Antoninus, in the first year of his reign. Ibn Daysîn appeared about thirty years after Marcion. He was called Ibn Daysîn because he was born by a river named Daysîn. 148

Māni asserted that he was the paraclete 149 about whom Jesus, for whom may there be peace, preached. Māni derived his doctrine from the Magians and Christians. In a similar way, the script with which he wrote books about religious subjects was derived from Syriac and Persian. 147

Before he met with Šāpūr, Māni traveled in the land for about forty years. Then he called upon Firuz, the brother of Šāpūr ibn Ardashîr, and Firuz brought him into the presence of his brother, Šāpūr. 148

The Manicheans say that when he [Māni] came into his presence there were on his two shoulders what resembled two lamps of light. When he [Šāpūr] beheld him, he exalted him and he was magnified in his eyes. He had originally expected to assault and kill him, but when he encountered him he felt in awe of him and was well disposed towards him. Then he asked him why he had come and promised that he should return to [an audience with] him. So Māni asked for a number of requirements, among which there were that he [Šāpūr] should show favor to his [Māni’s] companions in the provinces and the rest of the kingdom, and that they should have the right to travel wherever they might desire throughout the land. Šāpūr granted him all that he requested, so that Māni carried his propaganda to India, China, and the peoples of Khurasan, appointing a disciple of his for each region. 149

148 For the Daysîn River, see Yaqût, Gogg, III, 860 bottom; Flügel, Māni, pp. 150 ff.
149 See Biruni, Chronologie arabischer Volker, p. 207 l. 19; Burkitt, Manichaeans, p. 94; Flügel, Māni, p. 163.
147 For the script, see Chap. I, sect. 1, near n. 73; Flügel, Māni, pp. 166-70. Cf. Burkitt, Manichaeans, pp. 73-91. 148 Puech, pp. 44-45, suggests that when Māni first proclaimed his mission Šāpūr was unsympathetic, so he traveled until Šāpūr finally gave his patronage. The period could not have been forty years. It is reasonable to believe that the King’s brother persuaded Šāpūr to favor Māni.
149 For the missionary activities, see Puech, p. 48. It is possible that Māni reached India, or at least sent a disciple there, but “China” probably refers to the Oxus River region of central Asia.

SECTION ONE

Mention of What Māni Taught, His Statement about the Nature of the Ancient One, Blessed and Exalted, about the Formation of the World, and about the Wars Which Occurred between the Light and the Darkness

Māni said, “The origin of the world was [composed of] two elements, one of which was light and the other darkness. Each of them was separated from the other. Light is the great [element] and the first, but not in quantity. It is the deity the King of the Gardens of Light. 150 It has five worlds: forbearance, knowledge, intelligence, the unperceivable, 151 and discernment. 152 It has also five other spiritual qualities, which are love, faith, fidelity, benevolence, 153 and wisdom.”

He [Māni] stated, “Together with his attributes he [Light] is eternal. With him are two eternals, one of which is the sky [atmosphere] and the other the earth.” Māni also said, “The worlds of the sky are five: forbearance, knowledge, intelligence, the unperceivable, and discernment. 154 The worlds of the earth are the ether (zephyr), wind, light, water, and fire. The other existence, which is Darkness, has five worlds: clouds, flame, pestilential wind, poison, and obscurity.” 155

Māni said, “The light shining existence was contiguous with the dark existence, with no barrier between them. The Light contacted

148 Cf. Shahrestânî (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 286. See also Flügel, Māni, pp. 175-78, the Flügel edition, p. 329, 1; Christiansen, L’Iran sous les Sassanides, p. 178; Colpe, pp. 106, 123. 149 MS 135 has ḡayth (“rain,” “giving vegetation”). The translation is from MS 1934, which gives ḡayb (“unperceivable”), here signifying what God alone knows until he reveals it to a prophet.
150 Puech, p. 73, gives these five as “intelligence, raisons, pensée, réflexion, volonté.” Burkitt, Manichaeans, p. 19, suggests “sense, reason, thought, imagination, intention,” Conspicær Flügel, Māni, pp. 183-85; Colpe, p. 107.
152 This list is a repetition of the one already given. Colpe, pp. 17-18, points out that the author of Al-Fihrist probably used more than one source.
153 Burkitt, Manichaeans, p. 24 bottom, explains that al-namîn (“zephyr”) is here used to mean “ether.” See also his appendix, p. 197. Instead of “poison” Shahrestânî (Haarbrücker), Part I, p. 287 top, has “smoke.” See also Puech, p. 77; Flügel, Māni, pp. 186, 205; Colpe, pp. 21, 26.
CHAPTER NINE

the Darkness on its surface. The Light is limitless in height, as well as to the right and the left, while the Darkness is limitless in depth, and also to the right and left."

Māni said, "From this land of Darkness there was Satan (al-
Shayṭān), who is not eternal in his own person, but the elements of his ingredients are eternal. These elements of his ingredients became compounded and brought Satan into existence. His head is the head of a lion and his body like the body of a dragon (great serpent). His wing is like the wing of a bird, his tail like the tail of a great fish, and his four feet like the feet of a beast of burden. After this Satan, who is called the Ancient Devil (al-Qādir), had been formed from the Darkness and had swallowed, gulped down, and corrupted, passing from right to left and descending below, while all the time corrupting and slaying anyone who opposed him, he coveted the upper regions, seeing the flashings of the Light and contesting them. Then beholding them raised on high, he trembled and they intermingled with him, coming into contact with his ingredients. Thus as he coveted the upper regions, the Light World discerned Satan's state of mind and what he desired of slaying and corruption. So after it had come to know about him, it [the Light World] made him known to the world of discernment, then to the world of knowledge, then to the world of the unperceivable, then to the world of intelligence, and then to the world of forbearance."

He [Māni] said, "Then it [the Light World] informed the King of the Gardens of Light about him and plotted for his subjection." He said, "These warriors of his were able to defeat him,

184 "Surface" evidently signifies the frontier between the realms of Light and Darkness; see Puech, p. 73 bottom. There are variations in MS 1135 which are evidently errors.


186 The Arabic phrase means "one with the other." This evidently refers to the particles of light mingling with those of evil.

187 The Arabic word translated as "state of mind" is anwār, which literally means a "matter" or "affair."

188 This is a difficult passage which merits further study and perhaps a different interpretation.

189 What has already been said indicates that this is the supreme deity.

188 See Shahrastānī (Haarbrückers), Part 1, p. 288; Puech, p. 76.

SECTION ONE

but he wished to gain the mastery in this affair by himself. So by the spirit of his felicity, by his five worlds and his twelve ingredients, he generated an offspring, who was the Primal Man, appointing him to combat with the Darkness."

He said, "The Primal Man clad himself with five principles, which are the five deities: the ether (zephyr), wind, light, water, and fire. He took them as armament. The first thing that he put on was the ether, then he harnessed over the vast ether (zephyr) the courageous light, girding over the light the water possessing dunt, and covering [it] with the blowing wind. Then, taking the fire in his hand as a shield and spear, he descended rapidly until he stopped at the brink, close to the belligerents."

"Thereupon the Ancient Devil repaired to his five principles, which are the smoke, flame, obscenity, pestilential wind, and clouds, arming himself with them and making them a protection for him. Upon his coming into contact with the Primal Man, they joined in battle for a long time. The Ancient Devil mastered Primal Man and took a swallow from his light, which he surrounded with his principles and ingredients."

"Then the King of the Gardens of Light sent after him another deity, who delivered him, overcoming the Darkness. This one whom he sent after him was called the Man Beloved of the Lights. He descended and rescued the Primal Man from the lower regions,


189 MS 1135 has variations, apparently errors. For the Primal Man, and variations between Aḥ-Ḥarb, Shahrastānī (Haarbrückers), Part 1, p. 288, and other authors, see Colpe, pp. 37-39.

190 "Principles" is anwār. For these five deities, see Colpe, p. 20.

191 The word translated as "courageous" is al-muhājir in MS 1135. Flügel and MS 1135 give instead what seems to be al-mauhīth, which usually means "clad in a coat of mail," but might also have the meaning of "giving benefits."

192 Flügel and MS 1135 both insert "from the gardens" at this point.

193 In this list "smoke" replaces "poison" in the list already given. Colpe, p. 40, believes that this is not as close to the original source as the first list.

194 See Shahrastānī (Haarbrückers), Part 1, p. 288; Puech, p. 77; Flügel, Māni, pp. 195 ff.

195 "Beloved of the Lights" is al-INsān Ḥafīd al-Anwār. This person is mentioned only once and it is not clear who he is intended to be. Cf. Colpe, p. 43.
together with what he took and made prisoner from among
the spirits of Darkness."\textsuperscript{271}

He said, "Then al-Bahjah\textsuperscript{272} and the Spirit of Life\textsuperscript{273} journeyed to
the brink, where they looked into the depths of that nether hall
and saw Primal Man and the angels, whom the Devil (Iblis) and the
exceedingly evil satanic creatures and iniquitous life had sur-
rounded."\textsuperscript{274} He said, "The Spirit of Life called to Primal Man with
a raised voice, which was like lightning in its swiftness and which
became another deity."\textsuperscript{272}

Mäni said, "When the Ancient Devil was entangled with Primal
Man in battle, the five ingredients of Light were mixed with the
five ingredients of Darkness. The smoke mingled with the ether
(zephyr) from which there was this mixed ether.\textsuperscript{274} What there was
in it of delight and quieting for\textsuperscript{277} souls and the life of animals was
from the ether, whereas what there was in it of perdition and disease
was from the smoke. The flame mixed with the fire\textsuperscript{278} and what
there was in them of burnings, perdition, and corruption was from
the flame, while what was in them of light and illumination was
from the fire. The light mixed with the darkness and what there
\textsuperscript{174} Cf. Puech, p. 78.
\textsuperscript{175} Flügel has al-Bahjah, whereas MS 1335 gives al-Bahjah. See Jackson, Journal
of the American Oriental Society, XLIV (1924), 61-64; Puech, p. 78. Al-Bahjah means
"joyfulness," and is also spoken of as Mother of Life or Mother of the Living and
related to the Spirit of Life. Colpe, pp. 31-31, explains how sources other than
Al-Fihrist tell that she was the mother of Primal Man, who sent him off to fight.
She also helped to create the finite world by binding the hands and feet of the archons.
Moreover, she dispatched the supernatural agent Jesus to give the gnosis. She plays
another part by serving as an intermediary for the faithful when they die and return
to the Light World. The translation follows MS 1334 in separating her name and that
of the Spirit of Life with a conjunction, so they seem to have been different gods.
\textsuperscript{176} Puech, pp. 78-79, calls the Spirit of Life lEsprit Vivant, and says it was subse-
quently called Mihryaz and Demiourge.
\textsuperscript{178} "Satanic creatures" (al-wazawīn), is probably correct, though Flügel has al-
zaqawīn ("crying out reproach"). For this passage see Burkitt, Musonies, pp. 24-28;
Flügel, Mani, p. 208. Cf. Boyce in Henning, pp. 44-54; Puech, p. 78.
\textsuperscript{177} This voice was called Xeldinga; see Puech, p. 78. Colpe, pp. 39-40, gives
notes about the subordinate deities and angels.
\textsuperscript{179} "Smoke" is confined with "poison" and al-nasim ("zephyr") refers to "ether."
\textsuperscript{180} The word translated "fire" is "an" meaning of which is not clear. Cf.
Flügel, Mani, p. 212.
\textsuperscript{181} Flügel inserts "and from them was fire," but MSS 1334 and 1335 omit these
words.
\textsuperscript{179} In many of the passages "Light" and "Darkness" seem to signify divinities not
very different from the Zoroastrian Ormazd and Ahura Mazda. Here the words are not
capitalized, as they apparently refer to ingredients. The translation of this passage
follows MS 1334; Flügel and MS 1335 have variations.
\textsuperscript{182} MS 1335 has sharh, perhaps meant to be sharh ("evil"); Flügel has sharh
("blinding," "destroying"), and MS 1334 has, badly written, what looks like tahrīh
("exciting revolt").
\textsuperscript{183} See Colpe, pp. 42-44, 150, 154, for comparison with other sources.
\textsuperscript{184} Flügel omits "five" here. In this paragraph "principles" is qāsīd.
thirty lanes (ways) for each threshold and twelve rows for each lane. He made, moreover, the thresholds, lanes, and rows at maximum height, like the height of the heavens."114

He said, "He caused the sky on the lowest of the earths to reach the heavens, and he made a trench around this world into which to throw the Darkness which was sifted out from the Light. Behind that trench he formed a wall, so that none of the Darkness separated from the Light could get out."115

Mānī said, "Then he created the sun and the moon for sifting out whatever there was of Light in the world. The sun sifted out the Light which was mixed with the devils of heat, while the moon sifted out the Light which was mixed with the devils of cold. This [Light] rises up on a Column of Praise,116 together with what there are of magnificats, sanctifications, good words, and deeds of righteousness."

He said, "This is thrust into the sun, then the sun thrusts it to the Light above it, in the world of praise, in which world it proceeds to the highest unsullied Light. This action continues until what remains of the Light which is bound [to the particles of Darkness] is only what the sun and moon have been unable to extract.117 At this point the angel who is bearing up the earths rises up, while the other angel relaxes his hold on the heavens, so that the highest mixes with the lowest and a fire flames up, which blazes among these things [mixed particles], continuing to burn until what is left among them of the Light is set free."118

114 Perhaps a reasonable interpretation of this passage is to explain it as an allegorical reference to the solar year, observed in many parts of Persia. The twelve gates might be the twelve months, the two doors, day and night, the six thresholds the measures of the sun (al-maṣṣūr al-ahmar), the thirty lanes the thirty days of the solar month in ancient times, and the twelve rows the twelve hours for day, leading out of one door, and twelve for the night, leading out of the other door. These doors were evidently the two parts of a gateway, one swinging to one side and the other to the opposite side. See Birnštein, Chronologie orientalischer Völker, pp. 46, 187; Burkitt, Manichæa, p. 108; Colpe, p. 66.

115 This is almost certainly the Milky Way. See Flügel, Mānī, p. 233; Colpe, pp. 53–54; Burkitt, Manichæa, pp. 43, 44. In this passage "Light" and "Darkness" seem to refer to the two original divine elements; see Burkitt, Manichæa, p. 95; Shahrazdī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, pp. 289–90; Flügel, Mānī, p. 224.

116 See Flügel, Mānī, pp. 233–34.

117 See Burkitt, Manichæa, p. 28; Shahrazdī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, pp. 289–90.

118 See Burkitt, Manichæa, p. 95; Flügel, Mānī, pp. 237–39.

119 See Flügel, Mānī, pp. 240, 242; Colpe, p. 36.

120 For suggestions about the sources of the following passage, see Colpe, pp. 149–52.

121 This word is evidently like the Greek "archon," but instead of signifying a chief magistrate, it is used for a lesser deity.

122 For further light on this passage, see Burkitt, Manichæa, p. 237; Flügel, Mānī, p. 234; Colpe, pp. 78–80; Puch, pp. 80–84.

123 Al-Bāshīr was the "Teller of Glad Tidings." He was very likely the same as the Third Messenger and was probably the Zaddūk who eminated from the Living Spirit, to rescue the Light from the Darkness. He is mentioned again in notes 221 and 270 which follow. For the Mother of Life, see n. 172, and for the Spirit of Life, see n. 173.

