an example of it [Example 4].

Example 4

Another form of writing is called the Shāh Dabiriya, with which the Persian kings used to carry on their own correspondence, apart from the populace. The other people of the kingdom were prevented from using it, as a precaution, lest somebody related to the king might discover the king’s secrets. It has not been preserved for us.

66 The letters for Kushṭāb are clear in the Beata MS, but as the consonant marks are often omitted, it might also be interpreted as “Kushtāb.”
67 The word translated as “inheritance assignments” is not correct in the Flügel edition or clear in the Beata MS. It may be a form meaning “weightings.”
68 Flügel gives “. . . dies for gold coin (s., dinār) and silver coin (s., dihām) . . . .” Flügel adds extra lines to this example, and to the two examples which follow, which are not found in either the Beata MS or MS 1335.
69 Nim means “half.”
The Rasi'il form of writing is just as the tongue speaks, without dots. Some of it is written in the first Syriac dialect spoken by the people of Babil, being read as Persian. The number of letters is thirty-three, and it is called both Nasmah Dashiyah and Ham Dashiyah.  It is used by all classes of the kingdom, with the one exception of the kings. This is an example of it [Example 5].

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Example 5

Another form of writing is called Zar Saharyah, with which the kings correspond about confidential matters with whatsoever nations they wish. It has forty letters and vocal sounds, with a definite character for each letter and sound. It does not contain anything of the Nabataean tongue; here are examples of it.

They have another form of writing, called Rias Saharyah, used for logic and philosophy, with twenty-four letters and also dots. It has not been preserved for us.

They have a form of spelling called Rawārashī, with which they write both the connected and unconnected letters. There are about a thousand words with which to determine things that are similar. An example of this is that anyone who wishes to write *kūsait*, which is "meat" in Arabic, writes it *basaṣāt*; basaṣāt according to this example [Example 6].

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Example 6

Or if he wishes to write *nān*, which is "bread" in Arabic, it is read as nān but written *lakumā*, according to this example [Example 7].

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Remarks about the Hebrew Script

In one of the ancient books that the first person to write Hebrew was 'Ābar ibn Shālīkh (Eber son of Shela), who instituted it among his people, so that they wrote with it. Theodosius (Theodore) mentions that Hebrew was derived from Syriac, but so called because *ibrāmin* (Abraham) crossed the Euphrates seeking Damascus, when fleeing from *Nimrud* (Nimrod), the son of Kīs (Cush), the son of *Kanur* (Canaan).

In connexion with writing, the Jews and Christians suppose, without any dispute between them, that the Hebrew writing was on two tables of stone and that Allāh, may His name be glorified, handed them over to him [Moses], who when he descended from the mountain and found that they [the Israelites] had been worshiping the idol, became angry with them, in fact so much wroth up that he broke the two tables. He [Theodorus] said, "After that, he [Moses] repented, and Allāh, may His name be glorified, ordered him to write on two other tables, so as to inscribe them with the original writing."

One of the more excellent of the Jews recorded that Hebrew writing was not like the present form, which has been corrupted and altered. Some reliable Jews have said that Yūnsuf [Joseph], upon whom be peace, when he was the vizier of the ruler of Egypt, used figures and signs for the affairs of the kingdom which he recorded. Here is a design of the Hebrew letters [Example 8].

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Remarks about the Greek Script

I have read in some of the old histories that in early times the Greeks did not know how to write until two men, one of whom was called Cadmus (Qatmán) and the other Agenor, came from Egypt bringing sixteen letters with which the Greeks wrote. Then one of these two men derived four other letters, also used for writing. Later, another man named Simonides (Simūnīdū) derived four additional ones, making twenty-four. It was in those days that Socrates (Suqrātī) appeared, according to what Ishāq al-Rāhib (Isaac the Monk) records in his history.

I questioned one of the Greeks who had opinions about his language and noted that he had advanced as far as what is called “etymology,” which is Greek syntax. He said:

There are three scripts generally known and used by the Greeks in the City of Peace [Baghdād]. The first of these scripts is called Lepton. The Arabic script which it resembles is the script of al-waṛṭṭāfic, with which

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Example 8

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41 Probably Agenor, the father of Cadmus.

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SECTION ONE

they write Qur’ānic manuscripts. They [the Greeks], too, write their scriptures with it. It is known as Iriyā, for the Greek [word meaning] “sacred.”

This is an example of it.

“They also have a script called Boustraphedon, the equivalent of which among the Arabic scripts is the Thuluth script, with a share of both the Mūhaqqiq and the Mushīl.” This is an example of it.

“They have a script called Surūṭin which is the Mukhaffāf (light) script of the scribes. Its equivalent with us is the Tarasal al-Diwāni (official correspondence) script with the letters contracted.” This is an example of it.

They have a script known as the Sāmīyā, which does not resemble anything of ours, for a single one of its letters combines many ideas and abbreviates a number of words. Galen (fālīnīs) has mentioned it in his book Phoenix. The meaning of the name is “fixing of writings.” Galen said:

In a public session I gave a comprehensive account of anatomy. When a friend met me some days later, he said to me, “A certain man has recorded that you said thus and thus in your public session.” Then he repeated my exact words. I said to him, “From where did you get this?” He replied, “I met a scribe skilled in the Sāmīyā, who kept abreast of you in writing down your words.”

This script is learned by the kings and most eminent scribes. The rest of the people are prevented from using it because of its great significance. In the year forty-eight [A.D. 959] a man practicing medicine came to us from Baalbek. As he asserted that he could write the Sāmīyā, we tested what he said. We found that if we spoke ten words, he would pay attention to them and then write down

42 The quotation probably ends here, after the three scripts used in Baghdād have been mentioned. The examples are lacking. The scripts were very likely the following: (1) Lepton, λεπόν (delicate). It was called “sacred,” ἵκα. (2) Boustraphedon, badly written in MS 1333, it must be μυστραφέδον. This was an early Greek style of writing used for Solon’s laws. (3) Surūṭin, it has very likely been garbled, but is possibly from the Greek word συρύττομος. It is not certain.

43 Sāmīyā must come from the Greek word for “fix,” συμμετρία. The Greek shorthand writer was the συμμετρικός, and the shorthand notes falsely ascribed to Xenophon were the συμμετρικευματικευματικαί. See Greek dictionaries and “Shorthand,” Inst. Brit., XCVI, 1907-8.

44 The original form is “ Ini-lahakk.”
one. When we asked him to repeat [the words], he did repeat them as we had rendered them.

Ibn al-Mukhtar said:

The reason the Greeks write from left to right is that they believe that it is fitting for a person seated to meet the sunrise in all of its phases. So if he faces the sunrise, the north will be on his left, in which case the left gives way to the right. Thus, the method for a scribe is to go from the north toward the south.

He also said:

The Greeks have rules for handwriting, with forms among which are the designated letters among the twenty-four letters. These are gamma, delta, kappa, sigma, tau, and chi. They also have letters called "sonants," which are alpha, epsilon, eta, iota, upsilon, and the larger omega (omicron). The feminine letters are four, alpha, epsilon, upsilon, and the greater omega (omicron). The masculine letters are alpha, epsilon, eta, and the greater omega (omicron).

Declension does not affect any of the Greek letters, except the seven sonant letters, which are known as lagyn and ilagyn. The Greek tongue dispenses with six of the letters of the Arabic language: hâ, dhâl, dhâl, ayâ, bâ, and lam-alif.

Script of the Langobardi and Saxons

These are a people between the Greeks and the Franks, close to the ruler of al-Andalus. Their writing has twenty-two letters and their script is called the Apostolic. They start writing from the left toward the right, but their reason for doing so is different from that of the Greeks. They say it is so that the dipping of the ink will be away from the beating of the heart and not toward it, for writing

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SECTION ONE

from the right is from the liver towards the heart. This is an example of it.79

The Script of China

As Chinese writing resembles inscription, even a clever and skillful scribe becomes weary over it. It is said that even a person with a light touch cannot write more than two or three leaves a day. They write their religious and scientific books with it on fans, a number of which I have seen. Most of them [the Chinese] are dualists and sun worshippers,80 about whom I will speak in detail later on.

In China there is a form of writing called Collective Writing. That is, for every word written with three or more letters, there is a single character, and each word with an augmented design of characters signifies a great deal. If they wish, they can write the contents of one hundred leaves with this script on only one page.

Muhammad ibn Zakariya’ al-Razi said:

A man from China came to seek me and dwelt with me for about a year. In five months of this time he learned Arabic, both spoken and written, becoming proficient in style, as well as expert and rapid in writing. When he desired to return to his country, he said to me a month in advance, "I am about to set forth and wish that you would dictate to me the sixteen books of Galen, so that I can write them down." I said, "Your time is short and the length of your stay will be sufficient for you to copy only a small part of it." Then the young man said, "I ask you to devote yourself to me for the length of my stay and to dictate to me as fast as you can. I will keep up with you in writing." I proposed to some of my students that they join in this project with us, but we did not have faith in the man, until there was a chance for comparison and he showed us everything he had written.

I questioned him about the matter and he said, "We have a form of writing known as Collective, which is what you see. If we wish to write a great deal in a short time, we write it with this script. Then later on, if we wish, we transcribe it with a script which is familiar and not abbreviated." He thought that a man who was quick in learning and understanding could not learn it in less than twenty years.

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79 For the word which has been translated here as "designated," MS 1135 suggests waw it-tawh (restored from illness). Flügel gives mu’aw it-tawh ("successive").
80 MS 1135 omits the smaller omega and after the larger omega has "and it is al-awwal al-bakha," probably garbled for "omega." Evidently one of the feminine letters has been omitted, or the there were only three. Perhaps the fourth was a diaphanous.
81 These two words might be kefer ("to say") and ti kefer, probably meaning "how to say."
82 The Langobardi were Lombards. When Al-Fihrist was written, the Saxons had become a Christian group on the German frontier. Andalus was southern Spain, under Muslim rule.
83 Flügel gives "Al-Fihrist" and MS 1135 a garbled form.
84 The example is missing.
85 MS 1135 has Shamshiyah, whereas Flügel is uncertain about the name. This sect is dealt with at the end of Chap. IX of Al-Fihrist.
The Chinese have an ink which they compound from a mixture and which resembles Chinese paint. I have seen some of it in the form of tablets, on which was stamped the image of the king. A piece of it suffices for a long period of constant writing. This is an example of their script [Example 9].

