CHAPTER SEVEN

It; That Motion Is Not Seen, but Known; That a Body Moves Because of its Own Nature and Motion Is Inatt, According to Nature; about doubts concerning Proclus.

The Division, Causes, and Treatment of Diseases, as an exposition; a commentary on Plutarch's book commenting on the book "Timaeus"; a refutation of Shahid al-Balkhi in connection with what he refrained from pleasure; about the diseases of some people with swelling from head colds; about kindness in granting a sick person some of his cravings; against al-Tamizzir in connection with his refutation of the refutation of al-Misma'I (Misra'm ibn `Abd al-Malik) concerning primordial matter; the Cause of the Creation of Wild Beasts and Reptiles; refutation of al-Kayyaf in connection with the imamate; refutation of the refutation of the book on treatment of the sick; an abridgment of Galen's book "Trick of the Cure" (Medendi methodum); his abstract of the book on afflicted (painful) places.

Refutation of al-Balkhi's refutation of theology; his epistle about the diagonal of a square; that the elements have no bodies (substances); about the superior life; about obligations of prayer; on pity for the savants among the theologians and those affecting to be philosophers; The Advancement of Theology; his epistle about theology, delightful; Avoiding the Injuries of Nutriments; against Shahid al-Balkhi; about confirmation of future life; The Reason Why the Lodestone Attracts; The Soul Does Not Have Body (Substances); the large book, The Soul; the small book, The Soul; Measure of Intelligence; Diabetes, two sections; Colic, one section; Oxyymol, one section; a commentary about

674 Usayyibah, Part 1, p. 316 bottom, has It Is Impossible for the World to Be Other than We Observe It, MS 1934 gives "observe" in the singular.

675 "Pleasure" may be the title of a book. Shahid al-Balkhi was probably Shahid ibn al-Husayn; see n. 100.

676 Fligel, MS 1135, and Qflt, p. 275, give Ibn al-Yamun, whereas MS 1934 has al-Yammur; cf. n. 177. MS 1934 gives "refutation" twice, Fligel and MS 1135 give it only once.

677 MS 1135 and Qflt, p. 275 l. 1, omit "creation," in which case the title might be The Disease of Wild Beasts and Reptiles, as the word al-`ilah can mean either "cause" or "disease."

678 For al-Balkhi, see n. 159.

679 The name is taken from MS 1934. MS 1135, Fligel, and Qflt, p. 275 l. 17, give Sohary instead of Shahid. Usayyibah, Part 1, p. 320 l. 10, gives `Ali ibn Shahid al-Balkhi. See n. 159.

680 Oxyymol (al-thanajibdat) is a mixture of honey and dilute acetic acid used as an excipient. the commentary on a book of Galen about the "Aphorisms" of Hippocrates.

Aphorisms, also called The Guide; The Girl and Her Treatment; refutation of the book "Existence" by Mansur ibn `Abdulrahman; about what he rejects from the contested evidences for the faults of the prophets; That the World has a Wise Creator; Signs of the Illustrious, Infallible Imam; Imaginings, Gestures, and Passionate Love; about purging fever patients before the time is ripe; The Imam, the Led, and Those Knowing the Truth; Characteristics of a Pupil; Conditions of Vision (Sight); Natural Opinions; System for Eating Fruit; The Mistake in the Purpose of a Physician; his advice about theology; The Superior Way of Life; rendering into poetry "Al-Ash" of Jibra'il; his poem about logical discussions; his poem about Greek preaching.

What al-Razi Called an Epistle

His epistle, Novity and Wrapping in Robes; his epistle, The Compound; his epistle, Algebra, How to Approach It and Indication of Its Truth; his epistle, What Does Not Adhere from What Is Cut from the Body, if Minor, and What Does Adhere from Operations, if Major; his epistle, The Cooling of Water over Snow, and the Cooling of Water by Pouring Snow in It; his epistle, Fish Thirst and the Disease Connected with It; his epistle, The Reason Why No Potion Exists Which Does the Work on the Body as a True Potion; his epistle, Logic; his epistle, The Setting of the Sun and the Stars, that This Is Not Due to the Motion of the Earth, but to the Motion of the Celestial Sphere; his epistle,

684 This may refer to the Imam who conducts the mosque prayers, or to the ideal caliph, more likely to a descendant of `Ali with the divine right to rule.

685 The translation follows MS 1934 and Usayyibah, Part 1, p. 220 l. 23. The Fligel version is garbled.

686 The title Al-Ash is given clearly in MS 1934 but confused by Fligel. It refers to the book written by Jubrils entitled Israj al-Ash ("The Element of Genese"). Israj comes from the Greek word hydraxyzov. Al-Ash can also be spelled al-`asr or al-asr. For the mention of this title in the list of Jibra'il's books, see Chap. X near n. 108.

687 The Arabic word risalah means "epistle," "essay," or "monograph." The word "about," found before most of the titles, is omitted.

688 Probably referring to a compounded medicine.

689 For this title and the three which follow, see the more detailed version in Usayyibah, Part 1, p. 318 l. 25. For the titles on astronomy, see Birend, Risalah, p. 15.
SECTION THREE

in What State He Should Be with Regards to His Spirit, Body, and Drinking;[195] his epistle, The Extent to Which It Is Possible to Rectify Astrological Determinations in Accordance with the Opinion of Natural Philosophers, and Who among Them Denies that the Stars Are Living.[196] Termination of what is found in the catalogue of al-Razi.

Sinān ibn Thabit ibn Qurrah

He was Abū Sa‘īd al-Harrānī, whose father’s genealogy has already been given. He was a distinguished surgeon, who fled when [the Caliph] al-Qāhir desired him to become a Muslim. But [later] he did embrace Islam. Fearing al-Qāhir, however, he went to Khurāsān. He [later] returned and died as a Muslim in Baghdad during the year three hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 942/43], at the time of the new moon of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [the twelfth Muslim month]. Among his books there were: ———.

Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Sinān ibn Thabit ibn Qurrah

He was a clever physician. He died on the eleventh of Dhū al-Qādah [the eleventh Muslim month], during the year three hundred and sixty-five [A.D. 975/76]. Among his books there was a book of history from the year two hundred and ninety-five [A.D. 997/998] to the time of his death.

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī

His name was Thābit ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zahrūn and he was a clever and efficient physician, but niggardly and avaricious in doing good. He died ———. Among his books there were:

A correcting of the sections in the book of Yahyā ibn Sarāfyūn; a translation

[195] Ihbāl, I. 20, the words “his deportment and mortality” are given instead of “his drinking.”

[196] The last phrase in this title might be “and who among them does not say that the stars are alive.” MS 1934 leaves a space after the list of epistles and then has a new heading, “Then (Thumm) What Is Found in the Catalogue of al-Razi,” after which another space is left, evidently with hopes of filling it later with a new list of titles.

[197] The translation follows the Flügel version. MS 1934 omits reference to the month and year, while the year is added on the margin of MS 1135.

“Growth” (numū) is taken from Birūnī, Risālah, p. 11, no. 68. MSS 1934 and 1133 and Qādī, p. 236 l. 14, have naḥv (“grammar”), and Flügel has naḥr, meaning “beginnings,” referring to days and months. These latter words have no real significance.

[196] See Birūnī, Risālah, p. 18 no. 144, where this title is given in a section about divinity. It evidently refers to heavenly rather than human bodies. All of the versions except MS 1934 have al-qiād (“bodies”), which must be correct. MS 1934 erroneously gives al-lām.

The word translated “leave” is tanqīh, meaning literally “left,” in the manuscripts. Flügel has another word, which is probably an error.

Usūb al-‘Arab, Part 1, p. 319 l. 14, gives the title in simpler and perhaps more correct form.
The Names of the Books of the Persians about Medicine

The persons famous for medicine during the days of the kings of the Persians, whose compositions have come down to us and have been translated into Arabic:

Theodorus

He was a Christian for whom Šāpūr II Dhu al-Akthar²⁸⁸ built the churches in his city, though it is also related that the person who built them for him was Bahram Gur. His [work] translated into Arabic is Paudect of Theodorus [Paudectae medicinae].

Theodes

He was the physician of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūnuf and was attached to the king —

²⁸⁸ See Elgood, Medical History of Persia, p. 48.
The Eighth Part
of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the ancient and recent scholars of the rest of the sciences and the names of the books which they composed. The composition of Muhammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadim, Ishāq known as Abū Yaqūb al-Warrāq.1

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Eighth Chapter
of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed; three sections.

The First Section
with accounts of those who converse in the evenings and tellers of fables,2 with the names of the books which they composed about evening stories and fables.3

1 This title is taken from MS 1974. It contains the ungrammatical expression Ishāq al-muṣūf bi-Abū Yaqūb al-Warrāq ("Ishāq known as Abū Yaqūb al-Warrāq"), which also appears in the title of Chapter II in the Beatty MS. Under the title on the left is the inscription, "An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His [Allah's] servant Muhammad ibn Ishāq al-Warrāq." On the right and somewhat lower down on the page is written "In it, the Eighth Chapter." MS 1975 has a different title, which is incorrect. The names of persons in this chapter who are heroes and heroines of fiction, or names which are too badly written to be spelled correctly, are omitted from the Biqāq Index.

2 "With accounts . . . of fables" is in Arabic fi akhbar al-mawzūn min wa-al-mukhafifin. The last term is an unusual form, perhaps derived from the expression for clowns and popular entertainers.

3 "Evening stories and fables" is in the Arabic al-asāra wa-al-khwarefī. See Mac-Donald, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Part 3 (July 1924), p. 371, for a definition of asāra and khwarefī. As good lighting was not available in the Middle Ages, even in the palaces, people enjoyed whiling away their evenings by listening to stories, which took the place of the television and movies of modern times. Although coffee was still unknown and the Muslims were not legally permitted to sell and drink liquor, there must have been places where the men of the population met to spend their leisure time. Undoubtedly professional storytellers obtained tales of adventure and sex from books in the libraries and book shops; it is books of this nature which are discussed in this section of Al-Fihrist. This section of Al-Fihrist is important in revealing an aspect of life not often dealt with in other books.

4 Compare this translation with that of Nicholson, Literary History of the Arabs, pp. 437–38, which gives a freer rendering. The dynasties which ruled Persia were: (1) ancient overlord: (2) the Achaemenian dynasty, 546–330 B.C.; (3) the Parthian or Askhānian dynasty, 249 B.C.–A.D. 226; (4) the Sāsānian dynasty, A.D. 227–651. Cf. Mas'udi, II, 77, 237.

5 See Mac-Donald in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Part 3 (July 1924), p. 369, for a translation. See also Abbott in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, VIII, No. 3 (July 1949), 129–61; Mas'udi, IV, 90: "Alf Laila wa-Laila," Enc. Islam, I, 252. The final version of A Thousand and One Nights was not completed until after Al-Fihrist was written.

6 Shah Arzāl comes from the Persian shahr arzāl ("of noble race").
CHAPTER EIGHT

towards her and kept her alive. The king had a head of the house-
hold named Diñar Zad who was in league with her in this matter. It is said that this book was composed for Humāʿī[a], the daughter of Bahram, there being also additional information about it.

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Isāq [al-Nadim]: The truth is, if Allah so wills, that the first person to enjoy evening stories was Alexander, who had a group [of companions] to make him laugh and tell him stories which he did not seek [only] for amusement but [also he sought] to safeguard and preserve [them]. Thus also the kings who came after him made use of the book Hazār Afān, which although it was spread over a thousand nights contained less than two hundred tales, because one story might be told during a number of nights. I have seen it in complete form a number of times and it is truly a coarse book, without warmth in the telling.

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Isāq [al-Nadim]: Abū ‘Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdīs al-Jahshiyārī, author of The Book of Viziers,9 began the compiling of a book in which he was to select a thousand tales from the stories of the Arabs, Persians, Greeks, and others. Each section [story] was separate, not connected with any other. He summoned to his presence20 the storytellers, from whom he obtained the best things about which they knew and which they did well. He also selected whatever pleased him from the books composed of stories and fables. As he was of a superior type, there were collected for him four hundred and eighty nights, each night being a complete story, comprising more or less than fifty pages. Death overtook him before he fulfilled his plan for completing a thousand stories. I saw

1 This is the feminine form of qahramān, which Nicholas, Literary History of the Arabs, p. 457, translates as "stewardess" and Maxudī, V, 354, in the French translation gives as "régente." The woman referred to was probably the sister of Shahriyāz, usually called Doniyāzī. She helped to get the king interested in listening to stories.
2 Humāʿī is taken from MS 1934. Maxudī, II, 121, 123, 255, gives the name as Humāyi, and on p. 129 he says that she was known with her mother Shahriyāzī. Sykes, History of Persia, L, 422, 431, says that Bahārī "married his sister Humāi." See also Firdawsi, Shahnama, V, 509 f. Hugd and Nicholas, Literary History of the Arabs, p. 457, spell the name as Humāyi.
3 MS 1155 unlike the other versions has The Book of Viziers and Secretaries. This is also the title given to the book in the passage about al-Jahshiyāzī; see Chap. III, sect. 2, n. 117.
4 He had authority, as he was an able member of the government.

SECTION ONE

a number of the sections of this book written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ṭayyib [ibn Idris], the brother of al-Šāfiʿī.

Before that time there was a group of people who composed stories and fables in the speech of humans, birds, and beasts. Among them there were ‘Abd Allah ibn al-Ḥuqqaṭī; Sulh ibn Hārūn; ‘Ali ibn Dāʾūd; the secretary of Zibayri;24 and others besides them. I have dealt thoroughly with these [authors] and what they composed in the appropriate places in this book.

There is the book Kalilah wa-Dimnah,25 about which they have disagreed. It is said to be the work of the Indians (Hindus), information about that being in the first part of the book. It is also said to be the work of the Ashkānāni kings to which the Indians made false claims, or of the Persians and falsely claimed by the Indians. One group has said that the man who composed parts of it was Buzurjmihr, the wise man, but it is Allah who knows about that.

There was the book Sindbād al-Ḥakim,26 which is in two transcriptions, one long and one short. They disagreed about it, too, just as they disagreed about Kalilah wa-Dimnah. What is most probable and the closest to the truth is that the Indians composed it.

The Names of the Books of the Persians

Hazār Dastān;27 Būfās and Simās; Jaḥel Khursaw;28 Kitāb al-Marbiyyīn; Fable and Amusement; The Bear and the Fox;29 Kūzbih the Orphan;30

21 The queen of Hārūn al-Rashid.
22 For this famous book of fables, see the Glossary.
23 See the Glossary also for this hero of fiction.
24 Hāzi is "thousand" and dastān "story." MS 1155 adds, "It comprises a thousand nights with something less than two hundred tales." The following title is garbled in the Arabic text, but it evidently refers to an old book written during the Parthian period.
25 If this title and the one which follows are Arabic translations from the Persian, they mean "The Stinginess [Refusal] of the Persian King" and "Book of the Tutors." It is possible, however, that the words are Persian, garbled by Arab scribes so that they cannot be identified.
26 See Perry, Humānīa (1966), p. 158.
27 This may refer to the high priest of King Bahram; see Firdawsi, Shahnama, VII, 26-27. Or perhaps it refers to some character of fiction.
The Names of the Books Which the Persians Composed about Biography, and the Evening Stories about Their Kings Which Were True

Rustum and Afrondiyâb, a translation of Jahâbal ibn Silîm; Bahårim Chîbîm; Shâhre-Bazûr and Pawîzât; Al-Kârînâmak, about the life of Amînkhirvân; The Crown and What Good Auguries Their Kings Drew from it; Dârî and the Golden Idol; The Book of Institutions (Ayûn Nâmâh); The Book of Lords (Khûday Nâmâh); Bahârim and Narî; Amînkhirvân.24

The Names of the Books of the Indians about Fables, Evening Stories, and Anecdotes

Kalilât wa-Dimnâhâ is in seventeen sections, or, it is said, eighteen sections. 'Abd Allâh ibn al-Muqaffâ' and others translated it. This book was also converted into poetry. Abûn ibn 'Abd al-Hâmîd ibn Lâhîq ibn 'Ufâyr al-Riqâshî translated it, 'Ali ibn Dâ'îd set it into

18 Mashkâd nâmâh is probably an inaccurate transliteration of the Persian meshkâd-nâmâh, which means "grain of musk," probably the nickname of a girl.