Mānī said, "This conflagration will last for a period of one thousand, four hundred and sixty-eight years."119 He said, "If this state of affairs comes to an end and the bold chiefnesses, the Spirit of Darkness, sees the rescue of the Light and the exaltation of the angels while the warriors and guards [of Darkness] are surrendering, and if she sees the battle and the warriors about her accusing her, she will retreat to a tomb prepared for her and this tomb will be blocked with a rock the size of the world, which will barricade her in it [the tomb], so that the Light will be set free from anxiety due to the Darkness and its injury."120

The Mādiyah among the Manichæans assert that something of the Light will still remain in the Darkness.121

The Beginning of Generation, According to the Doctrine of Mānī120

He [Mānī] said, "Then one of those archons121 and the stars and urging, craving, passion, and guilt had sexual intercourse and from their intercourse there appeared the first man, who was Adam. What brought this to pass was [the intercourse of] the two archons, male and female. Then intercourse took place again, from which there appeared the beautiful woman who was Eve (Hawwâ)."122

He said, "When the five angels beheld the light of God and his goodness, which passion had despoiled and made captive in those two who had been born, they asked al-Bashir, the Mother of Life, Primal Man, and the Spirit of Life to send to this ancient offspring someone to free and save him, to teach him knowledge and righteousness and to rescue him from the devils."123
CHAPTER NINE

He said, "So they sent 'Isa (Jesus), and with him a deity who sought out the two archons [male and female], imprisoned them, and delivered the two who had been born." 184 He said, "'Isa proceeded to speak to the man who had been born, that is, Adam, enlightening him about the Gardens [of Paradise], the deities, Hell, the devils, the earth and Heaven, sun and moon. He caused him to fear Eve, explaining to him that she was forbidden, restraining him from [going to] her and making him afraid to approach her, so that he obeyed. 185

Then the [male] archon reverted to his daughter, who was Eve, and because of the lust that was in him, had intercourse with her. From her he begot a son who was disfigured and of a ruddy complexion. His name was Cain, the Ruddy Man. Then that son had intercourse with his mother, by whom he begot a son who was white and whose name was Abel, the White Man. 186 Cain returned, again had intercourse with his mother. He begot by her two girls, one of whom was named the Wise of the Ages and the other the Daughter of Corruption. Then Cain took the Daughter of Corruption as a wife and gave the Wise of the Ages to Abel, who received her as a wife for himself. 187

He said, "In the Wise of the Ages there was virtue from the light of God and His wisdom, but there was none of this in the Daughter of Corruption. Then one of the angels went to the Wise of the Ages and said to her, 'Guard thyself, for to thee will be born two maidens, fulfilling the pleasure of God.' Then he fell upon her and because of him she bore two girls, one of whom she named Faryād (Lamentation) and the other Pur-Faryād (Laden with Lamentation). 188 When Abel heard of this, he was filled with anger and encompassed by grief. So he said to her, 'Because of whom have you given birth to these two children? I suppose they belong to Cain

184 This Jesus was not the Christ, founder of Christianity; see Flügel, Mani, pp. 254-55; Colpe, p. 72; Burkitt, Manichaeism, pp. 29-32; 35-43, 111.
185 The last words of the paragraph are literally, "he did." 186 The word in Arabic is "white" rather than "blond," so that the color evidently has allegorical significance as "good." 187 See Flügel, Mani, pp. 259 ff.
188 These names are probably Persian words. They occur again in the last paragraph of this passage.

and that it was he who had intercourse with you!" Although she explained to him how the angel had appeared, he left her, going to his mother, Eve, and complaining to her about what Cain had done. He said to her, "Has [news of] what he did to my sister and wife reached you?" When Cain heard of this, he went to Abel and brained him with a rock, killing him. Then he took the Wise of the Ages for a wife. 189

Mani said, "Then those two archons and this Šindid 190 and Eve were distressed because of what they learned about Cain. Al-Šindid thereupon taught Eve the language of magic 191 so that she could enchant Adam. This she proceeded to do, enticing him with a wreath of blossoms from a tree. When Adam saw her, he fell upon her in sensual passion, so that she gave birth to a male child who was beautiful and of a comely countenance. When al-Šindid learned about this, it upset him, so that he became ill and said to Eve, "This [child] who has been born is not one of us, but a stranger." She therefore desired his death, but, taking hold of him, Adam said to Eve, "I am going to nourish him with cow's milk and the fruit of trees!" Thus taking him he departed. Al-Šindid, however, caused the archons to carry off the trees and cows, going far removed from Adam. When Adam saw this, he took the offspring and made three circles around him. Over the first [circle] he mentioned the name of the King of the Gardens, over the second the name of Primal Man, and over the third the name of the Spirit of Life. Then he communed with God, may His name be glorified, and beseeching Him he said, "Even if I have committed a crime against Thee, this [child] who has been born has not sinned." Then one of the three hastened with a wreath (crown) of splendor, which he brought in his hand to Adam. When al-Šindid and the archons beheld this, they went their way."

189 In order to make this passage and the one which follows readable, the translation is a free one. For an interesting comparison with Gnostic ideas, see Gold, Biblical Archaeologist, XV, No. 3 (September 1952), 74-78.
190 Al-šindid means "gallant commander" or "violent wind." The name probably refers to the archon who raped Wise of the Ages.
191 "Language of magic" is šahnd in Flügel, ṭūn in MS 1934. Both refer to the language of magical incantations.
192 This was probably one of the three supernatural persons whose names were pronounced over the circles.
He said, "Then there appeared to Adam a tree called the lotus, from which came forth milk with which he nourished the boy. He [at first] called him by its name, but later he called him Shāhīl. Thereupon al-Ṣāliḥ declared hostilities against Adam and those who had been born, saying to Eve, 'Show yourself to Adam, that perchance you may bring him back to us.' So she dashed off and aroused the passion of Adam, who had lustful intercourse with her. When Shāhīl saw him, he admonished him [Adam] and reproached him, saying, 'Come, thou shalt go forth to the East, to the light and wisdom of God!' So he departed with him and dwelt there until he died and went to the Gardens of Paradise. Then Shāhīl with Fareyād (Lamentation) and Pur-Fareyād (Lamentation) and their mother, Wise of the Ages, accomplished good works, with one idea of right and one way of life, until the time of their deaths, but Eve, Cain, and the Daughter of Corruption went to Hell."  

Description of the Earth of Light and the Sky of Light, Which Two Things Together with the God of Light Are Eternal  
Mānī said, "The Realm (Earth) of Light has five members: ether (zephyr), wind, light, water, and fire. The Sky of Light also has five members: forbearance, knowledge, intelligence, the imperceivable, and discernment." He said, "The incomparably great are these ten members, all of which belong to the Sky and the Earth." He said, "This Light Shining Earth has a body which is brilliant and joyfully beautiful, with flashing and illumination. Over it there shines the clearness of its purity and the beauty of its substance:

---

Section One

form for form, beauty for beauty, brightness (whiteness) for brightness, clearness for clearness, joyful beauty for joyful beauty, light for light, brilliancy for brilliancy, appearance for appearance, good for good, comeliness for comeliness, gates for gates, towers for towers, habitations for habitations, dwellings for dwellings, gardens for gardens, trees for trees, branches for branches, with twigs and fruits for beautiful appearance and glorious light and with different colors, some of them better and more shining than the others; also clouds for clouds and shade for shade. Moreover, that light shining deity in this Earth is an eternal god." He said, "With the deity of this Earth there are twelve great beings called the First Born. Their form is like his form, all of them wise and intelligent." He said, "[There are also] great beings called the Strong, Intelligent Supports." He said, "The other (zephyr) is the life of the world."  

Description of the Earth of Darkness and Its Heat  
Mānī said, "Its realm (earth) has depths, caverns, regions, hideaways, barriers, thickets, and jungles. It is a realm which is dispersed, divided, and filled with forests and also with fountains, from which smoke [goes] from land to land and barrier to barrier. Fire gushes forth from them, from land to land, and darkness also gushes forth, from land to land. Some of this is higher than the rest and some lower. The smoke which gushes forth from it is the scorching (venom) of death. It gushes forth from a fountain. The bottom of its foundations is burning, with soil and with the ingredients of fire, the ingredients of the strong, darkened wind, and the ingredients of sluggish water. The Darkness is contiguous to that

---

See Flügel, Mānī, pp. 271 ff. In the Arabic, the word "fee" is not inserted between the repetitions of the qualifications. Perhaps the meaning is that in the realm of light there are models which have counterparts among the phenomena of the material world.

See Flügel, Mānī, pp. 275 cites a different set of words, giving the translation "die Haupsteine...die Thätigen die Kräftigen."

The word translated "land" is "fild" often translated "towns."

The word translated as "violence" is al-zaqib, which can also mean "clanor." It is taken from MS 1151. The words of this clause in the Flügel edition and MS 1154 seem to be errors, so that no reliable translation can be given. See Flügel, Mānī, pp. 63 n. 5, 377.

---

88 This is almost certainly Seth (Shīṭē); see "Shīṭē," Enc. Islam, IV, 385. For the passage as a whole, cf. Flügel, Mānī, pp. 263-70.

884 Al-Ṣāliḥ is translated as "good works." The word translated as "idea of right" is a word similar to ʿaḥqāq in MSS 1154 and 1155. Flügel gives ʿaḥqāq, which is probably incorrect. "Way of life" is ʿārāʾil.

886 This description is an allegory based on Gnostic ideas. Mānī felt that man must free himself from sexual passion in order to be saved. Abd, the Wise of the Ages, and her daughters evidently represent righteousness, which must be freed from worldly lust even if it entails sorrow. Cain, the Daughter of Corruption, al-Ṣāliḥī, and Eve represent carnal passion. Adam impersonates man with his weaknesses, while Shāhīl reveals man's ability to overcome weakness and be saved.

888 See n. 152.
CHAPTER NINE

Light Shining Earth which is above, the other being below. For the first there is no limit in height, nor is there [limit] for the Darkness in depth."

How a Man Must Enter into the Cult

He [Mani] said, "He who would enter the cult must examine his soul. If he finds that he can subdue lust and covetousness, refrain from eating meats, drinking wine, as well as from marriage, and if he can also avoid causing injury to water, fire, trees, and living things, then let him enter the cult. But if he is unable to do all of these things, he shall not enter the cult. If, however, he loves the cult, but is unable to subdue lust and craving, let him seize upon guarding the cult and the Elect, that there may be an offsetting of his unworthy actions, and times in which he devotes himself to work and righteousness, nighttime prayer, intercession, and pious humility (supplication). That will defend him during his transitory life and at his appointed time, so that his status will be the second status in the life to come." In what follows, we shall mention this, if Allah so wills.

The Sacred Law Which Mani Brought and the Ordinances Which He Ordained

Mani prescribed ten ordinances for the Hearer, which he followed up with three seals and a fast of seven days without fail during every month. The ordinances represent faith in the four great beings: God, His Light, His Power, and His Wisdom. God, may His name be magnified, is the King of the Gardens of Light. His Light is the sun and the moon, His Power the five angels: ether, wind, light, water, and fire. His Wisdom is the holy religion with its five significations: teachers, the sons of forbearance; deacons, the sons of knowledge; priests, the sons of intelligence; the Elect, the sons of the unperceivable, and the Hearer, the sons of discernment.

The Ten Ordinances

Renouncing the worship of idols; renouncing the telling of lies; renouncing avarice; renouncing killing; renouncing adultery; renouncing: stealing; the teaching of defects; magic; the upholding of two opinions, which is about the faith; neglect and lassitude in action.

See Puch, p. 89; Burkitt, Manichaeism, pp. 51–57, 61.

"Seal" is hushūm. Further on in this chapter "the seal of the mouth" is mentioned (see p. 286). This suggests that the seals represented "see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil." See Burkitt, Manichaeism, p. 55; Bus, Das Manichäische Religions System; Colpe, pp. 120, 121–122; Flügel, Mani, p. 290; Jackson, Journal of the American Oriental Society, XLIV (1914), 68.

Instead of the word "represent" there is a pronoun in the Arabic.

Colpe, pp. 111, 127, explains that this faith in the great objects of worship compliments the first ordinance, which is renouncing idols.

The Flügel edition spells the word for "teachers" inaccurately, and the MS 1934 contains the last clause of the passage on the margin. In the Arabic the word for "deacons" is taken from the Syriac μηχανοθυατέρος but is badly transliterated; see Burkitt, Manichaeism, pp. 30, 105–6; Colpe, pp. 507–8; Flügel, Mani, pp. 291–96.

The translation follows MS 1934 in making this a separate heading.

See Shahrestani (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 290; Puch, p. 89; Flügel, Mani, pp. 299–300. These authorities give the list of ordinances in different forms, some of them including prayer as an ordinance. Burkitt, Manichaeism, p. 61, translates what is given as "teaching of defects" as "teaching of incantations." In Arabic the term is ṣūlūn al-ḥalāl.
CHAPTER NINE

The Ordinance of Prayer: Four or Seven

It is that a man shall arise and wash himself with water, which is either running or not. Then he shall face the supreme brightness while standing, and then bow down, saying while in prostration, "Blessed be our guide the Paraclete, the Apostle of Light, blessed be his guardian angels and praised be his shining hosts." This he says as he prostrates himself. Then shall he arise, for he must not tarry in his prostration, but stand erect. After that, he shall say during a second prostration, "Praise be to thee, oh, thou shining one, Mānī our guide, source of light and branch of the living, the great tree all of which gives healing." Then during the third prostration he shall say, "I bow down and render praise with a pure heart and truthful tongue to the great deity, father of the lights and their substance: praised and blessed art thou, and thy greatness in its entirety, as well as to those blessed ones who know thee and whom thou hast called upon. Let the praised among thy hosts glorify thee, thy justice, thy word, thy greatness, and thy favor, for verily thou art a deity who is altogether truth, goodness, and righteousness." Then he shall say during the fourth [prostration], "I render praise and bow down to all of the deities and to all of the light shining angels and to all of the lights and all of the hosts which have sprung from the great deity." Then he shall say during the fifth, "I bow down and give praise to the great hosts and to the shining deities, who by their wisdom have pierced and driven out the Darkness, subduing it." Then he shall say during the sixth, "I bow down and offer praise to the father of greatness, the mighty and shining, who has come from those who have knowledge," and in this [same] manner

SECTION ONE

until the twelfth prostration. If he completes ten prayers, he starts another prayer in which there is praise; it is unnecessary for us to record it.

The first prayer is at the time of the descent, the second prayer is between the descent and sunset. Then there is the sunset prayer after the setting of the sun. Three hours after sunset there is the 'atamad prayer. For each prayer and prostration one does as he did during the first prayer, which is the prayer of al-Bashir.

As for fasting, when the sun is stationed in Sagittarius and the moon is full, there is a fast of two days without a breaking of fast between them. When the new moon appears, there is also a fast of two days, without any breaking of fast between them. Then in addition to these there is a fast when a heavenly body (light) is for two days in Capricornus. Then when the new moon appears and the sun is stationed in Aquarius, eight days of the month having gone by, there is a fast of thirty days, with a breaking of fast each day at sunset.

The common people among the Manichaeans make Sunday important, whereas members of their elevated ranks make Monday important. Thus did Mānī prescribe for them.

Disagreement of the Manichaeans about the Succession after Mānī

The Manichaeans have said:

As Mānī was ascending to the Gardens of Light, but before [he completed]

282 Seven prayers are for the Elect and four for the Hearers; see Colpe, pp. 113-114; Fligel, Mani, pp. 309-10.
284 Fligel, Mani, p. 96, gives 'gechoten' for the word translated as "justice" and "wolghelfallen" for the word translated as "favor."
285 The word translated as "verily" is literally "because that you." The word translated as "goodness" is ḥayyāh, taken from MS 1934. It is ḥāyāh ("life") in the Fligel edition and ḥa'iūn ("affection") in MS 1135.
286 MS 1934 omits "hosts" but the other versions include it. In the clause which follows, "have sprung" is literally "were."
287 See Colpe, p. 114; Fligel, Mani, p. 310 nect. 240.
288 The various versions agree in giving "ten prayers." Either the word "ten" is meant to be "seven," as there were seven prescribed prayers, or else the word "ten" may refer to prostrations, in which case "twelve" must be the word meant. The sentence preceding speaks of the "twelfth prostration." "Descent" (al-rawn) is the point at which the sun starts to go down, after reaching the highest point at noon.
289 'Atamad is the first third of the night, starting at twilight.
291 See n. 192.
292 Nizahl al-shams, translated "stationed," is the same expression as the one used for Aquarius in what follows.
293 CF. Colpe, p. 115.
294 The "common people" were evidently the Hearers, while the "elevated ranks" were the Elect. See Fligel, Mani, pp. 314-315; Colpe, pp. 113-121.
his ascension, he established as the imam after him St., who upheld the faith of God and its purity until he died. Then the imams received the faith one from another. There was no disagreement among them until there appeared a schismatic sect among them known as the Dinawariyah, who challenged their imam, refusing to obey him. Although the authority of the imamate was not fulfilled unless it was in Babil, it was not being permissible for the imam to be elsewhere, this sect spoke in opposition to that tenet and continued to contradict it as well as other things not worthy of mention, until the leadership as a whole fell to Mihr. This was during the reign of Al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik and continued until the governorship of Khalid ibn 'Abd Allah al-Qari in al-Iraq. Then a man known as Zaid Hurmuz joined them, but he left them after staying with them for a while. He was a man of great possessions. He gave them up and joined the Elect. Then, ascertaining that he found things with which he disagreed, he felt a desire to join the Dinawariyah, who were on the other side of the River of Balkh. He came, however, to al-Madina, where there was a secretary of al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf who possessed great wealth. As there was a friendship between the two of them, he told him about his state of mind and the reason inducing him to go to Khurasan to become attached to the Dinawariyah. Then the secretary said to him, "I am your Khurasan! I will build places of worship for you and provide you with what you need." 

---

The Manicheans Become Two Branches, al-Mihrifam and al-Miqlas

Miqlas differed with the community about matters of religion, among which were the social relationships, until Abi Hilal al-Dayhur came from Africa and the leadership of the Manicheans fell to him. That was during the days of Abi Ja'far al-Mansur. He called upon the followers of Miqlas to give up what Miqlas had ordered for them in connection with social relationships and they agreed to this.

At that time there appeared among the followers of Miqlas a man known as Bazemir, who gathered together a group from among them and started some other innovations. Thus their situation continued until the leadership fell to Abi Sa'id Rahib, who turned them back to the opinion of the followers of Mihr regarding social relationships. Their status then continued like this until, during the caliphate of al-Ma'mun, there appeared a man among them who I believe was Yazdankha. He was opposed to certain things, and as he cajoled them, a company among them turned to him.

---

The word translated "social relationships" is al-wa'ijilah (al-wa'ijilah) translated by Colpe, p. 131, as "periods of continual fasting" and by Flügel, Mami, pp. 99, 327, as gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen.