Example 9

Remarks about the Manichaean Script

The Manichaean script is derived from Persian and Syriac. Mani derived it. The cult is a combination of the Magi system and Christianity. Its letters are more numerous than the Arabic ones. With this script they write their gospels and books of their laws. The inhabitants of Mi Wara’ al-Nahr (the Region beyond the River, Transoxiana) and Samarqand write religious books with this script, so that it is called the Script of Religion.

The Marcionites also have a script by which they are distinguished. A reliable person has told me that he has seen it. He said, “It resembles the Manichaean, but is different.”

These are the Manichaean letters [Example 10].

Example 10

They also have a form with different letters, for they write [Example 11]:

Example 11

Remarks about the Script of al-Ṣughd

A reliable person has said, “I entered the land of al-Ṣughd, which is the territory beyond the river. It is called Upper Iran and is an abode of the Turks. Its principal city is Tunkath. He also said, “Its people are dualists and Christians. In their language they call the dualists Aḥārka.” This is an example of their writing [Example 12].

Example 12

98 Sogdiana in Transoxiana; see Yaqūt, Geog., Ill, 794.
99 Probably the capital of the Ilk region southeast of Tashkand; ibid., I, 900.
100 This name does not appear in books written by Tabari, Yaquti, Marco Polo, or the Arab travelers.
Remarks about al-Sind

The people there have different languages and religions as well as numerous scripts. Some of the people who travel in their country told me, "They have about two hundred scripts." I once saw at the court of the sultan a yellow idol, said to be an image of the Buddha (al-Budda). It is a figure on a seat, grasping three fingers with his hand. On the seat there is an inscription of which this is a likeness [Example 13].

Example 13

This man mentioned above stated that they usually write with nine letters in this form [Example 14].

Example 14

The start is with alif, baa', jimm, dam, ha', waaw, zay, ba', and ta'. Then after reaching ta' they repeat each of the original letters with dots as in this example [Example 15].

Example 15

Thus they become ya', kaa', lam, mim, nun, sin, 'ayn, faa', and qa', making eighteen. If they reach qa' they write as in the following example, placing two dots under each letter in this way [Example 16].

Example 16

Thus they become qaa', ra', shin, ta', tha', kha', thal, and za'. When they reach za' they write the original letter alif with three dots under it [Example 17]. Thus they account for all of the letters of the alphabet and write whatever they please.

Remarks about the Negroes

The races of Negroes are the Nubians, the Bijah (Beja), the Zaghawah, the Murawah (Meroe), the Istam, the Barbar (Berbers), and the types of blacks like the Indians. They write like the Indians because of their proximity, but have no known script or writing of their own.

Al-Jahiz mentioned in his book Al-Bayyin that the Negroes have an oratory and eloquence belonging to their own cult and language. A person who saw and witnessed this [custom] said to me, "If

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84 The lower valley and delta of the Indus in what is today part of West Pakistan. It was conquered by the Muslims, A.D. 712.
85 This was probably a typical image, with a Buddha seated on a lotus leaf, holding with one hand three fingers of the other hand. The Arabic text has "thirty," but this must be an error. See Gombrich, Buddhist Art in India, pp. 130, 134, 173, 203.
86 The texts have 'asbūrah 'asbūrah ("twenty") but thumāni 'asbūrah ("eighteen") must be the words meant, as there are two groups of nine letters each.
87 MS 1133 differs; it has "they write the original letter like this" and then shows the design of an alif with the madkhah or "long" sign over it and three dots under it.
88 See Marādī, I, 31 ff.; cf. Khalāqīn, Naz'd al-Dīn (Rosenthal), I, 130, and also, I 110, with map, for the geographical regions. Istam may refer to the Negroes of southern Iraq, famous for the Zanj Rebellion of A.D. 869.
89 "Al-Sind" is translated as "the Indians," as it seems to refer to the people instead of the area. "Blacks like the Indians" probably signifies other people in southeast Asia.
affairs perplex them and difficulties hard press them, their speaker sits raised above the ground and, looking down, speaks in a way that resembles growling and muttering, but which the rest of them understand." He also said, "When there appears in the speech the counsel they are seeking, they act upon it." It is Allah who knows.

Some travelers have told me that the Bijah have a script and form of writing, but it has not reached us. Those who go about mention that for religious purposes the Nubians write in Syriac, Greek, and Coptic. The Abyssinians have a script like the Himyarite letters, going from left to right. They separate each of the words by means of three dots, dotted like a triangle between the letters of the two words. This is an example of the letters, which I copied from the library of al-Ma'mūn, but not with the same handwriting [Example 18].

Example 18

The letters șaʾ and șaʾ are one; the letters ḫaʾ and ḫaʾ are one; the letters ʿayn and ghayn are one; and the letters ḥaʾ and ḫaʾ are one.

Remarks about the Turks and Those Related to Them

The Turks, the Bulgar, the Blaghiša, the Burghaz, the Khazar, the Lān, and the types with small eyes and extreme blondness have no script, except that the Bulgarians and the Tibetans write with Chinese and Manichaean, whereas the Khazar write Hebrew.16

My information about the Turks is what Abū al-Ḥasan Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ashūs related to me. He said: Ḥamīd Ḥarār, the Turk, al-Makli from al-Tūrūnīyah,18 who was one of those who left his country because of haughtiness and rage, told me that the great Turkish king, if he desired to write to a lesser king, summoned his viceroy and ordered the splitting of an arrow. Then the viceroy traced on it characters understood by the Turkish nobility and indicating the meaning intended by the king and comprehended by the person to whom it was sent.

He supposed that this script design represented many ideas and that it was used for truces and peace treaties, as well as at the times of their wars. He mentioned that they carefully guard an arrow inscribed in this way and fulfill their engagements for its sake. It is Allah who knows.

Russia

A man whose word I trust told me that one of the kings of Mount al-Qahb (the Caucasus) sent him to the king of Russia. He believes that they have writing inscribed on wood, and he showed me a piece of white wood with an inscription on it. The following is an example, but I do not know whether these are words or single letters [Example 19].

Example 19

16 The Bulgars are Bulgarians. The Blaghiša were the Vlachs or Blakia, the Walashia of Rumania. Burghaz is a part of Bulgaria, and probably an old tribal name. The Khazar were on both sides of the Don, or Volga. The Lān or ‘Ala’isa were situated next to Armenia, near the Khazar. See "Vlachs," Enc. Bdt., XXVIII, 166-68; "Bulgaria" (Burghaz), IV, 768; "Khazara," XV, 774. See also Yaqūt, Geog., II, 436, for Khazar; IV, 341, for Lān; I, 817, for Tibet. See also Marzid, Vol. II, Chap. 17, beginning p. 1.

18 This may mean from Turunt, the lower Dona region of Russia, or from Tavwaz. See Yaqūt, Geog., I, 894.
The Franks

Their writing resembles the Greek script, but is more erect; we may have seen it on the Frankish swords. The queen of the Franks wrote to al-Muktāfī a letter on white silk, dispatched by a servant who happened into her country from the direction of North Africa. It courted the friendship of al-Muktāfī and asked him to marry her. The servant's name was 'Allā. He was one of the employees of Ibn al-Aghlab. This is an example of their writing.44

The Armenians and Others

The Armenians as a rule write in Greek and Arabic, because of proximity to those cultures. Thus their gospels were written in Greek and their script resembles Greek writing, though it is not Greek. 45

The kings of the Caucasus and its slopes, which are Llak, Shirvān, and Zawzan, have no script. 46 Although there is a common language in the region, each group has its own dialect and expressions differ. We shall speak in detail about them in the proper place in the book.

Remarks about Sharpening Pens

Nations use different ways of sharpening their pens. The Hebrew way of sharpening it with an extreme angle. The Syriac trim is with an angle to the left, or maybe to the right, or perhaps they turn the pen on its back, or split the reed in two, sharpening one half which they call nib and use for writing.

The Greek trim is a very oblique deviation to the right, because they write from the left to the right. The Persian trim is with the nib of the pen fringed. The scribe separates it either against the floor or with his teeth, so as to embellish the penmanship. Sometimes they write with the lower end of an unsharpened reed, calling

44 The example is lacking. Al-Muktāfī was the caliph A.D. 903-908. Ibn al-Aghlab must have been Ziyādāt Allāh, the last ruler of the Aghlab dynasty in what is today Tunisia. He reigned A.D. 903-909.
45 This last phrase occurs in MS 1135, but not in Flieg.
46 The Caucasus region is called Mount al-Qibh. For Llak, Shirvān, and Zawzan, see Yaqūt, Cogo, I, 220; II, 957. The consonants of the last name are clearly written in the MS 1135 as z r g, but this must be an error and meant to indicate Zawzan, which lies between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

this reed khām. With it they write ilhamāt dināt, which are books of religious inspirations, dowries, and other things.47

The Chinese write with hairs which they fit into the heads of reeds as painters do. The Arabs write with various kinds of pens and [have various] ways of trimming them. The custom is to have a slant to the right, but the scribes trim pens without an angle.

Remarks about Types of Paper

It is said that first of all Adam wrote on clay. Then for a period after that the peoples wrote on copper and stone for the sake of durability. This was before the Flood. To meet the needs of the moment they also wrote on wood and the leaves of trees, as well as on the ṭāl,48 bark with which their bows were mounted to make them last long. We have discussed this matter in detail in the chapter on philosophy.

Later on they tanned hides upon which people wrote. The Egyptians wrote on Egyptian paper made from the papyrus reed. It is said that the first person to do this was the prophet Yūsuf (Joseph), for whom be peace.