20 Dâ'îd is a girl's name, garbled in the Arabic text.

21 Flügel gives Shahrizâd, which is evidently a mistake. MS 1914 has Shahr-Bezûr, who was the general of Pawîzû (Chorosios II).

22 MS 1914 has Al-Kârînâmak and Flügel gives Al-Kàmânî. The name means "the Book of Deeds" and is usually known as Al-Kàmànîk; see Browne, Literary History of Persia, I, 9, 108, 137 if for an example of the contents. See also Firdâwî, Shâh-nâmâ, VI, 193 bottom; Masîdî, II, 163, 449.

23 Evidently an imaginary story about Dasûq III.

24 The Arabic text has what is almost certainly a mistaken form. This title is evidently meant to be an ancient book called Ayûn Nâmâh.

25 MS 1135 gives this title clearly. It was also known as The Book of the Ancients (Bita't Nâmâh). It was translated into Arabic from the Persian by Ibn al-Muqaffâ' but is no longer extant. See Firdâwî, Shâh-nâmâ, I, 66; V, 24; VI, 176 top, 177.

26 This may refer to Bahârim and Narîq, kings of Persia at the end of the third century A.D. or it may refer to Bahârim Gêr, who ruled A.D. 420-440, and his brother Narîq. See Sykes, History of Persia, I, 466-70; Firdâwî, Shâh-nâmâ, VII, 86, 99.

27 Flügel gives this name once; it is repeated in the manuscripts.

28 See Glossary for this famous book.

29 Flügel and MS 1914 differ in writing the words for "it is said" but the meaning is the same.
CHAPTER EIGHT

The Names of the Books of the Byzantines about Evening Stories, Histories, Fables, and Proverbs

History of the Byzantines; Samiha wa-Dinn, like the book "Kalila wa-Dinnah," but its title is in Greek—it is a book which is unappealing (cold) in authorship and destatable in composition; it has been said that some of the recent authors produced it; Cultures (Literature) of the Byzantines; of Myrionian about culture; Anthony the Holy Man and the Byzantine King; Dialogue of the King with Muhammad 'Arab, Dusin and Rajil, the Two Kings; Simas the Learned, about proverbs; Intelligence and Beauty; Account of the King of Lud; Shahriyar the King and the Reason for His Marrying Shahrazul the Storyteller.

The Names of the Books of the Kings of Babylon and Others Among the Kings of the Tribes, with Accounts about Them

The Righteous King of Babylon and the Devil, How He Tricked and Deceived Him; Nimrud the King of Babylon; The King Riding the Stick; The Old Man and the Youth; Artashir the King of Babylon and

43 "Proverbs" may also be translated as "allegories." "Fables and proverbs" is omitted in the Fligel edition. For these titles, see the article by Rosenthal in Orientus, XV (1960), 35.
44 See Eero, Humanitas, p. 157.
45 This title is given in various forms by the different versions, but it almost certainly refers to a book by Myronianus. See Diogenes Laertius, p. 157; Smith, GRBM, II, 1131.
46 In Arabic the name is Anush. For this book, see Rosenthal, Orientus, XV (1962), 35. Rosenethal explains that 'ud, which usually means "travels," refers to a "holy man" here.
47 Parhish is probably supposed to be the Greek word meaning "the Arab."
49 These names cannot be identified.
50 This is probably the Simas of the ancient book Fizah wa-Simah. See Mas'udi, IV, 96, 493; "Bildiz," Enc. Eras., XXVI, 88-84; Fligel, p. 306, n. 4.
51 This is evidently Lynda in Palestine; see Yafa'i, Geog., IV, 334. The story may refer to the slaying of the dragon, as Lynda was supposed to have been the place where Perseus saved Andromeda.
52 In the manuscripts the forms appear to be Shird and Shata'yrbar, but they are probably Greek corruptions for the names of the king and storyteller in A Thousand and One Nights. The t in the king's name could be mistaken for a and the v for r, while r would be a common Greek ending.

SECTION ONE

Arashin, His Vizier; Lahi ibn Abin; The Wise Man Who Was a Hermit.

The Names of the Passionate Lovers during the Pre-Islamic Period and the Period of Islam about Whose Historical Traditions There Were Books

The books which we mention were composed about their traditions by a group [of authors] such as 'Umar ibn Da'b, al-Shargi ibn al-Qaṣimī, Hishām al-Kalbi, al-Haythami ibn 'Adi, and others as well.

Musaquith and Asma; 'Amr ibn 'Abd al-Hind; 'Umar and 'Afā; Jamīl and Bahayyush; Kathayir and Azza; Qays and Lubnā; Ma'min and Lahid; Tawbaq and Layd; Al-Sim颈ah ibn 'Abd Allah and Rayy; Ibn al-Fahiyus and Wuhbiyush; Playing [Music] and Attachment; Yasduh and Hābuḥ; Qibās and Munuysh; A'nad and Layl; Waddād al-Yaman and Umm al-Banūn; Anfin ibn 'Amrān and Hind; Muhammad ibn al-Šāl and Jannat al-Khulud; Al-Umar ibn Dirār and Junūn; Sa'd and Asma; 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'ah and a Multitude; Al-Mustahall and Hind; Bīkīr and Lahīzah; Mulaykiah, Nu'm, and the Son of the Vizier; Aymund and Dībāh; The Young Man of al-Kūfah, the Protege of Musli'ah and His Female Companion; Anfin, Junūn, and

55 Artashir was the founder of the Sasanian dynasty and Ardashir (Artsawghan) was the last king of the Anshanian dynasty. The title should probably have an "and" before "vizier"; Artashir the King of Babylon, Ardashir, and His Vizier.
56 These are probably names in fiction.
57 These names are book titles. These men and women were historical persons, though also characters about whom stories were written. The names which cannot be identified elsewhere have not been listed in the Biog. Index. Those listed can be identified by the lovers connected with them.
58 Tammūm, Al-'Nandād, Part 2, sect. 448, gives this name in German at Rejzi; Ishaqini, al-Ashari, Part 5, p. 332 l. 8, speaks of the love of al-Sim颈ah for a girl named al-'Amiriyah; see also Biog. Index.
59 MS 1343 gives this title incorrectly; MS 1135 and Fligel omit "and" between the names.
60 The word translated "multitude" may mean "his sexual intercourse," but more likely refers to the many girls loved by the poet, who was famous for his amours.
61 This title and the one preceding are omitted by MS 1135. Böhler means "starting early in the morning" and lāf means "the twinkling of an eye." These are evidently nicknames for persons who cannot be identified, perhaps characters about whom poems were written. Some of the persons on this list were evidently not poets themselves, but persons about whom the poets composed verses.
62 Dībāh may be the singer Dībāh included in the Biog. Index, or perhaps some less famous person.
and Sāwīb; Al-Ghamr ibn Malik and Qabīl; 'Amr ibn Zayd al-Tā'ī and Layh; 'Ali ibn Ishaq and Summa; Al-Ahwaj and 'Abdah; Bihār and Hind; The Lover of the Hand; The Lover of the Picture; 'Aqab and Saḥām; Ṣiyās and Ṣaḥōb; Ibn Mā‘īn, Rabī‘ah, and Sa‘ādah; Khurṣīdah and Ishaq; Al-Makhrūmī and al-Ḫulayyah; 'Amr ibn al-Ṯaqafī and Nakd ibn Zayd Mā‘ūn; Murrah and Layh [bint Zuhayr]; Dhib al-Rummah and Ma‘āy.

The Names of the Passionate Lovers from the Rest of the People, about Whose Traditions Books Were Written

Sabīl and Qīlīn; 'Ali ibn ʿĀdam and Munkhālah; Al-Mu‘adhdhībah (the Tormented) and Labābbih (the Delight); ʿAl-Faiṣīh ibn Abī Dolūmah and Ḥalīm; Al-Mu‘adhdhībah (the Tormented), al-Qaṣār (the Angry, Bright), and al-TIrāb (the Bad Omen); Šīr al-Lahw (The Enchantment of Amusement) and Su‘r (Intoxication of Love); Ḫurṣīlum and 'Alam; Ţarāb (Rejoicing) and Ḥawr (Admiration); 'Amr ibn Šāhīb and Ṣa‘īf; ʿAḥmad and Ša‘ūb; Muḥammad and Da‘īqī; Ḥakīm and Khudā; 'Abdāl f-Tā‘ī (the Inrepid) and Fa‘ak.

53 MS 1135 spells this name with a ǧīm () instead of a ḥāy, probably an error.
54 Zirā‘ī, Part 2, pp. 179, 347, cites names of men called Khurṣīdah, Ḫudāhīs, and Ḫudāhīs. The man’s name may be the same as one of these, but neither he nor the girl can be identified.
55 Al-Makhrūmī is probably the ninth-century poet; see Abī Sa‘īd al-Makhrūmī. In MS 1134 the girl’s name is al-Ḫulayyah; Flügel and MS 1135 give al-Ḫulayyīyah. Al-Ṯaqafī means “misfortune,” evidently a nickname. Neither this father nor his son can be identified, though they were probably Arabs. For the Nahd and Zayd Ma‘ūn tribes, see Durayd, Genā‘, pp. 133, 320.
56 These names are book titles. In the Arabic, the last clause of this heading is in the singular. Many of the names of this list seem to belong to fiction. Only the names which can be identified are in the Biog. Index.
57 MS 1135 has ʿAbī Shīb instead of Sabīl; these names cannot be identified.
58 Ḫiyālī, ʿAbdūl, Part 14, pp. 51, 52, gives ʿĀdam. The various versions of Al-Ṯaqafī give ʿĀdīn.
59 In MS 1134, a small extra word ("and") has been inserted before the second name, so that instead of as-Ladhbūthah it becomes as-Sa‘aladhīth (“and his son”). The translation follows Flügel.
60 MS 1134 gives Ḫalīm and the other versions Kullum.
61 MS 1135 has ʿĀḥmad instead of Muḥammad. ʿĀḥmad was the son of Da‘īqī.
62 Khudā is taken from Flügel. MSS 1134 and 1135 give Khudīd, which is probably wrong.

Names of the Loving and Fickle Girls

Rūḏānān and Qaraful; Rusayyih and Khadījah; Mu‘ayyis (One Who Drives to Despair) and Dakhāy (Becoming Pure); Sukayyah and al-Rabhī; Al-Ghiṭīrāf (Princess, Beautiful) and Dafa; Hind and the Daughter of al-Nū‘mān [bint al-Mundhir]; ‘Abdah al-‘Āqilah [the Intelligent] and ‘Abdah al-Mādhārāh (the Treacherous); Luṭ‘ah (the Pearl, the Unsullied) and Shīrāz (the Clever, the Wonton); Najdah and Za‘ūm (Ineffective in Speech); Salmā [bint Su‘ād] and Su‘ād [bint al-Kifāb]; Sāwāb (Correctness) and Surū‘ (Delight); Al-Dahmā and Ni‘mūh.

Su‘īf and Ṭā‘īf; ʿĀḥmad and Zayn al-Uṣūr (Adornment of the Ages); Bishr al-Muḍallābī and Bassūsah; ʿĀṣim and Sulāḥ; Dhuwāb and Raḥīm; ʿĀḥmad ibn Qayyarah and Bāwījah; Sāḥl and Sa‘īdah; Al-Kāhdh (the Secretary) and Munā; Abī al-ʿAḥṣāl and ‘Uqāb; ‘Abdah and Faws; The Lover of the Cow; Ṣā‘īd and Sa‘īb; Ṣā‘īd and Dunaynah; Māzīl (Yazīd) and al-Zahrā; Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Muhadhdhīb and Luḥmān bint al-Mu‘tamir.

Names of the Loving and Fickle Girls

Rūḏānān and Qaraful; Rusayyih and Khadījah; Mu‘ayyis (One Who Drives to Despair) and Dakhāy (Becoming Pure); Sukayyah and al-Rabhī; Al-Ghiṭīrāf (Princess, Beautiful) and Dafa; Hind and the Daughter of al-Nū‘mān [bint al-Mundhir]; ‘Abdah al-‘Āqilah [the Intelligent] and ‘Abdah al-Mādhārāh (the Treacherous); Luṭ‘ah (the Pearl, the Unsullied) and Shīrāz (the Clever, the Wonton); Najdah and Za‘ūm (Ineffective in Speech); Salmā [bint Su‘ād] and Su‘ād [bint al-Kifāb]; Sāwāb (Correctness) and Surū‘ (Delight); Al-Dahmā and Ni‘mūh.

Su‘īf has many meanings. Here it may mean “endowed with genius or generosity,” which fits with ʿaṭīf ("affectionate") or “well-favored.” Flügel and MS 1135 have ʿaṭīdh (“death”) instead of Su‘īf. Flügel gives ʿaṭāmaq instead of ʿaṭīf, but the word cannot be identified and seems to be an error.

MS 1135 has qa‘ṣ ("palace") instead of ʿaṭīf (“ages”).

Flügel, p. 307, n. 1, suggests that this was Bishr ibn al-Mughārāh. The second names seem to be the rare nickname for a girl, meaning “Covering of a Nutmeg.”

This may refer to ‘Āṣim ibn Tūbīsī.

Bānījah was the name of the sister of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

MS 1135 has an error in giving these names.

MS 1134 gives al-Mu‘tamīr. Flügel and MS 1135 give al-Mu‘tamār.

These names are book titles. In the Arabic, “loving and fickle” is al-baḥūd al-maṭūṣiyyīfīt. An “and” is inserted between the two words in the translation to make better sense, as some of those mentioned were not “fickle.” These women were probably real persons, some of them slave girls called by nicknames which cannot be identified. MS 1135 gives the last word of the heading as al-muṭāṣīyyīfīt ("affectioning elegance"). Only the names which can be identified are in the Biog. Index.

This may refer to the Prophet’s first wife and his eldest daughter.

MS 1135 has a different form for Mu‘ayyīs, probably incorrect. Dakhāy is a Persian word.

The wife and daughter of al-Huṣayn ibn ʿAlī.

MS 1135 has al-qaṭīfīfīfī, probably meant to be the feminine forms of al-qaṭīfīfī.
CHAPTER EIGHT

The Names of Passionate Lovers Whose Traditions Enter into the Evening Stories

The Master [friend] of Bishr ibn Marwân and the Daughter of His Cousin; Al-Kabîl and His Cousin; The Man and the Girl of the Tamim Tribe Who Gave Pledges [of Love]; The Egyptian and the Girl from Makka; 'Abd Allâh ibn Ja'far and the Tree upon Which There Was an Inscription; Anna ibn Khârijah al-Fazârî; Mâlik ibn Asma' and the Mistress of al-Husân; 'Abd Allah ibn al-Ahmad al-Hassân and the One [Girl] Whom He Hit; The Daughter of the Chief [al-Wajihah] and the Bedouin; The Youth and the Woman Who Threw the Pebble; 'Abd al-Rahmân ibn al-Hakam ibn Hassân al-Asadi and Sa'd, the Two Owners of the Woods; The Slave Girl, Her Master, and 'Ubayd Allâh ibn Ma'mar; Al-Rabîlî and Her Husband, Who Were Pledged Together; Sulaymân, 'Uwânîn, and Shaybân; Sulaymân ibn 'Abd al-Malik, the Conqueror, and Her Child; The Woman, Her Brothers [Sisters], and the Man Who Loved Her; The Arabian and the Daughter of His Other [Last] Uncle; 'Abd al-Malik and al-Kabîl, the Friend of Khâlid ibn al-Walid.