See Flügel, Mami, p. 327.

MS 1335 has a variation, probably a mistake. See nn. 311, 318, for a repetition of this name.
Why the Followers of Mišlāš Were Hostile to the Followers of Mihr
They asserted that Ḵhālid al-Qārṣī brought Mihr on a she-mule and provided him with a silver seal, bestowing embroidered garments upon him.

During the days of al-Maʿānīn and al-Maʿātaṣīn, the chief of the followers of Mišlāš was Aḥāb Ἠʿl Ṣūʿād. Then afterwards there succeeded him his secretary, Ṣaʿīd ibn Ḥurrīzūd al-Samarrāqī. They authorized for the members of the sect and those who entered it things forbidden by the religion. They mingled with the rulers (ṣalāṭīn), entrusting things to them. Aḥāb al-Ḥasan al-Dināshīṭī was one of their chiefs.

The Death of Mānī
Mānī was killed during the reign of Bahrām ibn Shāpūr, who, after executing him, gibbeted two halves of his body, one at a certain gateway and the other at a different gate of the city of Junīd-Shāpūr. The two places are called the Upper Saint and the Lower Saint. It is said that he was in Shāpūr’s prison, but when Shāpūr died Bahrām released him. It is also said that he died in prison, but there is no doubt about the gibbeting.

Some people say that he had two deformed feet and others that it was only his right foot. In his books Mānī belittled the other prophets, finding fault with them and accusing them of falsehood, asserting that the devils had gained mastery over them and spoken by means of their tongues. In some places in his books he said that they were devils and he stated that Jesus, who is famous among us and among the Christians, was Satan.

The Manichean Doctrine of Future Life
Mānī said:

When death comes to one of the Elect (Zaddqā), Primal Man sends him a light shining deity in the form of the Wise Guide. With him are three devils, with whom there are the drinking vessel, clothing, headcloth, crown, and diadem of light. There accompanies them a virgin who resembles the soul of that member of the Elect.

Then there appear to him the Devil of Craving and Lust and the Devil of the [other] devils. When the member of the Elect sees them, he seeks the aid of the deity who is in the form of the Wise Guide, and the three devils who come close to him. When the devils see them, they turn back fleeing. Then they take the member of the Elect and garb him with the crown, the diadem, and the garments. They place the drinking vessel in his hand and mount up with him in the Column of Praise to the sphere of the moon, to Primal Man and al-Bahājīh, Mother of the Living, to where he at first was in the Garden of Light. As for the body [of the member of the Elect] which is abandoned and cast down, the sun, the moon and the light shining deities abstract from it the forces which are the water, fire, and other (zephyr), and which ascend to the sun, becoming divine. But the rest of the body, all of which is Darkness, is flung to the lower regions.

When death comes to a man who is a combatant, who accepts the cult and righteousness, caring for these things as well as for the Elect, those deities whom I have already mentioned are present. As the devils also

Colpe, p. 88, suggests that the three devils are the Coptic angels, with the Wise Guide appearing as a figure of light.

Colpe, p. 87, gives "the price of victory" instead of the "drinking vessel." The "crowns and diadems" might be translated "the fillet and wreath." See also Colpe, pp. 83 n. 3, 86.

This may refer to the Wise Guide. Colpe, pp. 87-88, points out that Mānī has either neglected to mention a judge or else it is not concerned with one.

This is evidently the Milky Way; see n. 185.

Flügel, depending upon a faulty manuscript, gives al-Nahmāh, while MS 1135 has al-Bahājīh. Although the name in MS 1934 is badly written, it is certainly meant to be al-Bahājīh, which must be correct; see n. 172.

MS 1135 gives "ascends" in the singular. Perhaps the translation should be, "and he ascends to the sun, becoming divine." For further light on this passage, see Flügel, Manis, pp. 339-40.

Having described how a member of the Elect goes straight to Heaven, the account next tells how a hearer or member of the lay order must go through a transitional stage before entering paradise.
are present, he asks for help, making known what he has accomplished in the form of righteous behavior and caring for the cult and the Elect. Then they deliver him from the devils and he remains in the world like a man who sees horrible things in his dream, plunging into mud and clay. Thus does he remain until his light and spirit are rescued, so that he becomes attached, adhering to the Elect, donning their garments after the long period of his [transitional] uncertainty. 284

When death comes to an evil man who is enslaved by craving and lust, the devils attend him, taking hold of him, chastising him and showing him horrible things. As those [good] deities are also present with the same garments, the evil man supposes that they have come to save him. But, instead, they have come to reproach him, to remind him of his evil deeds, and to substantiate proof of his having neglected to aid the Elect. Then he continues to vacillate in the world and in torment, until the time for punishment, when he is cast down to the underworld. 285

Mānī said, "These are the three roadways upon which the souls of men are divided. One of them leads to the Gardens of Paradise and is for the Elect. The second one, leading to the world and things horrible, is for those who guard the cult and help the Elect. The third leads to the underworld and is for the man who is a sinner." 286

What the State of Future Life Will Be after the Disappearance of the World, with a Description of Heaven and Hell 287

He [Mānī] said, "The Primal Man will come from the realm of Capricornus, al-Bashīr 288 from the east, the Great Builder 289 from

284 Cf. Colpe, p. 101. See also Baghālī (Halkīn), p. 92, where it says that when a heretic died he was transferred to the body of an animal until he was purged of the spots caused by unrighteousness.

285 The translation is free, to make the passage readable. The form "cast down" is singular in the Fligel version and MS 1135, which seems to be correct, although there is a variation in MS 1914.

286 As the Arabic is condensed, it is impossible to translate this passage in a literal way, so that words "lead," "leading," and "is for" have been added. For this paragraph, see Colpe, p. 85.

287 This description is probably older than the one given previously. See Colpe, p. 100; Fligel, Mānī, pp. 351–54.

288 See n. 193.

289 The Great Builder was the Great Ibn, who planned the walls which confined the Darkness in the underworld. See Burkit, Manichaeans, pp. 26, 64, 89; Puech, p. 78; Colpe, p. 46. This person is not mentioned by the other Arab authors.

307 The south, and the Spirit of Life 290 from the realm of the west. They will stop on the great structure, which is the new Garden of Paradise and going around that Hell, they will gaze into it. Then the Elect will come from the Gardens of Paradise to that light, in which they will be scathed. They will hasten to the gathering deities and stand around that Hell. Then they will gaze down upon the evildoers as they turn, vacillate, and are portrayed in that Hell. 291

290 That Hell does not have the power to harm the Elect, so that if those evildoers behold the Elect, they will invoke them, supplicating them. But they will not answer them except by reproaches, which do not benefit them. Thus shall the wicked have an increase of regret, grief, and affliction, which will be their lot forever and ever. 292

291 See n. 377.

292 The word translated "portrayed" is given in MS 1914 in a form which appears to be patsawwā. Fligel and MS 1135 have variations. It is impossible to be sure what is meant.

293 Originally Light and Darkness did not have a fortified frontier between them, but after Darkness invaded Light, the Great Builder was summoned to make a wall to separate the two antagonistic elements. This passage pictures the deities and the Elect walking about on the wall, looking down into Hell. Cf. Colpe, pp. 48, 97–98.

294 The book written in Persian was undoubtedly the Shihāb al-ʿĀrār (Shīhāb al-ʿĀrār). This account should be compared with Kessler, Mānī, p. 173. For these books see "Masūhisām," Enc. Brit., XVII, 572; Puech, pp. 67, 149 n. 262; Browne, Literary History of Persia, I, 154; Fligel, Mānī, pp. 354–69.

295 Safar al-ʿĀrār is spiced as it is given in MS 1914 at the end of the list of sections. Safar might mean "writing." MS 1135 and Fligel have šīf ("books;" "scripture") instead of safar. Al-ʿĀrār means "secrets" or perhaps "mysteries." This paragraph is just about the contents of Safar al-ʿĀrār. The next paragraph lists Mānī's other books.

296 These were the Bardaxihs. An account of them follows this account of Mānī. The word translated as "section" is sûbā.

297 Bistāf may be instead Hyrraspes. See Fligel, Mānī, p. 337, Shahriārīn (Haurbricker), Part I, p. 281; Sykes, History of Persia, I, 108–9; Firewali, Shahbazi, V, 33, where he is called Gostasp. He was also called Vistasp, the king converted by Zoroaster, who may be the person called "the Beloved" in this title.
about His Spirit (Himself) to Ya‘qūb; section, The Son of the Widow, who according to Mānī was the crucified Messiah whom the Jews crucified; section, Jesus’ Testimony about His Spirit (Himself) in Yahudah; section, The Beginning of the Testimony of al-Yānis after His Conquest; section, The Seven Spirits; section, Account of the Four Spirits, al-Zwâl; section, Laughter; section, The Testimony of Adam about Jesus; section, The Falling from the Faith (Indifferent about Religion); section, The Doctrines of the Daysâniyûn about the Spirit and the Body; section, Refutation of the Daysâniyûn about the Spirit of Life; section, The Three Trenches; section, Preserving the World; section, The Three Days; section, The Prophets; section, The Resurrection. This is what Sâfar al-‘Arâr contains.

The Book of Giants, which includes— Ordinances of the Hearsers; Ordinances of the Elect; Al-Shâbuqaţ, which includes: section Dissolution of the Hearsers, section Dissolution of the Elect, section Dissolution of the Transgressors; Book of the Living, which includes—

259 Pragmatia, which includes—

259 In MS 1934 there is a blank space after “testimony,” perhaps to be filled in with some man’s name. It has not been possible to identify Ya‘qūb.

260 Yahudah is very likely Judah; see Flügel, Mâni, p. 359, for other possibilities.

261 MS 1135 gives this title clearly. Al-yânis means “the right.”

262 This may refer to the sun, moon, and five known planets, but it more likely refers to the Great Builder, the Living Spirit, and its five sons, sent to save Primâ Man; see Paech, p. 78.

263 It is possible that the four spirits were the Wise Guide and the three accompanying deities who took charge of a good man when he died. Al-zwâl means “the taking charge.” It may be instead al-dawâl (“the charge of fortune”), or al-zawâl (“the departing”).

264 “Laughter” (jâbîh) may refer to frivolity, which Mānī discouraged.

265 See n. 173.

266 MSS 1934 and 1135 arrange these book titles in different ways. It is probable that the two books about the ordinances formed the one volume, known to St. Augustine as the Epistula fundamenti. In that case, Mâni’s seventh book may have been the Senemûn, which are mentioned in MS 1135, or else a collection of epistles. The word translated as “the Elect” is given differently in the various versions. Flügel has al-mâkidâl (the chosen) whereas MS 1934 has what might be al-mukhtâr or al-mukhtasûrûn, forms meaning “the righteous.” See Flügel, Mâni, pp. 363-65.

267 Al-Shâbuqaţ (Al-Shâbuqon, Al-Shâbuqaţ) was written in Persian and addressed to Shâpir; see Burkitt, Mânius, pp. 37-74. “Dissolution” is al-shâbuq, which evidently signifies the end of life.

268 Book of the Living may be the book known to St. Augustine as Theatrum vitae. The title following was probably the work often called the epopteuroth and known to St. Augustine as The Great Epistle to Ptolema. For these books see Flügel, Mâni, pp. 363-65; Bhrin, Chronologie orientalischer Volker, p. 188 f. 11; Burkitt, Mânius, pp. 32, 66, 74.

SECTION ONE

The Titles of the Epistles of Mâni and of the Imamâms after Him259 The Two Sources; The Great Ones; of India, a long one;260 The Well-Being of Righteousness;261 The Jurisdiction of Justice;262 of Kaskar; of Fattâna, a long one; of Armenia; to Amâlîyâ the unbeliever;263 of Cîshphon, The Note; The Ten Words; of the teacher, Social Relationships;264 of Wâlîman, The Seal of the Mouth;265 of Khabârâh, Consolation;266 of Khabarâth;— of Umm Hushaym;267 of Cîshphon; of Yahûâ, Breaking the Fast; of Khabârâth,— of Cîshphon to the Hearsers; of Fîtâh, Guidance, a short epistle; the double epistle of Sîz;268 of Bâbil, a long epistle; of Sîz and Fattâna, Forms; Garden [of Paradise]; of Sîz, Time; of Sâ-yû’s, The Title;269 of Sîs, Pledges; The Administration; of Aḥâ the pupil; of Mâni to al-Rûhâ;270 of Aḥâ, Love; of Mâsûnân, The Day;271 of Aḥâ, — of Bâhûrân, The

269 For “imam,” see n. 215. In the Arabic text the word “epistle” is placed before each title or person addressed. This word is omitted in the translation, as well as the word “about” (fâ) preceding some epistle titles. Only a few of the names can be identified and listed in the Bihûl. Index. For these epistles, see Flügel, Mâni, pp. 370-83.

270 MS 1934 has al-Rûhâ, evidently meaning India.

271 MS 1934 and Flügel give different forms, but they both seem to imply “well-being.”

272 This very likely refers to divine judgment.

273 As Amâlîyâ was an unbeliever, the epistle must have been addressed to him, rather than written by him; the Arabic preposition could be either “to” or “by.” Perhaps the name is meant to be Aemilius (Aemilius), who was proclaimed emperor a.d. 213 but died before he began his reign; see Smith, Grâm, I, 50.

274 This may refer to the ten ordinances; see n. 220.

275 See n. 242.

276 “The seal of the mouth” suggests “speak no evil”; see n. 217. In this list the word “about” has been omitted between the author and the subject of his epistle.

277 This name is not clear, it may be Khabârâth or Khaybâhā.

278 Flügel gives Ablâsam. The name in MS 1934 is not clear; Umm Hushaym is a possibility.

279 Flügel gives the word for “perfume,” but MS 1934 and MS 1135 have al-fûr (“breaking the fast”).

280 Perhaps Fîtâh is meant to be Papia or Papus, or some other non-Arabic name.

281 Although the name is omitted in MS 1135 and badly written in MS 1934, it is evidently meant to be Sîs.

282 Flügel gives Sâ-yû’s. MS 1934 seems to have a different name, but it is not clear enough to be deciphered.

283 MS 1135 has Mâni. MS 1934 gives a name which cannot be deciphered. Al-Rûhâh is the ancient Edessa and modern Uref; see Yaqîf, Geog., II, 876 and “Orfu,” Enc. Islam, III, 993.

284 See Flügel, Mâni, p. 375, oct. 347, for The Day. The name Mâyûn may refer to a locality (see Yaqîf, Geog., IV, 714) or to some individual.
CHAPTER NINE

Terrors;285 of Abū, Mention of the Good;286 of 'Abd Yaṣū (Slave of Jesus), The Seven Heavens;287 of Bahrání, Social Relationship;288 of Shāhīn al-Sabī;289 of Abū, Alms;290 of Ṣādān, The Pigeon; of Afqiyya, Time; of Zafri, Time; of Suhrawār, The Tithes; of Karkhan and Ghurāb;291 of Suhrawār, Persia; to Abū Ābyā,292 of Abū Yaṣīn the geometrician;293 to Abū Ābyā the unbeliever; Baptism; of Yahlā, Money; of Asqāf, The Four Tithes.294

In Addition To These295

Of Asqāf, The First People,296 of Yahlā about mention of the messages,297 of Yahlā about the administration of charity funds; of the Heerers about fasting and decreeing,298 of the Heerers about the greatest fire,299

285 Fügel suggests Bahrání and Al-Hawāl ("The Terrors"); these are guesses and may not be correct.
286 Instead of Al-Jirād ("The Good"); this title may be Al-Nūr ("Perfume"); "Lawful."  
287 The translation is from MS 1914, which has something like al-ahdi bayyin ("the seven heavens"); MS 1135 has al-ahdiyya ("prejudices"), and Fügel gives al-ahdiyya ("relations"); or it might be al-ahdiyya ("groups of men").  
288 See n. 242.  
289 These names are taken from MS 1934, where they are given with consonant and vowel signs.
290 As the word given as Abī is written as Abī, the second part of a name may be missing.
291 These are place names; see Yaqūt, Geog., IV, 255: III, 779. If they are meant to be the names of persons, they should probably be spelled differently.
292 Abī Ābyā is a guess for what is in MS 1934. Fügel gives a name like Abīzāhā and MS 1135 has something else again. As this was an unbeliever (see second title following), the epistle must have been addressed to him, not written by him.
293 The spelling of this name is uncertain.
294 The name Asqāf is what seems to be meant in MS 1914: Fügel gives Asāf.  
295 In the Arabic text the word "epistle" precedes each title or person addressed. This word is omitted in the translation, as well as the word "about" (fi) preceding some epistle titles.
296 For Asqāf see preceding note. MSS 1914 and 1135 have a word like al-ṣahāb ("people"), whereas Fügel gives al-adād ("felicity").
297 Yahlā may be correct, or perhaps lāmān is the name meant. "Messages" (al-madāf) is taken from MS 1135. Fügel gives a form which seems to be an error and MS 1914 is not clear.
298 "Decreasing" (al-asad) is from MS 1934. MS 1135 and Fügel have al-nadhūr ("the vow").
299 MS 1135 has a variation, evidently an error.