The Greeks write on white silk, parchment, and other things, as well as on Egyptian scrolls and al-falḥān,49 which is the skin of wild ases. The Persians used to write on the skins of water buffaloes, cows, and sheep. The Arabs write on the shoulder blades of the camel and [on] labḥāf, which are thin white stones, and on tub or palm stems; the Chinese on Chinese paper made of heshūh,50 which is the most important producer of the land; the Indians on brass and stone, also on white silk.

Then there is the Khurāsān paper made of flax, which some say appeared in the days of the Banū Umayyah, while others say it was during the 'Abbāsid regime. Some say that it was an ancient product and others say that it is recent. It is stated that craftsmen from China

47 The khām was a white reed pen used by the Persians. Ilham means "inspirations" and dināt is from the word for "religion." Dowries are ziyād.
48 Tāl, or tab, was the inner bark of a tree used by the Persians to wrap their bows and also as a writing material. See Fück in Amīr, IV, Nos. 3 and 4 (February 1951), 13 n. 26.
49 This word seems to be a form derived from pulsūnī. Ibid., p. 90.
50 This may mean "herbs," but more likely refers to "hemp."
made it in Khurāsān like the form of Chinese paper. Its types are the Sułaymānī, the Ṭalḥi, the Niḥṭā, the Fir’awmī, the Ja’farī, and the Ṭāhirī.

For a number of years the people of Baghdad wrote on erased sheets. The registers spoiled at the time of Muḥammad ibn Zubaydah were parchments, which after being erased were once more written upon.

It is said that books used to be made of parchment tanned with naujaf and exceedingly dry. Later the Coptic tanning was with dates, giving flexibility.

The end of the First Section of the First Chapter of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the learned men. To Allah alone is the praise.

44 He is better known as al-ʾAmīn, the elder son of Ḥarūn al-ʾRashīd, who engaged in a civil war with his brother during the early years of the ninth century.

45 Lime mixed with arsenic, used to remove hair from the body before prayer and also by women in the baths. For further information about paper see Mez, Renaissance of Islam, pp. 407–69; Khalīfī, Muhaddithīn (Rosenthal), II, 301, 392.

The Second Section of the First Chapter

with the titles of the books of the laws revealed to the community of Muslims and the sects of the peoples [through revealed books].

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ṭaḥāṣ [al Ṣaḥḥ: I once read a book which fell into my hands, and which was an ancient transcription, apparently from the library of al-Maʾmūn. In the copyist mentions the names and numbers of the scriptures and revealed books, with their scope and with the things which most of the common people and the populace feel sure of and believe. I have recorded from what is related to this book of mine. This statement in the wording of the [ancient] book is [the passage] from it which is needed by me. Ahmad ibn Ḥabū Allāh ibn Saḥm, a protégé of the Commander of the Faithful Harūn, whom I esteem as al-ʾRashīd, said:

I have translated this book from a book of the ḥunafāʾ4 of al-Ṣaḥbīyīn al-ʾBadrīmiyyah, who believed in ʾIbrāhīmīn [Abraham], for whom may there be peace, and who received from him the scripture revealed to him by Allah.5

It is a long book, but I have deleted some material as is unnecessary for an understanding of the reasons which are mentioned for their disagreements and differences. I have introduced into it what is needed for proof

4 Ḥunafāʾ is the plural of Ḥanif, a word which was used for a reformed worshipper of Pre-Islamic times. Abraham was regarded as a Ḥanif; see Qurʾān 3:67, and cf. Qurʾān 6:74 ff.

5 For al-Ṣaḥbīyīn al-ʾBadrīmiyyah, see Maʿṣūdī, IV, 63, and the account in Chap. IX, sect. 1, of this work, about the Shiʿahs of Ḥarūn. This term may refer to the spiritual sect of the Shiʿahs, opposed to idolatry; see Shahristānī (Hasebrücker), Part II, p. 4. It is also possible that it refers to the Śāhīyān of the marshlands of southern ʾIrāq, or simply to pagans who honored Abraham.
of these things from the Qur'an and the Hadith coming from the Apostle, may Allah bless him and give him peace, and from his Companions, as well as from the People of the Book who became Muslims, among whom were 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm, Yûnis ibn Yûnis, Wâhîb ibn Munâbbih, Kâbî b. Al-Jâhîr, Ibn al-Tîhâmî, and Bâjîr al-Râhîb (the Monk).

Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Salâm [also] said:

I have translated the beginning of this book, and the Torah, the Gospels, and the books of the prophets and disciples from Hebrew, Greek, and Săsăn, which are the languages of the people of each book, into Arabic, letter for letter. In so doing I did not wish to beautify or embellish the style for fear of inaccuracy. I added nothing to what I found in the book which I was translating and I subtracted nothing, unless there were words presented by the language of the people of that book with meanings which could not be clearly translated into Arabic except by transposing. Thus something coming last may not be clear unless it is placed first, so as to be understood in Arabic. For example, the words of one who says 'rb nîn sîb I have translated into Arabic as mîl hâr, only I have placed mîl (water) last and hâr (bring) first. So in translating these languages correctly into Arabic I seek the protection of Allâh lest I add or subtract, except in the manner which I have recorded and explained in this book.

In another place in the book he said:

The total number of prophets was one hundred and twenty-four thousand, three hundred and fifteen, among whom were those sent forth with revelation on their lips. The total number of books which Allâh Almighty revealed was one hundred and four. Among these Allâh Almighty revealed one hundred of the sacred scriptures between the times of Adam and Mûsâ (Moses).

The first of these books revealed by Him [Allâh], honor to His name, were the sacred writings of Adam, for whom be peace, twenty-one in number. Allâh revealed to Shîth (Seth) for whom be peace, the second book, twenty-nine sacred writings. Allâh, may He be exalted, revealed the third book, thirty sacred writings, to Ikhânîb (Enoch) who is Idrîs, may peace rest with him. The fourth book of ten sacred writings He, honor to His name, revealed to Ibrâhîm (Abraham), for whom be peace,

A Statement about the Torah, Which Is in the Hands of the Jews, with the Names of Their Books and Information about Their Scholars and Authors

When I asked one of their notable men about these matters, he said, "God, honor to His name, revealed to Moses the Torah in five folds, each fifth divided into two parts and each part into a number of sûrah, which means sûrah, with every sûrah divided into a number of âbûqât, meaning verses." He said that there is a book of Moses called the Misbâh, from which the Jews derive the science of the law, with the religious ordinances and judgments. It is a large book, its languages being Kasârâni and

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1 See Exod. 20:12, 31:18, and 32:35. See also Qur'ân 7:148-54.
2 Al-zâhir (pl. al-zâhirî) is used for the Psalms. The number 150 corresponds to the number of psalms in the Bible. See also Qur'ân 3:184; 4:166(166); and "Zâhir, Enc. Islam, IV, 1184.
3 A note in Flügel, p. 33, suggests that the forms fâsâd (plural of fâsâd) and ašâqāt came from the Semitic words panâshen and panâth. Sûrah is the word used for a chapter of the Qur'ân.
Hebrew. In addition to that there were among the books of the prophets: Joshua; Judges; Samuel; the scripture of Isaiah; the scripture of Jeremiah; the scripture of Ezekiel; Kings, which is the scripture of David and his associates, known as "Malkhā al-Mulāh"; the Prophets, comprising twelve minor scriptures. There are also books called Hāfīẓ al-Dīdār derived from the books of the twelve prophets.

Among their books there are also: Ezra; Daniel; Job; Song of Songs; Lamentations; Psalms of David; Proverbs of Solomon; Record of the Days [Chroniccles], containing the history of the kings and accounts about them; Almasīrūs, called the Megillah [Esther].

Al-Fayyūmī was one of the most eminent of the Jews and of their scholars who were versed in the Hebrew language. In fact the Jews consider that there was nobody else like al-Fayyūmī. His name was Sa‘īd, also said to be Sa‘diyā, and he lived so recently that some of our contemporaries were alive before he died. Among his books there were:

8 Kāhu was an old Babylonian form for the people of Chaldea. This probably means that the languages they Chaldean dialect and Hebrew.
9 In Al-Fihrist, when lists of books are given, the word kūsūr ("book") is placed before each title. In this translation, this word will be omitted.
10 The Arabic word is sifrā, derived, like the Hebrew verb shōfēn, from an old Semitic word for "judges."
11 This is a translation of the old Hebrew term malkāh.
12 This was a translation into Aramaic of selections from the Prophets. In the Flügel edition it is said the book is called Lhā-hārātīn, but the text is evidently not in its original form. See "Targums," Enc. of Religion and Ethics, XII, 203.
13 Song of Songs is in Arabic Sher Sīrīn, from the Hebrew Sher Heḥārīn. Lamentations is in Arabic Ahāh, which is a transliteration of the Hebrew word with which the book began and by which it was often known. See Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 720.
14 The Arabic word is a transliteration of the Hebrew word Qoheleth. Ibid., p. 724.
15 This book was evidently Esther, which was known in Hebrew as Megillat. Sometimes, however, this term was used for Esther and four other books. See Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible, I, 773.
16 He was the famous tenth-century Jewish scholar from Egypt, known as Saadia ben Joseph, Gaon of the Academy of Sura.
17 In Al-Fihrist the phrase usually found before a list of books is, literally, "And to him from the books," which in translation is rendered as "Among his books there were:"
They also have books about the religious law and the judgments of their community, among which are the books of the synods, western and eastern, each of which contains a number of chapters of legal decisions.35

One of their authorities on the religious law and judicial interpretations was Ibn Bahriz, whose name was 'Abd Ya'qūb. He was at first the metropolitan of Harrān and subsequently became the metropolitan of al-Mawṣil and Harrān. He wrote epistles and books.