Al-Zuhri and the Daughter of His Paternal Uncle, Who Journeyed to Hishâm ibn 'Abd al-Malik, Dîyâr and Zamîyâ [Zamiya]; Mâlik al-Ayyâr [Charleston];â and His Cousin; Ghanamah, Uzayrîn, and 'Amr al-King;â The Kurd, His Love, and the Daughter of the Priest;â The Two Brothers, One from al-Iraq and the Other from al-Madinah; Al-Mu'âllâ and Sînî; The Naked Man among [al-Mu'tasîrîrâd about] the Women;â Badr and Shâdînâ; 'Abd Allah al-'Atara [the Perfume Dealer]; 'Hasân and the Jewish Chief; 'Abîya, the Daughter of Hashim al-Kindi; Al-Mu'mam 'Abd al-Sharîf, the Picture, and Mas'ûdî the Jinni; Amir al-Husayn ibn 'Abd al-Malik, the Jinni;â The translation follows MS 1934. Fligel has a word which seems incorrect. Fligel and MS 1934 give al-mujâhâd; both can mean "naked man." Or else the word may be a nickname. The translation follows MS 1934, as both of these names are in common use. Fligel has Badan and Shidrân, which are uncommon forms.

Note: These names are book titles. Many of these characters seem to be fictitious.

â MS 1935 omits "who were pledged together."

â See Ibrahimî, 'A'shî, Part 6, p. 266.

â This name does not have consonant signs, but al-a'âyâr, is probably correct.

â These names lack consonant signs and are given differently in the different texts.

â MS 1935 gives al-Kondiyah ["Kundiah, woman"] instead of "the Kurd," found in MS 1934. Fligel has a word which seems incorrect.

â The translation follows MS 1934. The other versions do not separate the two last names clearly, so it is impossible to be sure of the original.

â The translation follows MS 1934. Fligel gives the word bastard ["settled regions."] and MS 1935 omits the name.

â This may be Dhâli ["Ape-Nosed"].
In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Second Section of the Eighth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, including accounts of the exorcists, jugglers, magicians, and those who use incantations, tricks, and talismans.

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Ishāq al-Nādīm: The exorcists and magicians assert that the devils, jīm, and spirits obey and serve them, being directed by their command and their prohibition. The exorcists, who pretend to observe the sacred laws, claim that this is because of obedience to Allah, may His name be magnified.

Thus invocation is addressed to Him, and oaths by the spirits and devils are by His help, with the abandoning of lusts and by consequence of religious practices. Moreover, [they claim] that the jīm and the devils obey them, either because of obedience to Allah, may His name be magnified, or on account of [their making] oaths by Him, or else for fear of Him, blessed and exalted is He. For He has subjugated and humiliated them [the devils and jīm] by the potency of His holy names and because of mention of Him, uplifted and glorified is He.

The [other] magicians assert that they enslave the devils by offerings and prohibitive acts. They [claim] that the devils are pleased by the committing of acts which are forbidden and which Allah, may His name be magnified, has prohibited. Thus the perpetrating

1 The word translated "incantations" is al-nīṣānīyāt, which is an old form; see Ḥājj Khalifū, IV, 1861-7. For sorcery, magic, and talismans, see Khalifū, Muṣūl-
dīnāh (Koenenhal), III, 157-227.
2 A more literal translation is "and they were shifted between their command and their prohibition."
of things such as abandoning prayer and fasting, permitting blood, marrying forbidden women, and other kinds of evil actions is also pleasing. This is common practice in Egypt and the nearby regions; the books which are written there are many and extant. The Babylon of the magicians is in the land of Egypt. A person who has seen this [state of affairs] has told me that there still remain men and women magicians and that all of the exorcists and magicians assert that they have seals, charms of paper, sandal, jecah, smoke, and other things used for their arts.

Another Account

One group of philosophers and servants of the stars assert that they have talismans, based on [astronomical] observations, for all things desired in connection with wonderful actions, excitements, favor, and forms of authority. They also have designs on stones, stringed beads, and signet stones.

This art is divulged openly among the philosophers. The Indians believe in it and perform wonderful things. China has trickery and magic of another form. The art of illusion is a specialty of India, where there are books on the subject, some of which have been translated into Arabic. The Turks also have an art of magic. A man, most trustworthy and superior, told me that they perform miracles for the routings of armies, killing of enemies, crossing the water, and cutting short long distances in short time. The talismans of the land of Egypt and of Syria are numerous and their forms well known, although their use has been rendered vain because they are out-of-date.

This may refer to ordinances about butchering animals while pronouncing the name of Allāh. It may also refer to ordinances about menstruation contained in the Muslim law. For the next item, "marrying forbidden women," see Qurʾān, 4:24.

Charm of paper were undoubtedly slips upon which were written either old pagan words or else verses from the Qurʾān. Sandal was evidently sandalwood, used for medical purposes. For the following word, Flügel gives al-jazil but which does not seem to be a proper form. Perhaps it is meant to be al-jacab, which is the plant Ocimum flavum, used for drugs. MS 1934 does not give consonant signs. This passage has been translated freely.

"Stringed beads" (ad-dhura) are shells, gems, or beads which have been strung. "Signet stones" (al-fugi) are gems or stones in signet rings.

The Arabic phrase translated "out-of-date" is la-taqadam al-ʿabd.
Ibn Hilal

He was one of the recent scholars. He was Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Hilal al-Bakīl and [his father] Hilal was the son of Wāṣif. It was he who started this interest [in sorcery] in ʿĪṣām. He was served and also spoken to [by the jinn], and was known for wonderful deeds and actions of goodness, as well as for seals of tested value. Among his books there were:

The Vanished Spirit; Explanation of What the Devils Said to Solomon (Ṣulaymān) Son of David (Dāʾīd), May Allāh Bless Our Prophet and Also Both of Them [Solomon and David], and the Pledges He Imposed upon Them.

Ibn al-ʿImām

Among the exorcists who worked by means of the names of Allāh, may His name be magnified, there was a man known as Ibn al-ʿImām, who lived during the days of al-Muʿāḍid. His system was praiseworthy rather than subject to criticism.

ʿAbī Allāh ibn Hilāl

Ṣāliḥ al-Musayyibī

ʿUqbah al-Adḥārī

Abū Khālid al-Khurasānī

These [above four] men were known for a system worthy of praise and they accomplished great deeds and notable achievements.

Ibn Abī Raṣāṣah

He was Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān ibn Abī Raṣāṣah, a man whom I have seen and met and who was a leader of his art. One day I questioned him, saying, "Oh, Abū ʿAmr, I would place you above this showing!" He replied, "May Allāh be glorified, I am over eighty years old. If I did not know that this affair was true, I would have left it, but I do not doubt its validity." So I said, "But, by Allāh, you have not been successful." He had many books and

Lawḥaq

He was Lawḥaq ibn ʿArfaj, of ancient times. Among his books there was The Nature of the Jinn, Their Times of Birth, Their Punishments, and the Spirits of Epilepsy.

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16 MS 1934 separates ʿYūbīrī into two names, which would make the total name count 72, but the other versions make this one name.
17 This name is written differently in MS 1135. It cannot be the famous heretic, whose father was said to be Ammonius; see Smith, GRBM, I, 345.
18 Although most of the vowel signs are given in MS 1934, some are lacking so that the names cannot be transcribed accurately. Some references which mention a few of these names and explain the demons are Kišṣā, Qisṣṣa al-ʿAbībīlī; McCown, Treatise of Solomon, Jawbāt, Al-ʿAbūbīrī Jī Rāḥīf al-Anwīr; Cooke, SDMG, XX (1866), 485 ff.
19 The manuscripts omit the pious epithet.
20 MS 1135 inserts the name al-ʿAbbāūtī after al-Muʿūṭāfīd.
21 "The first whose genealogy was certain" is inserted over the name of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Hilāl in MS 1914. MS 1135 confuses the name.
CHAPTER EIGHT

achievements. Those engaged in this art regarding him as superior and preeminent.

An Account of the Condemned System

This system which is condemned (blameful) is the system of the magicians. Those informed about it claim that Bihdhič is the daughter of the Devil (Iblis), or it is also said of the Devil’s son, and that she had a throne on the water. If he who seeks this affair comes to her after doing for her what she wishes, she makes a servant of whomever he desires and fulfills his purposes. He is not isolated from her nor from anyone who makes offerings to her from among humans and animals, if he renounces the ordinances [of religion] and employs that which is repugnant to the mind.

It is also said that Bihdhič is the Devil himself. Another person has stated that Bihdhič is seated on her throne, and that whoever seeks to obey her is brought to her and worships her. Almighty is Allah and sanctified are His names.

One of them [the magicians] told me that while asleep he saw her with an appearance as when awake, and that he saw around her a group resembling the Nabateans, black, barefoot, with eleven legs. He said to me, “I saw in their group Ibn Mundhiriyani, who was one of the greatest of the workers of magic, living, near to our time. His [real] name was Aḥmad ibn Ja’far and he was an apprentice of Ibn Zunqay. He, moreover, spoke from under a basin.”

Al-Khalaf ibn Yāsūf al-Dastumīṣānī Was Among Them

According to what some of his friends have recollected, he wrote books and was known as Ibn Qanān.

SECTION TWO

Ḥannād ibn Murrah al-Yamānī Was Among Them

He quoted al-Zarrūq the Sorcerer59 with his own interpretation. Among his books there were Images.

Al-Hārīrī Was Among Them

He was Abū al-Qasīm al-Fadāl ibn Sahl ibn al-Fadl. Among his books there was The Untied, The Tied, The Knots, and The Twists.

Ibn Wāḥshiyyah al-Kalānī

He was Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ‘Ali ibn Mukhtār ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Ḥarāthiyah ibn Badāniyah ibn Bīrānijāy ibn ‘Alīṣiyah al-Kalānī the Sūfī, one of the people of Qusūm. He claimed that he was a magician who made talismans and practiced the Art [alchemy]. We shall mention his books on the Art in the proper place at the end of this volume. “Kalānī” means that he was one of the Nabateans, who were the inhabitants of the first land. He was a descendant of Sinjārīb.55 He wrote books about magic and talismans, among which there were:

Expulsion of the Devils, also known as Secrets; the large book of magic; the small book of magic; Goddessness (Duwār) or Revolving (Dawwār), according to the doctrine of the Nabateans—it is in nine sections; The Doctrines of the Chaldeans about idols; Advice about Magic; The Secrets of the Stars; the large and small books about agriculture; al-Kalānī about the second category of talismans, translated by Ibn Wāḥshiyyah;56 Life and Death, about the treatment of diseases, by Khalīf ibn Samūṣmū al-Kalānī;57 Idols; Offerings; Disposition.

55 MS 1135 has Abū Zaraq’, but the “Abū” was probably inserted by a careless scribe.
56 Qurṭub was near al-Kūfah in Chaldes; see Yaqūt, Geog., IV, 101. The names of the ancestors were evidently Nabatean and cannot be rendered accurately.
57 The vowel-signs are not given for this name in Al-Fihrist. “Sinjārīb” is a guess; it is found in Yaqūt, Geog., III, 340 l. 4.
58 For the titles of many of his books, see p. 804. See also Hājī Khalīfah, I, 381; III, 98, 577; IV, 166, 298, 461; V, 91, 93, 117, 132, 137, 249. He wrote in Nabatean and also made Arabic translations.
59 Before al-Kalānī there are two other names which are given differently in the various versions and cannot be deciphered.
60 This name is written differently in the various versions.
61 In the Arabic, Jh, meaning “to him,” follows this title and the following. This probably means that Ibn Wāḥshiyyah wrote the books himself instead of merely translating them.
CHAPTER EIGHT

Names; of his conversations with Abū Ja'far al-Umawi and Salīmah ibn Sulaymān al-Ilkhimī about the Art [alchemy] and magic.

Abū Talib Ahmad ibn al-Husayn ibn 'Ali ibn Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt

He was a friend of Ibn Wajshiyah. It was he who quoted his books. He was alive during our time, but I believe that he died recently.

A Statement about Juggling, Talismans, and Incantations

The first persons to play [tricks] with juggling during the period of Islam were 'Ubayd al-Kayyis and another known as Qurṭ al-Rahīš. They wrote a number of books about this subject:

Juggling, by 'Ubayd al-Kayyis; Nimbleness, Compressing, and Snatching, by Qurṭ al-Rahīš; Swallowing the Sword, the Rod, Pebbles, and Shells, and Eating Soup and Glass, with the Trick for That; Juggling, by 'Ubayd al-Kayyis.

The last person to play [tricks] with sleight of hand whom we have seen was Manṣūr Abī al-'Ājab. He died when he was one hundred and fifteen years old. He used to say, "I performed in the presence of al-Ma'tamīd."

Qāliṣṭānī44

He was an ancient and one of those who spoke about the special properties of phenomena, incantations, and talismans. Among his books there was the Compilation, about incantations and special properties.

44 "Juggling" is al-shab'dahah, also meaning "sleight of hand." "Talismans" is al-talismāt.
45 The word translated "snatching" (al-lajf) is taken from MS 1135, which seems to be correct. It is given differently in the other versions.
46 Al-sahāb ("shells") usually signifies small black shells. The word is taken from MS 1135.
47 For "juggling" (al-wāṭbqāqh), an unusual term, see Dory, Supplement, I, 366.
48 This was probably Apollonius of Tyana.
49 This may refer to Ariu al-Rūmī, see n. 17, or else to some man who cannot be identified.
50 MS 1135 gives this name clearly.
51 MS 1135 gives a name which appears to be Mastaḥnūs.
52 This name is written imperfectly, but is probably meant to be Mastaḥnūs.

SECTION TWO

Apollonius the Wise

He was one of the people of Tyana, in the Byzantine territory. It is said that he was the first to initiate speech about talismans. His book about talismans, which he wrote in his own city and in the kingdoms of the kings, is known and famous.

Arūs

He was a Byzantine. His book was Incantations.

Babhōs the Indian

He was one of the ancients whose system of incantations was the system of India. Among his books there was a book in which he followed the system of those who upheld illusion.

The Books of Hermes about Incantations, Special Properties, and Talismans

Book of Hermes, about resurrection, amulets, and charms; Al-Hārīṣīs, about incantations over trees, fruits, ungents, and herbs; of Marqūjān, about names, safeguards, amulets, and means of protection, with the letters of the sun, moon, five planets, and names of the philosophers; of Marqūjān about special properties, which he divided into three sections, each section comprising a subject.
The Third Section of the Eighth Chapter
of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the books which they composed.

The Names of the Fables Known by Nickname, Nothing More than That Being Known about Them

Shakbadah, The Foot Bone of a Giant Lizard; Stoooping of the Back; Depraved; Lover of the Cow; Stripped of the Wind; Happiness; The New; Lashing Rope; Female Dancer (Raqisah); A Dwelling (Domestic Comfort); Bird Droppings; He Blames (He is blamed).

1 This title is taken from MS 1315, and differs from the other versions. One can only guess at the meanings of the following titles, as many of the words have several meanings, some of them slang.

8 Perhaps from the Persian 'shokh padab', meaning "to cover oneself with tinder."
8 Flügel has what might be Dula' al-Dahr ("Side of the Monastery"), but MSS 1315 and 1313 have what might be Dula' al-Dahl ("Stoooping of the Back") or Dula' al-Dhaq ("A Side of Ulcers").
8 Flügel gives various suggestions, but MSS 1315 and 1315 have what might be Khanj ("Depraved") or Khanmaq ("Perversion"). The word in MS 1315 might also be read as Jameh ("Heavens").
8 MS 1314 clearly gives Jeth al-Rish ("Stripped of the Wind"). Flügel has what might be Hiraat al-Rish ("Drought of the Wind") or Hiraat al-Rish ("Rain Cloud of the Wind").
8 Flügel has Hala' moh ("Lashing Rope"). The manuscripts give what might be Halil Mash ("Powerful Laxative"); though it is probably meant to be something else.
8 This name very likely comes from the Persian word zar ("exposed") and gita ("female cat"). This was the catamite of the well-known judge Ahmad ibn Abi Duhad. Flügel failed to identify this name.
8 The manuscripts have the plural khun ("droppings"); whereas Flügel gives the singular, khun.

