

## The Eighth Part

of the book *Al-Fihrist*, with accounts of the ancient and recent scholars of the rest of the sciences and the names of the books which they composed.

The composition of Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Nadīm. *Isḥāq* known as Abū Ya'qūb al-Ḥarrāq.<sup>1</sup>

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

## The Eighth Chapter

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

## The First Section

with accounts of those who converse in the evenings and tellers of fables,<sup>2</sup> with the names of the books which they composed about evening stories and fables.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This title is taken from MS 1934. It contains the ungrammatical expression *Isḥāq al-naṣīf bi-Abī Ya'qūb al-Ḥarrāq* ('Isḥāq known as Abū Ya'qūb al-Ḥarrāq'), which also appears in the title of Chapter II in the Beatty MS. Under the title on the left is the inscription, "An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His [Alīsh's] servant Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Ḥarrāq." On the right and somewhat lower down on the page is written "In it, the Eighth Chapter." MS 1135 has a different title, which is incorrect. The names of persons in this chapter who are heroes and heroines of fiction, or names which are too badly written to be spelled correctly, are omitted from the Bioq. Index.

<sup>2</sup> "With accounts . . . of fables" is in Arabic *fī akḥbar al-musāminin wa-d-mubārariḥin*. The last term is an unusual form, perhaps derived from the expression for clowns and popular entertainers.

<sup>3</sup> "Evening stories and fables" is in the Arabic *al-amsāl wa-d-kunūfān*. See MacDonald, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Part 3 (July 1924), p. 371, for a definition of *amsāl* and *kunūfān*. As good lighting was not available in the Middle Ages, even in the palaces, people enjoyed withdrawing away their evenings by listening to stories, which took the place of the television and movies of modern times. Although coffee was still unknown and the Muslims were not legally permitted to sell and drink

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq [al-Nadīm]: The first people to collect stories, devoting books to them and safeguarding them in libraries, some of them being written as though animals were speaking, were the early Persians. Then the Ashkānian kings, the third dynasty of Persian monarchs, took notice of this [literature]. The Sāsānian kings in their time adding to it and extending it. The Arabs translated it into the Arabic language and then, when masters of literary style and eloquence became interested, they refined and elaborated it, composing what was similar to it in content.<sup>4</sup>

The first book to be written with this content was the book *Ḥazār Afsūs*, which means "a thousand stories." The basis for this [name] was that one of their kings used to marry a woman, spend a night with her, and kill her the next day. Then he married a concubine of royal blood who had intelligence and wit. She was called Shahrzād,<sup>5</sup> and when she came to him she would begin a story, but leave off at the end of the night, which induced the king to spare her, asking her to finish it the night following. This happened to her for a thousand nights, during which time he [the king] had intercourse with her, until because of him she was granted a son, whom she showed to him, informing him of the trick played upon him. Then, appreciating her intelligence, he was well disposed

liquor, there must have been places where the men of the population met to spend their leisure time. Undoubtedly professional storytellers obtained tales of adventure and sex from books in the libraries and book shops; it is books of this nature which are discussed in this section of *Al-Fihrist*. This section of *Al-Fihrist* is important in revealing an aspect of life not often dealt with in other books.

<sup>4</sup> Compare this translation with that of Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, pp. 457-58, which gives a freer rendering. The dynasties which ruled Persia were: (1) ancient overlords; (2) the Achemenian dynasty, 546-330 B.C.; (3) the Parthian or Ashtakian dynasty, 249 B.C.-A.D. 226; (4) the Sāsānian dynasty, A.D. 227-632. Cf. Mas'ūdī, II, 77, 237.

<sup>5</sup> See MacDonald in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Part 3 (July 1924), p. 366, for a translation. See also Abbott in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, VIII, No. 3 (July 1949), 129-64; Mas'ūdī, IV, 90; "Alī Laila wa-Laila," *Enc. Islam*, I, 253. The final version of *A Thousand and One Nights* was not completed until after *Al-Fihrist* was written.