There was also the book of Marqūs the Jacobite, who was known as al-Badawi. It was a reply to two books which refuted his doctrine and denying the oneness of the Trinity professed by the Jacobites and Melchites.36

Ibn Bahriz was learned, his scholarship approaching that of Isām. He translated a great deal of material from books about logic and philosophy. There was also Petriūn, who was the most accurate of the translators from the point of view of translation, also the best of them for style and diction. There were Theodoros and Yūsha' Yaḥyi, Hazilī (Ezekiel), Timotheus, and Yūsha' ibn Nīn, who were translators and commentators.37 We shall give accounts about them in the chapter on the ancient sciences [Chapter VII].

Among their learned men there was Yārūn al-Ruhānī (Thomas of Ruḥa' or Edessa), who wrote an epistle to his sister about what took place between him and the opposition at Alexandria. There was also Ilīās (Ilīa), the metropolitan of Damascus, who wrote a book, The Call, as well as Abū 'Izzah, the Melkite bishop of Harrān, among whose works there was a book in which he deformed Nestorius'38 the leader. A group has denounced him.

35 Clabit, Synopsis orientale, is a good example of a Nestorian or Eastern collection of church records. 36 Marqūs was Jacob Burdulū, a metropolitan of the Syrian Orthodox Church, called the Jacobite Church after him. He evidently replied to Nestorian books which endorsed the doctrine that Christ had two natures. The Melchites, supported by the emperor, decreed at the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, that the two natures were not separate, but one and composite. Later the Syrian Orthodox Church, or Jacobites, emphasized still further the oneness of Christ's nature as expressed in the Monophysite dogma.

37 These were all translators and not Biblical characters. 38 The Flügel text has Asūrus, but it is evidently an error and intended for Nestorius.

The Third Section of the First Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist with accounts of the scholars and the names of their books. This section includes a description of the Book which has nothing false in front of it or behind it: a revelation from the Wise and Praised, with the names of the books composed about it and accounts of the Seven Readers and others, too, with their writings.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Iṣḥāq [al-Nāṣim]: Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Yūnūf al-Nāṣirī4 said:

Yāḥyā ibn Muḥammad Abū al-Qasīm related to us saying, Sulaymān ibn Dā'ūd al-Ḥāşimī said, Ibrahīm ibn Sa'd [learned] from al-Zubārī from 'Ubayd ibn al-Sill that Zayd ibn Thābit told him saying, "I was sent to Abū Bakr and when I came to him, behold, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭāb was with him. Then Abū Bakr said, "'Umar has come to me and said to me, "As the slaughter of reciters [of the Qur'ān] was excessive on the day of Yāmāmah, I fear that the slaughter of reciters in the lands as a whole may be so great that much of the Qur'ān will be lost. I believe, therefore, that the Qur'ān should immediately be compiled." Then I said to 'Umar, "How can I do something which the Apostle of Allah himself did not accomplish, may Allah bless him and give him peace?" 'Umar said, "But, by Allah, it is a good idea!" Then 'Umar continued to remind me about this matter until Allah opened my heart for him and I viewed the affair as 'Umar saw it.""

1 This may have been a personal friend of the author of Al-Fihrist who passed on to him the tradition about compilation of the Qur'ān.

2 Here the Arabic is translated as "reciters," as the literal meaning. "readers," cannot apply to persons who recited from memory.

3 The battle in A.H. 653, when the Muslim general Khalīd ibn al-Walid defeated the rebellious Banū Ḥāshim tribesmen and killed the false prophet Musaylimah. It is likely that in the second sentence which follows in the text the wording should be, "I believe, therefore, that you should immediately compile the Qur'ān."
CHAPTER ONE

Zayd ibn Thabit also related: "Abū Bakr said, "You are a young man, intelligent, and not headstrong. You used to write down what was revealed to the Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him and give him peace. So now follow up the problem of the Qur'ān and make a compilation of it."

Zayd then said: "By Allah, to move a peak from the mountains would not have been a harder job for me than the one which he commanded me to do, which is the compilation of the entire Qur'ān from scraps, thin white stones, palm stems, and the breasts [memory] of men. I found 'Sūrah al-Tawbah'4 [recorded] by Abū Khuzaymah al-Ansāri and did not discover [recorded] by anybody else the passage, 'An apostle has come to you from your own number; costly for him are your sufferings,' to the end of the sūrah."

This scripture was with Abū Bakr during his lifetime, until Allah took him. Then it was with 'Umar until Allah brought his life to a completion, and after that with 'Umar's daughter Ḥafṣah.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ṭāḥṣīb: A reliable person has quoted that Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān came to 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān when he was in Irāq, saying to him, 'Uthmān, "Get ahead of this people before they disagree about the Book, as the Jews and Christians have disagreed [about their scriptures]." So 'Uthmān sent the message to Ḥafṣah, "Send us the scriptures that we may transcribe them as manuscripts and then return them to you." Ḥafṣah sent them to 'Uthmān and 'Uthmān gave orders so that Zayd ibn Thābit, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, Sa‘d ibn al-Qays, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Hārith ibn Ḥishām transcribed them as manuscripts. Moreover, he ['Uthmān] said to the group of the Quraysh: "If you and Zayd ibn Thābit differ about any passage of the Qur'ān, write it in the colloquial speech of the Quraysh, as it was revealed in their vernacular." So they accomplished this work and when the scriptures had been transcribed, 'Uthmān returned them to Ḥafṣah. Then he sent a manuscript copy to each district, ordering that every

4 This was Sūrah 9. The passage quoted represents the last three verses of the sūrah. Zayd ibn Thābit was chosen to compile the Qur'ān in written form because he had been the Prophet's secretary.

5 This was evidently Zayd's original collection of Qur'ānic verses, later issued as an authorized canon in corrected form.

6 This was the tribe at Makkah to which the Prophet belonged. Zayd did not belong to it, but the men chosen to work with him were related to the tribe.

SECTION THREE

page and manuscript with a different version of the Qur'ān should be burned.

Subdivision concerning the Revealing of the Qur'ān at Makkah and al-Madinah, with the Sequence of Its Revelation

Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf related to us saying:

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Gālib said to us, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Madīnī, who came from al-Madinah in the year two hundred and ninety-nine [A.D. 917], said that Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb of al-Madinah stated, al-Wāṣib Muḥammad ibn 'Umar related to us saying, Ma‘mar ibn Rāshīd quoted what he received from al-Zuhri and he from Muḥammad ibn Nu‘mān ibn Bakhrīr, who said that the first section of the Qur'ān to be revealed to the Prophet, may Allah bless him and give him peace, was:7

[Opening words or title of the sūrah] [Number of the sūrah]
Recite in the name of your Lord who created—as far as its clause—He taught men what he did not know 96
Nīn (N) and the Pen 68
Oh, thou who art wrapped up—the last verse, however, being revealed on the Makkah road 73

The Cloaked

Quoting from Ma‘jūshīd, he said that then there were revealed:

Pestil the hands of Abū Lahab 111
When the sun is covered 81
Glory the name of your Lord the Most High 87
Have we not expanded your breast for you? 94
Al-‘Ayr (The Afternoon) 103
Al-Fajr (The Daybreak) 89
Al-Dūhā (The Early Morning) 93
Al-Layl (The Night) 92
The runners breathing hard 100

7 The quotation continues. The headings in brackets do not appear in the Arabic text, but after the opening words of each sūrah the text adds 'then.' The numbers of the sūrah in the authorized version of the Qur'ān have been inserted in a second column, and are not in the Arabic text. For a detailed study, see the Fīṣalī text, p. 25. n. 1.
CHAPTER ONE

We have given you abundance
Rivalry for wealth distracts you
Have you considered him who?
Say: Oh, unbelievers
Have you not seen how your Lord dealt with the owners
of the elephant?
Say: He Allah is one
Say: I seek refuge in the Lord of the dawn
Say: I take refuge in the Lord of mankind—said to have
been revealed at al-Madinah,
And the star
He frowned and turned away
Verily We revealed it
And the sun and its morning light
And the heaven with the stars
And the fig and the olive
For uniting of the Quraish
The calumny
Verily, I swear by the Day of Resurrection
Woe to every slanderer
And those who are sent forth
Qarif(Q) and the Qur’an
Verily, I swear by this city
The Compassionate
Say: It has been revealed
Yi’(Y) Sin(S)
Alif(A) Lam(L) Mim(M) Sid(S)
Blessed is He Who has sent down the test of truth
Surah of the Angels, Praise to Allah the Creator
Surah of Maryam (Mary)
Surah Taa(T) Hei(H)
When the event occurs
Taa(T) Sin(S) Mim(M): The Poets

SECTION THREE

Taa(T) Sin(S)
Taa(T) Sin(S) Mee(M), to its end
Surah of the Bani Isra’il (Children of Israel)
Surah of Hud
Surah of Yusuf (Joseph)
Surah of Yunus (Jonah)
Surah of al-Hijr (the Rocky Trace)
Surah, Wa-al-Sabihat (Those Who Rank Themselves)
Surah of Luqman—the last of which is from al-Madinah
The believers have prospered
Sabaa
Surah, Al-Anbiya’ (The Prophets)
Surah, Al-Zumar (The Troops)
Surah, HaH(M) Mim(M): Al-Mu’in (The Believer)
Surah, HaH(M) Mim(M): Al-Sajdah (The Worship)
Surah, HaH(M) Mim(M) ‘Ayn(Y) Sin(S) Qarif(Q)
Haa(H) Mim(M): Al-Zukhruf (The Ornaments)
Haa(H) Mim(M): Al-Dukhnah (The Smoke)
Haa(H) Mim(M): Al-Jathiyah (The Kneeling)
Haa(H) Mim(M): Al-A’raf (The Sandhills)—in which
there is a verse from al-Madinah
And those scattering
Has there not come to you an account of the over-
shadowing?
Surah of al-Kahf (the Cave)—the last of which is from
al-Madinah
Al-’An’am (The Cattle)—in which there is a verse from
al-Madinah
Surah of al-Nahl (the Bee)—the last of which is from
al-Madinah
Surah of Nuh (Noah)
Surah of Ibrahim (Abraham)
Surah of al-Sajdah (The Worship)
Wa-al-Tur (And the Mountain)
Blessed be he in whose hand is the sovereignty

* This surah and some of the others which follow begin with letters. The scholars are not sure what these letters mean.
9 The first clause is the title and the second the opening words of Surah 35.
10 Flügel is evidently wrong in giving them as two different titles. Fifteen of the titles
which follow give the names of the surahs rather than the opening words.
CHAPTER ONE

Al-Hāqqah (The Infallible)

A questioner questioned

Whereof do they question?