Tales of the Buffoons
It is not known who composed them.

Anecdotes of Kaabil, Anecdotes of Abü Damam; Anecdotes of Ibn Almar; Anecdotes of Saaruh al-A'rab; Anecdotes of Ibn al-Mawall; Anecdotes of Ibn Ya'qub; Anecdotes of Abü 'Ubayd al-Hasani; Anecdotes of Abü 'Alqamah; Anecdotes of Sayfawayh.

The Names of Books Composed about Sexual Intercourse—Persian, Indian, Greek, and Arab [Books] in the Form of the Story of Passionate Love.

8 MS 1314 has Al-Sird ("The Small"). Flügel and MS 1135 have Al-Salid ("Sacrifice").
8 MS 1314 gives Al-Sark ("Divorce"); whereas Flügel and MS 1135 have Al-Sirah ("Secrets").
8 This word is written carelessly in MS 1314.
8 MS 1314 has what might be either 'Araat ("Depravity," "Adversity") or 'Araat ("Giving Birth Only to Males"). The other versions have variations which seem to be mistakes.
8 Htaq is from MS 1314. Another possibility is khun ("exposed, "damp"). Flügel suggests jawaw ("palace").
8 The Arabic is Qir ("Cotton, "Tenticle," or "Wen"). Another possibility is Qur ("Pebbleheads").
8 The names are probably those of jesters about whom stories were written. The names are also the titles of the books. See Rosenthal, Humor, pp. 1-9.
8 In MS 1314 this title is given on the margin. Instead of "fools" the Arabic may mean "true free people," as some of the men mentioned were not fools or jesters. For this passage, see Rosenthal, Humor, pp. 9-13.
8 This name may be Sibawayh, but was probably not the Egyptian humorist with that name; see ibid., pp. 11, 14.
8 Many of these names belong to fiction and are not included in the Bible. Index.
CHAPTER EIGHT

The Daughter of Biliya;¹⁸ The Soul of Buniya;¹⁹ The Daughter of Bahrama, about sexual intercourse; Marthi, the Greek, about a story of sexual intercourse; the large book, The Capable Woman;²⁰ the small book, The Capable Woman; the large book, Burdun and Hubilh; (The Short), by Abī al-Ḥasan;²¹ the small book, Burdun and Hubilh; The Freeborn Woman and the Slave; Jared Harlots and Adulterers;²² composed by Ibn Ḥabīb al-Nūrī, known as The Story of Ibn al-Dhakāt; Laʿīb the Hand Woman and Ḥusayn the Homosexual; Conspiring Mistresses.


Physiognomich by Artitote;²⁴ Physiognomich by Philemon; The Physiognomy of the Pigeon; Augury of the Persians; Augury of the Greeks; Augury of the Indians; Augury of the Arabs; Freckles, by Menes the Greek;²⁵ Moles, by Menes the Greek; [Good] Omen, by the people of Persia; The Lines of the Palm and Examination of the Hand, by the Indians; Twitting, in three aspects, by the Persians; Augury by Birds,²⁶

¹⁸ Fligel gives the name Buniya, but MS 1944 has what must be the common name Biliya, or else Biliya, meaning "A Lone Person."
¹⁹ Again Fligel gives the name Buniya. In MS 1944 the word might be Bunyan, or Shun or Sune. These last two forms have many meanings, but here might signify "Preferred" and "Like."
²⁰ Fligel gives Al-Affiyah ("The Thousand"), suggesting stories similar to A Thousand and One Night. MS 1944 has Al-Affiyah, which probably means "A Capable Woman," perhaps being a book of stories about some clever mistress.
²¹ Burdun was a singer of al-Madinah, though this story may not be about him. See Ishaq ibn al-Asqalani, Aṣḥāb, Part 7, p. 168. Hubilh was the name of a miner.
²² The word translated "Jared harlots" is al-sohlfat, which has various meanings, all of them referring to prostitutes who have lost their charm. "Adulterers" is al-bighaṣṣīn.
²³ "Twitting," refers to involuntary movements of the face and eyes, and also to the twitching of the organs of slaughtered animals. "Shoulder" (ṣīṭ) was a type of divination, usually by means of the shoulder bones of sheep. "Augury" (ṣeṣ) often but not always refers to augury in connection with the flight of birds.
²⁴ Fligel inserts the Arabic word for "plagiarized" before the title. Over the title MS 1944 has inserted what seems to be the same word in small letters.
²⁵ MS 1944 gives the consonants m w s, whereas Fligel has Mins, which is the Greek Menes. This man cannot be identified. This title and the one which follows evidently refer to divination by means of freckles and moles.

SECTION THREE

[Good] Omen, Divination, Observing Traces, and Soothsaying, by al-Mādīṭtī; [Good] Omen by Celestial Observation, by al-Kināṭī; Twisting and Augury, What One Sees in His Clothing and Body, A Description of Freckles, the Medical Treatment of Women, and Knowledge of What Snakes Indicate; the great [book], Drawing of Lots, by Ibn al-Murādī;²⁷ the small [book], Drawing of Lots, by Ibn al-Murādī; of Pythagoras on the drawing of lots, by which one can decide by lot for every need; The Drawing of Lots of the Two Horned [Alexander the Great]; The Drawing of Lots, as composed by Christians; The Drawing of Lots, related to Daniel; The Drawing of Lots with Arrows, related to Alexander.

The Books Composed about Horsemanship, Bearing of Arms, the Implements of War, and the Management and Usage of These Things among All Nations

The Love of Archery,²⁸ by Bahram Gūr, or, it is said, by Balram Chibūn; The Love for Striking with Bent Sticks,²⁹ by the Persians; Mobilization for Wars, the Training of Horsemen,³⁰ and How the Kings of Persia Administered the Four Frontiers on the East, West, South, and North; The Glorious,³¹ which al-Harrūnī al-Sharīrī composed for al-Māmūn about wars—he formed it as two treatises, with polished composition. The first treatise had three sections. The first section had twenty headings, which included two hundred and sixty-four topics (questions). The second section had seven headings, which comprised forty topics. The third section had twenty-four headings, which included one hundred and forty-four topics. The second treatise had thirty-six divisions, with one thousand and twenty-five headings.

²⁷ As the words for "great" and "small" are in the feminine, they probably go with qarīb ("drawing of lots").
²⁸ The word translated "love" is not clearly written in MS 1944, as it lacks consonant signs. Fligel offers several suggestions as to what the word might be. One is that the letters form the name of a legendary hero, Abūn, and not this one. Fligel's other possibilities make sense. The most likely word appears to be atiqa, meaning "love of" or "desire for."
²⁹ This probably refers to the best sticks used in the Persian game of polo.
³⁰ The word translated "horsemanship" is al-ṣahārrah. Lane, Lexicon, Part 4, p. 1465, believes the word refers to horsemanship using bows and arrows.
³¹ The translation follows MS 1944 here, which gives Al-Falal ("The Glorious"). Fligel and MS 1155 have Al-Fiyaq ("Stratagem"). There are other unimportant variations.
CHAPTER EIGHT

Book of 'Abd al-Jabbar ibn 'Adi, written for al-Manṣūr, about the conduct of wars and the form of the troops; 26 of al-Eshārī, about horsemanship; The Conduct of Wars, Storming of Castles and Cities, Discovering an Ambush, Commissioning Spies, the Vanguard, the Brigades, and Frontier Garrisons—it is a translation of what was written for Ārādīdī ibn Bībak; of Bājāhīr al-Hindī, 29 about the techniques of swords, their description, qualities, 28 designs, and markings; The Swords Which Were with the Arabs, and Their Types; of Shāhān al-Hindī, about the administration of war, the men whom the king must enlist, the horsemen, the food supplies, and poison; The Science of Fire, Naphtha, and Flamethrowers in Wars; 35 Towers for Attack, 20 Catapults, Stratagems, and Artifices, which I saw written in the handwriting of Ibn Khūffī.

The Books Composed about Veterinary Surgery, the Doctoring of Animals, and the Qualities and Selection of Horses

Book of Ibn Akhtī Ḥizām about veterinary surgery, which he composed for al-Mustawakīl; written by one of the Greek physicians, about the veterinary care of all kinds of animals; Veterinary Surgery, by Simun, 37 one section of which is extant; Horses, and According to What Character and Description There Was a Similarity among the Most Spirited of the Horses; 28 The Equipping (Tethering) of Horses, unknown; 29 translated by Isḥāq ibn 'Ali ibn Sulaymān for the Persians, about the veterinary care of the other animals, and [also] horses, mules, cows, sheep, and camels.

88 The word translated "conduct" is ʿadād, which in MS 1135 has long marks over the two s’s. The same word is found two titles following.
89 This name is evidently written in Arabic but taken from an Indian source. It cannot be identified and may not be written correctly.
90 Unlike the other versions, MS 1135 has sāqīf ("polishing") for this word.
91 MS 1934 gives al-īm ("science"); Flügel and MS 1135 have al-īm ("use" or "work"). Flamethrowers (al-zarḥīf or al-zarḥīl) were instruments for ejecting naphtha against a fortification.
92 Al-ʿadabīh ("towers for attack") were covered towers on wheels which were used to attack walled fortresses.
93 Although the Arabic has rather than s at the final letter of this proper name, the two letters can be confused when transliterated from the Greek, so that this could be the name of the Athenian, Simon Flilipt atron.
94 In this book title, the word translated "character" is nisīr, which might also mean "outstripping in a race." The word given as "similarity" is ṣhabāb in MS 1934; Flügel has shiyāh, which can also mean "coloring," "mark," "neighboring," among other things.
95 "Unknown" evidently signifies that al-Nadīm himself did not know this book.

SECTION THREE

with knowledge of their cost and markings; Veterinary Surgery, by al-Ḥayyānī, unknown; Veterinary Surgery, by the Greeks; Veterinary Surgery, by the Persians;

The Books Composed about Birds of Prey, 31 Sport with Them, and Medical Care of Them, by the Persians, Greeks, Turks, and Arabs

Birds of Prey, by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar al-Bīyāzīr (the Falconer); Falcons, by the Persians; Falcons, by the Turks; Falcons, by the Byzantines; Falcons, by the Arabs; Birds of Prey and Sport with Them, by Abū Dulāf al-Qāsim ibn 'Isā. 32

Names of the Books Composed about Sermons, Morals, and Wisdom by the Persians, Greeks, Indians, 48 and Arabs—The Authors Are [Both] Known and Unknown

Book of Zīdanfarrīk, about the training of his children; Mīrāḏhār Jušala, the vizier (framadāh) of Buṣyrānīr ibn Bokhtakān, 44 at the beginning of which there is, "No two persons ever have a difference of opinion in which one is mistaken and the other correct"; of Bryson, about moral training; 30 of Bryson, about home management; of İbrāhīm ibn Ziyād, about moral training, written for al-Mahādī; of Muḥammad ibn al-Layth, preaching to al-Rashīd; of Muḥammad ibn al-Layth, [addressed] to Yaḥyā ibn Ḥūlid; "Reluctation of the Zanāḍīq, unknown; the charge of Chosroe [Austrāštrān] to his son Hurnez, giving him advice as he assigned to him his rule, with the reply of Hurnez to him; of one of the kings of the past to his son, about discipline; the charge of Chosroe for anyone in his household mature enough for training; of a good king

40 MS 1934 gives šāhām ("markings," "defects"). MS 1135 and Flügel have sawm ("price fixing").
41 The word translated "birds of prey" is al-jawābh, which is sometimes used for other animals as well as birds.
42 MS 1934 garbles "by Abū Dulāf."
43 MS 1135 omits "the Indians."
44 The translation follows the Flügel version and MS 1135. MS 1934 suggests that the original Persian was Mīrāḏhārīnīr al-farāshūnādīr: For the first word see Firdawṣī, Shamsna, IX, 43, where it is used as the name of a well-known man; Richardson, Dictionary, p. 1048 l. 12, defines the second Persian word as "obeying commands" ("servitor"). This second word was very likely a title for some palace position.
45 MS 1934 gives this name as Brūsan, but Bryson is evidently the name meant.
CHAPTER EIGHT

among the kings, in which there is a collection of the principal affairs about which the kings revolve their government; 48 the charge of Ardashir Būbakān to his son Sābūr. 49

Book of the high priest, 50 about wisdom, collections, and morals; the charge of Chosroes Antširmān to his son, called The Gathering 52 of Eloquence: questions soliciting the attention of Khīrī the wise man and the reply concerning them; 56 The King with White Hair and the Dialogue between Him and the Viziers and the People of His Kingdom; what Chosroes wrote to the Guardian of the Frontier and his reply to him; 58 The Story of Despair 58 and Hope and the Dialogue Which Took Place between Them; The King and the Woman Whom He Hung between Heaven and Earth, So that a Thousand Horsesmen Found Shade beneath Her; The Question Which the King of the Greeks Sent to Antširmān by the Hand of Hippocrates the Greek; 59 The Byzantine King’s Sending Philosophers to the King of Persia to Ask about Matters of Wisdom. The Philosopher Who Paid Attention to the Handsmaid (of) Qaytar and the Story of the Philosophers Connected with Her; 60 The King, One of Whose Viziers Advised Him to Sleep and Another to Awake; The

48 A free translation might be, "The chief principles upon which the kings base their policies."
49 See Grīgriñchā, Journ. ariac. cclxv, Part I (1905), 1-12. Pages 155-67 gives the Arabic text of this Testament and pages 68-81 gives a French translation. This article also gives the texts of several other treaties supposedly written by Ardashir.
50 "High priest" is in Persian māh tāmadh. māh tāmadh.
51 Arād ("gathering") is taken from MS 1316. The word might also be "māh ("nest") or gūbd ("dissemination"). Hīgel has ""("eye,""spring").
52 The name Khājī is taken from MS 1394. It is mentioned by Firdawṣī, Shāhnama, VI, 159. There is a correction found on the margin in MS 1394 which indicates another possibility, Khājī, a Persian word meaning "wise man." Following the word is the Arabic al-tāfr ("wise man"); possibly a translation of hūzūd, or, if the word is a proper name, a nickname or description of the man. This name is confused by Hīgel.
53 In Persian the "Guardian of the Frontier" is al-Murāsāb. The word is not clearly given either in the Hīgel edition or MS 1394.
54 MS 1313 has al-rā's ("head"), evidently an error.
55 This may be a story about an envoy sent by Justinian to Antširmān, Chosroes I, or it may be connected with the anecdote about Hippocrates; see Chap. VII, sect. 3, near n. 38.
56 Qaytar is taken from Hīgel. The name cannot be identified. The second letter is not marked in MS 1394, so that it might be Qinnar ("Misfortune"), a nickname.