<sup>6</sup> Shahr Azād comes from the Persian *shīr azād* ("of noble race").

towards her and kept her alive. The king had a head of the household<sup>7</sup> named Dīnār Zād who was in league with her in this matter. It is said that this book was composed for *Ḥunūt*,<sup>8</sup> the daughter of *Bahān*, there being also additional information about it.

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

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdūs al-Jaḥshiyārī, author of *The Book of Viziers*,<sup>9</sup> began the compiling of a book in which he was to select a thousand tales from the stories of the Arabs, Persians, Greeks, and others. Each section (story) was separate, not connected with any other. He summoned to his presence<sup>10</sup> the storytellers, from whom he obtained the best things about which they knew and which they did well. He also selected whatever pleased him from the books composed of stories and fables. As he was of a superior type, there were collected for him four hundred and eighty nights, each night being a complete story, comprising more or less than fifty pages. Death overtook him before he fulfilled his plan for completing a thousand stories. I saw

<sup>7</sup> This is the feminine form of *qahmān*, which Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 457, translates as "stewardess" and Mas'ūdī, V, 364, in the French translation gives as "régente." The woman referred to was probably the sister of Shahrāzād, usually called Danyazād. She helped to get the king interested in listening to stories.

<sup>8</sup> *Ḥunūt* is taken from MS 1934. Mas'ūdī, II, 121, 123, 235, gives the name as *Ḥunāyah* and on p. 129 says that she was known with her mother Shahrāzād. Sykes, *History of Persia*, I, 422, says that *Bahān* "married his sister *Ḥunūt*." See also Firdawī, *Shahnamā*, V, 290 ff. Flügel and Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 457, spell the name as *Ḥunūt*.

<sup>9</sup> MS 1135 unlike the other versions has *The Book of Viziers and Secretaries*. This is also the title given to the book in the passage about al-Jaḥshiyārī, see Chap. III, sect. 2, n. 177.

<sup>10</sup> He had authority, as he was an able member of the government.

a number of the sections of this book written in the handwriting of Abū al-Ṭayyib [ibn Latīf], the brother of al-Shāfi'ī.

Before that time there was a group of people who composed stories and fables in the speech of humans, birds, and beasts. Among them there were 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffā', *Saḥī* ibn Ḥārūn, 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd, the secretary of *Zubaydah*,<sup>11</sup> and others besides them. I have dealt thoroughly with these [authors] and what they composed in the appropriate places in this book.

There is the book *Kalīlah wa-Dinnāh*<sup>12</sup> about which they have disagreed. It is said to be the work of the Indians (*Hindus*), information about that being in the first part of the book. It is also said to be the work of the Ashkānian kings to which the Indians made false claims, or of the Persians and falsely claimed by the Indians. One group has said that the man who composed parts of it was *Buzurgimīr*, the wise man, but it is Allāh who knows about that.

There was the book *Sindhūdīh al-Ḥakīm*,<sup>13</sup> which is in two translations, one long and one short. They disagreed about it, too, just as they disagreed about *Kalīlah wa-Dinnāh*. What is most probable and the closest to the truth is that the Indians composed it.

### The Names of the Books of the Persians

*Ḥazār Dastān*,<sup>14</sup> *Būsfā* and *Šunās*; *Jahd Khusrav*,<sup>15</sup> *Kitāb al-Mariyūn*; *Fable and Amusement*; *The Bear and the Fox*,<sup>16</sup> *Ruzbih the Orphan*,<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The queen of *Ḥārūn al-Rashīd*.

<sup>12</sup> For this famous book of fables, see the Glossary.

<sup>13</sup> See the Glossary also for this hero of fiction.

<sup>14</sup> *Ḥazār* is "thousand" and *dastān* "story." MS 1135 adds "It comprises a thousand nights with something less than two hundred tales." The following title is garbled in the Arabic text, but it evidently refers to an old book written during the Parthian regime.

<sup>15</sup> If this title and the one which follows are Arabic translations from the Persian, they mean "The Stinginess (Reticence) of the Persian King" and "Book of the Tutors." It is possible, however, that the words are Persian, garbled by Arab scribes so that they cannot be identified.