And those who drag forth

When the heavens are cleft

When the heavens are split

Al-Ra’i (The Byzantines)

Al-‘Ankabūt (The Spider)

Woe to the givers of short measure—they say it is from al-Madīnah

The hour drew nigh and the moon was cleft

And the heavens and the night come

He [Abū al-Jaṣām] said:

Al-Thawrī passed on to me from Fārāḥ from al-Sha’bī, who said “Al-Naḥl” was revealed at Makkah, except for those verses, “If you take vengeance, avenge in the way that they take vengeance on you.” Ibn Jurayj passed on from ‘Atā’ al-Khuṭībī from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said eighty-five sūras were revealed at Makkah, whereas twenty-eight sūras were revealed at al-Madīnah. At al-Madīnah there were revealed:

Al-Baqara (The Cow)

Al-‘Anfūl (The Spoils)

Al-A‘rāf (The Heights)

Al-‘Imrān (Family of ‘Imrān)

Al-Muntahānah (She Who Is Examined)

Al-Nisā’ (The Women)

When it quakes

Al-Hadid (The Iron)

Those who disbelieve

Al-Ka‘d (The Thunder)

SECTION THREE

Has there come upon man?

Oh, Prophet, when you divorce women

Those who were unbelievers were not

Al-Ḥaḍr (The Assembling)

When the help of Allah and the conquest come

Al-Nūr (The Light)

Al-‘Alā’ (The Pilgrimage)

Al-Mumāsīqīn (The Hypocrites)

Al-Mu‘ājamūna (She Who Pleads)

Al-Ḥujurat (The Private Apartments)

Oh, Prophet, wherefore dost thou forbid

Al-Jum‘ah (The Congregation)

Al-Taghābūn (Disillusion)

Al-Ḥusnāyīn (The Disciples)

Al-Fāṭir (The Victory)

Al-Ma‘ṣūdah (The Dining Table)

Al-Tawbah (Repentence)

It is said that “Al-Mu‘āwwidhāt” were revealed at al-Madīnah. Then there is the remainder of the Qur’ān.

Subdivision concerning the Arrangement of the Qur’ān in the Manuscript of ‘Abd Allah ibn Mas‘ūd

Al-Fāqīh Ibn Shāhīd said, “I found in a manuscript of ‘Abd Allah ibn Mas‘ūd the compilation of the sūras of the Qur’ān in accordance with the following sequence:"

Al-Baqara (The Cow)

Al-Nisā’ (The Women)

Al-‘Imrān (Family of ‘Imrān)

13 The Arabic has “Al-Thawrī told me,” but the meaning must be “Al-Thawrī passed on to me,” because al-Thawrī lived long before al-Nadim and his contemporary Abū al-Jaṣām Muhammad ibn ‘Uyayn, whom al-Nadim quoted at the beginning of the passage.

14 This evidently refers to the last three verses of Sūrah 16.

15 As in the preceding list, the headings and numbers of sūras have been inserted, although they do not appear in the Arabic text. Before each title there is the word “then,” which has been omitted in the translation.

16 Also called “Al-Saff” (“The Ranks”).

17 In the sūras 113 and 114, the principal word is da‘ād (“I take refuge”), so that these sūras are called “Al-Mu‘āwwidhāt.” Here they are counted as one, making a total of 21 revealed at al-Madīnah. The remainder of the Qur’ān was ascribed to Makkah.

18 ‘Abd Allah ibn Mas‘ūd was a judge at al-Kūfa at the time of the early caliphs. He evidently owned an ancient manuscript which was kept for future generations to study. In this list, unlike the preceding lists, the word “then” does not precede each title. The sūra numbers have been inserted by the translator.
CHAPTER ONE

[Opening words or title of the surah]  
Alif (A) Lām (L) Mīm (M) 3.  
Al-ʿArshān (The Castle)  
Al-ʿUmmād (The Standing)  
Yūnus (Jonah)  
Al-Baqʾāʾ (Freedom)19  
Al-Nāṭ (The Bee)  
Hūd  
Yūsuf (Joseph)  
Bani Isrāʾil (Children of Israel)  
Al-ʿAbīyāʾ (The Prophets)  
Al-Mūʾminīn (The Believers)  
Al-Shuʿaʾrāʾ (The Poets)  
Al-Sāfiʿat (Those Who Rank Themselves)  
Al-ʿAlāʾ (The Confederates)  
Al-Qāṣas (The Story)  
Al-Nīr (The Light)  
Al-Anfāl (The Spoils)  
Maryam (Mary)  
Al-ʿAnkabūt (The Spider)  
Al-Rūm (The Byzantines)  
Yāʾ (Y) Sin(S)  
Al-Furqān (The Test of Truth)  
Al-Ḥajj (The Pilgrimage)  
Al-Raʿd (The Thunder)  
Sāḥa  
Al-Māʾūn (The Angels)  
Israel (Abraham)  
Ṣād(S)  
Those who disbelieve  
Al-Qamar (The Moon)20  
Al-Zumar (The Troops)  

The Praiseworthy  
Al-Ḥ (H) Mīm (M)  
Al-ʿAlāʾ (The Heights)  

Al-Ṭūbā (The Cloaked)  
Al-Muzzammil (The Wrapped-Up)  

SECSECTION THREE  

[Number of the surah]  
7  
6  
5  
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16  
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30  
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55  
22  
13  
34  
35  
74  
38  
47  
31  
39  
40  
43  
41  
46  
45  
44  
48  
57  
59  
32  
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65  
49  
67  
64  
63  
62  
61  
73  
71  
58  
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19 Flügel, p. 26 n. 10, suggests that this is meant to be "Laqīmāt" or Surah 51, which does not appear elsewhere on the list and in v. 29 mentions al-qamar. Surah 54, usually called "Al-Qamar," is mentioned in this list and others by its opening words, rather than by a title.

20 Better known as "Al-ʿAbīyāʾ (The Prophets)."

21 Better known as "Al-Ṭūbā (The Cloaked)."
CHAPTER ONE

[Opening words or title of the surah]

[Number of the surah]

Al-Mustaffín (Givers of Short Measure) 83
He frowned 80
Has there come upon man? 76
Al-Qiyāmah (The Resurrection) 75
Al-Mursalât (Those Sent Forth) 77
Wherefore do they question? 78
When the sun is covered 81
When the heavens are clef 82
Has there not come to you an account of the overwhelming? 88
Glorify the name of your Lord the Most High 87
And the night when it ensnareth 92
Al-Fājr (The Dawn) 89
Al-Burāq (The Stars of the Zodiac) 85
Al-Ihšāṣāq (Rent Asunder) 84
Recite in the name of your Lord 96
Verily, I swear by this city 90
Wa-al-Duḥā (And the Morning Light) 93
Have We not expanded for you? 94
And the heavens and the night come 86
Al-‘Ādiyāt (The Runners) 100
Have you seen someone? 107
Al-Qāʾiẓah (The Calamity) 101
Those of the People of the Book who were unbelievers were not 98
The sun and its morning light 91
And the fig 93
Woe to every slanderer 104
Al-Fil (The Elephant) 105
For uniting the Quraysh 105
Al-Tākāthur (Rivalry for Wealth) 102
Verily, We revealed it 97
And the afternoon. We have created man for loss [of God’s favor] in which he will remain until the end of time, except for those who believe, enjoining one

SECTION THREE

[Opening words or title of the surah]

[Number of the surah]

another to piety and committing each other to endurance. 58
When the help of Allāh cometh 110
Verily, We have given you 108
Say: Oh, you who disbelieved, I do not worship what you worship 109
The hands of Abū Lahab have perished and he has perished. His wealth will not be enough for him, nor his gains. His wife, moreover, is the bearer of wood. 57
Allāh is one, eternal. 111

These are one hundred and ten surahs. 58
According to another tradition, "Al-Ṭūr" [Sūrah 52] comes before "Al-Dhāriyāt" [Sūrah 51].
Ibn Shāhidah 59 stated that Ibn Sīrīn said 'Abd Allāh ibn Maṣʿūd did not transcribe into his manuscript either "Al-Muʾawwadhatīn" 60 or the opening of the Book. 59 Moreover, al-Faṣāṣ [Ibn Shāhidah] quoted in sequence from al-Aʾmah, saying that in the reading of 'Abd Allāh [Ibn Maṣʿūd] there was "Fīq (H) Mim(M) Sin(S) Qāʾ(Q)".72
Thus saith Muhammad ibn Ishaq [al-Nadīm]: I have seen a number of Qurʿānic manuscripts, which the transcribers recorded as manuscripts of Ibn Maṣʿūd. No two of the Qurʿānic copies were in agreement and most of them were on badly effaced parchment. I also saw a Qurʿānic manuscript transcribed about two hundred

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54 Known as "Al-Taṣfīl."
55 This is probably the title intended in the Arabic.
years ago which included the opening of the Book. As al-Faḍil ibn Ṣaḥḥān was one of the leading authorities on the Qur’an and the Ḥadith, I have mentioned what he said, in addition to what we ourselves have witnessed.