SECTION THREE

Passages Which Ardashir Ordered to Be Taken from the Libraries of Books Written by Wise Men about Administration, 61 The Story of Hearing and Sight; The King with Two Wives and the Viziers; The Two Wives of the King, One of Whom Preferred Slave Boys and the Other Slave Girls, with the Remarks of the Philosophers about the Matter; The Two Men of India, the Generous and the Misery, Their Suit and the King of India’s Judgment on the Case; Yazdakkar Bīrī ibn Mazhībīsl to Hīrūzī ibn Kīrī, and the Letter of Kīrī to Ḥawṣāyat and Her Reply. 62

Chosroes to the Great Men of the People about Thanks; [of] Qaytar, with mention of her monastery (dayr) 63 and her wise sayings; Anecdotes of Maymūn ibn Maymūn, 64 about moral training; of Ḥāmza ibn ‘Alī about the biography of Dīn al-Yamīnayn; 65 The Moral Training, by Mūṣīn the Secretary; of al-‘Arāzmi, about moral training, in the form of rare forms (anecdotes) of poetry; Ethics, of Afṣīr ibn Yazīd, the Judge, which he addressed to Khādīj ibn ‘Isā ibn ‘Alī al-Hījāzī, Ethics, of Ṣaḥāḥ ibn al-Mudīl; Ethics, of Kūltūḥ ibn ‘Amr al-‘Aṣḥāb; Ethics, of ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu‘azz; of Shāmād al-Hidī, about ethics, in five sections; The Book of Biography (Sirāt Nāmāk), 66 a composition of Ḥudūlāb ibn Farkūzhīd, a book of traditions and stories; of ‘Abi ibn Zayn al-Naṣrānī, about morals and proverbs, according to the Persians, the Greeks, and the Arabs; a translation of anecdotes about

61 Perhaps "taken" should be "selected." For this title, see Grīgriñchā, Journ. ariac. cclxv, Part I (1905), 6.
62 Hormuz ibn Kīrī (Chosroes) was the king of Persia. The other names in this title are guesses and cannot be identified.
63 Instead of a monastery, dayr may be a Musliīn institution.
64 This was a nickname for al-Fuṣḥ ibn al-Kabī. Both abīd and ‘alab have various literary, moral, and social meanings. Here, for the sake of simplification, abīd is translated as "morast" and ‘alab as "sorāt."
65 This was the nickname of Ṣīrū ibn al-Ḥusayn. It means "possessed of two hands" and it was given to him because he used two hands to wield his sword when killing ‘Abd ibn al-Layth. See Mādīdī, VI, 425; Zarrīkī, Part 3, p. 138
66 Fīgel and MS 1394 have Sirat Nāmāk. MS 1313 has The Course of His Days, probably a mistake. Sirat is perhaps the Arabic translation of some Persian word. Perhaps Ḥudūlāb is meant to be the Persian name Khudābādī. Farkūzhīd cannot be identified, but is a common Persian name. See Mīkāwshāy, Tādēr al-Lūnā, pp. 466-68; Fīgel, Shāhnama, VIII, 240–41, 412 ff.
67 As this man has a Musliīn name, he must have been a Christian who was converted to Islam, or else the name al-Naṣrānī does not mean "Christian" as it usually does.
the nobility, anecdotes about the middle-class people and anecdotes about the lower class and the humble.

The Books Composed about the Interpretation of Dreams
Book of Astaroterous about the interpretation of dreams, five sections; Sleep and Awakening, by Perophyr; of Abū Sulaymān al-Manṣūrī (the Logician), about the warnings in sleep; which Ṭibrīḥīm ibn Bakīs wrote about dreams; Interpretation of Dreams, by Muhammad ibn Sirīn; Interpretation of Dreams, by Abū Isḥāq al-Karmānī; Interpretation of Dreams, by al-Qurayyānī, Ṭabrīzī; Interpretation of Dreams, by Ibn Qutayshāb; Interpretation of Dreams, according to the doctrines of the Ahl al-Bayt, for whom may there be peace; Interpretation of Dreams, for the Ahl al-Bayt, pleasant.

The Books Composed about Perfume
Perfume, written by Yāḥyā ibn Khālid; Perfume, by Ibrāhīm ibn al-ʿAbbās; Perfume, by al-Khādīj; The Alchemy of Perfume, by al-Khādīj; Perfume, unknown [authorship]; another book about perfume and compounds; Perfume, by Hāshib al-ʿAṣṭrār; Perfume and Its Varieties, by al-Muṣṭafāʾ ibn Salamaḥ; Perfume, Its Varieties and Sources, by a man of al-Ṭabarānī, named ——.

The Books Composed about Cooked Food
Cooked Food, by al-Māhdi ibn Bushkhit; Cooked Food, by Ibrāhīm al-Mahdī; Cooked Food, by Ibn Munawwī; Cooked Food, by Ibrāhīm ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Sūfī; Cooked Food, by Abū ʿAbdAllāh ibn al-Munajjīm; Cooked Food, by Makhbara; Cooked Food, by Abū Sūfī al-Ṭayyārī; Cooked Food, by Jaʿfar; also Al-Sikāj, by him; Cooked Food for the Sick, by al-Rāzī; and Cooked Food, also by him.

The Titles of Odd Books, with the Names of Their Authors
Jewels and Their Kind—Muḥammad ibn Shadkhān al-Jawharī wrote it for al-Muṣṭafāʾ; Changes of Color, by Yāḥyā ibn Muḥammad al-Zayjājī; Flowing Water, by Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad al-Ṭabarānī, named ——.

SECTION THREE

The Books Composed about Poisons and the Compounding of Drugs
Poisons, Their Compounding and Sources, about fifty leaves, by Rūmī— it is not known whether he was recent or ancient; Poisons, by Ibn al-Baṭrāṣ; Poisons, by the Indians; Poisons and Protection against Their Injury, by al-Khādīj; Poisons and Protection against Their Injury, by Qasīf ibn Lājiṣ; The Varieties of Snakes, by Bāṣīl the Indian; Varieties of Creeping Things, by Ibn al-Baṭrāṣ; Drugs, by Rūmī al-Māhdi, by al-Ṭabarānī.

The Books Composed about Amulets and Charms
The Seven Temples, The Seven Seals, The Seven Dwellings, Amulets and Charms, by Ibn Ṭabāšpāq; Amulets and Charms, by Abū Sīrāj al-ʿArbaʿīn; The Scripture of Adam, in which there are the names of the angels and agents, according to their naming—the authorship is unknown but the Jews lay claim to it; Passions, Affections, Freeing, and Binding, the author unknown.
The Ninth Part

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they compiled. The Composition of Muhammad ibn Ishâq ibn Muhammad ibn Ishâq, Ishâq known as Abû Ya’qûb al-Warrâq,1

In the name of Allâh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The First Section of the Ninth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the titles of the books which they composed, comprising a description of the sects of the Harâmânîyâh al-Kâldânîyâh, known as the Şîbîans (al-Şâbîh),2 and the sects of the Chaldaean Dualists.3

1 The title is taken from MS 1934. This ungrammatical way of giving the name of Ishâq is similar to the form in the titles of Chapters II, VIII, and X. "An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His servant, Muhammad ibn Ishâq" is written below the inscription on the left. "Chapter of the Sects and Doctrines" is written on the right-hand side.

2 The Harâmânîyâh al-Kâldânîyâh, also called the Harrâtînî Şîbîans or Chaldaean Şîbîans, were a group of pagan in the city of Harrân who adopted the name "Şîbîan" to avoid persecution. The Harâmânîyâh seems to be a vernacular form for the Harâmânîyâh, just as the Manînâyâh was used, (for the) Mânawîyâh ("Manichaean"). The Harrâtînîyâh was used in general for the people of Harrân, whereas the form Harrâmânîyâh was probably used only for the Şîbîans in the city of Harrân. Al-Kâldânîyâh ("Chaldaean") distinguishes the Şîbîans of Harrân from those of southern 'Iraq. Cf. Chap. VII, sect. 1 n. 61, where it is said that there were Chaldaean Şîbîans in Asia Minor. Dosty, Supplément II, 493, defines al-Kâldânî, the singular form, as Chaldaean and also as a recension. See "Şîbîan" in Glossary for further background.

3 The Arabic for Chaldaean Dualists is al-Thawawîyâh al-Kâldânîyâh. These people were members of sects such as the Manichaean, Bardesan, and other Gnostic sects of western and central Asia.
An Account from [What Is Written in] the Handwriting of Ahmad ibn al-Tayyib and quoted from al-Kindī

These people [the Harrānian Şi‘ā] agree that the world has a prime cause [the transcendent deity] who is eternal and a unity, rather than multiple. No attribute of things created is connected with Him. He has charged discerning persons whom He has created to acknowledge His lordship. He has shown them the way, sending apostles for their guidance and for confirmation of proof, ordering them both to call [people] to be approved by Him and to warn them of His anger. They [the apostles] have promised enduring contentment for the obedient, but for the person who is disobedient they have promised torment and punishment to the extent which He deserves. Eventually, however, this [punishment] will be ended. It is related that one of their leaders said, "God punishes for nine thousand cycles, after which there will be a change to the compassion of God." They people who summon to God and the true religion, by which they make vows, are regarded in a special way. Their famous and eminent personalities are Arān, Aghathāhāmīn, and Hārnās. Some of them also mention Solon, the ancestor of the philosopher Plato on his mother's side. The doctrine (summons) of all of these people is the same: their statutes and laws are not contradictory. They have adopted one direction for prayer, which they have fixed towards the North Star in its course. The intelligent thus seek to inquire for wisdom. They have resisted whatever disagrees with this point of view. They adhere to the four virtues of the spirit. They have accepted the pious virtues and shunned the evil ones. They say that Heaven moves

4 The text of Al-Fihrist proceeds with a quotation from al-Kindī. The passage should be compared with the freer translation of Rosenthal, Ahmad n. al-Tayyib as-Sarhān, pp. 41-51.

5 As Solon is mentioned in the next sentence, these three names are very likely those of ancient wise men. The Arabic letters might suggest Heron, Aghathadasmon, and Hermes Trismegistus. Cf. Chowdhury, Die Stabien, II, 58 no. 24; Shahrastānī (Haarbücker), Part II, p. 61; Birādī, Chronology, p. 315 top; Masʿūdī, III, 348.

6 See Diogenes Laërtius, p. 112.

7 MS 1934 does not give the word translated as "intelligent" accurately. The translation is taken from Fligel, and may not be correct.

8 These are probably wisdom, fortitude, temperance, and justice, mentioned by Plato, Republic, pp. 117-24.

9 MS 1934 has a word which appears to be al-khātirātīn ("shameful"); here translated as "evil ones."
He has formed for mediating in the management of things. The things which they sacrifice for the offerings are the males of cattle, sheep, goats, and other four-legged beasts which do not have teeth in both of the two jaws, with the exception of the camel. They also sacrifice birds which do not have talons, with the exception of the pigeon. The method of slaughter is by cutting the jugular veins and the windpipe, the *tashkîyâd* being simultaneous with the slaughter, with no interval intervening. Most of their sacrificial victims are cocks. The offering is not eaten, but burned. He who makes the sacrifice does not enter the sanctuaries that day when the sacrifice is made. There are four times of offering during the month: the conjunction, the opposite position, the seventeenth, and the twenty-eighth days. Their feasts are a feast called the Feast of Breaking of the Fast of Seven Days and the Feast of Breaking of the Fast of a Month, also called the Breaking of the Fast of Thirty. Each fast lasts two days. Then there is the Breaking of the Fast of Five Days, and also the Breaking of the Fast of Eighteen Days, which occurs on the twenty-sixth day of the month. Then there is the Feast of Pregnancy on the twenty-fifth of Tishrin al-Awwal (October), the Birthday Feast on the twenty-third of Kinûn (December-January), and a feast on the twenty-ninth of Tamnîz (July).

Impurity among them is also washed off with a change of garments. For anyone who touches a woman in menstruation there is a required change of garments. A woman in menstruation must withdraw completely after washing off the impurity. Anyone who touches a woman in menstruation must also use natron (carbonate of soda) with washing.

They do not slaughter any creature unless it has lungs and blood. They have forbidden the eating of the camel and whatever has not been slaughtered, as well as [the eating of] all animals with teeth in both jaws, such as the pig, the dog, and the donkey. Among the birds they have forbidden *eating* the pigeon and such as have talons, and among the plants the *bhâghîl* beans and garlic. Some of them go further, forbidding green beans, cauliflower, cabbage, and lentils.

They are so extreme in their abhorrence of the camel that they say that anyone who walks under the halter of a camel will not attain his desire. They avoid anybody with whiteness and leprosy, and also with a contagious disease. They also shun circumcision, not making any change in the work of nature.

They marry with witnessing, but not those with close relationship. The share of inheritance of the male and the female is equal. There is no divorce except when there is proof exposing manifest immorality. A man does not take back a divorced woman, nor have intercourse with two women, nor have sexual relations with them except for the sake of a child. According to them, reward and punishment are attached to the spirits and are not postponed until some known time.

They say that a man who is an announcer of God (al-nâhî) is he who is free from evil in his soul and from imperfections of the body, who is perfect in everything praiseworthy, who does not fall short in answering every question correctly, who tells what is in the imaginations, whose prayer for rain is answered, who wards off pests from plants and animals, and whose doctrine improves the world, increasing its population.

Their assertion about matter, the elements, form, nonentity [before existence], time, place, and motion is in accord with what Aristotle

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18 This evidently refers to animals which have died of disease or by accident rather than being slaughtered in a clean way with proper ritual.
19 The Arabic original of this passage seems to lack certain words and is not very clear. The passage has been translated freely and probably gives the meaning intended by the author. It should be compared with Leviticus 11:13-15. For further information about the pigeons, see Lucian, *Syrian Goddess* (Garstang), pp. 55, 85-86; Goossens, *Heraclopolis*, pp. 63, 73, which explains that the eating of pigeons was forbidden at Hieropolis.
20 Whiteness of the skin was a condition often regarded as leprosy.
21 Although the Arabic is ambiguous, this seems to mean that they do not marry close relations. This may refer to members of the immediate family rather than to cousins.
22 MS 1914 gives *nasîj* ("couples"), which does not seem as correct as "spirits," taken from both Hügel and Roseenthal, *Ahmad b. at-Tabrit an-Nabâhî*, p. 48.
23 A "man announcing God" (al-nâhî) was usually a prophet, though here the word may refer to a soothsayer or religious leader.
presented in the *Hearing of Existences* [*Physica ascensatio*].24 The declaration concerning the sky is that it has a fifth nature, not compounded from the four elements, indestructible and incorruptible, as stated in the book *Heaven* [*De cœelo*]. Their assertion about the four elements and their degeneration into fertility and reproduction is that there is produced from these elements this existence of fertility and reproduction,25 which existence is derived from the degeneration, according to what is said in the book *Being and Corruption* [*De generatione et corruptione*].

Their assertion about the heavenly signs and occurrences under the [celestial] body of the moon is similar to what is said in the book *The Things on High* [*Metempsychia*]. Their statement about the soul is that it is perceptive, indestructible, incorporeal essence, to which none of the attributes of the body apply, as told in the book *The Soul* [*De anima*]. Their assertion about visions [dreams], both those that are genuine and the others, and also about perception and what is perceived, is as stated in the book *Perception and the Perceived* [*De sensu et sensibili*]. Their saying that God is unity, to whom no attribute applies and about whom no affirmative statement can be made, or any syllogism related, is similar to what is said in the book *Metaphysica*. Their assertion about the proofs of phenomena is according to what is stipulated in the book *Analytica Posteriora*.26

Al-Kindi said that he saw a book which these people authorized. It was the *Discourses of Hermes on Unity*, which he [Hermes] wrote for his son, and which was of the greatest excellence on the subject of unity. No philosopher exerts himself can dispense with them [*Discourses of Hermes on Unity*] and agreement with them.27

24 Here the Arabic is Sam‘ al-Kif‘īr (“Hearing of Existences”). The *Physica ascensatio* of Aristotle is as a rule entitled *Al-Sam‘ al-Tálibī* (“Natural Hearing”). The titles mentioned in this and the following paragraphs are works by Aristotle.

25 A literal translation would be, “What they say about the four elements and their degeneration into tillage and progeny, the existence of tillage and progeny being from them and their existence being from it.” Rosenthal, *Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib as-Sa‘dah*, p. 59, gives, as a free translation, “The four natures, in their opinion, perish for the purpose of the propagation of plants and animals. In turn the propagation of plants and animals takes its origin from the four natures, and again in turn, the four natures take their origin from the propagation of plants and animals.”

26 The titles *Metaphysica* and *Analytica posteriora* are very bad transliterations from the Greek.

27 Shahābuddīn (Haarbeckx), Part 2, p. 4ff, speaks of two sects among the Sibā’ins of Harrān, one of which was spiritual and the other clinging to idolatry. This passage about the influence of Aristotle probably refers to the spiritual sect, which was influenced by Hellenism. *Al-Fihrist* does not mention these sects. See *Sibā’ins* in Glossary for further explanation.
Al-Ma’mūn moved on, heading for the territory of the Byzantines. Then they changed their style of dress, cut their hair, and left off wearing short gowns. Many of them became Christians and wore girdles, while others accepted Islam, and a small number remained in their original state. Being troubled in mind, they used stratagems until one of the people of Harran who was a shaykh appealed to them, saying, "I have found a means by which you can be delivered and saved from death." So they brought him a large sum from their treasury, which they had maintained from the days of al-Ra‘id until this time, making it ready for emergencies.