SECTION ONE

of al-Ahwāz about mention of the kingdom;301 of the Heerers about the interpretation of Yazānīdādān;302 the first epistle of Maymaq, Al-Fārīsīya;303 the second epistle of Maymaq; The Tithes and Alms; Ardashīr and Maymaq;304 of Sālām and 'Anštā; of Ḥārī,305 Khabartā, The Kingdoms;306 to Abū Abyā,307 The Healthy and the Sick; of Ardād, Beasts; of Abī, Sānā;308 The Two Light Shining Cargoes;309 of Mānā, The Crucifixion;310 of Muḥr, The Hearer; of Firūz and Raṣān; of Abī Yāl about "Safār al-Aṣrār,"311 of Simeon and Zāmīn (Ramayn); of Abī Yāl Clothing.

The Portion of an Account of the Manichaeans, With Their Movements through the Countries and an Account of Their Leaders312 The first of the sects in addition to the Samanīyah to enter the Land beyond the River (Transoxiana) was the Manichaeans.292

291 Instead of al-mudāl, meaning "the kingdom" or "properties," this may be al-mudāl ("angel"): Fügel, Manī, p. 104, interprets it as opinion.
292 For a previous mention of this name, see n. 244.
293 This very likely refers to a prosperous village not far from where Baghdad was built; see Yaqūt, Geog., III, 818. Maymaq may be more correctly written as Maimaq.
294 As Ardashīr was the king a.d. 326-40, Maymaq must have been associated with Maimaq during the early part of his life.
295 Ḥārī may be a man's name. Or perhaps the word is meant to be a place name like Kufṣ, west of al-Kūfah, or Ḥārūn near al-Ḳaṣr; see Yaqūt, Geog., II, 84, 453. Another possibility is Ḥaṭā in central Asia; see Richardson, Dictionary, p. 617.
296 For "kingdoms" see n. 310.
297 See n. 130.
298 Another gloss is taken from Fügel. MS 1934 has al-adīsī (a consonant sign evidently being omitted. MS 1135 has al-adīsī ("dried"), often used with washed and dried garments.
299 This probably refers to the sun and moon, which store up the light particles as burdens or cargoes.
300 MS 1135 gives Mānā as the author, but this must be a mistake, as the subject of the book seems to be the gibbeting of Maimaq.
301 For Abī Yāl ("Servant of Yāl") see Richardson, Dictionary, p. 1703. Yāl means "vail of Heaven." It may be Thāl or some other name instead. Safār al-Ahrāb was the great book of Maimaq.
302 The usual Arabic form of "Manichaeans" is Al-Manṣūriyyah. In this heading, a vernacular form, al-Manṣūrīyyah, is used; see Fügel, Manī, p. 112. For this passage see Fügel, Manī, pp. 385-400, and compare the free translation in Browne, Literary History of Persia, I, 193-94.
303 For the Samanīyah, see the Glossary, and for Transoxiana, see Yaqūt, Geog., IV, 400. This was the Arab name for the part of Siberia east of the Oкс River, called Mi Wār al-Nabī ("What Was behind the River").
reason for this was that, after Chosroes [Bahram I] had executed and gibbeted Mānī and forbidden the people of his kingdom to dispute about the religion, he began to say the followers of Mānī wherever he found them. So they did not stop fleeing from him until they had crossed the River of Balkh and entered the realm of the Khān, with whom they remained. In their tongue, “Khān” is the title by which they designate the king of the Turks.

The Manicheans remained in the Land beyond the River (Transoxiana) until the Persian rule fell apart and the Arab regime grew strong. Then they returned to this country, especially at the time of the Persian revolt, during the days of the Umayyad kings. Khalid ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasri cared for them, but the leadership was not authorized in these districts except in Babil.

But [subsequently] the leader sought out any place where he could be safe. The last time they appeared was during the days of al-Muqtadir, for [after that] they feared for their lives and clung to Khurāsān. Any one of them who remained kept his identity secret as he moved about in this region. About five hundred of their men assembled at Samarqand, but when their movement became known, the ruler of Khurāsān wished to kill them. Then the king of China, who I suppose was the lord of the Tughughat, sent to him, saying, “There are more Muslims in my country than there are people of my faith in your land.” He also swore to him that he [the ruler of Khurāsān] should kill one of them [the Manicheans], he [the king of China] would slaughter the whole community [of Muslims] who were with him, and would also

802 The River of Balkh, was the Āmū Darya; see “Balkh,” Enc. Islam, I, 662; Flügel, Mani, p. 332.

803 For the influence of Mānī among the Turkish tribes of Asia, see Barthold, Histoire des Turcs, pp. 38-46.


805 When they first invaded Persia the Muslims gave the Zoroastrians and Manicheans the same generous treatment that they gave to the Christians and Jews, but later the Manicheans became so restless under Arab rule that the ‘Abbadid caliphs suppressed them, calling them zanādih and causing them to migrate to central Asia.

806 For the Tughughat, see the Glossary.

SECTION ONE

destroy the mosques and appoint spies among the Muslims in the country as a whole, so as to slay them. So the ruler of Khurāsān left them alone except for exacting tribute from them. Although they have become few in the Islamic regions, I used to know about three hundred of them in the City of Peace [Baghdād] during the days of Mu‘izz al-Dawlah. But at this our time there are not five of them in our midst. This people [the Manicheans], who are called Aja‘zi, are at Rustaq, Samarqand, Sughd (Sughd), and especially Tūnikth,

Names and Record of the Leaders of the Manicheans during the Regime of the Banū al-‘Abbas and Earlier.

There was al-Ja‘d ibn Dīrham, for whom Marwān ibn Muhammad, known as Marwān al-Ja‘dī, was named. He was a tutor for Marwān and his son, introducing him to al-Zandaqah. During his caliphate, Hisāṁ ibn ‘Abd al-Malik killed al-Ja‘d, after he had been imprisoned for a long time in the hands of Khalid ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasri. It is said that the family of al-Ja‘d presented a case to Hisām, complaining of their wretchedness and the long duration of the imprisonment of al-Ja‘d. But Hisām said, “Is he still alive?” Then he wrote to Khalid about his execution. Khalid, accordingly, executed him on the Day of the Sacrifices, making him a substitute for the sacrificial victims, after having spoken about this from the

807 “Appoint” is from MS 1914; Flügel has “leave.” The word translated “spies” is āshā, which might also mean “ambassadors.”

808 Mu‘izz al-Dawlah ruled at Bagdhād, a.d. 946-69. This chapter must have been written a quarter of a century later.

809 It is possible that the name Aja‘zi is meant to be al-Bukhārī. Yasīq, Greg., 1, 90, indicates that some of the people referred to in the region of Khurāsān were from Bukhārī. For the cities in this sentence, see Israihāl, Al-Maslīk wa-al-Mamlākāt (Jān and Khurāsān), pp. 276, 277, 190, 193, 185 et. al. 6; Yasīq, Greg., 1, 746, 900; II, 778; III, 133, 304. For central Asia, also see Hāqiq, Oriental Geography, pp. 245-80, and for the Manicheans in China, see Reinach, History of East Asian Civilizations, I, 176-77.

810 This place is probably Tūnikth (Tūnikth) in the Shīr region, or else modern Tashqand, called Binkashi.

811 MS 1934 has “earlier” (pāhāb), whereas MS 1113 has “other” (gheyb). For this passage, see Flügel, Mani, pp. 400-4.

812 This is also at al-Ajdah or Qurban Bayrūm, where sheep are slaughtered at the end of the pilgrimage to Makkah; see “Tal al-Ajdah,” Enc. Islam, II, 444.
pulpit according to the order of Hishâm. He, I mean Khâlid, was accused of al-zandaqâh, as his mother was a Christian. Marwân al-Jâjdî was also a zandaq.\(^{284}\)

Among the Theologians Who Were Their Leaders but Who Appeared to Be Muslims, Keeping Secret al-Zandaqah

Ibn Taḥabbîn, Abû Shâkîr, Ibn Akhî Abû Shâkîr, Ibn al-A’âmâ al-Ḥarîzî,\(^{285}\) Nu’mân, Ibn Abî al-‘Aṣîjâ, Sâîhî ibn ‘Abd al-Qudîdîs. These men compiled books in support of the Dualists and the doctrines of their adherents, but they have destroyed many of the books which the theologians composed about those things.

Among the Poets


Among Those Who Have Become Known Recently


Mention of the Kings and Leaders Who Were Accused of al-Zandaqah

It is said that all of the members of the Barmak family were zandaqâh except for Muḥammad ibn Khalîd ibn Barmak. It is also said that al-Fâlî and his brother al-Ḥasan were, too.\(^{287}\) Muḥammad ibn Ubâydi Allâh, the secretary of al-Mâdhî, was also a zandaq, and when he confessed al-Mâdhî had him executed. I have read, written in the handwriting of one of the members of the [Manichean] sect, that al-Mâdhî was one of them but he lied about this. It is also said that Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyât was a zandaq.

\(^{284}\) Al-Jâjdî served as tutor to the prince, who became Marwân II, reigning as caliph a.d. 744–50. He brought Manichean influences to bear on his pupil. Accordingly, Hishâm, who was the caliph when Marwân was in the tutor’s care, ordered the governor in al-‘Istâf to execute al-Jâjdî. But at the governor, Khalîd ibn ‘Abd Allah al-Qâ’irî, sympathized with the Manicheans, al-Jâjdî was not executed until the caliph sent a final order for execution.

\(^{285}\) Both MSS 1934 and 1135 give the name in this form, but Flâglî has Ibn al-A’dî, probably a mistake. Perhaps the following two names should be combined into one.

\(^{286}\) All of the texts have al-Jawharî, but it is obvious that this is meant to be Muḥammad ibn Alîmâd ibn Nâ’îr ibn Jurîdîn al-Jayhânî.

\(^{287}\) These were probably al-Fâlî ibn Sahl and al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl.

Among the Leaders of the Sect during the ‘Abbâsîd Regime

Abû Yâhidî al-Râ’îsî, Abû ‘Ali Sa’dî. Abû ‘Ali Râjî ibn Yazdân-bakhâh.\(^{288}\) He it whom al-Mâdhî summoned from al-Rayy, after he had given assurance for his safety. But, as the theologians repudiated him, al-Mâdhî said to him, “Become a Muslim, oh, Ibn Yazdân-bakhâh! For if I had not given you a pledge of safety, there would have been a case between you and ourselves.”

Then Yazdân-bakhâh said to him, “Your counsel, oh, Commander of the Faithful, is hearkened to and your word accepted, but you are not one of those who force people to abandon their faiths.” So al-Mâdhî exclaimed, “It is true!” Then he settled him in the Mukharrim Quarter\(^{289}\) and set guards to care for him, fearing lest there might be disturbances against him. He was [a man] eloquent in speech.

Among Their Leaders during This Our Time

The leadership was moved to Samarqand, where they came to establish it. Then, after their leader was permitted to be] only in Bâbîl, —— then in this our time ——.\(^{290}\)

The Dayâniyâh (Barzanes)

Their master was called Dayânî after the name of the river beside which he was born, before the time of Mâni.\(^{291}\) The two sects are similar, but there is a disagreement between them regarding the fusing of light and darkness. The Dayâniyâh became divided into two parties in connection with this question. One party asserted

\(^{288}\) MS 1934, unlike the other versions, inserts ibn, which is very likely incorrect. This was the part of Baghdad from the East Bank across from the Round City; see Yâqût, Goyê, IV, 441; Levy, Baghdad Chronicle, p. 40: Le Strange, Baghdad, pp. 169–70, 217–30, 195.

\(^{289}\) MS 1934 makes it clear that this sentence was not written accurately or completely. Space is left for the additional material required. The word “book” is written at the bottom of this second place, followed by a one-word title which could be Al-Ŷîl, Al-Jâlî, Al-Ḥayû, Al-Ŷîlî, or Al-Khashî, followed by the phrase “which was called.” The Flâglî edition does not make the sentence any clearer.

\(^{290}\) This passage about the Dayâniyâh and most of the one which follows about the Mârûnis is lacking in MS 1934; the translation is taken from the Flâglî edition. For Ibn Dayânî and his sect, see the Glossary, “Dayâniyâh.” For the River Dayânî, the Greek Skitras and modern Kara Kuyum at Urfa, see “Bardasân,” Enc. Brit., III, 395, and “Edessa,” VIII, 332.
that light became mixed with darkness voluntarily, so as to make it
good. After having mingled with it, however, it longed to become
dissociated from it, but was unable to do so. The other party
asserted that light desired to clear away darkness from itself when it
perceived its coarseness and patridness, but it became interwoven
with it against its will. It was like a man who desired to remove
something with sharp splinters sticking into him. The more he
tries to remove them, the further into him they go.

Ibn Dayṣān asserted that light is one genus, whereas darkness is
another genus. Some of the Daysāniyyah claimed that darkness was
the origin of light and [others] stated that light is living, endowed
with senses and having knowledge, whereas darkness is the opposite
to that, blind, without sense perception and ignorant, so that they
are repugnant to one another.348

In former times, the adherents of Ibn Dayṣān were in the regions
of al-Baṯāʾib.349 In China and Khurāsān there are scattered
communities of them, without any known congregation or oath of
fealty,350 whereas the Manichaeans are very numerous.

Ibn Dayṣān had [among his books]:

The Light and the Darkness; The Sanctity (Spirituality) of the Truth;
The Moving and the Static.

There were many [other] books of his and also books of the
leaders of the sect, but they have not come down to us.

The Marcionites346

They were the followers of Marcion, antedating the adherents of
Ibn Dayṣān. As a sect of the Christians, they were more closely
related to them than the followers of Maḏi and Ibn Dayṣān were.

The Marcionites asserted that the two primary elements are light
and darkness, but that there is also a third, which blends and mixes

348 Instead of "sharp," the word may be "iron." Cf. Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker),
Part 1, p. 303, for this passage.
349 The translation follows Flügel; MS 1155 has a variation.
350 The marshlands between Wāṣij and al-Baṯāʾib were called al-Baṯāʾib; see
Yaḥṣib, Geog., p. 698.
351 This evidently means that they had no one pontiff.
352 See the Glossary.

them. They said that God, exalted and magnified, is unblemished
by iniquities and that although the creation of everything in its
entirety is not free from evil, He is exalted above it. They disagreed
about what the third existence was. One of their sects said that it
was the Life, which is Jesus. Another sect asserted that Jesus was the
apostle of that third existence and that by His dictate and power He
was the creator of phenomena. They agreed that the world was
originated, its creation being obvious; they have no doubt about
that matter.

They asserted that he who abstains from fats and intoxicants, who
prays to God throughout his life, continually fasting, escapes from
the snare of the devils. The accounts about this are conflicting and
very confused.

The Marcionites had a book to which they attached special
significance and in which they wrote about their doctrines. There
was a book of Marcion's which he called The Unraveling,347 and
there were also a number of books of his followers. They are not
to be found, unless Allah knows where [they are], for they are con-
cealed among the Christians. There are many [Marcionites] in
Khurāsān, their cause being openly known, as the cause of the
Manichaeans is known publicly.348

The Māḥūniyyah350

They were a sect of the Marcionites who differed with them about
some things but agreed about other things. They agreed with the
Marcionites in connection with all matters except marriage and
sacrifices. They asserted, moreover, that the intermediary between
light and darkness was the Messiah.350 Nothing more than this is
known about them.

347 MS 1155 has al-Kalīl ("The Unraveling"). Flügel gives Injil ("Gospel"). MS
1934 begins again with the next sentence, after some omission, see n. 342.
348 This probably means that the Marcionites who remained in al-ʾIrāq were in
danger and hid their books, while those in Khurāsān had more freedom.
349 Someone named Mihān was probably founder of this sect. Or perhaps the
sect was named after Mihān, a city of Persia; see Yaḥṣib, Geog., IV, 405; Le Strange,
Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, pp. 237, 302, 307, 311. For mention of the sect, see
Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 293; Part 2, p. 443.
350 See Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker), Part 1, p. 293, for a doctrine evidently shared
with the Marcionites.
CHAPTER NINE

The Šanḫayyānī²³¹

They were the followers of Šanji al-Jūkhānī.²³² This man worshiped idols and beat the żan-khalaŋ²³³ in a temple of idols. But, leaving that cult, he turned to a sect which he himself originated. He asserted that there existed here something anterior to light and darkness and that there were two forms in that darkness, male and female. He said, "It [the male] was with its mate in the darkness." He also said, "When light appeared to the female, the world of the living stole a little of that light. Then she became active, like a worm, rising up. The light thereupon received her and clothed her with some of its light. After that she became different from it and, stealing light from it, she returned to her [own] status. From the light, which she stole from what the light had clothed her with, she created heaven, the mountains, the earth, and the other phenomena."²³⁴

They assert that fire is the queen of the world, and other things for which we would ask Allah's forgiveness if we mentioned them.²³⁵ No book of theirs is known.