Subdivision concerning the Arrangement of the Qur’an in the Manuscript of Ubayy ibn Ka’b
Al-Faḍil ibn Ṣaḥḥān said:

One of our reliable friends has informed us, saying that the composition of the sūrah according to the reading of Ubayy ibn Ka’b is in a village called Qarīyat al-Anṣār, two parasangs²⁹ from al-Baṣra, where in his home Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-‘Aṣūr showed us a Qur’ānic manuscript, saying, “This is the copy of Ubayy which we have, handed down from our fathers.” I looked into it and ascertained the headings of the sūrah, the endings of the revelations, and the numbers of verses.³⁰

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opening words or title of the sūrah</th>
<th>Number of the sūrah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fātihah al-Kīthāb (Opening of the Book)—was the first</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Baqara (The Cow)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Nisā’ (The Women)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-‘Imrān (The Family of ‘Imrān)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Anānān (The Cattle)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-‘Arāf (The Heights)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Ma‘ād (The Table)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-‘Imārāt (The Prophets)</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-‘Affāl (The Sleepers)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Tawbah (Repentence)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hūd</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryam (Mary)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Shu‘arā’ (The Poets)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Hajj (The Pilgrimage)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁹ The Ansār were the people of Al-Madinah who helped the Prophet. A parasang is a measure of distance of about five miles or less. Various sources give different values.
³⁰ This passage is translated freely.
³¹ The sūrah numbers have been inserted by the translator.
³² In the authorized version the letters are “Alif(A) Lām(U) Ra(R).”

SECTION THREE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opening words or title of the sūrah</th>
<th>Number of the sūrah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yūnūs (Joseph)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Kahf (The Cave)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Naml (The Bee)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Aṣrāf (The Confederates)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baṣra Isrā’il (The Children of Israel)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Zumar (The Troops)</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥā’(H) Min(M): Tanzīl (The Revelation)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣaḥīḥ (Ṣ) Min(M): The Light</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Ṣāḥibiyā’ (The Prophets)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Mīrāj (The Ascension)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Mu‘allim (The Teacher)</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥā’(H) Min(M): Al-Mu‘āmin (The Believer)</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Ra‘d (The Thunder)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣaḥīḥ (Ṣ) Min(M): Al-Qisas (The Story)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣaḥīḥ (Ṣ) Min(M): Sulaymān (Solomon)</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Saffāt (Those Who Rank Themselves)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dī‘ā‘ (Sūrah Dī‘ā‘a)</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya‘(Y) Sin(S)</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṣrāf al-Rijāl (The Inhabitants of the Rocky Land)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥā’(H) Min(M): ‘Alayh(i) Sin(S) Qif(Q)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Kūn (The Byzantines)</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Zukhrūf (The Ornaments)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥā’(H) Min(M): Al-Ṣajdah (The Worship)</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūrah of Ibrahim (Abraham)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Ma‘ālikah (The Angels)</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Fath (The Victory)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥammad, may Allāh bless him and give him peace</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Hadīd (The Iron)</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Tūr (The Mountain)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabārak: Al-Furqān (Blessed: The Test of Truth)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alif(A) Lām(U) Min(M): Tanzīl (Revelation)</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁹ The Arabic text has “Al-Mu‘āmin” in possessive form after sūrah.
³⁰ Usually called “Al-Naml.”
³¹ The Fligel gives “Al-Malikah.”
³² Fligel copied from his imperfect manuscript “Al-Tūr,” but he points out, p. 27 n. 9, that this is a mistake. The title two lines above has evidently been lengthened by some pious scribe, as the real title is “Muḥammad.”
### CHAPTER ONE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Sūrah</th>
<th>Number of the Sūrah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nūh (Noah)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Abṣāf al-Sandhīls</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qīf(Q)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Rajmān (The Companionate)</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Waqi‘ah (The Event)</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Jinn</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Najm (The Star)</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nūn(N)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Hāqqah (The Infallible)</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Ḥāṣār (The Assembling)</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Munṣūbān (She Who Is Examined)</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Mursalah (Those Sent Forth)</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whereof do they question?</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Insān (The Man)</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verily I swear</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covered</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Nāzi‘āt (Those Who Drag Forth)</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abas[a] (He Frowned)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Manqifin (Those Who Give Short Measure)</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When the heavens are split</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Tin (The Fig)</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recite in the name of your Lord</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Hujūrūt (The Private Apartments)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Munṣūbān (The Hypocrites)</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Jumūrūt (The Congregation)</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Nābi, for whom be peace</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Fārūq (The Dawn)</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Mulk (The Sovereignty)</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The night when it enshrouds</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When the heavens are cleft</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And the sun with its morning light</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And the heavens with the stars</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Tāriq (The Night Cover)</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glorify the name of your Lord the Most High</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Ghāshiyah (The Overshadowing)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41 The words "for whom be peace" are not in the authorized version.

### SECTION THREE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Sūrah</th>
<th>Number of the Sūrah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abū[al-s] (He Frowned)</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was not the first of those who disbelieved</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Saff (The Ranks)</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Duḥā (The Morning Light)</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have we not expanded your</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Qāri‘ah (The Calamity)</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Takālīfūr (Rivalry for Wealth)</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Kha‘l (Divorce), three verses</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Jīd (The Neck), six verses</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oh, Allah, Thee do we worship—the last of which is—with the unbelievers. It is appended to &quot;Al-Lumazāh.&quot;</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When it quakes</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-ʿAdīyāt (The Runners)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṣḥāb al-Ṭī (Owners of the Elephant)</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Tin (The Fig)</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Kawthar (Abundance)</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Qadr (The Power)</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Kāfūrūn (The Unbelievers)</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Nāṣr (Help)</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abī Laḥab</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qurāysh</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Samād (The Eternal)</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Falaq (The Dawn)</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Nās (Mankind)</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is one hundred and sixteen sūras. 48

42 Abī[al-s] has already been mentioned as Sūrah 80. As the words also appear in Sūrah 74, v. 22, this may refer to that sūrah, which is not mentioned elsewhere in this list.

43 This is probably a variation for Sūrah 98, v. 1.

44 This sūrah is probably meant as Sūrah 65, which deals with the subject of divorce. On the other hand, Sūrah 65 has many verses, so that “Al-Kha‘l” may be a garbled title for Sūrah 104, which has three verses.

45 Al-Jīd (“neck”) is mentioned at the end of Sūrah 111, but this sūrah is included as “Abī Laḥab.” Perhaps the word is meant to be al-bīnū, the opening word of Sūrah 14, not mentioned elsewhere in this list.

46 “Al-Lumazāh” almost certainly refers to Sūrah 104, but the words appended are not in the authorized version.

47 This is a mistake, as the sūrah has already been mentioned and the name does not resemble titles of sūras not elsewhere mentioned.

48 The list as given does not include such a large number, moreover, about a dozen of the sūras of the authorized version are omitted.
He [Al-Fa‘il ibn Shāhāb] said:

So far I have followed the Qur’anic copy of Ḫubayy ibn Ka‘b. According to the statement of Ḫubayy ibn Ka‘b the total number of the verses of the Qur’ān is six thousand, two hundred and ten. The total number of the sūrah of the Qur’ān according to the statement of ‘Abd Allāh ibn Yāṣīr is one hundred and fourteen, its verses are six thousand, one hundred and seventy, its words seventy-seven thousand, four hundred and thirty-nine, and its letters three hundred and twenty-three thousand and fifteen.

According to the statement of ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥasan, there are one hundred and thirteen sūrah. The total number of verses of the Qur’ān as stated by Yahyā ibn al-Ḥārith al-Dhāmārī is six thousand, two hundred and twenty-six, while its letters are three hundred and twenty-one thousand, five hundred and thirty.

The Collectors of the Qur’ān at the Time of the Prophet, May Allāh Bless Him and Give Him Peace

‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭalīb, may the favor of Allāh be with him; Sa‘d ibn ‘Ubayd ibn Nu‘mān ibn ‘Amr ibn Zayd, may Allāh be pleased with him;49 Abū al-Dardā‘ Unaymī ibn Zayd, may Allāh be pleased with him; Mu‘āth ibn Jabal ibn Aws, may Allāh be pleased with him; Abū Zayd Thābit ibn Zayd ibn al-Nu‘mān;49 Ḫubayy ibn Ka‘b ibn Ṭaṣa‘ ibn Malik ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qayṣ; ‘Ubayd ibn Mu‘āwiyah ibn Zayd ibn Thābit ibn al-Dalhājāk.

Arrangement of the Sūrah of the Qur’ān according to the Manuscript of the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭalīb, May Allāh Honor His Countenance

Ibn al-Munādī said:

Al-Ḥasan ibn al-‘Abbās said to me, "I received the information through ‘Abd Allāh al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Ḥamīd from al-Ṭakām ibn Ṭuḥayr al-Sadīq from ‘Abd Allāh al-Khayt from ‘Ali, for whom be peace, that he [‘Ali] perceived an augury connected with the people49 at the time of the death of the

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49 This name is sometimes written Sa‘īd, but both Al-Fīrāwī and Sa‘īd, Tāhāqūdī, spell it without the third letter.
49 Abū Zayd had many names; see Biog. Index. As "Ibn al-Nu‘mān" is not mentioned in connection with his lineage, it may be that this is a separate name, perhaps intended for the Prophet’s intimate Companion, Qatādah ibn al-Nu‘mān.
49 For the phrase translated as "with the people" the Flījīd text has min al-nās, but p. 28 n. 1 of the Flījīd text suggests an alternative. Al-nās is sometimes used for angels as well as for people. The word might also be al-nās ("lamentation").

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Accounts of the Seven Readers with the Names of Those Who Quoted from Them and Read Like Them

Abū ‘Amr ibn al-‘Ali‘, whose name was Zābbān ibn al-‘Ali‘, ibn ‘Anmār ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Juḥám ibn Khūzā‘ī ibn Māzin ibn Mālik ibn ‘Amr ibn al-Ma‘zūn, was one of the most learned authorities of the Qur’ān. Yūnis and other shaykhs of al-Baṣrah belonging to the fourth generation [of Ḥūsain] learned from him.