I shall make clear to you, may Allah strengthen you, the reason for that.

Then he [the shaykh] said to them, "When al-Ma’mūn returns from his journey, say to him, 'We are Sībiyans (Sībī’īn), for this is the name of a religion which Allah, may His name be exalted, mentioned in the Qur'ān. Profess it and you will be saved by it.'"

It was foreordained that al-Ma’mūn should die on this journey of his at al-Badhandūn. Nevertheless, from that time on they adopted this name, as [before this time] there had not been a group in Haran and its vicinity called Sībiyans. When news of the death of al-Ma’mūn reached them, many of them who had become Christians returned to the Hamāniyāh, letting their hair grow long as it had been before al-Ma’mūn passed by them. They were, however, called Sībiyans. The Muslims prevented them from wearing short robes, which were the garb of the associates of the sultan. Moreover, those among their number who had become Muslims were unable to recant, as they feared they might be killed. They continued, therefore, to be masked by Islam.

They married the women of the Harraniyāh, making the male children Muslims, but the females members of the Hamāniyāh.

During numerous periods of history Muslim rulers obliged their subject peoples to wear girdles of specified colors so as to identify their religious affiliations. This seems to be a remark inserted by Abū Yūsuf Ibn‘a, which suggests that the whole passage may be a quotation from his book.

See Ya‘qūb, Gog, I, 530.

Evidently "Harraniyāh" referred to the people of Harran, whether they were Sībiyans or not, whereas "Hamāniyāh" was used for members of the pagan cult; see "Sībiyans" in Glossary.

From that time until about twenty years ago this was the way of life of all of the people of Ta‘ Uz and Salaman, the two well-known and important villages near Harran. Then two shaikhs known as Abū Zirrā and Abū 'Arībah [al-Husayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Mawdīl], who were learned men among the shaikhs of the people of Harran in connection with the law and what is enjoined as right, and also the other shaikhs and jurists among the people of Harran, showed disapproval and prevented them from marrying the Harraniyan women, I mean the Sībiyan ones. They said that it was illegal for Muslims to marry them, as they were not People of the Book. In Harran there are still many dwellings some of the occupants of which belong to the Harraniyāh, [people] who remained in the sect during the days of al-Ma‘mūn. Until the present time there are some who are Muslims, and others who are Christians, who embraced Islam or Christianity at that time. Such people called the Banū Ablūn, the Banū Qaytarān, and others well known at Haran.

Account of al-Ra‘s

This man, who has already been mentioned, was said to be [actually] the head of a man whose appearance was like that of 'Uṣūlīr (Mercury), in accordance with what they believed about the looks of the planetary deities. When he was found to have the appearance which they considered to be that of 'Uṣūlīr (Mercury), he was seized upon with trickery and deception, many things being done to him. One of these was that he was placed in oil and borax

24 Ta‘ Uz means "Gate of Venus"; there was a temple of Venus there. Salaman means "Idol of the Moon." See Yāqūb, Gog, I, 837; III, 132.

26 For this phrase see the Qur‘ān 11:104, 114; 9:73, 112.

27 Although the pagans of Harran called themselves Sībiyans, they were actually idolaters, so that it was illegal for Muslims to marry them. See Chwolson, Die Sutber, II, 571–80.

28 "That time" refers to the last year of the reign of al-Ma‘mūn, A.D. 833.

29 These were local tribal names which have not been found elsewhere.

30 The Arabic original is "the forms of the planets." Al-ra‘s means "the head." Al-Ra‘s has been mentioned in connection with the time of Harran al-Ra‘id; see n. 29. The account in Gog, Études du vice versé compris international des orientalistes, Part II, pp. 201–94, 354, explains more fully the nature of al-ra‘. See also Dimmig, Klih Nūbīh al-Dāhī, pp. 41; Chwolson, Die Sutber, II, 131–33. For a similar account of al-Ra‘s, see Khalīl, Maqāli‘dah (Rosenthall), I, 231.
for a long time, until his joints relaxed. He was in such a state that if his head was pulled, it was drawn up without tearing what it was fastened to. That is why there is an old saying, when one is under severe strain, “He is in the oil.”

This they did every year when Mercury was at its height. They supposed that the soul of this individual came to the head because of ‘Uǧārid (Mercury). It spoke by its [the head’s] tongue, relating what was happening and replying to questions. They supposed that the individual’s nature fitted and resembled the nature of Mercury more than that of other living creatures, being more closely related to him than to others in connection with speech, discernment, and other things which they believed him to possess. This was [the reason for] their exaltation of this head and deification by it.

How they treated it before they took it from the body and after doing so, as well as what was done with its body after removing the head from it, has been confirmed at length in their book entitled Al-Ḫāṯīf. In it there are [ascribed] to them wonders of incarnation, enchantment, knots, pictures, and pendants [made] from the organs of various animals, such as the pig, donkey, crow, and other species, as well as things covered with smoke and images of animals cut on the stones of their seals, which in their opinion are beneficial for tombs. I have seen most of these [images] cut on their signet stones for this purpose during our own time. I have asked them about those things, and they suppose that they find them in the ancient tombs of their dead and that by them they are blessed.48

48 For this title the translation follows MS 1934, which varies somewhat from the Flügel version. Another possibility is Al-Ḫuṣnā; see Goege, Actes du sixieme congrès international des orientalistes, Part II, pp. 295–96. See also Al-Ḫāṯīf; Enc. Islam, II, 258. It is also possible that the title was Al-Ḫāṯīfi (Signet Maker), as the book speaks about signet stones.

49 “Pendants” (al-‘idā’ā) were amulets hung on necklaces or chains.

50 The word translated “things covered with smoke” is tawākhtū, which suggests that the Śiḥāṣans used amulets made from the charred remains of animals burned as offerings.

51 Signet stones were used for magical purposes; see Rudolph, Die Mandäer, II, 38 n. 8. Qibār (“tombs”) is not clear in the 1934 MS, but this appears to be the word meant. Flügel gives fenīn (“tomb”).

48 After this passage, over a page is left blank in MS 1934, indicating that the author hoped to obtain additional information and fill it in later.

Knowledge of Their Feasts

The beginning of their year is Nisān (April). On the first, as well as the second and third days of Nisān, they pray humbly to their goddess, Bāthā, who is al-Zuharah (Venus).49 When entering the shrine of the goddess49 on these days, group by group in a scattered

47 A number of the following names have been confused. Lirīs must be called al-Aris, Nibūq to be Nūbūq, and Qirīq to be Qrīnās. MS 1934 has Bāthā instead of Bāthā.


49 Flügel and MS 1135 mention Bāthā, whereas MS 1934 mentions only the name al-Zuharah (Venus).

50 There were 12 shrines on the sacred enclosure at Harrān. An important source for knowledge of the shrines is Segal, Anatolian Studies, III (1953), 97–103, 107, 111–15, which gives a description with illustrations of the arrangement of the shrines at Samara, less than 31 miles from Harrān. See also Man‘ūṣ, IV, 61, 62; Dimashqī, Kitāb Nawā‘ib al-Dun‘ūs, pp. 39–47; or Chwolson, Die Sothber, II, 366 E., 387 ff., which reproduces the Man‘ūṣ and Dimashqī accounts.

The authorities give variations, but in general there were the following shrines in a sacred enclosure of the Śiḥāṣān at Harrān: (1) shrine of the Primal Cause, a hemisphere; (2) of Intelligence (al-‘Aql), a circle; (3) of the Soul (al-Nafs), a circle; (4) of Form (al-Sharā‘), perhaps meaning “Space,” no shape cited; (5) either Sequence (Time), called al-Sulhah by al-Man‘ūs, or the Governing, called al-Siyāṣa by al-Man‘ūs and the Dimashqī, circular; (6) al-Zuhrah (Saturn), hexagonal; (7) al-Mundar (Jupiter), triangular; (8) al-Mirrith (Mars), square; (9) al-Sha‘a (the Sun), square; (10) al-Zuhrah (Venus), elongated triangle; (11) ‘Uǧārid (Mercury), square outside but hexagonal inside; (12) al-Qumār (the Moon), five-sided. Each shrine had an idol, also a special metal and color; see Chwolson, Die Sothber, II, 411; Berthelot, Alchimistes Gaza, I, 78.
way, they slaughter sacrificial victims and burn animals alive. On the sixth day they slay for their divinity, the Moon, a bull, which they eat at the end of the day. On the eighth day they fast and then break the fast with the meat of lamb. On this day they also hold a feast in honor of the seven deities, the devils, jinn, and spirits. They burn seven lambs for the seven deities, a sheep for the Lord of the Blind, and a sheep for the deities [which are] the devils.

At Sumatar there were a citadel and a sacred mountain. The mount was evidently near the sacred enclosure, between the citadel and the semicircles of shrines. Al-Dinshaq (see Chwolson, Die Stadte, II, 397) recorded, “At Harrān there was a shrine of the moon which was a citadel called al-Mudairi and which remained in construction until the Tatars destroyed it.” Perhaps the name was originally al-Masriqi (“Rising”), referring to the appearance on the horizon of the heavenly bodies. This shrine was very likely similar to the citadel at Sumatar.

In the paragraph about Ayūl (September), which follows in Al-Fihrist, there is the statement, “They go forth to the mountain” (see n. 72), and Ḫostāl, Māzālik al-Manālik (de Goede), p. 76 l. 1, 1454 “There is a hill on which is a place of prayer which the Sibians exalt”; these references may indicate the citadel, or perhaps a sacred mount near the enclosure for the shrines. Although al-Fahri connected the high place with Abraham, it was probably used for observing the rising and the setting of the heavenly bodies in pagan times. Abraham was said to have come from Harrān and was especially venerated by the Muslims. It is likely that after the Muslims interfered with the old pagan worship, they changed this holy place into a shrine for the honoring of Abraham. Note 121 explains that al-Masriqi spoke of a temple which was evidently used for initiations. As it lasted after the other buildings had been destroyed, just as the citadel did, and as it was also connected with Abraham, it may have been the base of the old temple called the Citadet. Rice, Anatolian Studies, II (1952), 37, 42-43 gives quotations and further information about this subject.

Ḫostāl, Māzālik al-Manālik (de Goede), p. 76, adds that there were seventeen temples at Harrān. Either the number is inaccurate, or else this statement includes buildings and shrines in the vicinity of the city.

For burnt animal sacrifice, see Goossens, Hierapolis, pp. 46-47; Lucian, Syrian Goddesses (Gaestaag), p. 81.

The Lord of the Blind (Rabb al-Umīr) was Mars; see Chwolson, Die Stadte, II, 188. In Goede, Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes, Part II, pp. 293-294, 369, the deity is mentioned, and it is explained, “On le nomme le Dieu Avestique, parce que dans sa colère il frappe sans regarder où.” Rosenthal suggests that the Aramaic nērā šamālu may cast light on this name; see Rosenthall in Henning, p. 224 n. 7. See also Ingholt, Berytus, Part 2 (1938), 129; Nougayrol, Syrie, XXXVII, Part 2 (1960), 241-246; Van den Branden, Al-Masriqi, LIV (1960), 217-218; Ingholt, Memòires, Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences, XII (July 1946), 17 ff.

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On the fifteenth day they celebrate the mystery of the North with offerings, sun worship, sacrificial slaughter, burnt offerings, eating, and drinking.

On the twentieth day they go out to Dayr Kālid, which is a sanctuary near one of the gates of Harrān known as Bāb Funduq al-Zayt. They slaughter three zabrākhi, a zabrākh, being a bull. One is for the god Cronus, who is al-Zuhal (Saturn); one is for Aris, who is al-Mirrikh (Mars), the Blind God; and one is for the Moon, which is Sin. They also slaughter nine lambs: seven for the seven deities, one for the god of the jinn, and one for the Lord of the Hours. They also burn [offerings of] many lambs and cocks.

On the twenty-eighth day, they go out to a sanctuary of theirs in a village named Sabā, near to one of the gates of Harrān called Bāb al-Sarāb. They slaughter a large bull to Hermes, the god, and they also slaughter nine lambs for the seven deities, with one also for the god of the jinn and one for the Lord of the Hours. They eat and drink, but on this day they do not burn any animals.

Ayyār (May)

On the first day of Ayyār they make the offering of the mystery to the North, worship the Sun, smell the rose, eat, and drink. On the second day they hold a feast for Ibn al-Salām and make vows.

For this god see “North” in Glossary.

Dayr Kālid was a shrine on the outskirts of Harrān, very likely on a canal built to bring river water to the city. The two rivers at Harrān are the Dayrān and the Jallāb, nine miles distant. See Yaqūt, Cong., II, 690 top; Goede, Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes, Part 2, pp. 364; Birin, Chronology, p. 317; Rice, Anatolian Studies, II (1952), 37.

This means “Sun of the Oil Gate.” For other gates of the city, see Rice, Anatolian Studies, II (1952), 39.

Birin, Chronology, p. 317, records that on the 28th of Nisāt there was a feast at the Moon Shrine (Dayr Shūl). Perhaps sabrā is meant to be Sin, as in Arabic the two forms are very much alike. Bāb al-Sarāb is “Gate of Mirage.” Perhaps it should be Bāb al-Sharāl (“Gate of Drinks”). Rice, Anatolian Studies, II (1952), 39, does not mention this gate.

Rudolph, Die Mandii, II, 47 n. 8, notes that the custom of smelling the rose.

See Chwolson, Die Stadte, II, 193. Ibn al-Salām may be meant to be Ibn al-Salām, perhaps a title for some deity. See also Güter, Theurgy, p. 288, for another possibility, Ibn al-Salām (“Daughter of the Sun”). For the same day Birin, Chronology, p. 317, records a feast of Salāhiq, Prince of Devils.
Then, loading their tables with all kinds of rare things, fruits, and sweetmeats, they eat and drink.

Hašırīn (June)

On the twenty-seventh day they perform the worship of the mystery to the North, for the deity who makes the arrow fly. On this day also they set up a table on which they place seven portions for the seven deities and the North. The priest brings a bow which he strings, and into which he fixes an arrow to which there is attached a firebrand. It has a flame at its head and is made of wood which grows in the region of Ḥarrān. On it there is a piece of cloth upon which the flame is ignited, just as it lights a candle. The priest shoots twelve arrows. Then the priest walks as a dog does on his hands and feet, until he fetches the arrows. He does this fifteen times and then makes an augury, that is, he divines that if the firebrand is extinguished, the feast in his estimation is not acceptable. But if it is not put out, then the feast is accepted.

Tamāṅūt (July)

In the middle of the month there is the Feast of al-Būqīt, that is, of the weeping women. It is the Tā’ūz, a feast celebrated for the god Tā’ūz. The women weep for him because his master slew him by grinding his bones under a millstone and winnowing them in the wind. So the women eat nothing ground by a millstone, but rather moistened wheat, chick-peas (ḥimmat), dates, raisins, and similar things.

60 This deity cannot be identified with certainty; the ceremony was evidently connected with magic. For the popularity of magic, see CuMoNT, Religionis orientales, p. 213 ff.; Jastrow, Religionis, pp. 326-35.

61 Tā’ūz is the same as the deity Tamāṅūt. In Arabic the word for “weeping” is spelled with a kāf(ā), so that the spelling of al-būqīt (“weeping woman”) with a gāf(ā) evidently goes back to some ancient Semitic form. For this festival, see Lucian, Syrian Goddess (Garstang), p. 46; Goossens, Historia, p. 39; Lagrange, Etudes, pp. 109-110; Ingbert, Recueil des textes, p. 47, and Plate XVIII, Fig. 342, with designs on reverse page; Braidstain, Adonis und Almom., Ezek. 8:14; Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible, IV, 676-77.