<sup>16</sup> See Perry, *Humayon* (1960), p. 158.

<sup>17</sup> This may refer to the high priest of King *Bahān*; see Firdawī, *Shahnamā*, VII, 26–27. Or perhaps it refers to some character of fiction.

Mas'ūd Nānah and Shāh Zayn,<sup>18</sup> Nāmrūd King of Bābā,<sup>19</sup> Khālī and Dā'd.<sup>20</sup>

The Names of the Books Which the Persians Composed about Biography, and the Evening Stories about Their Kings Which Were True

*Rustum* and *Asfandiyār*, a translation of *Jabāleh* ibn Sālim; *Bahrām Chubīn*; *Shāh-Bazār* and *Parvīz*;<sup>21</sup> Al-Kārnānak, about the life of *Amīshirwān*;<sup>22</sup> The Crown and What Good Auguries Their Kings Drew from It; *Dār* and the Golden Idol;<sup>23</sup> The Book of Institutions (*Āyīn Nāmā*);<sup>24</sup> The Book of Lords (*Khudāy Nāmā*);<sup>25</sup> *Bahrām* and *Narsī*;<sup>26</sup> *Amīshirwān*.<sup>27</sup>

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

*Kalīlah wa-Dinnah*<sup>28</sup> is in seventeen sections, or, it is said, eighteen sections.<sup>29</sup> 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffā' and others translated it. This book was also converted into poetry. *Alān* ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Lāhīq ibn 'Ufayr al-Riqāshī translated it; *Alī* ibn Dā'ūd set it into

<sup>18</sup> *Mas'ūd nānah* is probably an inaccurate transliteration of the Persian *maslek-dānah*, which means "grain of musk," probably the nickname of a girl.

<sup>19</sup> See Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, III, 552, article on Nimrod; "Nāmrūd," *Enc. Islam*, III, 842.

<sup>20</sup> Dā'd is a girl's name, garbled in the Arabic text.

<sup>21</sup> Flügel gives Shahrīyazād, which is evidently a mistake. MS 1934 has *Shahr-Barīz*, who was the general of *Parvīz* (Closroes II).

<sup>22</sup> MS 1934 has *Al-Kārnānah* and Flügel gives *Al-Kārnānuj*. The name means "The Book of Deeds" and is usually known as *Al-Kārnānak*; see Brown, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 9, 108, 137 ff. for an example of the contents. See also Firdawī, *Shahnamā*, VI, 193 bottom; Mas'ūdī, II, 162, 449.

<sup>23</sup> Evidently an imaginary story about Darius III.

<sup>24</sup> The Arabic text has what is almost certainly a mistaken form. This title is evidently meant to be an ancient book called *Āyīn Nāmā*.

<sup>25</sup> MS 1135 gives this title clearly. It was also known as *The Book of the Ancients* (*Bāstān Nāmāh*). It was translated into Arabic from the Persian by Ibn al-Muqaffā', but is no longer extant. See Firdawī, *Shahnamā*, I, 66; V, 24; VI, 17 top, 373.

<sup>26</sup> This may refer to *Bahrām* and *Narsī*, kings of Persia at the end of the third century A.D., or it may refer to *Bahrām Gūr*, who ruled A.D. 420–40, and his brother Narsī. See Sykes, *History of Persia*, I, 466–70; Firdawī, *Shahnamā*, VII, 86, 99.

<sup>27</sup> Flügel gives this name once; it is repeated in the manuscripts.

<sup>28</sup> See Glossary for this famous book.

<sup>29</sup> Flügel and MS 1934 differ in writing the words for "it is said" but the meaning is the same.

poetry. *Bisr* ibn al-Mu'tamir also translated it. What was made known was only a part of it. I myself have seen a manuscript with two extra sections. The poets of the Persians converted this book into verse, translating it [from the Indian] into both Persian and Arabic. There are collections and selections of this book compiled by a group of persons, among whom there were Ibn al-Muqaffā'; *Sahl* ibn Hārūn; *Sahn*, the director of the Bayr al-Hikmah; and *Mūbādillāh*-Mūbadh, whom al-Mutanakkil summoned from Persia during his reign (days).