Naming of Those Who Followed the Reading of Abū ‘Amr

The Reading of Abū ‘Amr, a composition of Aḥmad ibn Zayd al-Hudhaylī; The Reading of Abū ‘Amr ibn al-‘Ali‘, from Abū Dhūlīl, quoted by ‘Iṣmā‘ī ibn Abī ‘Isām; The Reading of Abū ‘Amr, which was quoted by al-Yazīdī.

Account of Nāfī‘ ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Nu‘aym al-Madānī

He was also called Aḥbān and Abī al-Ḥasan. Al-Ḥusayn ibn Nāfī‘, who told him, "My origin was at Ḥatif."
Naming of Those Who Quoted Nāfi’

‘Isā ibn Mīnā Qālīn; Muḥammad ibn Ḣāšiq al-Musayyabi; al-Aṣma’i; Ismā‘il ibn Ja‘far ibn Abī Kathīr al-Anṣārī; Ya‘qūb ibn Ibrāhīm; ——— ibn Sa‘īd al-Zuhālī.

Account of Ibn Kathīr

His name was ‘Abd Allāh ibn Kathīr and his surname Abū Sa‘īd, or some say Abū Bakr. He was a Qur’ānic reader of Makka in the second generation of Islam and a protégé of ‘Amr ibn ‘Aṣaṣmah al-Kūnah. He was called al-Dārānī because he was a perfume seller and in al-Ḥijāz a perfumer is called a ḍārānī; [he was called] also al-Dārī al-Lakhmī because he was a descendant of the tribe of al-Dār ibn Ḥāni ibn Lakhm, to which Tamīm al-Dārī belonged.52

He was said to be a descendant of the Persians whom Chosroes sent by ship to al-Yaman in order to drive out the Abyssinians.53 ‘Abd Allāh al-Kathīr died during the year one hundred and twenty [A.D. 738] at Makka, where he was buried. He was regarded as preeminent.

Naming of Those Who Quoted Ibn Kathīr

Ismā‘il ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Quṣaṣṭīn, a protégé of Maṣṣar, who was a protégé of al-‘Aṣīr ibn Ḥishām.

Account of ‘Aṣīr ibn Bahdalāh

He was Ibn Abī al-Najjād, surnamed Abū Bakr, a protégé of the tribe of Ḥadīmāh ibn Mālik ibn Nāṣr ibn Quṣayn. He belonged to the third generation of the scholars of al-Kūfah, following Yahyā ibn Waththabī. ‘Aṣīr died in the year one hundred and twenty-eight [A.D. 743].54 The reading used by ‘Aṣīr was according to Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulami and Zīrīr ibn Ḥubaysh.

52 For these tribes, see Tabaqīt, Annals, Part III, pp. 254, 2745: Durayd, General, p. 226.
53 Chosroes Anūshirvān sent this expedition A.D. 576, defeating the Abyssinians in al-Yaman.
54 For the plague, see Tabaqīt, Annals, II, 2015, 3, 974; for the plague started at al-Burāk the year before. At this point the Beatty MS is intact again, after a loss of pages extending from Chap. I, sect. 2, near n. 59.

Naming of Those Who Quoted Ibn ‘Aṣīr

Yahyā ibn al-Hārith al-Dhama‘rī, surnamed Abū ‘Umar, named for Dhamār, which is a district of the districts of al-Yaman. He died in the year one hundred and forty-five [A.D. 766].

He read according to 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Abī Laylā and Hamzah ibn Ḥabīb. Any disagreement between al-Kisā'i and Hamzah was connected with the method of reciting of Ibn Abī Laylā. Ibn Abī Laylā recited in the manner of 'Ali, for whom be peace.

Al-Kisā'i was one of the [Qur'ān]ic readers of the City of Peace [Baghdād]. At first he recited to the people with the reading of Hamzah, but later he chose his own reading with which he read to the people during the caliphate of Hārūn [al-Rashīd]. We shall give a more complete account about him in what follows, if Allāh so wills.

Naming of Those Who Quoted al-Kisā'i


The persons who learned from him but disagreed with him about certain letters were: Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām; Nushayr ibn Yūsuf; Aḥmad ibn Jūbayr, the mosque reader of Damascus; Abū Tawwāh Maymūn ibn Hāfiz; 'Ali ibn al-Mubārak al-Lahyānī; Hishām al-Darī, the grammarian; and Abū Dhuḥlā Aḥmad ibn Abī Dhuḥlā. Shihāb ibn 'Āṣim al-Nāqī collected a certain amount of knowledge from him, but did not use his reading. Yahyā ibn 'Ādam drew upon his reading to a certain extent, but only in a limited way.

Naming of the Books Which the Scholars Composed About His Reading

The Things about Which al-Kisā'i Disagreed with Hamzah, by Abū Ja'far Muhammad ibn al-Mughirah; about his reading according to al-Mughirah ibn Shu'ayb al-Tanmī; about his reading according to Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Rahmān ibn Wāqīd al-Wāqīdī; The Letters of al-Kisā'i, according to Sawrāh ibn al-Mubārak.

There was also his book, 'The Meaning of the Qurān.'

The translation follows the Beatty MS, which seems to be more accurate than the Fugel edition.

In this passage the words translated as "according to" are either "or" or "id.," "Letters" probably refers to the way al-Kisā'i interpreted the letters of the Qurān, his method of reading. Fugel gives Sawrāh ibn al-Muhammad, which seems to be wrong.

This title is omitted in the Beatty MS.
he saw the people coming to him in large numbers, he walked over to Al-A'mash to study with him. Then the people [students] transferred to Al-A'mash, leaving Tallah who died in the year one hundred and twelve [A.D. 730/31].

Yahya ibn Waththab of al-Kufah from the [tribe of] Banu Asad ibn Xhuwaymah was a protégé of the Banu Kahil Tribe. He died at al-Kufah during the year one hundred and three [A.D. 731/32]. He had his own reading.

Isha ibn `Umar al-Hamadhani, not the grammarian,24 had his reading. Al-A'mash also had his reading. Later on we shall give detailed information about them. Ibn Abi Layla had his reading, but mention of him is also postponed until later.

The People of al-Shami25
Abi al-Barhunus, whose name was `Imrana ibn Uthman al-Zubayrdi, had his reading. Yazid al-Barbari had his reading. Khalid ibn Ma'dan also had his reading.

The People of al-Yaman
Muhannad ibn al-Sumayfi' originated in al-Yaman, but lived at al-Baṣrah during the later years of his life. He had his own reading.

Baghdād
Khalaf ibn Hisam ibn Thalab al-Bazzar26 was one of the people of Fām al-Ṣilli, but he went to the City of Peace [Baghdād], becoming one of its citizens. He attended the lectures of Shārik, Abī `Awwādh, and Hammad ibn Zayd, also studying with Sulaym, the friend of Ḥanifa [ibn Ḥabīb], but he differed with Ḥamzah about certain points. He died during the year two hundred and twenty-nine [A.D. 843]. Among his books there was The Readings.27

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28 Flügel gives the year as A.H. 103.
24 The grammarian was Isha ibn `Umar al-Thaqafi.
25 The names in this paragraph are given as in the Beatty MS, which differs from the Flügel edition.
24 The Beatty MS has Baẓarr, which seems to be an error.
27 The title is lacking in the Flügel edition.
CHAPTER ONE

Ibn Mujahid

The last person whose priority was acknowledged in the City of Peace [Bâq'ah] during his generation was Abû Bakr Ahmad ibn Musa ibn al-'Abbas ibn Mujahid, who was unique in his time without competition. With his kindness, wisdom, piety, and knowledge of the Qur'anic readings and sciences he was a man of noble virtue, refinement of character, wealth of humor, penetrating understanding, and excellence.

He was born in the year two hundred and forty-five [A.D. 859] and he died on Wednesday, the last night of Sha'ban [the eighth Muslim month] in the year three hundred and twenty-four [A.D. 935]. He was buried the day after his death in the burial place of the women's quarters in Sûq al-'Atash. Among his books there were:

Large book of readings; small book of readings; The Yâ'ât (The Y's); The Hâ'ât (The H's); The Reading of Abû 'Amr; The Reading of Ibn Kathir; The Reading of 'Amir; The Reading of 'Umâr; The Reading of 'Abd al-Rahmân; The Reading of al-Ziyâ'id; The Reading of 'Amir; The Reading of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and give him peace.

Ibn Shanabidh

His name was Mu'allâm ibn Ahmad ibn Ayyûb ibn Shanabidh. He was hostile to Abû Bakr [Ibn Mujahid], not consorting with him. He was religious, nonaggressive, but foolish.78 Shaykh Abû Mu'allâm Yûsuf ibn al-Hasan al-Strâfî told me that Allah strengthened him with his father's skill in modulation, though he had little science. He quoted many readings and wrote various books about them.

He died in the year three hundred and twenty-eight [A.D. 939] in his prison at the sultan's palace. Abû 'Ali [Muhammad ibn 'Ali] ibn Muqâlah flogged him with lashes and when he prayed [to Allah] that his [Ibn Muqâlah's] hand should be cut off, [Allah] granted that the hand [of Ibn Muqâlah] should be amputated; a rare answer to prayer.79

SECTION THREE

Mention of Some of the Readings of Ibn Shanabidh

"When the call to prayer is made on the day of congregation, pass on to the remembrance of Allah." [Qur'ân 62:9, gives hasten instead of pass on.]

He also read, "And there was in front of them a king, taking every good ship by force." [Qur'ân 18:79, gives, "And there was behind them a king, taking every ship by force."]

He read, "Like al-sîf al-manfush (carded wool)." [Qur'ân 101:5, has, "Like al-lîn al-manfush."]

He read, "The hands of Abû Lahab will perish and they have perished. There shall not profit..." [Qur'ân 111:2, gives, "The hands of Abû Lahab will perish and he will perish. There shall not profit... "]

He read, "Today we deliver you by making you strong, that you may be a sign to whoever comes after you." [Qur'ân 10:92, gives, "And today we deliver you with your body that you may be a sign to whoever comes after you."]