Aḥ (August)

During eight days they tread new wine for the gods. They call it by many varied names. On this day they sacrifice an infant boy when he is born to the gods, or, in other instances, a slave. They slaughter the boy and then boil him until he disintegrates. Then the flesh is taken and kneaded with fine flour, saffron, spikenard, cloves, and oil, and made into cakes as small as figs, which they bake in a new clay oven. This takes place every year for those who observe the mystery of the North. No woman, slave, son of a slave girl, or lunatic eats the cake or watches the slaughter of this child. When carried out, the rite is performed by only three priests. The priests burn whatever remains of the bones, the organs, the cartilages, the veins, and the jugular veins as an offering to the gods.

64 Ḥāmān is written the same way in all of the versions. It is very likely to be the god Hamon or Hamman, worshiped at Palmyra; see Lagrange, Etudes, pp. 86-88. Compare Clowesohn, Die Stadte, II, 211.

65 Flügel gives N m r γ d and MS 1934 has N m v x with one or two letters following, which cannot be deciphered. Perhaps the deity is Nemesis, with possibly the dative form after “rō.” See Lucian, Syrian Goddess (Garstang), p. 71; Smith, GRBM, II, 1152; Seyrig, Antiquités syriennes, 1st Series, pp. 12-25; Eissfeldt, Der Alte Orient, XL (1941), 348-51 “Nemesis,” Enc. Brit., XIX, 369. Cf. Clowesohn, Die Stadte, II, 213 for a different interpretation.

66 “Headman” is a translation for al-a‘āl, perhaps some tribal or local official, or a head priest.

67 For “who possess” the translation follows the Flügel text, which gives literally “possessors of.” The other versions have variations which seem to be incorrect.

68 The Arabic word means “separating the flesh from the bones.”

69 “Jugular veins” is probably correct, though the plural given is an unusual form. For this passage, see Clowesohn, Die Stadte, II, 214-17.
edible meat and fruit to be found in the market, whether fresh or dried. Then they cook varieties of cooked food and sweetmeats, all of which are burned during the night for the dying. With this food there is also burned (cooked) a bone from the thigh of a camel, which is given to the dogs of persons in affliction so that they will not bark and terrify the dying. They also pour mixed wine over the fire for their dying to drink, in the same way that they eat the burnt food. 76

Tishrin al-Tha‘nā (November)

During twenty-one of its days they fast. Nine days, the last one of which is the twenty-ninth, are for the Lord of Good Luck. Every night they break soft bread with which they mix barley, straw, frankincense, and fresh myrtle, and over which they sprinkle oil. Then they mix it and distribute it among their houses, saying, “Oh diviners” of good luck, here is bread for your dogs, barley and straw for your beasts, oil for your lamps, and myrtle for your crowns (wreaths). Enter in peace, go forth in peace, and leave a good livelihood for our children and ourselves.

Kânûn al-Awwal (December)

On the fourth day they erect a dome which they name the Chamber of Balthâ (Belt) who is al-Zuhara (Venus), the flashing goddess, whom they call al-Shahbîyâ (the Glowing). They erect this dome on the marble of the inner shrine, hanging many kinds of fragrant fruits on it, with dried roses, citrons, small lemons, and such other fruits as they can obtain, whether dry or fresh. 77

9 The Arabic does not make it clear whether the food and wine are heated to give to the sick to take before they die, or whether the food and wine are burned, with the idea that the dead will enjoy them in the life to come.

10 For the first sentences of this paragraph, see n. 73 and Chwolson, Die Scheher, II, 231-39. “Diviners” (tarâf) could also be “reckoners.” Ibíd., p. 32, the word is given as nashâ‘urrâr.

75 Evidently a booth was set up in the most holy part of the shrine in which Venus was worshiped, to serve as a chamber for the symbolic marriage of the goddess. The Arabic word for “chamber” is al-khûla, used for a secluded woman’s apartment. “Inner shrine” (al-mulhân) was evidently a rear apse containing the idol, or a groetto under the shrine of Venus; cf. Stocks, Berytus, III, Part 1 (1930), 33-45, with special attention to pp. 32 bottom, 33. Gustav, Thespiâ, p. 43, in speaking about a goddess interchangeable with Venus, says, “The sacred marriage, . . . , was celebrated in a subterranean cavern.” Segal, Anatolian Studies, III (1953), 99 no. v, and Plate IX (j)

Aylîl (September)

During three of its days they heat water in which they bathe as a mystery to the North, 79 to the chief of the jinn, who is the greatest divinity. They throw into this water some tamarisk, wax, pine, olives, cane, and caustic. Then they boil it, accomplishing this before the sun rises, and they pour it over their bodies as magicians do. At this time they slaughter eight lambs, seven to the deities and one to the god of the North. They eat in their assembly and each one drinks seven cups of wine. The headman takes two silver coins (s., dirham) for the treasury from each one of them.71

On the twenty-sixth day of this month, they go forth to the mountain and observe the opposite position (al-mîlayîh)77 of the sun and Saturn and Venus. They burn [as offerings] eight young chickens and grown cocks, as well as eight lambs. Whoever is bound by a vow to the Lord of Good Luck79 takes either a grown rooster or young chicken. On its wing he fixes a firebrand, the top of which has been kindled with a flame, and he sends forth the chick to the Lord of Good Luck. If the whole chicken burns up, the vow is accepted but, if the firebrand is extinguished before the chicken is burned, the Lord of Good Luck does not accept from him either the vow or the offering.

On the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth days they have mysteries, offerings, slaughters, and burnt sacrifices to the North, who is the greatest god, as well as to the devils and the jinn whom he has controlled and scattered, giving them good luck. 78

Tishrin al-Awwal (October)

In the middle of this month they make burnt offerings of food for the dying. That is, each one of them buys a bit of every kind of
In front of this dome they slaughter sacrificial beasts chosen from as many kinds of animals as possible, four-footed beasts and birds, saying "They are slaughtered for our goddess Balthâ (Beltis), who is al-Zuharah (Venus)." They do this for seven days and during these days they also burn many offerings of animals for the gods and goddesses who are hidden, far removed, but substituted for." They also [offer] plants of the water.  
On the thirtieth day of it [the month] there is the beginning of the month of the Ra'is al-Ḥamd.  
On this day the priest sits on [the top step of] an elevated pulpit with nine steps. He takes a tamarisk rod in his hand and then, as the procession passes by him, he strikes each one of them with the stick three, five, or seven times. Then opposite p. 102, describes the Shrine of Venus at Sumatar and the grotto with its inner shrine underneath the building.

It is probable that this rite was accompanied by sacred prostitution on the part of some of the worshipers as in the ancient Semitic religious the sex act was a sacrament attached to fertility worship. For sacred marriage and prostitution, see Justrow, Religions, pp. 475, 483, 660; Cummow, Religions orientales, p. 185; Lucian, Syrian Goddess (Garstang), p. 46. 
Birnûrû, Chronology, p. 316, records a feast for the idol of Venus at the beginning of December and another feast on the 30th day.

"Hidden, far removed, but substituted for" is taken from MS 1934. MS 1934 gives the word for "hidden" on the margin. It clearly gives the word translated "substituted for" as 'alāhak. This word has two principal meanings: One is "returningperiodically," which may be that intended here, as the gods came to Harrân periodically for the feasts. The other meaning is "substituted," in the marriage ceremony a priest and priestess probably substituted for the gods, uniting in sexual intercourse as sacred symbols. Cholowisihn, Die Säuber, II, 33, gives "hidden, distant, absent" for this phrase.

Flügel, followed by Cholowisihn, used an inaccurate manuscript which had ḏanûd al-ma' ("maidsens of the water") instead of the words clearly given in MS 1934 as ṣubîl al-ma' ("plants of the water."). At Douma-Euphrates the archaeologists found a representation belonging to the family of a certain Cuscin, in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, in which water was being poured over plants, perhaps similar to the "plants of the water." For the spring festival, worshipers of Venus and Adonis fasten seeds to the outside of porous jars filled with water so that the seeds would sprout rapidly. These were the jardins d'Adonis; see Lagrange, Études, p. 171. Jars of this sort are still used by the people of Iran for the New Year's festival. See also Prazer, Adonis, p. 184, for a description of other types of jardins d'Adonis.

This means "the Head of Prayas." It may refer either to the great deity or to the headman presiding over the ceremony, who was probably a priest.

"Them" must refer to the worshipers in the procession.

SECTION ONE

he preaches a sermon to them, in which he calls (prays) for all of them to live, to increase the number of their offspring, and to gain power and superiority over all nations, that their sovereignty and days of rule may return to them and that the congregational mosque of Harrân may be destroyed, as well as the Greek Orthodox Church and the market street known as the Women's Market. Before the Byzantine kings uprooted them when they conquered [Harrân], it was in these places that their idols used to be. He also calls (prays) for the revival of the religion of 'Uzür, which used to be in the place of these things that we have described [the mosque, church, and market]. Then he descends from the pulpit and they eat the slaughtered victims and also drink. On this day the headman takes two silver coins (s., dirham) for the treasury from every man.

Kânûn al-Tha'âr (January)
On the twenty-fourth day there is the birthday of the lord who is the Moon. At this time they observe the mystery to the North, slaughtering sacrificial victims and burning eighty creatures, both four-footed beasts and birds. They eat and drink and for the gods and goddesses they burn al-dâdhî, which are rods of pine.

Shûbît (February)
They fast for seven of its days. The first [day of the fast] is the ninth day. This fast is for the Sun, the great lord, the Lord of Well-Being. During these days they eat no meat and drink no

81 The old pagan city was greatly changed by the Christian and Moslem invaders. With regards to the mosque, it is stated that "Nûr al-Dîn rebuilt the Friday-mosque and enlarged it. It used to be a temple of the Êbihûns," in Rico, Anatolian Studies, Ill (1953), 38.
82 'Uzûr is probably some local name or else a badly written name for Venus, who was worshiped by the Arabs as 'Uzza. One of her twin forms was 'Azizos, the morning star. See Qur'an 53:19: Lagrange, Études, pp. 134-35; Gaster, Thespis, p. 259; Cholowisihn, Die Säuber, II, 46-48; Segal, Anatolian Studies, Ill (1953), 197, 199, which says that the desert Arabs performed human sacrifice to 'Uza near Harrân. MS 1135 omits this name.
83 See p. 66 for "headman."
84 This is probably the Greek ἕδηβων ("pine splinter"). See Cholowisihn, Die Säuber, II, 249.
85 See Birnûrû, Chronology, p. 316.
86 Al-khayr ("well-being") is the most likely word, though it may be al-jibr ("comprehension," "provisionalism").
wine. During this month, moreover, they pray only to the North, the jinn, and the devils.

Adhār (March)

They hold a fast to the Moon from the eighth day, for thirty days. On the twentieth day the presiding headman breaks barley bread for their assembly to (in honor of) Ares, the god who is al-Mirrikh (Mars). The thirteenth day is the beginning of the month of al-Tamr, I mean of the dried dates, and during this month is the marriage of the gods and goddesses. They divide in it the dates, putting kohl [antimony powder] on their eyes. Then during the night they place beneath the pillows under their heads seven dried dates, in the name of the seven deities, and also a morsel of bread and some salt for the deity who touches the abdomen. The presiding headman (al-ṣaʿīs), moreover, takes two silver coins (ṣ., dirham) from each one of them for the treasury.

Every twenty-seventh day of the month, I refer to the lunar month, they go out to their sanctuary, which is known as Dayr Kāfī. They slaughter and burn offerings to the god Sin, who is the Moon. They also eat and drink. Then on the twenty-eighth day they go forth to the Cupola of al-Ujjur, where they slaughter and burn sheep, cocks, and many small chickens to (in honor of) Ares, who is al-Mirrikh (Mars).

If they wish to slay a large victim like a zabrubh, which is a bull or a sheep, they pour wine over it while it is still alive. If it quivers they say, "This offering is received," but if it does not quiver they say, "The god is angry and will not receive this offering." Their way

of slaughtering every kind of animal is to cut off its head with one blow. Then they carefully observe its two eyes with their movements, as well as its mouth, its convulsions, and how it quivers. They draw an augury from it, employ magic, and seek an omen about what will happen and take place.

If they wish to burn a large animal, such as one of the cows, sheep, or cocks, while it is alive, they hang it up with clamps and chains. Then a group of them exposure all sides of it to the fire until it burns. This is their great offering, which is for all of the gods and goddesses together. They state that the seven heavenly bodies, that is, the deities, are males and females who marry and have passions for one another, and also have bad and good luck.

This is the end of what we have written from the [passage in the handwriting of Abū Saʿīd Wāḥib ibn Ibrāhīm].

From [What Is Written] about Them [the Harrānian Sabians] in Another Person’s Handwriting

Among the deities of the Harrānīyūn, the Lord of the Gods, the Blind Lord, al-Mirrikh (Mars), a malevolent spirit, Bayl, the Shakh of Majesty, Phosphor, the Good, the Perfect; Castor, the Chosen Shakh; Possessor of the Wind of the Wing. 

86 Chwolson, Die Stäbler, II, 366, gives some interesting information about this subject.
87 For burnt animal sacrifices, see Goossens, Hiérapolis, pp. 46-47; Lucian, Syrian Goddesses (Garstang), p. 83.
88 See "Sabians" in Glossary for explanation of the people called the Harrānīyūn.
89 MS 1934 has "the feminine for "lord," which may be a mistake. Flügel gives the masculine, rabb. For this term see Shahrestani (Haarbrucker). Part 2, p. 5; Lewy in Henning, pp. 140-41; Welt, Anatolian Studies, III (1953), 116.
90 See n. 52. The word "a malevolent spirit" are separated from al-Mirrikh and may indicate some other deity.
92 Flügel gives this name as Djinī jmnī al-Rbū ("Possessor of the Wing of the Wind"). This wind deity was very likely the sun. Instead of jmnī ("wing"), MSS
Sarai, the Daughter of al-Faqr, from whose womb these have come forth;160 Ḥāṭat al-Fārīsīyah,161 their mother, who had six evil spirits with which she went to the seacoast;160 Abū Rūm;160 Rabbat al-Thill, who received Tamīmū;161 Arū, the Lord;160 Balthā (Belti) the Goddess.160

1934 and 1135 give words which might be hāyāt ("rain") or hīmāyāt ("protection"). Lewy in Henning, p. 145, explains that Ennil was called "Lord Wind." Chwolson, Die Sabrī, II, 279, and Lucian, Syriac Goddess (Gesta), p. 25, give other suggestions. See also Stacks, Beryta, IV, Part 1 (1937), 39–40.

160 This was probably Ishār or Aψhrōt. Sarāh means "being clear" and Ishār is called "the Brilliant Goddess" as well as "the Mother of the Gods." See Jastrow, Religions, p. 83, and Aspects of Religious Belief, p. 115. The name Daughter of al-Faqr ("Poverty") may be a mistake, meant to be Daughter of the Moon (Ibnat al-Qanār), as Ishār was called by that title. See Lagrange, Stanke, pp. 138 top., 139; Chwolson, Die Sabīrī, II, 285. These may be different names for the fertility goddess.

161 This name is taken from MSS 1934 and 1135, although it is not clearly written. Ḥāṭat is probably incorrect. Lewy in Henning, p. 141 n. 4, suggests forms of the name Harrān, defining her as the consort of Sin (the Moon). For the second name, given as al-Fārīsīyah in MSS 1934 and 1135, see Brinton, Chorography, pp. 316 top., 317 l. 29, where the name Jarāthāy is mentioned as associated with the moon. Another possibility for the name is al-Fārīn ("Horsewoman"); Leclant, Syrie, XXXVIII, Part 1 (1960), 65–67; Goemans, Hērōpolis, p. 110.

162 This evidently refers to the Piscas, six of which are easily seen and which disappear from the spring to the early summer, going down in the west towards the north. See n. 113.