Statement about Khusrū al-Az-Rūmaqān²³⁶

He was also from Jūkhā, from a village on the Nahrawān.²³⁷ His followers gloried in clothing and dress, which he prescribed for

²³¹ The name of this sect is taken from MS 1394, except that this manuscript spells it w, not y. Y seems correct, as the name comes from Šanji. The names of the sects are translated in the nominative form, though in the Arabic many of them are given with the in instead of the in ending, because magalāf ("treatise") precedes or is understood to precede the proper name. This word is not given in the translation.

²³² This name is probably derived from Jūkhā, a locality southeast of modern Baghdad mentioned in the next passage. Another possible source is Jawkān, which is located farther east; see Yūsūf, Geogr., II, 143, 144.

²³³ żan is a Persian word which can mean "striking." Khušān is an Oriental tree used for making bowls. This combination word seems to have denoted a sort of drum.

²³⁴ These quotations were probably taken from some old manuscript which gave only a superficial idea of what the doctrines of the sect were like.

²³⁵ This is similar to the English expression "God forbid!"

²³⁶ Khusrav is often written in English as Chosroes. The form al-Az probably means "the one from." Rūmaqān was a district south of where Baghdad is today; see Yūsūf, Geogr., I, 871, 171; II, 801. Jūkhā is a locality southeast of modern Baghdad.

²³⁷ This was the great canal on the east side of the Tigris; see Le Strange, Baghdad, p. 174; Levy, Baghdad Chronicle, p. 32.

SECTION ONE

them. He asserted that light was continuously alive, but that while it was asleep the darkness overwhelmed it and, after taking [some] light from it, returned to its own place. Then [the light] sent to it [the darkness] a deity whom it had created and called Son of the Living (Ibn al-Abyā). [To him] it said, "Go and bring me the light which the darkness has taken from me!"

When the Son of the Living came to the darkness and struck it, it was so wrought upon, that by force of the light existing in it there came from it two entities, male and female. He [the Son of the Living] passed on, returning to the light and to the source²³⁸ of life and spirits, some of which he took, and he clothed those two [newly] born.

He [Khusrav] also said that from the water, which was what remained²³⁹ from this reaction, there were created the heavens and the earths,²⁴⁰ as well as the stars, the waters, and the mountains in them [the earths].

He cursed and belittled Jesus. His [own] sect he kept secret, not divulging it, so that there is no book of his. [The following] is what is remembered from his words and the words of his followers: "It is we who have dug the channel²⁴¹ in the world and have stolen from the world the great treasure. We have been free and gone to the stream. We have gone with them black and came with them white, we have returned them shining and bright."²⁴² This passage they sing, chanting in rhythm. In this respect their sect resembles the sect of the Khurramiyah.²⁴³

²³⁵ The word translated "source" is al-nuḍūn, which is commonly used for "mine."

²³⁶ "What remained" is al-ṣabīḥah. Another possible interpretation of the Arabic is al-ṣabīḥah ("excessive attachment"), which might signify that creation was caused by the passion of male for female. The word might also be al-ṣabūḥah ("suit").

²³⁷ The Arabic for "water" is al-ard, which might also mean "regions."

²³⁸ The Arabic "channel" is al-šarād, which probably refers to an underground irrigation channel, the "treasure" being water. Or it may refer to the tunnel of a mine, leading to precious metal. "Treasure" is al-nuḍ, which also means "wealth."

²³⁹ In the Arabic "them" is feminine. It is not certain what is meant. It might refer to "souls" or to "garments" used in an allegorical way. They are washed clean by the power of the cult. A metaphorical illustration of this sort is in keeping with Gnostic thought.

²⁴⁰ See Glossary.
The Muhajirin

These profess baptism, offerings, and gifts. They have feasts, and in their sanctuaries cows, sheep, and pigs are permitted. They do not withhold their women from their chiefs, and incline towards adultery.

The Kashiyyun

They avow sacrificial slaughters, lust, cupidity, and vainglory. They say that previous to all things there was the Great Living Being, which created from his own soul a son whom he named the Star of Splendor. They also call him the Second Living Being and make profession of offerings, gifts, and good things.

The Mughalisah

These people are very numerous in the regions of al-Batl:i; they are called the Sabil al-Batl:i. They observe ablution as a rite and wash everything which they eat. Their head is known as al-Husayn and it is he who instituted their sect. They assert that the two existences are male and female and that the herbs are from the likeness of the male, whereas the parasitic plants are from the likeness of the female, the trees being veils (roots).

They have seven sayings, taking the form of fables. His [al-Husayn’s] disciple was named Shami. They agreed with the Manichaeans about the two elemental [principles], but later their sect became separate. Until this our own day, some of them venerate the stars.

Another Account of Sabil al-Batl:i (Sabians of the Marshlands)

These people are in accord with the ancient Nabataeans. They exalt the stars and have images and idols. They belong to the community of the Sabians known as al-Hajar Alalu, although it is said that they are different from them, both in general and particular [beliefs].

Statement about Abi Wa’amalakm

These people assert that the four existences did not resemble one another. They call the first Hujjaf the Great. They call the second

MS 1924 has “the Dastin,” perhaps a popular abbreviation or an error, meant to be al-Dastinayn. Cf. n. 358 which follows. MS 1925 contains some unimportant errors and does not throw light on this passage. In the Fligel text the name is given incorrectly, but then corrected, pp. 320 n. 6, 341 n. 5.

Al-mu’attal means “emigrants” or “fugitives.”

The translation is taken from MS 1894. Fligel and MS 1895 have “they slaughter cows, sheep, and pigs in their sanctuaries.”

Fligel gives a word which suggests “they abhor adultery,” but has a note expressing doubt as to the accuracy of this form. MS 1914 has a word which lacks consonant and vowel signs, but which suggests “inclined towards.” This meaning seems to fit the context better than Fligel’s word.

The name al-Kashiyyun cannot be identified as coming from any locality, tribe, or person. It probably cannot come from the Kashiya Tribe of the Caucaus, but is very likely a name from central Asia.
CHAPTER NINE

Rüyamān. They name the third Wazarūd, the living female. They call the fourth al-Asmalājun. They assert that these existences were in the world before anything else, in the earth, heavens, or elsewhere. These [last] three existences called upon Hūṣaf [asking] that they might make him their chief. Afterwards they disagreed and from their disagreement there resulted iniquities and sins.

Statement about the Shīḥiyūn

Shīḥ was one of the Moghaselah, but he disagreed with them. He wore khashū and ate good food, but inclined towards the sect of the Jews, from which he derived ideas.

Statement about the Khawāniyūn

These were the followers of Malīḥ al-Khawālīn, who was a disciple of Bābak ibn Bahārān. Bābak was a disciple of Shīḥ, but held back from the Jews.

The Māriyūn and Dašhtiyūn

Their master was Māri, the usafī, and they drew upon the doctrines of the dualists, not forbidding sacrificial slaughters. Dašhtiyūn was one of the followers of Māri, but after a time he differed with him.

People of the Fear of Heaven

Their master was Ardi. He lived at Ctesiphon and Bahurast and was a rich man. He deceived a Jew who transcribed for him the books of the prophets and the wise men. He invented a sect of his own, summoning the people to join it. In the regions of Ctesiphon there are people of his sect.

The Ashṭīrīyūn

Their master and chief is named Buqīrī ibn Ashūrī. They collect revenues and profits. In some things they agree with the Jews and about other things they disagree with them. They appear to be a sect of Jesus.

Statement about the Awraddiyūn

This people venerated the sea, saying that it was the ancient existence, detesting all else. When it became agitated there appeared a fresh breeze, and when the breeze saw it [the sea], it made of it a dwelling, and inhabiting this it laid seven deities. He said, "From these seven eggs there came seven deities. They call one of these deities the Arrow (al-Nushīkah), for they asserted that it plunged into the sea and then came out with the speed with which an arrow springs forth." He said, "It created al-Kawthar, known as al-thall." In that thall there flows a river known as the Great Euphrates, and beside this thall there was planted a sidrah. They

Itagel gives bītīs ("fear"); in MS 1315 there are no diacritical marks, so that the word may be need for something else. The name may instead be Arīdū. This was a district near Ctesiphon; see Yaqūt, Gorg., II, 968. The people still remaining in the Nestorian Church are called Assyrians, but it is not at all certain that they belong to the same sect as the one described here. The name is clearly written in MS 1315, but it has not been possible to identify it. This account seems to be about some old sect in the region of al-Māra. It deserves further research, as it may cast some light on the old peoples in that region. Here al-bhrū probably refers to the sea, as a few lines below the river is called al-bhrū. "Hey" probably refers to the person who wrote the account of this sect, quoted by al-Nadim. Al-kawthar means "abundance," but it was often used for a river of Paradise; see Qur'ān 11:131; "Kawthar," Enc. Islam, II, 534. Al-thall means "overflowing" or "outpouring." Al-sidrah was the tree of heaven or the lotus tree.
said that from one of the seven eggs there was the Arrow and from another the spreading waters which are apparent; from the third was astira; from the fourth al-Thāqīf, from the fifth the Lady of the World, from the sixth the youth, and from the seventh, day and night. He said, "Al-Thāqīf descended upon the spreading waters, covering them." Then it produced the whole world and the things in it."

These people exalt the sea, saying that it is the great god. It is said that there are many communities of them in the seacoast towns (regions), but we have never seen any of them. They have sayings handed down, coming as fables, which we have omitted lest because of them the book should become too long.

The Names of the Divisions Which Existed between Jesus, for Whom May There Be Peace, and Muhammad the Prophet, for Whom May There Be Peace.

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Isḥāq al-Nadim: In refutation of the Christians, al-Qūfah Ṭalḥah mentioned these divisions—the Melchites, the Nestorians, the Jacobites, the Damascenes, the Katakhāniyyah, the Bahlāniyyah, the Allabaniyyah, the Maronites, the Sāliyah, the

The translation is from MS 1934, which has two words which might be deciphered as al-murṣīyin al-bayyīnāt ("the spreading waters which are apparent"). Flügel gives a version.

Aīrāq expresses a word which is given differently in the various texts and cannot be identified.

Flügel gives al-Ṣarīṭ ("crown"); al-Thāqīf is taken from MS 1934. This is the name of a spring and town in Bahrāyin, which suggests that the word may be an ancient name connected with the traditions of the sea in that region; see Yaqūt, Geog., I 931.

MS 1934 gives ṣāhrīn, literally, "covered with rain." Flügel has ṣāḥib ("caused to sit down").

This title is taken from MS 1934. The Flügel edition and MS 1935 have variations which have the same meaning. The names which lack footnotes, except for the first three which are well-known sects, cannot be identified. The suggestions in the footnotes represent guesses, not certain identifications. For lists of ancient sects, see the index volume of Enc. of Religion and Ethics, pp. 533-34. Carrington, Early Christian Church; Mansel, Greek Heretics; Döllinger, Beiträge zur Sämischgeschichte des Mittelalters.

Probably the followers of Damasius (A.D. 578-602), the Monophysite patriarch of Constantinople. They were called Tetrads; see "Tridentism," Enc. of Religion and Ethics, XII, 453. Instead of al-Dāmiyyah, given in MS 1934, Flügel has al-Sāmiyyah.

This may come from Kavāthūn.

This title is taken from MS 1934. The name which lack footnotes, except for the first three which are well-known sects, cannot be identified. The suggestions in the footnotes represent guesses, not certain identifications. For lists of ancient sects, see the index volume of Enc. of Religion and Ethics, pp. 533-34. Carrington, Early Christian Church, I, 411.

This is the well-known sect of northern Lebanon.

SECTION ONE

Ariyūniyyah, the Manichacans, the Dayšāniyyah (Bardeanes), the Marcionites, the Ahir-ansiyah, the Mīṣāqansiyah, the Macedonians, the Homooousians, the Goliyeh, the Būlyah, the Arna-ansiyah, the Ṭaṭhārīyeh, the Ḥaylāniyyah, the Nākūliyyah, the Būlāniyyah, the Mihrabīyeh, the Sūfāniyyah, the Sāmriyyah, the Wālānshīyeh, the Aţkārīyeh, the Yūnāniyyah, the Ḥāwā-niyyah, the Abīyeh, the Kavārtīyeh.

The Națaliyyah, the Raddawīyyah, the Āwliyyah, the Aţmarbuyūtiyyah, the Lūfāniyyah, the Qayriyyah, the Sāmīniyyah, the Aţharīn, the Artamisiiyyah, the Sābānunīyyah,

404 This may be the sect of Aria, the famous fourth-century heretic.
405 This name is given as al-Maniliyyah, as it is given in the title for the passage on the Manichacans in Al-Fihrist (see n. 132). For the two sects which follow, see the Glossary.
406 Flügel gives al-Ajraniyah; the word in the translation is taken from MS 1934.
408 This name is a guess. Homooousians were often associated with the Macedonians. In the Arabic there is a yā(‘) instead of a kā(‘).
409 This probably refers to some ancient sect, rather than to the medieval Goliyeh.
410 Although Flügel gives nām(‘) as the initial letter, in MS 1934 it might be kā(‘), so that this may refer to the party of Paul of Samosita, who A.D. 366 became bishop of Antioch, and preached the Adoptionist heresy; see "Samositanism," Enc. of Religion and Ethics, XI, 170.
411 This rendering of the name follows MS 1934.
412 This may be the sect of Nicolaus, although that group is named later in the list; see n. 430. Most of the names which follow differ in the various versions.
413 Perhaps this is meant to be the Valentinians, as the points of the shīfah might originally have represented other letters; see "Valentinism," Enc. of Religion and Ethics, XII, 572.
414 This probably refers to the Greek Orthodox Church.
415 This name may be derived from Ab ("Father"), the first person of the Trinity, or it is perhaps meant to be al-Gīyab, signifying the Ophites. See Mansel, Greek Heretics, p. 91, "Ophitism," Enc. of Religion and Ethics, IX, 499.
416 This spelling is from MS 1934; it might also be interpreted as al-Naghibiyah.
417 This initial letter may be ẓa(‘) instead of ẓi(‘).
418 This initial letter may be ṣaw(‘) instead of ẓa(‘).
419 Probably the Sampsacans; see "Elipesians," Enc. of Religion and Ethics, V, 367.
420 The different ways of giving this name are so uncertain that the spelling is surely incorrect.
421 This may be connected with Bishop Artemas (see Carrington, Early Christian Church, II, 419) or with the friend of the apostle Paul (see Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible, I, 199).
The Sects of the Khurramiyah and the Mazdakiyah

Thus said Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-Nādir]: There were two groups of the Khurramiyah. The original Khurramiyah were called the Muḥammāriyah. They were dispersed among the mountain regions of Adharbayjān, Armenia, the Daylam country, Hamadān, and Dīnawar, as well as between Jībāh and the region of al-Ahwāz. By origin these were Magians, but later their own sect became established. They were among the people known as Luqāṭah. The master, the former Mazdak, ordered them to partake of pleasures and to pursue carnal desires, food and drinks, social intercourse and mixing together, as well as to refrain from arbitrariness with one another. For they shared their women and families, as no one of them was excluded from the women of another, nor did he himself withhold [his own women]. But along with this they exemplified deeds of kindness, refraining from killing and from causing people sorrow. They had a system of hospitality which no other people had. For if they received a man as a guest, they did not exclude him from anything he desired, whatever it might be. Belonging to this cult was the latest Mazdak, who appeared during the days of Qubād ibn Fīrūz. Anāšīdūrān executed him and killed his adherents. His record is famous. As al-Balkhi has dealt thoroughly with information about the Khurramiyah, their doctrines and their

For these two sects, see the Glossary. Fligel gives the first name as the Haremīyah, but modern authorities give the Khurramiyah.

As-μακαμωτά is a form of the word meaning "red." Nizām al-Mulk, Siyāsat Namḥāb, p. 291, speaks of red flags. Browne, Literary History of Persia, p. 315, says that it refers to wearing red as a badge.

See Yaqūt, Geog., I, 822.

The spelling may be ḥāzāt or ḥaṭāt. This is the word used in Muslim law for something picked up, often applied to a foundling. The name was also used as an expression of contempt for low types of people.

Literally "the causing of pains for spirits."

It is interesting to compare this passage with Polo, Travels of Marco Polo, XXXVIII, 106, and Pellicci, Nests of Marco Polo, I, 156.

The spelling may be ḥāzāt or ḥaṭāt. This is the word used in Muslim law for something picked up, often applied to a foundling. The name was also used as an expression of contempt for low types of people.

It is interesting to compare this passage with Polo, Travels of Marco Polo, XXXVIII, 106, and Pellicci, Nests of Marco Polo, I, 156.

This is probably the same Mazdak who has already been mentioned, even though he was called "the latest." Mazdak was executed about A.D. 531, which was approximately the time when Qubād was succeeded by Anāšīdūrān as king of Persia.

This man must have been al-Balḵī Abī Zayd Abūnā ibn Ṣahl, who was probably the author of the book which follows, even though Yaqūt, Irshād, VI (c.), 1424, does not include this title with a list of his books and it is also omitted in the passage about him in Al-Fihrist.
actions connected with drinking, pleasures, and worship, in the book *Sources of Questions and Answers* (‘Uṣūn al-Maṣā’il wa-al-Jawābih), it is unnecessary for us to mention what someone ahead of us has dealt with.