He read, "And when it fell, the people (al-ins) perceived that the jinn, if they had known the unseen, would not have remained in a state (hawl) of painful (alim) torment." [Qur'ân 34:14, gives, "And when it fell, the jinn perceived that if they had known the unseen, they would not have remained in abject (mahjin) torment."]

He read, "By the night when it endures and the day when it is bright, and the male and the female." [Qur'ân 92:1, gives, "By the night when it endures and the day when it is bright, and what created the male and the female."]

He read, "The unbelievers have lied and there will be punishment." [Qur'ân 25:77, gives, "You have lied and there will be punishment."]

He read, "Unless you do so, there will be confusion on the earth and widespread (arid) corruption." [Qur'ân 8:73, gives great (halâr) instead of widespread.]

78 The Beatty MS has certain additions and variations which make the difference between this heretical version of Qur'anic verses and the orthodox one greater than it appears in the Flügel edition. In this passage, the words in italics are the ones which differ from the authorized version of the Qur'ân, while the explanations in brackets are notes not contained in Al-Fihrist. It should be realized that the verse numbers cited for the Qur'ân may not correspond with the numbers of some versions, as the numbering is not always identical.

79 For the word translated as "nonaggressive," the Beatty MS is not clear, but Flügel gives selâmah ("peace").

80 For the life of Abû 'Ali Mu'allâm ibn Muqâlah and the amputation of his hand, see Khallîkîn, III, 266–90.
He read, "And let there be a people among you who invite what is good, commanding what is right, refraining (nāṣīn) from what is wrong, and who seek the aid of Allāh in what befalls them, for these are they who are fortunate." [Qūrān 3:104, gives a different form of the same verb for refraining and omits and who seek the aid of Allāh in what befalls them.]

It is said that he [Ibn Sanaūbūdhi] confessed all of this [variation]. Then he was moved to repentence and used his handwriting in contrition, so that he wrote:

Thus said Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Ayyūb [Ibn Sanaūbūdhi]: I used to read expressions differing from the version of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, which was confirmed by consensus, its recital being agreed upon by the Companions of the Apostle of Allāh. Then it became clear to me that this was wrong, so that I am contrite because of it and from it torn away. Now before Allāh, may His name be glorified for from Him is acquittal, behold the version of 'Uthmān is the correct one, with which it is not proper to differ and other than which there is no way of reading.

Among his books there was How Ibn Kathir Differed from Abū 'Amr. Ibn Kāmil Abū Bakr

He was one of the scholars famous for a knowledge of the sciences of the Qurān. He was [named] Ahmad ibn Kāmil ibn Khalaf ibn Shaqar, was born at Sāmarrā', and was an authority for many sciences. He died ——. Among his books there were:

The Strange in the Qurān; The Qurānīc Readings; Neatness, about unveiling of the obscure; An Abridgment of Interpretation, concerning the Miracle of Revelation; Postures [for Prayer]; History; Abridgment of the Law; the large book, [Legal] Conditions; the small book [Legal] Conditions.

Abū Tāhir

His name was 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn 'Umar ibn Muhammad ibn Abī Hāshim al-Bazzāz. He was an inhabitant of Baghdad, and

8 The Fligel edition inserts here, “And it is Allāh who extracted you from your mothers' wombs.”
88 This name is not clear in the Beatty MS.

SECTION THREE

studied under Abū Bakr ibn Mufāhīd, Abū al-Abbas Alī ibn Sahl al-Uṣmānī, and Abū 'Uthmān Sa'd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Darī, the reader to whom he was attached. He excelled in connection with recitation and reading, knowing also something useful about grammar. He died on Thursday, eight days before the end of Shawwāl [the tenth Muslim month], during the year three hundred and forty-nine [A.D. 960]. Among his books there were:

Exceptions of the Seven: The Bā'at (The B'), The Hu'at (The H'), The Reading of Al-'A'mash; The Reading of Ḥamzah, The Great; The Reading of Al-Kisā', the Great; Epistle about Raising the Voice for 'In the Name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate'; The Distinction between Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'; The Disagreement between Abū 'Amr and al-Kisā'; The Triumph of Ḥamzah; The Reading of Ḥafs, His Work; The Disagreement between the Adherents of Ḥājin and Ḥafs ibn Sulaymān.

Al-Naqqār

Abū 'Ali al-Jasān ibn Dā’ūd, known as al-Naqqār, belonged to the Quraisy Tribe, the Banū Umayyah, and the people of al-Kūfah. He learned from Abī Muhammad al-Qāsim, known as al-Kharyūṭ; al-Khayyāt learned from al-Shanāwī; al-Shanāwī learned from al-A’shū; al-A’shū learned from Abū Bakr, Abū Bakr learned from Abī ‘Amr; Abī ‘Amr learned from Abū ‘Ali al-Raḥmān al-Sulaymān; al-Sulaymān learned from Alī, for whom be peace; and Alī learned from the Prophet, for whom be peace. Al-Naqqār died at al-Kūfah. Among his books there were:

The Reading of Al-A’shī; Language, Derivation of Words, and the Sources of Grammar.

8 The text is not clear enough here to be sure the translation "elocution and reading" is correct.
88 For the first title in this list, the Fligel text has The Ye’ta ("The Y"). The Beatty MS omits the third title. Al-Bī’at, in the text, but gives it in the margin.
44 "Great" may refer to the man, but more likely to the size of the book.
44 Fligel has "Ḥafs and Sulaymān." The translation follows the Beatty MS in giving ibn.
88 Qad’ "ādū usually implies a teacher-student relationship. Here it might mean "read according to" but more likely means "learned from."
88 Probably Abū Bakr ibn Mufāhīd.
44 Fligel gives different forms, but the meaning is the same.
Ibn Miṣṣam

He was Ābū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿAl-Ḥasan ibn Miṣṣam ibn Yaʿqūb, one of the readers in the City of Peace [Baghdād], close to our time. He was a man learned in language and poetry, who heard Thaʿlabah lecture and quoted him. He died in the year three hundred and thirty-two [A.D. 944]. Among his books there were:

Lights on the Science [Knowledge] of the Qurʾān; An Introduction to a Knowledge of Poetry; Proof of Readings; the great book about grammar; The Shortened and the Lengthened; Masculine and Feminine; Stopping and Starting; The Numbers of Completeness; Qurʾānic Manuscripts; Knowledge of Himself; the large book, The Seven [Readers] with their Defects; the medium-size book about the Seven [Readers]; another medium-size book; the smallest book, known as Healing of Breasts; about his unique points; The Sessions of Thaʿlabah.

Al-Naqṣīṣ Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿAl-Ḥasan al-ʿAnṣārī

He was one of the people of al-Ḥawāl, where he was born. He was a Qurʾānic reader in the City of Peace [Baghdād], to which he moved and in which he did his reading. Among his books there were:

Explanation of the Strange in the Qurʾān; Elucidation of the Qurʾān and Its Meaning; Reason [The Mind];67 Contrary to Reason; Rites [especially of pilgrimage];60 Understanding of the Rites; Accounts of the Storytellers;66 The Evil of Envy; Indications of the Prophecy [of Muḥammad]; Sections [Doors] of the Qurʾān; Irām dhīl al-ʾImād;67 The Medium-Size Compendium; The Smaller Compendium; The Larger Compendium, with the names of the readers and their readings; Explanation of the Strange in the Qurʾān; the large book, The Seven [Readers] and Their Defects; the medium-size book, The Seven; the small book, The Seven; The Great Commentary, with nearly twelve thousand leaves.

66 Flügel's text and Khalīkhān, III, 47 n., give different dates.
67 This title is garbled in the Flügel text. It could be Choice of Human, but more likely is similar to the Greek "know thyself." The six titles following this one are not in the Beatty MS.
68 Not included in the Flügel text, but in the Beatty MS.
69 This could also refer to ascetic practices.
70 For al-qaṣṭātī ("storytellers"), see Mez, Renaissance of Islam, p. 344.
71 See Qurʾān 89:7.

SECTION THREE

Al-Naqṣīṣ died at Baghdād in the year three hundred and fifty-one [A.D. 962]. Ibn Muḥājīr heard him give something of the Ḥadīth and this was rare.68

Naming of the Books Composed about Commentary of the Qurʾān

The book of al-Bāṣīr Muḥammad ibn ʿAbbās; the book of al-Jāfīr Ẓiyād ibn al-Mundhir; the chief of the Jāfīyāh [faction] of the Zaydiyyah, about whom we shall make further mention in its proper place. The book of Ibn ʿAbdār,70 who was quoted by Muḥājīr and through Muḥājīr by Humayd ibn Qays as well as by Ṣawāqī, through Abū Najīf from Muḥājīr, and also by Ṣawāqī ibn Maymūn through Abū Najīf from Muḥājīr. The commentary of Ibn Thaʿlabah; the commentary of Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī, whose name was Ṣawāqī ibn Dinār, the surname of Dinār being Abū Ṣawāqī—Abū Ḥamzah was a companion of ʿAbbās, for whom he was peac, one of those who were noble and trustworthy, and also a friend of Abū Jaʿfar;70 the commentary of Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Jāḥi in part;70 the commentary according to Ṣawāqī ibn Akṣam in the handwriting of al-Sukkārī; the commentary of Ṣulṭān ibn Anṣār; the commentary of al-Ṣadd, which we shall mention in what follows; the commentary of Ṣīnān ibn ʿAbdīr Ẓiyād; the commentary of Ṣawāqī ibn Ṣawāqī; the commentary of Abū Ḥanīfah Ẓahīr ibn Muḥājīr; the commentary of Ṣīnān ibn Abū al-ʿAmīr the grammarian; the commentary of Ṣawāqī ibn Bashār, according to Qatādah; the commentary of Muḥammad ibn Ṣawāqī, according to Muḥammad ibn Thawr, according to Maʿmar following Qatādah; the commentary of al-Kalbī, [called] Muḥammad ibn Ṣawāqī; the commentary of Muqātil.