163 Chwolson, Die Sabīrī, II, 287, suggests several possibilities for this name. Tálqāt, Al-Bakhtīsīs Gittenphilus, p. 445, says that Rūm was an epithet of the moon. Perhaps the word is meant to be Abram, for whose cult see Jastrow, Religions, p. 562; Lagrange, Stanke, p. 60.

164 Rabbat al-Thill (Mistress of the Hend) probably refers to a fertility goddess. Al-Thill is more often spelled al-Thullah or al-Thulīlah; see DORITY, Supplement, I, 162.

The passage which follows makes it clear that the herd is a head of goats. Rainey, Biblical Archaeologist, XXVIII, No. 4 (December 1965), 109, has a photograph of a plaque from Ugarit showing that there the fertility goddess was also associated with goats. "Received" (qabūla), given in MS 1934, might be instead gātala ("killed"); see DORAY, Religions de Babylone et d’Assyrie, p. 115. Tamīmū is given as Tamīmū in the Arabic; see Engroff, Revue des études, p. 186 no. 342, for this form.

165 Perhaps Arū is meant to be Aza, called the father of Abraham and perhaps connected with his ancient cult. See Qur'an 6:74; Mas'ūdī, IV, 63; Chwolson, Die Sabīrī, II, 288. See also Chap. 1, sect. 3, n. 2, of this translation.

166 Balthā was al-Zuharī (Venus). Compare these deities with those mentioned by Gadd, Anatolian Studies, VIII (1958), 41–42, 59, 72.
CHAPTER NINE

A reliable authority has said:

In ancient times they used to have creeds and heresies, but I do not know whether or not they still exist. Among them was a sect called the Rüfiṣ-iyyūn, the women of which never wore gold or adorned themselves with it under any circumstances. They did not wear red boots either. Every year they observed a day on which they sacrificed pigs, offering them to their gods. On that day they used to eat such of the pigs’ meat as came into their hands. The people of another sect of their cult remained in their houses and shaved their heads with razors or nūrah. There were women among them who shaved their heads in the same way when they married husbands.

History of the Headmen of the Harrānian Ṣābiyūn Who Have Occupied the Presiding Seat during the Islamic Regime from the Time of Ḍab al-Malik ibn Marwān, Which Was the Year One Thousand and Four of Alexander

Thabīt ibn Ṭāban was the first of them, the headman for twenty-four years.

Thabīt ibn Ṭīyūn, the headman for sixteen years.

Thabīt ibn Qurshāyī, the headman for seventeen years.

Thabīt ibn Iliyā, the headman for twenty years.

Qurrah ibn Thabīt ibn Iliyā, the headman for twenty-one years.

Jaḥr ibn Qurrah ibn Thabīt, the headman for ten years.

Ṣinā ibn Jaḥr ibn Qurrah ibn Thabīt ibn Iliyā, the headman for nine years.

Ammū ibn Yāḥūs, the headman for seventeen years.

Mīkhāʾil ibn Ṣinā ibn Bīqārīs, the headman for thirteen years.

Ṭawān ibn Qāṣirūn, the headman for five years.

Mughallās ibn Yāḥūs, the headman for five years.

Uṣūn ībi Māli, the headman for twenty-four years.

SECTION ONE

Qurrah ibn al-Iṣḥāb, the headman for nine years.

Al-Qaṣīm ibn al-Qaṣīfūf, the headman for nine years—this man went on a journey, but returned to be headman for four years.

Nīʿāb ibn Yaḥyā ibn Zūnāq, the headman for forty-two years.

After these there were, among the men who did not [officially] occupy the seat, but somehow or other were obeyed as headmen:

Ṣūtā ibn Khayrūn of the Banū Ḥerakāl [Tribe].

Hākīn ibn Yaḥyā of the Banū Ḥerakāl.

Another Account of Them

There came into my possession a passage which one of the translators transcribed from their [the Harrānian Ṣābiyūn] books and which includes five of their mysteries, except that a page fell out from the description of the first part of the fifth mystery. Its closing words are these sentences, rendered in the diction of the translator:

As the lambs in the flock and the calf in the herd, so are the young men endeavoring, racing ahead, drawing near, sent to the Bayt al-Baghdādīyūn. The Lord is the victor, to whom we give delight.

137 Flügel and MS 1335 insert “I mean al-Qaṣīm” here.

138 This man must have died shortly before the author of Al-Fīrūzān (the mysterious) was born. The two men whose names follow may have been alive during the author’s childhood.

139 For this passage about the mysteries, see Chwolson, Die Sauber, II, 310–19. It is possible that originally there were seven mysteries, in honor of the seven defined heavenly bodies; see n. 124.

140 Compare this phrase with that following the heading “Also the Fifth of the Second Mystery,” below. In the next phrase, al-mudāzā’īn (“endeavoring”) might be instead al-mudāzā’īn (“destructive”). The words following have unusual plurals but imply the meaning given in the translation.

141 Bayt al-Baghdādīyūn evidently refers to the hall of initiation, Bayt literally means “house” or “tent,” but is also used for “shrine.” The first and fifth times the proper name is mentioned it is given as al-Baghdādīyūn; the vowel marks are missing so that the spelling is not certain. Elsewhere, a waw(s) is inserted after the first letter, probably by mistake. And in one spot, the name is spelled as al-Baghdādīyūn.

Maṣūdī, IV, 62–63, speaks about what seems to be initiation halls of the kind mentioned in Al-Fīrūzān as follows: “De tous les édifices religieux élevés par eux, il ne reste . . . que le temple nommé Magliya.” Maṣūdī then states that this temple had four underground chambers where the Ṣābiyūn brought their children to see and hear many idols; the priests spoke through tubes to make the idols talk.
The Beginning of the Second Mystery

It is the mystery of devils and idols, taken from their [the Shi'abians'] words. The priest says to one of the lads, "Have I not given that which thou gavest me and rendered what thou renderedst to me?" Then he [the youth] answers saying, "To the dogs, the ravens, and the ants!" He [the priest] replies to him saying, "What is our obligation to the dogs, the ravens, and the ants?" He [the youth] answers, saying, "Oh, priest, they are brothers and the Lord is the victor, to whom we give delight."228

Also the End of the Second Mystery

As the lambs among the sheep and the calves among the cows, so are the young men: frightened, fleeing, and entering the Bayt al-Bughad-hāriyin, the house of the victor, to whom we give delight.

The Beginning of the Third Mystery

It is also said,"Ye are the sons of al-Bughad-hāriyin. What is the word and the vision?" Then those who agree with him say after him, "We are listening."

There are many possible interpretations of the word. Chwolson, Die Sabier, 1, 409, and Stocks, Beruit, IV, Part I (1923), 39, suggest that this name might come from the Greek μυελαθοτον, alluding to the great gods. It might also refer to the "chambers" or "pits" of the gods ας μεγεαθονθον, or to the great goddess, using a name known in Roman times, μεγεαθονθονα. Perhaps the name is meant to be al-a-uhāriyin ("helpers"), referring to deities called "acolytes of the sun," and given various names, such as Ariz and Arzī, Aoru and Arou, Arzīs and Monsius. See Rostovzev, Canaan Cities, p. 138; Gaster, Theop, p. 229; Lagrange, Elitres, p. 155.

Still another possibility is that it may come from a Semitic word derived from a base like 'adhur in the Arabic. Forms of this word can refer to "striving" or "virginity." It is possible that this hall of initiation was for those striving to learn the mysteries of manhood, or for boys who had not yet reached the age of puberty, coming to be initiated into a knowledge of adolescence. It is impossible to be sure what the original of this name really was. It might even have been the very simple form al-maghrītin ("devious") following bayt ("shrine"), or a similar form from the stem gharīn.

228 The Shi'abian mysteries and system of initiation may have had certain rites not very different from those of the Mythraeum cult. Mythra was spoken of as "the victor" and "invincible." "Dog" and "raven" were the names of two stages in the initiation of the Mythraeum cult. It is evident that these names, and also the "ants," had some symbolic connection with the Shi'abian initiation, too. The dogs were sacred to Nergal and the ravens to Nebo. The seven degrees of Mythraeum initiation represented the seven heavenly bodies to which souls must rise after death; see Curnow, Religions orientales, pp. 239, 248.

The End of the Third Mystery

They have appeared as the lambs of sheep, the calves of a herd of cows, and like the young men, who frequent the Bayt al-Bughad-hāriyin. Our Lord is the victor, to whom we give delight.

The Beginning of the Fourth Mystery

Then, after the priest says, "Oh, sons of al-Bughad-hāriyin, listen!", those who are behind him and in accord reply, saying, "We are listening." He calls out, "Be at attention!" They reply, saying, "We hear."

The End of the Fourth Mystery

Frequencers of the Bayt al-Bughad-hāriyin,188 our Lord is the victor, to whom we give delight.

The Beginning of the Fifth Mystery

The priest says, "Oh, sons of al-Bughad-hāriyin, listen!" They reply, saying, "We are willing." Then he says, "Listen!" Again they answer, saying, "We hear." Then he begins saying, "Aye, for I speak of what I know and do not fall short in so doing."

The End of the Fifth Mystery

Those who turn to the Bayt al-Bughad-hāriyin; our Lord is the victor, to whom we give delight.184

The author of the book185 said:

The number of allegories related to the priests in this shrine (bayt) during these seven days is twenty-two. They are narrated to them [the boys] as tales, sung and chanted. The youths enrolled for entrance to this shrine remain in it for seven days. They eat and drink, but during these seven

188 MS 1914 gives the name in this paragraph as al-Baghadhdhāriyin, but it must be an error, as the Shi'abians had nothing to do with Baghdad at the time when their cult and rituals were being formed.
184 Here the description of the mysteries ends, but as the initiations lasted for seven days and there were seven heavenly bodies, it is likely that there were actually seven stages of initiation, information concerning the last two being lost out of the old manuscript.
185 This evidently refers to the same book of the Shi'abians from which the words of the mysteries were copied.
days no woman sees them. From seven cups set in a row they take the draught, which is called puṣīr. They anoint their eyes with this drink, and before they speak or pronounce anything, they [the priests] feed them bread and salt from these cups and [also] the loaves and chickens. On the seventh day they eat the last of it. There was also in this shrine a sacrament of wine placed in a corner, called jātā. They say to their leader, "Oh, thou great man of ours, let some originator read!" He answers saying, "That the vessel may be filled with new wine." Termination of the prayer: Such is the mystery of the Seven, the invincible.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn ʿIṣḥāq [al-Nādir]. The translator of these five mysteries was awkward, lacking good Arabic diction. Or, perhaps by translating in this corrupt and wretched style, he wished to show the truth about them [the ʿSābiyya] and aimed to give their own phrases, which he left unchanged in spite of lack of cohesion and omission of words.

When Ḥārūn ibn Ḥārrān ibn ʿIṣḥāq, the Judge, was administering justice at Ḥārrān and in its neighborhood, there came into his possession a Syriac book which contained an account of their [the ʿSābiyya] doctrines and prayers. So he summoned a man skilled in Syriac and Arabic to translate it for him under his auspices, without any additions or omissions. The book is to be found widespread in the hands of the people. I believe that Ḥārūn ibn Ḥārrān took it to Abī al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Ṭūs. As their [the ʿSābiyya] system is

128 Yudūr is similar to an Aramaic word which means "eight" or "healthy." It is also used to mean "free-will offering." This sentence is written in an awkward way. It evidently means that in the course of the seven-day initiation, the priests gave the boys drink from the cups, and loaves of bread and chicken to eat. The word translated "loaves" really means "dibs," the shape of loaves in many parts of the Middle East.

129 Fīrī, evidently a local word, cannot be identified.

130 The word translated "vessel" is ilābātā. The word given as "new wine" is niṣātā, probably colloquial for niṣāt, the usual form meaning "new wine.

131 "Termination" (napāt) is given in the Arabic text as napāt, but this is probably an error. "The Seven" must refer to the sun, moon, and five known planets. The long quotation must end here, as the author of Al-Fihrist adds a few personal remarks of his own in the next paragraph. The original Arabic uses no devices to identify quoted passages.

132 Buʿd al-ṭullāf, literally "distance of accord."
Do not drink wine! Do not marry a human being!” This was repeated for him a number of times during three days. Then, after Futuq had perceived this, he became connected with a group of people in the environs of Dastumisân known as the Mughståisâl. There is still a remnant of them in those regions and watered districts, even in this our own time. They belonged to the cult which Futuq was ordered to join when his wife was pregnant with Mâni.

When she gave birth to him, they asserted that she had seen lovely dreams about him and that, upon awakening, she had beheld a vision, as though someone had taken hold of him and mounted with him to the sky. He brought him back, but perhaps he was on high for a day or two before he returned. Then his father sent and brought him to the place where he was, so that he was reared with him, in accordance with his cult. Even when young, Mâni spoke with words of wisdom and then, when he was twelve years old, there came to him a revelation. According to his statement it was from the King of the Gardens of Light and, from what he said, it was God Exalted. The angel bringing the revelation was called the Tawm, which is a Nabataean word meaning “Companion.” He said to him, “Leave this cult, for thou art not one of its adherents. Upon thee are laid purity and refraining from bodily lusts, but it is not yet time for thee to appear openly, because of thy tender years.”

When he had completed his twenty-fourth year, the Tawm came to him saying, “The time is fulfilled for thee to come forth and to give the summons to thy cause.”

177 Dastumisân was a place between Wâsit and al-Bayrah; see Yaqût, Gog., II, 574. For the Mughståisâl, also called Sibât al-Bajîb (Sibians of the Marshlands), see “Sibians” in Glossary.

178 MS 1135 has a variant, probably an error.

179 MS 1135 clearly gives jînât (“gardens”), a word used for the Gardens of Paradise, so evidently “Gardens of Light” refers to Heaven. Instead of “king” (malât), the Arabic word might be malât (“angel”). Flügel, Manî, p. 139, favors the interpretation “king,” referring to God.

180 Perhaps fânam is meant to be wâ’îm (“twin”). Al-Qarîn (“Companion”) here evidently refers to a supernatural spirit which collaborates with a prophet; see Puech, p. 43 bottom; Flügel, Manî, p. 140.

181 See Brijni, Chronologie orientalischer Völker, p. 208 l. 7, for comparison with this paragraph.

SECTION ONE

The Statement Addressed to Him by the Tawm

“Peace for thee, oh, Mâni, from myself and from the Lord who sent me to thee. He hath chosen thee for his mission, and commanded thee to summon in thine own right, to preach the gospel of truth as from his presence, and to carry on in this [mission] with all of thy perseverance.”

The Manichaens have said, “He came forth [publicly] on the day of the sovereignty of Shâpûr [I] ibn Ardashîr, when the crown was placed on his head. It was Sunday, the first day of Nişân (April), when the sun was in Aries. Two men who had followed him in accord with his doctrine were with him; one was Shâmân and the other Dhwakwâ. His father was also with him, watching what was happening to his cause.

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Ishaq [al-Nadîm]: Mâni appeared during the second year of the reign of Gallus the Roman. Marcion appeared nearly a hundred years earlier, during the reign of Titus.

182 MS 1934 adds several words at this point which are omitted in MS 1135.

183 Flügel, Manî, p. 144, suggests that these words are wa-awzâ’arab bi-jînât (“and he gives you authority by choice”), but these words do not fit the unclear letters in the manuscript.

184 Authorities disagree about the dates of the Persian kings, but in order to give an idea of the events in the life of Mâni, the following dates may be helpful, even if not entirely accurate.

King

Artabanus (Ardwâsîr) V, last king of the Parthian dynasty, A.D. 213 to 226.

Ardâshîr I, founder of the Sâsánian dynasty, A.D. 226 to 241.

Shâpûr I, A.D. 241/42 to 272.

Shâpûr II, A.D. 273/74 to 279/79.

Hummuz I, who reigned only a few months, A.D. 272/73.

Bahram II, A.D. 273 to 276/77.

That is, artificial spirits, as in the case of the Sibians.


185 These names are probably meant to be Sîmun and Zâbî.