Account of the Khurramiyah al-Babakiyah

The chief of the Khurramiyah al-Babakiyah was Bābak al-Khurram. He used to say to whomever he seduced that he was God. He instituted among the doctrines of the Khurramiyah killing, violence, wars, and mutilation, not previously known by the Khurramiyah.

The Reason for the Beginning of His Movement, His Appearance, His Wars, and His Execution

Wāqīḍ ibn ‘Amr al-Tamīmī said, when dealing with the traditions of Bābak:

His father was a man from among the people of al-Madā’in, an oil dealer who moved to the frontier of ʿAḥmarbayjān, where he dwelt in a village called Bīlāl-ʿAbdā in the district of Mīnādā. He carried his oil in a container on his back and went about among the villages of the district. He conceived a passion for a one-eyed woman, the mother of Bābak, with whom he committed fornication for a long time. When he and she were withdrawn from the village, alone in a thicket, having with them some drink in which they were indulging, at that very time women came out from the village to draw water from a spring in the thicket. When they heard a voice singing something Nabatean they sought it and pounced upon the two of them. Although ‘Abd Allāh [the oil peddler] fled, they took the mother of Bābak by the hair and brought her to the town, exposing her.

Wāqīḍ said:

Then this oil dealer made a request to her father, who married him to her. He caused her to give birth to Bābak. Later he went forth on one of his trips to the mountain of Sabālān, where someone attacked him from the rear, wounding and killing him, so that after a moment he died. Bābak’s mother then started to serve the people for wages as a wet nurse, until Bābak was ten years old. It is related that one day, when she set out to look for Bābak while he was tending some people’s cows, she found him asleep under a tree. He was naked, and she observed blood under every hair on his body and head. But when he awoke from his sleep and stood erect, the blood which she had seen disappeared, so that she could not find it. She said, therefore, “I knew that my son would have a brilliant mission.”

Wāqīḍ said:

Bābak was in the district of Sarqī with al-Šāhī ibn al-Munaṣṣī al-Azdī, the care of whose animals he attended to and from whose young men he learned how to beat the tambur. Then he went to Tabriz, in the administrative district of ʿAḥmarbayjān, where he was employed for about two years by Muḥammad ibn al-Rawwād al-Azdī. When he was eighteen years old he returned to his mother and lived with her.

Wāqīḍ ibn ‘Amr said:

In the region of the mountains of al-Badhdh and the mountains adjoining it, there were two men with power and wealth who were barbarians won over by the Khurramiyah. They were disputing about the mastery of the Khurramiyah in the mountains of al-Badhdh, that one of them alone might have the chiefship. One of them was called Jāwīdān ibn Suhrak, while the other, being chiefly identified by a surname, was known as Abū ʿImrān. During the summer there was war between them, but during winter the snows separated them because they blocked the mountain passes. Now Jāwīdān, who was Bābak’s master, went forth
from his city with two thousand sheep, heading with them for the city of Zanjân, which was one of the cities on the frontiers of Qazwîn.444 After reaching it and selling his sheep, he turned back to the mountain of al-Badhlî, where in the neighborhood of Mimadh, snow and nighttime overtook him. So he turned aside to the village of Bêbî, Abû445 and asked the host there to lodge him.446 Because he felt that Jâwîlân was unimportant, he [the host] proceeded to lodge him with the mother of Bêbî, in spite of her lack of good food due to destitution and poverty. She got up to kindle a fire, being unable to do anything else. But Bêbî attended to the servants [young men and animals], caring for them and bringing them water. Jâwîlân, moreover, sent him to buy food for him, as well as drink and fodder. After he had brought these things, he conversed and talked with him. He found that in spite of the wretchedness of his circumstances and the fact that his language was indistinct, a crude vernacular, he [Bêbî] was intelligent. So, as he saw that he was crafty and clever, he said to his mother, "Oh, woman, I am a man from the mountain of al-Badhlî, with brilliancy of position and wealth. As I am in need of this son of yours, hand him over to me to take with me and make him the guardian of my lands447 and possessions. Every month I will send you his wages of fifty silver coins (s., diham)." She replied to him, "Surely you are the very likeness of kindness, with signs of wealth showing all over you, so my heart has trust in you. Take him with you when you leave."

Then Abû l-Imrân went forth from his mountain against Jâwîlân, engaging him in fighting, and he was defeated. After Jâwîlân had killed Abû l-Imrân, he returned to his mountain, but as he had a wound about which he was concerned, he remained in his house for three days. Then he died.

Now the wife of Jâwîlân had become passionately in love with Bêbî, who had been committing adultery with her. When, therefore, Jâwîlân died, she said to him, "You are hardy and clever; he has died! I won't raise my voice about this to any of his companions. Get ready for tomorrow! I'll have a gathering of them for you and tell them that Jâwîlân said, 'I wish to die during this night, so that my spirit will go forth from my body and enter the body of Bêbî, associating itself with his spirit. He will accomplish for himself and for you something which no one else has ever accomplished and no one will accomplish after him. For he will rule the earth, slay the oppressors, and restore the Mazdakiah. By him shall your abjekt [people] become mighty and by him shall your lost be uplifted.'" Bêbî was moved with ambition because of what she said to him, rejoicing in it and preparing himself for it.

When morning came, she assembled in her presence the warriors of Jâwîlân, who said, "How is it he did not summon us and give us a charge?" She replied, "Nothing prevented him from doing this except that you were scattered among your villages. If he had sent to assemble you, news about him would have spread and he did not trust the Arab's hostility for you. So he charged me with what I am going to tell you, that you may accept it and act in accordance with it." Then they said to her, "Tell what he charged you with, for we have never had a disagreement with his command during the days of his life, nor are we going to have a disagreement with him after his death." So she answered, "He said to me, 'I am going to die during this night! My spirit will go out from my body and enter the body of this youth, my servant! I have decided to place him in authority over my companions. If I die tell them this! Anyone who disagrees with me about this, and chooses for himself what is contradictory to my desire, has no religion!'" Then they exclaimed, "We have accepted his charge to you about this youth!"

So she called for a cow and ordered that it be killed and flayed with its skin spread out. Then she placed on the skin a vessel full of wine, beside which she broke bread, placing it by the bowl.448 Then she called upon one man after another, saying, "Step on the skin with your foot, take a piece of bread, dip it in the wine, eat it, and say, 'I have placed my faith in thee, oh, spirit of Bêbî, as I had faith in the spirit of Jâwîlân.' Then take the hand of Bêbî, do obeissanee to it and kiss it." This they did until the time when food was made ready for her. Then, offering them food and drink, she sat him [Bêbî] on her bedding449 and sat with him, openly before them. After each one of them had drunk three times, she took a sprig of basil and gave it to Bêbî, who received it from her hand. That was their marriage [ceremony]. Then they [the

444 See Yaqût, Geo. II, 248, and IV, 88, for Zanjân and Qazwîn.
445 See n. 448.
446 "Host" (al-Jâsîr) was, in al-Fâqîr, the person in a village who was responsible for entertaining strangers; see Bâdî, Minhâj al-Ma’âni, I, 248 n. 13.
447 MS 1134 has amîdî ("my labors"), but MS 1135 and Hâjîl give demonsî ("my lands"), which is probably correct.
448 "Bowl" (jair) is used in modern times for a washbasin, but formerly must have meant a copper pan or bowl. Instead of "by," the Arabic has fit (lit.?), but the description indicates that the pieces of bread were outside the vessel.
449 This refers to something spread out on the floor, such as a rug or mattress.
men] rose up and paid their respects to them, approving of the marriage. Foreigners and protégés were [among] those who submitted. 440

The Sects Which Developed from the Sects of the Magians and the Khurramiyah in Islamic Times

At the beginning of the 'Abbásid regime, before the appearance of [al-Saffah] Abū al-'Abbās, there was a man named Bihāfībīd from the village of Rūsūb in the region of Abcrāh. He was a Magian who observed the five prayers without prostration and was lax about the qiblāh. He served as a priest and called upon the Magians [to join] his sect, so that many people turned to him. When Abū Muslim sent Shabīb ibn Rawāṣ and 'Abd Allah ibn Sa'īd to set forth Islam to him, he accepted Islam and joined the black. But, as he served as a priest, his profession of Islam was not accepted and he was killed. There is a group belonging to his sect in Khurāsān even at this time. This is what Irābīh ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣūrī records in the book The 'Abbāsid Regime, but it is Allah who knows. 449

The Muslimiyah 449

Among the creeds which developed in Khurāsān after the establishment of Islam, there was that of the Muslimiyah. They were followers of Abū Muslim, who believed in his imamate and declared that he was alive and prospering. When al-Manṣūr killed

440 "Those who submitted" is al-mustallīn. The word might be al-Muslimin ("the Muslims"), meaning that the men who were Muslims in the ranks of Bābak were either strangers or protégés, but the first interpretation seems to be the most likely.

441 For this locality in Persia, see Yaqūt, Gog., I, 80. "In the region of" is, in Arabic, min.

442 Black was the color of the 'Abbāsid movement, which Abū Muslim was championing.

443 The Flügel version adds "with correctness" (bi-al-jarrīh).

444 MS 1534 seems to give this passage more accurately than Flügel or MS 1535. Light is shed on it by the following references: Yaqūt, Gog., II, 446 bottom; Maṭrūk, VI, 186-89; Ṭabarī, Amāli, Part 3, pp. 1381, 1387-88, 1291-92; İşığkarlı, Meşik al-Mamlık (de Goede), p. 201; Muğaddas, Ahsan al-Taqāṣīm, p. 398 bottom; Ṣahāwī, Al-Mamlık wa-al-Mamlık, pp. 256-60.

445 Shahrzad (Harsbrucker), Part 1, p. 209, calls this group al-Abū Muslimiyah. See also Baghādhī, pp. 75, 92.

Abū Muslim, he caused his propaganda agents and the adherents loyal to him to flee to the frontiers of the land. 444

A man known as Yalhūbī 445 went to the Turks in the Land beyond the River (Transoxiana), where he instituted propaganda for Abū Muslim. He claimed that Abū Muslim was detained among the mountains of al-Rayy. According to them he will come forth at a time about which they know. This is similar to what the Kaysāniyāh assert about Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasanibīh. 449

Someone narrating this report has said, "I asked a group why Iṣāq was called a Turk. They said it was because he entered the land of the Turks to propagandize them about the mission of Abū Muslim. One group relates that Iṣāq was one of the 'Alawiyyah, but he concealed himself among them [the Turks] by means of this sect, for he was one of the sons of Yalhūbī ibn Zayd ibn 'Alī. It was also said that he went off, fleeing from the Banū Umayyah, to roam about in the lands of the Turks."

The author of the book Account of the Part of Khurāsān Which Is in the Land beyond the River (Transoxiana) 444 said, "Irābīh ibn Muḥammad, who was acquainted with the affairs of the Muslimiyah, told us that Iṣāq was merely a man from among the people of the Land beyond the River (Transoxiana), who was illiterate but had a following among the khirkūn, so that if he asked about anything, the answer came after a night. So when events occurred for Abū Muslim as they did, 447 he called the people to him, asserting that he was a prophet appointed by Zoroaster and claiming that Zoroaster

446 When some of the followers of Abū Muslim wished to have him become the caliph, al-Manṣūr, the second member of the 'Abbāsid dynasty, had him killed.

447 For the sect of Iṣāq, see Baghādhī (Halkim), p. 73 n. 3.

448 See Yaqūt, Gog., II, 802.

449 See "Kalāsu'nā," Enc. Islam, II, 618; Baghādhī (Sedley), pp. 15, 48, 49; Khalīlīn, II, 577; Maṭrūk, VI, 180, 267-68.

450 Because the 'Alawiyyah were descendants of the Prophet's daughter and pretenders to the caliphate, they were feared by the ruling caliphs. This passage suggests that Iṣāq was the son of Yalhūbī ibn Zayd ibn 'Alī Zayn al-Abīdīn. When his father was killed, he probably sought refuge in central Asia, but this supposition cannot be proved. See "Yalhūbī a. Zayd al-Hasanibīh," Enc. Islam, IV, 1151, and " 'Alīh," I, 367.

451 The author of this book has not been identified, but for the region see Yaqūt, Gog., IV, 400: "Khurāsān," Enc. Islam, II, 966.

452 Abū Muslim was killed A.D. 755.
was alive and had not died. His adherents, therefore, were certain that he was living and would not die, but would come forth to raise up this cult for them.472 This was among the mysteries of the Muslimiyah.473

Al-Balkhi474 said, "Some people call the Muslimiyah the Khorram-dinyyah." He also said "I have heard that we have a group of them in Bakh, in a village called Khurram-abâd, in which it [the group] takes refuge."475

Doctrines of the Shamaniyah476

I have read [what was written] in the handwriting of a man from among the people of Khurâsân, who composed an account of Khurâsân in ancient times and of what has recently come to pass there, this passage being similar to the original record.477 He said, "The prophet of the Shamaniyah is the Buddha,478 and the majority of the people of the Land beyond the River (Transoxiana) were in accord with this doctrine before Islam, in ancient times. The meaning of the Shamaniyah is related to shamanî,479 and these were the most exalted480 people of the earth and the religions. That was because the Buddha prophesied to them, teaching them that the principal thing which is illegal and forbidden for a man to believe in and practice is the saying of ăla, in connection with all things.481

472 Evidently bâqir stirred up followers of Abû Musîn to believe that he had not been killed, but like Zoroaster was still alive and would come back to make his adherents powerful.
473 See n. 445.
474 It is quite likely that some of the heretical Khurramiyâh, fugitives in a town of Bakh, may have joined the new revolutionary sect of the Muslimiyah.
475 For this sect, see the Glossary.
476 The word "original record" (al-dustûr) probably indicates that there was an ancient source from which the passage was quoted.
477 In the Arabic text the name is given as Bawwâsî in MS 1334 and Buddhaî in the Flügel version. The prophet referred to is evidently the Buddha. For further information see "Buddhî" in the Glossary.
478 For the Shamanîyyah, see Glossary.
479 "Most exalted" (awalî) is taken from MS 1314. Another possibility is akâbi ("most generous"), given in MS 1335 and Flügel; this would be logical if the members of the cult were forbidden to say "no" (see following note).
480 Lâ means "no." If this word is correct, the prohibition against saying "no" may refer to the doctrine that members of the sect were not supposed to refuse alms to Buddhist monks, perhaps also to guests and strangers. It is more likely, however,
In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Second Section of the Ninth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed. This chapter comprises sects and doctrines.

The Doctrines of India

"I read in a section, which I translated, this statement: 'Book. In it are the sects and religions of India. I transcribed this book from a book among the books, on Friday the third of al-Muharram [the first Muslim month], during the year two hundred and fifty-nine [A.D. 863/64].'"

I do not know who wrote this statement, which is in this book, except that I saw it written in the handwriting of Ya'qūb ibn Iṣḥāq al-Khālidī, letter for letter. There was under this translation of this statement, in the words of the writer, "Some of the theologians have said that Yahyā ibn Khālid al-Barmakī sent a man to India, so that he might bring him the medicinal plants found in that land and also write for him about the religions. So he wrote this book for him."

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Iṣḥāq [al-Nadīm]: He who knew about the subject of India during the Arab regime was Yahyā ibn Khālid, 1

As the Arabic text does not supply quotation marks, it is impossible to be sure which parts of this account are quoted. It is likely that this book was translated by some unknown scholar, copied by Ya'qūb ibn Iṣḥāq al-Khālidī, and then used by al-Nadīm to form the basis of the account of Indian sects which follows in the succeeding paragraphs. As it is known that there were books in India, we can assume that some unknown scholar wrote this book for the purpose of collecting information about India.

The greatest of the buildings is the edifice at Mānkūr, which is a parasang in length. Mānkūr is the city in which there is the Ballāhah. 2 It is forty parasangs long, made of teak, palm, and other sorts of wood. 3 It is said that there are a thousand thousand elephants there to transport the goods of the common people. At the king's stable there are sixty thousand elephants, and one hundred and twenty thousand elephants belong to the [cloth] bleachers there.

In the building of the idol, there are about twenty thousand idols made of a variety of materials, such as gold, silver, iron, copper, brass, and ivory, as well as crushed stones adorned with precious jewels.

Every year the king goes to this building. He walks from his palace and then returns riding. In it there is an idol made of gold, the height of which is twelve cubits. It is on a throne of gold, under the center of a golden dome, all adorned with jewels—pearls 4 and precious stones; red, yellow, blue, and green. 5 They slay sacrificial victims for this idol, and

1 Flügel omits the words "so it is quite likely that this statement is correct, if we relate it to what we know from the accounts of." Flügel also omits other words in this passage. The translation is taken from MS 1914.

2 "Idols" (al-hiḍādah) evidently refers to idols in general, rather than specifically to Buddhist ones. Most of the material under this heading is evidently a quotation. See n. 17 for the end of the quotation.

3 Mānkūr was the ancient Mānicalista and modern Mānicalah, northwest of Hyderabad in the Deccan. See Smith, Early History of India, p. 387; Yiṣṭaṭ, Geogr., III, 444 l. 7; Murūdī, I, 162, 177-78, 376, 381-385; Hasan ibn Yazīd, Abhūr al-Sin wa-al-Ballūḥā, p. 12. "Para-sang" represents different distances in different vernaculars. Here it cannot have been a very long distance. The Ballāhah (Bulbūzā) was the dynastic title of the most important king in India during the tenth century. For this passage, see Fernand, L'Empire du sud-est arabe Sous l'Inde, pp. 47 ff.

4 Flügel and MS 1135 have al-qānīūn ("dates"), which is here translated as "palms," but MS 1914 has al-fānuš, which is the tree called Solanum nortonomicum. The passage probably refers to the city as a whole.

5 "Pearls" is given as the translation for al-ahyād al-kabīr.

6 The word translated as "precious stones" is al-yāqīl, which here seems to be used in a general way, though it usually means "rubies."
there is a certain day of the year, known to them, when they go furthest in making offerings of themselves as well.9

There is a building at al-Müllân, which building is said to be one of the seven temples.10 In it there is an iron idol which is seven cubits in length. It is under the center of a dome which magnetic stones support with balanced pressure on all sides. It is said that it leans to one side because of some injury. This temple is at the foot of a mountain. The height of its dome is one hundred and eighty cubits. The people of India make pilgrimages to it by land and sea from the farthest parts of their country. The road to it from Balkh is a straight one, for the regions of al-Müllân are near to the districts of Balkh. On top of the mountain, as well as at its foot, there are houses for devotees and ascetics, as well as places for sacrificial victims and offerings. It is said that there is never a spare moment or a single hour when there are no people going there as pilgrims. They have two idols, one of which is called Jun-bukt and the other Zun-bukt.11 Their forms are carved out of the sides of a great valley, cut from the rock of the mountain. The height of each one of them is eighty cubits, so that they can be seen from a great distance.

He said:12

The people of India go on pilgrimages to these two [idols], bearing

8 “Offerings of themselves” may refer to Hindu human sacrifices, the burning of widows, or to dedication to some fraternity or priesthood. See Dubois, Hindu Mantras, Customs, and Ceremonies, pp. 645–48.
9 The word bâyri is translated as “building” or “temple” according to which interpretation seems most suitable. Müllân (Müllâns) is on a fork of the Indus River in the western part of the Punjab. See Balfour, Cyclopaedia of India, II, 1007; Jackson, History of India, III, 9 ff., I, 34, 40; IE, 15, 154, 207, 276–78; IV, 96; Yaqût, Geog., III, 347; IV, 609; Birûnî, Almûrî’s India, I, 116; II, 184; Fīrūz, Tajvîr al-Balkhî, p. 331; Iskâfî, Masâlik al-Mansûk (de Goeje), pp. 172–75; Isîrî, India, pp. 45 ff., 46, 140; Ewâpq, Oriental Geography, p. 134.
10 These were the famous images of Bûnyân (Bamian), eighty miles northwest of Khâbul. In some books the idols are called Surkh-bur and Khînk-bur, meaning “gold” (“red”) and “white” idols. For pictures and accounts of these rock carvings, see Hackin, Basma, pp. 38 ff.; Gourard, Antiquités bouddhiques de Bûnyân, pp. 11 ff., 86, and Plates I–XIII, XXXIX; William, National Geographic Magazine, LXIV, No. 6 (December 1935), 741, 743; “Bûnyân,” Enc. Islam, I, 653; Watters, On Your Choo Choo’s: Travel in India, I, 318–19. See also Hackin, Nouvelles Recherches, Plates II, III; Iskâfî, Al-Masâlik wa-al-Mansûk (Hâfi and Gourard), p. 116; Ewâpq, Oriental Geography, pp. 213, 223–28; Fīrûz, Tajvîr al-Balkhî, p. 451; Yaqût, Geog., I, 481.
11 “He said” evidently refers to the author of this long passage, which al-Nadîm found copied in the handwriting of al-Kindi.

SECTION TWO

with them offerings, incense, and fragrant woods. If the eye should fall upon them from a distance, a man would be obliged to lower his eyes, overawed by them. If he is lacking in attention or careless when he sees them, it is necessary for him to return to a place from which he cannot view them and then to approach them, seeking them as the object of his attention with reverence for them.

A man who has been an eyewitness of them told me that the amount of blood which is shed beside them is not small in quantity. He asserted that it might happen that perhaps about fifty thousand or more might offer themselves, but it is Allah who knows.13

They have a building at Bûniyân14 on the frontiers of India, where it borders on Sijjûn. Ya‘qûb ibn al-Layth reached this locality when he sought to invade India. The idols which were sent to the City of Peace [Baghdâd] from that locality of Bûniyân were transported at the time of its invasion. Ascetics and devotees occupy this great building. It is there that idols of gold adorned with precious stones, the number of which is unknown and to which no praise or description can do justice. The people of India go there on pilgrimages by land and sea from the farthest towns (regions) of their country.

At Faraj15 there is the House of Gold, a building about which there is a difference of opinion. Some say that it is a stone building, containing idols, and that it is called the “House of Gold” because the Arabs took a hundred thousand of gold from it when they invaded this place during the days of al-Hasânî.16

Abî Dulaf al-Yanbû’i, a traveler, told me that the building which is known as the House of Gold is not this one.18 The building is in

12 If this statement refers to human sacrifices, it must be connected with the Hindus rather than the Buddhists; see n. 9 and Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, I, 69; II, 288–89. It may be that the passage confuses sacrifice with the dedication of men to lives in the Buddhist monasteries.
13 See n. 11.
14 Yaqût, Geog., III, 869, says that Faraj is the name for the House of Gold at al-Müllân; see also Isîrî, India, p. 51.
15 Bûhûr was the name of a measure. Richardson, Dictionary, p. 299, says that it was equal to 200 pounds. Dörnyei, Supplement, I, 322, says it is a bag for measuring. Bunûtî, Muḥî al-Ma’lûk, I, 135, describes it as a larger measure.
16 It is likely that the quotation begins with the second heading of this section and ends here, and that Abî Dulaf gave the following information to al-Nadîm in person.
17 Abî Dulaf Mû’âr ibn Muḥâbîl was sent on a mission to India, A.H. 942. He probably died at Baghût about the time when Al-Fâhrîs was being completed.
the wild parts of India, in the territories of Makrān and Qandahār. Nobody reaches it except the devotees and ascetics of India. It is built of gold. Its length is seven cubits and its width the same. Its height is twelve cubits and it is adorned with varieties of precious stones. In it there are idols made of red rubies and other marvelous precious stones, and it is adorned with glorious pearls, each one of which is like a bird’s egg or even larger. He [Abū Dulaf] asserted that reliable authorities from among the people of India told him that the rain draws away from the top of this building, as well as from the right and left [sides], so that it does not strike it. In the same way the stream in flood avoids it, flowing to the right and left. He said, “One of the Indians said that if anyone sick with any disease whatsoever, sees it, Allāh, may His name be glorified, cures him.” He also said, “When I examined this matter, there was disagreement about it. Some of the Brahmans stated to me that it is hanging between Heaven and earth without support or suspension.”

Abū Dulaf said to me, “The Indians have a temple at Qīmār. Its walls are made of gold and its roofs with beams of Indian lumber, the length of each timber being fifty cubits or more. Its idols, niches, and its parts faced in worship have been adorned with glorious pearls and precious stones.” He said, “A reliable person told me that in the city of al-Ṣanf they have a temple other than this one. It is an ancient temple in which all of its idols speak with the worshippers, answering everything about which they are questioned.” Abū Dulaf [also] said, “At the time when I was in India, the king of the government of al-Ṣanf was named Lūjin.” The Nājūnī monk told me that the king at the present time is a monarch known as King Lūjin, who desired al-Ṣanf. He devastated it and became ruler over its people. 99

830  CHAPTER NINE

Statement about the Buddha, from a Source Other than the Book [Transcribed in the Handwriting of al-Kindī] 831

The people of India disagree about this [subject]. One party asserted that he [Buddha] was the likeness of the Creator, may His greatness be exalted. Another group said that he was the likeness of his apostle [sent] to them. Then they disagreed at this point. One sect [party] said that the apostle was one of the angels. Another sector stated that the apostle was a man among the people. Then a group said that he was a demon among the demons, while another sect stated that he was a likeness of the Būḍaṣṭāf, the wise, who came to them from Allāh, may His name be glorified. Each sect among them has a ritual for worshiping and exalting him.

Some of their trustworthy people have said that each one of their communities has an image to which people go so as to worship and exalt it. Al-Budda (Buddha) is a generic term, while al-ṣaḥāṣām [idols] signifies [different] “kinds.” The description of the greatest Buddha is that of a man seated on a throne, with no hair on his face and with his chin and mouth sunk [close] together. He is not covered by a

---

Qīmār (Qimār) is probably meant to be Khmer, the name for the dynasty and kingdom of Cambodia which flourished at the time when Al-Fihrist was being written. Al-Ṣanf is probably Champa (Tchampa), the ancient kingdom of southern Annam. Lūjin seems to be confused with Lījan and meant to be Rajendravarman, the king of Qīmār, who made himself master of al-Ṣanf A.D. 944–52. Lūjin is very likely meant to be Leng-pien of Tonkin, southeast of Hanoi near the mouth of the Song-koi River. Leng-pien established rule over al-Ṣanf toward the end of the tenth century. For these places, see Mārʿ ibn Muhallab, Al-Riyāḍ al-Thābitiyah, p. 71; Gossem, L’Asie Orientale, pp. 371 (map), 398; Gossem, Histoire d’Extrême Orient, II, 559 bottom, 562–63; “Cochin-China,” Enc. Brit., VI, 621; “Cambodia,” Enc. Brit., V, 84; Ferrand, Voyage du marchand arabe Soleymân, pp. 98–102; MacCulloch, I, 72, 169–75, 330, 341–43; Yāqūt, Geog., IV, 173; Fideli, Taqūnī al-Buldān, p. 369; Fideli, Géographie d’Ahoufeli, I, 8xv–cclxxi; Reinaud, Relations des voyages, pp. 97 ff.; Remoux, Anciens Accoutts of India and Chine, I, 63 ff.; Hassan ibn Yarhāl, Akhūn al-Dni wa al-Hind, p. 43 l. 377; Idrisi, Waf al-Hind, pp. 20, 79, 81; Idrisi, India, pp. 35, 69, 74, 99, 113, 128, 157, 161. It should be mentioned that some of these references connect Qīmār (Qimār) with Comorin in southern India.

For details about the Nājūnī monk, see no. 39. He was probably the source of the “Statement about the Buddha” which follows. The most reasonable explanation for this paragraph is that it refers to Indochina, and that the names are as follows:

---

98 For the use of Būḍaṣṭāf, see the Glossary.

99 For details about the Nājūnī monk, see no. 39. He was probably the source of the ‘Statement about the Buddha’ which follows. The most reasonable explanation for this paragraph is that it refers to Indochina, and that the names are as follows:
robe and he is as though smiling. With his hand he is stringing thirty-two [heads].

A trustworthy person has said that there is an image of him in every house. These are made of all kinds of materials, according to the status of the individual. They are of gold adorned with different jewels, or of silver, brass, stone, or wood. They exalt him as he receives them, facing either from east to west, or from west to east, but for the most part they turn his back to the east, so that they face themselves toward the east. It is said that they have this image with four faces, so fashioned by engineering and accurate craftsmanship that from whatever place they approach it, they see the full face and the profile perfectly, without any part of it hidden from them. It is said that this is the form of the idol that is at Mulkān.

Al-Mahākālayah, from What Is [Written] in the Handwriting of al-Kindi

They have an idol named Mahākāl which has four hands and is sapphire in color, with a great deal of lank hair on its head. It bares its teeth, its stomach is exposed, and on its back is an elephant’s skin dripping blood. The legs of an elephant’s hide are tied in front of it. In one of its hands is a great serpent with its mouth open, in another is a rod, in the third there is a man’s head. It has the fourth hand uplifted. Two snakes are in its ears, like earrings, and two huge serpents, which have wrapped themselves around it, are on its body. On its head there is a crown made of skull bones, and it

---

38 Some Buddhists followed the custom of the Siva worshipers, using a rosary with thirty-two beads. However, as a rule, the Buddha is represented with a lotus flower rather than a rosary. See “Kosanin,” Enc. of Religion and Ethics, X, 848, 850 top; for pictures of Buddhist idols, see Silva-Vigier, Life of the Buddha, Plates 67, 83, 96, 143.

39 These two final sentences may not refer to the Buddha, although he is sometimes represented with numerous heads. The well-known four-faced figure was Caturmukha, representing Brahma, while the idol at Mulkān was connected with sun worship. See “Images and Idols,” Enc. of Religion and Ethics, VII, 123, 144. For Mulkān, see n. 10 and Elliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, 453.

40 Evidently these were worshipers of the Great Kila, the male deity Mahā-Kila, rather than his female consort, as at the end of the paragraph the idol is referred to as masculine. See “Brahmanism,” Enc. of Religion and Ethics, II, 813; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücke), Part 2, p. 368; Monier-Williams, Brahmanism and Hinduism, pp. 82, 188; Elliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, 169; Biruni, Alberani’s India, p. 302.

41 As this sect and the ones which follow are not well known and the names are incorrectly transliterated into Arabic from the Sanskrit, without consonant and vowel signs, an attempt to identify them can only be guessing. The Arabic term for the Sun Worshipers very likely comes from adīla (“sun”) and bhdita (“devotees”), with the common Arabic ending niyath added to the Sanskrit names. The sun god worshiped at Mulkān was Adīya. The first name is abbreviated, so instead of adīya it may be ala, which sometimes implies “the splendor of the sun.” See Irdrī, India, pp. 96, 148-49; Biruni, Alberani’s India, I, 116, 292; Monier-Williams, Brahmanism and Hinduism, pp. 87, 11, 97; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücke), Part 2, p. 366; “Brahmanism,” Enc. of Religion and Ethics, II, 807; “Nature,” ibid., IX, 330; “Ormond,” ibid., IX, 586; Flügel edition, p. 348 n. 1.

42 “Wheels” is qul, which seems to be correct, although in the account of the Mūsul Worshipers, Shahrastānī (Haarbrücke), Part 2, p. 367, has qul (“call”).

43 “Stringed instruments” is al-madhīb sa-al-mī al-ṣaff.
Then it is said that the idol has spoken to him in his sleep, so that he has been cured and returned to good health.

Among Them Are Members of the Sect of the Chandrabhekuiyah (Moon Worshipers)\(^9\)

They are worshipers of the moon. They say that the moon is one of the angels, meriting exaltation and worship. According to their ordinances, they worship it as an idol mounted on a cart. Four ducks draw the cart, and in the hand of this idol there is a jewel called Moon Devotion.\(^10\) It is a part of their religion to bow down to it and worship it, as well as to fast for half of every month. They do not break the fasting until the moon rises, when they come to their idol with food, drinks, and milk. They make supplication to it, looking up to the moon and praying to it for what they need. When the moon appears as a crescent at the beginning of the month, they go up to the rooftops, gazes at the moon and burning incense. When it appears they call upon it, making supplication to it. Then they descend from the roofs for food and drink, joy and merrymaking. They do not look at it except when its faces are beautiful.\(^21\)

In the middle of the month, when they have finished breaking the fast,\(^22\) they start dancing, games, and [playing] musical instruments, in the presence of the moon and the idol.

---

\(^9\) The Arabic term may refer to Canrabhatia, the old name for the Chenab River, where there was a great temple, but it is much more likely that it is an attempt to transliterate the Sanskrit words 'candra (chandra) meaning “moon,” and bhakti ("devotion"), with the Arabic ending nîyak. See Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, 453; Waters, On Yuan Chüng's Travels in India, II, 254; Monier-Williams, Brahmanism and Hinduism, pp. 106, 343; Shahrestâni (Haarbröcker), Part 2, p. 367; Defémery, Journal asiatique, IV (August 1841), 128.

\(^10\) Instead of “mounted on a cart,” Shahrestâni (Haarbröcker), Part 2, p. 167, has “in the form of a calf.” In the translation the name of the jewel is given as “Moon Devotion” (Chandra-bhakti), although in the Arabic text the spelling seems to be something like Jumâdhati.

\(^21\) The Arabic is literally “except on beautiful faces.” This may refer to times when certain faces or quarters of the moon indicate festival times, or perhaps to times when the moon is clear.

\(^22\) Both MS 10134 and MS 1135 omit the words “breaking the fast,” probably a mistake.
CHAPTER FIVE

Blessed and Almighty, made them kings, so that if we are slain in obeying them, we shall go to the Garden [of Paradise]."

Among Them Are the Members of a Sect

According to its ordinances they let their hair grow long, twisting it on their faces. All sides of their heads are covered, their hair hanging down to an equal extent on the different sides of the head. According to their ordinances, they do not drink wine. They have a mountain called Jārūm²⁷ to which they make pilgrimages. When they leave for the pilgrimages they do not enter inhabited places along the way. If they go forth and meet a woman, they flee from her. They have a large temple, containing an image, at this mountain to which they make their pilgrimages.

The Doctrines of China²⁸ and Some Accounts of Them

What was told me by the Najārī monk who came from China during the year three hundred and seventy-seven [A.D. 987/88].

This man was one of the people of Najārī, whom the Catholics sent to China about seven years ago.²⁹ He took with him five Christian men from among those who stood for the cause of the faith. This monk and another one returned from the group after

²⁷ MS 1914 and Flügel both give a form which might be jārūm, whereas MS 1115 has what is probably meant to be either jārū or jāwe. The word probably refers to Guru, the summit of Mt. Abu, where the Aghori ascetics had a center. It is also possible, but not as likely, that the proper name refers to the sacred Gauri region around Mt. Kailas in Tiber, a famous place for pilgrims. See Flügel, ZDAGC, XIII (1868), 737; "Abu," Enc. of Religion and Ethics, I, 511; "Aghori," ibid., I, 283; Kailas Kaila," ibid., VII, 657.

²⁸ The translation follows MS 1914. Flügel gives "doctrines of the people of China." The literal translation of the next clause is "and something from their traditions (adārā)."

²⁹ The Catholics must have been Nestorian, as other patriarchs were not permitted to live at Bagdad. As it is unlikely that any Christians who might have remained in southern Arabia were Nestorians, this name evidently does not refer to the original Najārī in the Arabian peninsula, but to the colony of the same name two days south of al-Kūfah, founded by refugees from southern Arabia during the reign of the second caliph. See Yule, Cathay, I, 113-114; Vigne, Geog. IV, 757; "Nestorian," Enc. Brit., XIX, 407. Field, Geographie d'Aboufïdja, I, cxvii, says the monk left for China about A.D. 980. He returned 987-88. During this period the Sung emperor T'ai Tsung (A.D. 960-88) was trying to unify the kingdom. See Latourette, The Chinese, p. 227; Grousset, L'Axe Oriental, p. 283 ff.

SECTION TWO

six years. I met him in Dār al-Rūm, behind the Church.³⁰ I saw a young man of handsome appearance, who spoke little unless he was questioned. I asked him why he had set forth on this journey, and the reason for his lingering for this long period of time. He told me about the things he had met along the way which had delayed him, and said that the Christians who used to be in the land of China had disappeared and perished for various reasons,³¹ so that only one man remained in the entire country. He mentioned that they had had a church there which was destroyed. He said, "When I saw that there were none to whom I could give support in their religion, I returned in less time than I had gone."

When making his remarks, he said, "Sea voyages have changed and sea travel degenerated, so that the persons who understand these things are few in number. Accidents have made their appearance, with fear and with islands to bar the voyages, so that only a person willing to brave dangers undertakes travel."

He related that the name of the city of the king, in which the king dwelt, was Tājīyah. The kingdom belonged to two rulers, or one of them died and the other remained.³² He said, "The symbol of eminence for whoever enters the presence of the kings in their services is the būshīn, which is a piece of horn on which there are natural designs. An awqiyah [of this horn] reached the value of five māns of gold. But the king who remains has done away with this and permitted them to enter into his presence with girdles of

³⁰ Dār al-Rūm ("the Court of the Greeks") was used to designate the Christian quarter of Bagdad on the East Bank. It was used in a special way for the area near a caravanserai frequented by Christian merchants, near the great church and monastery built by the Nestorians in the late eight century. See Yaqūt, Geog. II, 662; Levy, Baghad Chronic. pp. 67, 163; Le Strange, Baghad, pp. 577-8, and p. 213, which gives a free translation of the passage.

³¹ The idiom translated "for various reasons" is bi-ündāf; the exact meaning is not certain. The church referred to in the following sentence was very likely the Nestorian church at Ch'ang-an.

³² Tājīyah is probably T'ai-yuan in Shansi, the Tijah of Idris. It was captured by the Sung king A.D. 976 and became the northern capital. The two kings were probably Chao K'uang-yin (T'ai Tso) of the Sung dynasty and his brother, Chao Kuai (T'ai Tsung), who became the sole monarch when the brother died, A.D. 976. See Grousset, L'Axe Oriental, pp. 246 ff.; Grousset, Histoire d'Extrême Orient, I, 259-270; Latourette, The Chinese, p. 227; Yule, Cathay, I, 114; Paulache, Diary, pp. 264 n. 984, 266.
CHAPTER NINE

gold and similar things. Thus the value of this [horn] has depreciated, until an awqiyah of it is worth only an awqiyah of gold or even less.44

The monk said, “When I asked about this horn, the philosophers and wise men of China recorded, with regards to the animal to which this horn belongs, that when the young is born, there appears on its horn an image of the first thing which appears to it as it comes from the womb.” He [also] said, “The things marked on it are for the most part flies and fish.” I said to him, “They say that it is the horn of the rhinoceros.” He replied, “It is not as they say, for it is one of the animals of that country.” He went on to say, “It has been said to me that it is a beast of the land of India, which is the real truth.”45

He said, “In every city of China there are four officers. One of them is called lianjin, which means amir al-senāri (chief of chiefs), and the name of another is sarājibah, which means amir al-jaysh (chief of the army).46 There is a place in which there is the greatest idol, which is an image of the bāghbār at Baghrān,47 in the kingdom of the land of Khānūf.48

43 Richardson, Dictionary, p. 204, gives the awqiyah as equal to one ounce; p. 1495 gives the mana as equal to two pounds or more. The values of these weights are different in different regions; it is impossible to know what they represented in China.
44 This was evidently the rhinoceros of India or of Indonesia. See Ferroux, Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymānī, pp. 50, 54, 141; Reinaud, Relations des voyages, I, 61 bottom.
45 Lianji is the Chinese liang-chung (“secretary”). Sarajibah is probably incorrectly transliterated, as it does not resemble a Chinese word.
46 The word bāghbār is similar to the Persian bāghbār (fasūr) meaning “Son of Heaven,” also similar to the Chinese c’ên-ten and the Indian bhagapatai; see Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, II, 612. Baghrān has not been identified. It was probably the ancestral tomb center of the rulers in the north. One can see many recent tombs, similar to this ancient one, north of Peking at the Ming Tombs. The text explains that the greatest idol is an image of the bāghbār. In a tomb shrine there was apt to be a portrait of the ruler, set in a side chamber, and perhaps also a large tablet. The “image of the bāghbār” perhaps refers to one of these rather than to a statue, though it is possible that there was a statue of the king during the tenth century. For this passage, see Yule, Cathay I, 253; Ferroux, Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymānī, p. 62; “China,” Enc. Islam, I, 843; Marzādī, I, 356; Reinaud, Relations des voyages, I, 45; II, 30; Hassan ibn Yazīd, Abrıhib al-Siwi wa al-Hind, pp. 20, 65, sect. 45 n. 3; Polo, Book of See Marco Polo, II, 148 n. 1.

SECTION TWO

Among the cities of China there are Ḥanjun, Sibūn, and Janbūn.48 He [also] said, “The meaning of bāghbār in the language of China is the ‘Son of Heaven,’ that is, ‘descended from heaven.’”49 Jīkī the Chinese told me this in the year three hundred and fifty-six [A.D. 967].”

I asked the monk about Doctrine

He said, “Most of them are dualists and Shamiyyah.” He [also] said, “Their common people worship the king, exalting his image, which has a great building in the city of Baghrān.50 It is about ten thousand cubits (dhihr) each way [square]. It is built of varieties of stones, baked bricks, gold, and silver. Before reaching it, the person seeking it beholds different kinds of idols, statues, images, and fabulous creatures, which surpass the imagination of the person ignorant of how they are [made] and of what their purpose is.” He said to me, “By Allah, oh, Abū al-Faraj, al-Nadim, if one of us Christians, Jews, or Muslims should exalt Allah, may His name be magnified, as these people exalt the image of their king, to say nothing of his own person, why Allah would cause rain to fall for him. For if they behold it, there comes to them such agitation, trembling, and emotion, that any one of them might lose consciousness for a number of days.”

47 Khanūf was Canton (Kwang-chau). See Khurāsdibīb, Al-Masālik wa al-Mamalik, Arabic, p. 59 and French, p. 42; Faqūḥ, Kitāb al-Buldān, p. 131. 5; Marzādī, I, 311–13; Hassan ibn Yazīd, Al-Bīhāb al-Siwi wa al-Hind, p. 61. 14; Yule, Cathay, I, 86, 89, 129; “China,” Enc. Islam, I, 844–45; Ferroux, Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymānī, pp. 18–19.
48 Ḥanjun was almost certainly Khanji (Janjī or Ch’i-lan-chou), later known as Zaytūn. This was a city near Amoy, an eight-day journey from Canton. See Khurāsdibīb, Al-Masālik wa al-Mamalik, Arabic, p. 59, and French, p. 42; see Yule, Cathay, I, 356; Reinaud, Relations des voyages, II, 65; Sibūn is perhaps meant to be Su-lou, said to be the mid-tenth-century name for the seaport capital city of Hsing-tcheou, or it may be confused with Siahs (Siang-yung-65) on the River Han. See Grousset, Histoire d’Extrême Orient, I, 358 n. 4; Polo, Book of See Marco Polo, II, 167. The ending ān is not Chinese, so that the Arabs must have added the n (nin) or else transliterated this form from some other name which has not been identified. Janbūn is perhaps Jangūn, which was known by other names in later times; see Yule, Cathay, I, 156.
49 As al-Nadim received this information about A.D. 967 and Jīkī is called “the Chinese,” this Jīkī was not the Nestorian monk.
50 For the Shamiyyah, see Glossary. For Baghrān, see n. 46.
CHAPTER NINE

Then I said, "All this is because Satan has gained control over their country and their population, seducing them and misleading them from the way of Allah." He said, "It is just about like that."

Another Account from a Person Other than the Monk

Abu Dulf al-Yanbiri said, "The name of the city of the greatest king is Humdan, and the city of merchants and financial affairs is Khansu, the length of which is forty parasangs." It is not so large, for the monk said that it was less than that.

Another person has said:

There are three hundred cities in China, all of which are flourishing. Over every fifty cities there is a king, who represents the Kaghmiri. Among their cities are Wujiang, Quanshui, and a city named Arqahl, between which and Quanshui there is a journey of two months. Quanshui is close to the frontiers of Tibet, the Turks, and the Tughuzguzu, who are on good terms with one another. From Tibet to Khurasan and the seacoast of China in a circuit is three thousand parasangs.

Among the regions of China is al-Sila, which is one of the best and noblest of the lands and one of the richest in gold. In China there are

SECTION TWO

deserts, mountains, and wildernesses as far as the River of Sand and the mountain behind which the sun rises. A group of people from al-Andalus told me that between their country and China there are arid lands. They said, "The land of China is called the Plenteous Earth." Al-Andalus is in the north, and for that reason they are near to the sunrise and the land of China.

In the land of China, if one of us or one of them who is a traveler goes on a journey, he registers his family relationship, his distinguishing characteristics, the number of his years, the amount of what is with him, his slaves and servants, until he reaches his destination and place of safety, fearing lest in the land of China there will befall him some occurrence which will be an embarrassment to the king.

If one of them dies, the corpse remains at home for a year in a wooden chest. After that, it is buried in a grave without a place prepared (labeled). The relatives and descendants are expected to observe bereavement and sorrow for three years, three months, three days, and three hours. If anyone does not show his grief, they beat his head with a piece of wood, saying "You killed him!" The dead person is not buried except during the same month in which he was born, as well as on the same day and at the same hour.

If one of us should marry one of them and then desire to depart, they would say to him, "Leave the earth but take the seed." If he should take the woman secretly and be discovered, he would be obliged to pay as a fine an amount established for his case. He would also be placed in prison and perhaps beaten.

The king does not appoint a governor or officer (amir) unless he is forty years of age, not less than that. Justice there is greater and more apparent than in the other lands of the earth. One cannot enter or leave it (China) unless one stops at a hundred or more places, according to the length of the journey.

On the day when they bring the dead to the grave, the road is decorated with various kinds of brocades and silks, in keeping with the circumstances and importance of the dead man. Then, after returning, the persons who follow pilage these decorations.

14 "The River of Sand" was used for the desert east of Yezd; see Yule, Cathay, II, 126–7. Here it very likely refers to the desert east of Kâdirgâr. "The mountain behind which the sun rises" probably refers to the northern mountains of Tibet. China is beyond, further to the east.

15 Al-Andalus cannot be accurately identified. Mīr al-Muhabib, Al-Ruli'ah al-Thâhibiyah, English, p. 9 (c), suggests it is Mânis, a country in Manchuria. Possibly it refers to a tribe rather than a locality.
CHAPTER NINE

China is said to belong to the Tughughzhu, for the land of the Tughughzhu is adjacent to China. Between Tibet and China there is a valley, the depth of which is unfathomed. Its bottom is unknown, terrifying, deserted. From its west side to its east side is about five hundred cubits. Across it there is a bridge of a series of staves, which the learned men and artisans of China constructed, with a width of two cubits. It is impossible for animals and others to pass over it on foot, except with shaving and pulling, for it sways so that animals cannot be steady on it. Accordingly, most of the people place the animal and also the human being in a sort of basket, which is drawn by men accustomed to the crossing.

Among the ordinances of China are exaltation and worship of the kings. This holds true for most of the common people, but the doctrines of the kings and important people are dualism and the Shaminiyah [faith].

40 'Aqīq, translated as “staves,” has numerous meanings. It may refer to pieces of wood fixed in series, or to the gut with which the staves were bound together. For an idea of this type of construction, see Rock, The Ancient Na-hini Kingdom of Southern China, I, Plates 110, 121; Shelton, National Geographic Magazine, XI, No. 3 (September 1921), 330; Polo, Book of Ser Marco Polo, II, 57; Chavannes, T'oung Pao, 2d Ser., XIII (1912), 584.

41 See Glossary, “Shaminiyah.”

The Tenth Part

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars in the remaining sciences from among those who were ancient and recent, with the names of the books which they compiled. It is the end of the book, which is a composition of Muhammad ibn Ishaq al-Nadim, Ishaq known as Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq.1

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Tenth Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, including accounts of the alchemists and the workers of the Art [alchemy] among the ancient and recent philosophers.2

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Ishaq al-Nadim, known as Ibn Abī Ya'qūb al-Warrāq: Persons interested in the art of alchemy, which is the making of gold and silver from other metals, state that the first man who spoke of the science of this art was Hermes, the wise man and Babylonian, who moved to Egypt when the peoples

1 The title is taken from MS 1914. The irregular form, “Ishaq known as Abū Ya'qūb al-Warrāq” is similar to the form in the titles of Chapters II, VIII, and IX. The phrase “an imitation of the handwriting of the author, His servant Muhammad ibn Ishaq” is written below the title on the left. Further below on the right is found “in it is the tenth chapter, the last of the book.”

2 Instead of “workers of the Art,” Fick, Ambis, p. 8 in (see below), gives “seekers after the Philosophers’ Stone.” Fick also introduces other variations in giving the title. Many books and articles have been written about alchemy. Only a few are suggested here as especially helpful in studying this chapter. The most important is Fick, Ambis, IV, Nos. 3 and 4 (February 1951), 81-144; hereafter referred to as Fick, Ambis. This article gives a translation of the chapter which is somewhat freer than this translation. It has notes of a very scholarly nature which it is unnecessary to repeat. See also Berthelot, La Chimie au Moyen Âge (abbreviated as La Chimie), III, 1, 26 ff. This gives a somewhat older French translation of most of the chapter. Cf. Khalidin, Muqaddimah (Rosenthal), III, 227-80.
this is a matter for Allāh, who knows about it. so that in mentioning it, we are free from blame and calumny.

Mention of Hermes the Babylonian
There has been a difference of opinion about him. It is said that he was one of the seven attendants whom they established for the care of the seven spheres, and that he was in charge of the shrine of 'Uṣţārīd (Mercury), by whose name he was called, for in the Chaldaean tongue, 'Uṣţārīd is Hermes. It is related that for various reasons he migrated to the land of Egypt, which he ruled [as king]. He had many children, among whom were Ţāt, Šā, Ashmun, Aṯrub, and Quff. He was, moreover, the wise man of his time.

When he died he was buried in the building which is known in the city of Mīṣr as Abū Hermes. The common people knew him as al-Haramayn (the Two Pyramids). One of them is his tomb while the other is the tomb of his wife, or it is said the tomb of his son, who succeeded him after his death.

Account of the Two Pyramids and Allāh Is the One Who Knows
In a book which fell to my lot, containing bits of information about the earth and the marvelous things on it and in it from among buildings, kingdoms, and types of people, and which was related

---

3 The statement that "the Art [Alchemy] was validated" for him evidently means that he had found the elixir.

4 For Hermes, see Bing, Index and, in this connection, Berbels, Alchimistes grecs, II, 424; III, 466. Al-ḏāḥm ("eternity") might be instead al-ḏāḥm ("antiquity"). Instead of "upholders of eternity," Fück, Amīkhis, p. 88, gives "those who believe in the eternity of the world."

5 According to Fück, Amīkhis, p. 119, the book of al-Rāzī referred to is Kitāb al-Amīkhis.