Among Their Books

The large book, *Sindhādh*,<sup>30</sup> the small book, *Sindhādh*; *The Buddha*;<sup>31</sup> *Būdāsf* and *Balawhar*;<sup>32</sup> *Būdāsf Alone*; *The Culture of India* and *China*; *Hābil* about *Wisdom*;<sup>33</sup> *India in the Story of the Fall of Adam*, for Whom May There be Peace;<sup>34</sup> of *Tarq* (*Zarq*)<sup>35</sup> of *Dabak*;<sup>36</sup> the Indian, about men and women; *Definitions of Indian Logic*; *Shādhūm*;<sup>37</sup> *The King of India*, the Murderer, and the Swimmer;<sup>38</sup> of *Shānāq*, about administration;<sup>39</sup> of *Ayar*,<sup>40</sup> about drinks;<sup>41</sup> of *Bidpai*, about wisdom.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>30</sup> See Glossary for this hero. Inserted in the text of MS 1135 and as a note on the upper margin of MS 1934 is the statement, "This book was translated by al-Aḥaghī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Sālim al-Sijistānī and is known by him as *Adam and Sindhādh*." Al-Aḥaghī cannot be identified.

<sup>31</sup> For the *Buddha*, see "Budd," *Enc. Islam*, I, 769; *Shahastānī* (Harttucker), Part 2, p. 358.

<sup>32</sup> See Glossary.

<sup>33</sup> *Hābil* (*Hābil*) was Abel, but here may refer to some Indian author.

<sup>34</sup> The manuscripts omit the pious epithet, which is taken from Flügel.

<sup>35</sup> Instead of an Arabic word, this is very likely meant to be some Indian proper name, perhaps that of Chama, the famous charioteer of *Buddha*, called *Zardani* in Ptolemy, and *Zardān* in Greek. See Budge, *Bārānā and Yūwāzēf*, p. lxxviii. The name is evidently not correct as given in the text. Perhaps *īf* should be *zīf* and *qāf* may be a badly copied *dāl* with *nūn*, which could have spelled the Greek name *Zardān*.

<sup>36</sup> MS 1135 gives a different form, which is not clearly written.

<sup>37</sup> This title is given in various forms in different versions and cannot be identified.

<sup>38</sup> Both Flügel and MS 1934 give *al-sādhāh* ("swimmer"); MS 1135 has a variation. Possibly the word is something different.

<sup>39</sup> Both Flügel and MS 1135 give what seems to be *Shānāq*, who was probably the author of this book. See Flügel, *ZDMG*, XI(1897), 325. MS 1934 lacks consonant signs.

<sup>40</sup> *Ayar* is probably an Indian proper name, but it cannot be identified and may not be correctly spelled.

<sup>41</sup> "Drinks" may refer to medicines, but not necessarily so.

<sup>42</sup> For information about this well-known work, see Jacobs, *Fables of Bidpai*, and "Bidpai," *Enc. Brit.*, III, 919. MS 1135 spells the name incorrectly.

# The Names of the Books of the Byzantines about Evening Stories, Histories, Fables, and Proverbs<sup>43</sup>

History of the Byzantines; Samsah wa-Dimm, like the book "Kalīlah wa-Dimmah," but its title is in Greek—it is a book which is unappealing (cold) in authorship and detestable in composition; it has been said that some of the recent authors produced it;<sup>44</sup> Cultures (Literature) of the Byzantines; of *Myronianus* about culture;<sup>45</sup> Anthony the Holy Man and the Byzantine King;<sup>46</sup> Dialogue of the King with Muḥammad 'Āribūs;<sup>47</sup> Dīṣn and Rājīl, the Two Kings;<sup>48</sup> Simās the Learned, about proverbs;<sup>49</sup> Intelligence and Beauty; Account of the King of Lud;<sup>50</sup> Shahrīyār the King and the Reason for His Marrying Shahrazād the Storyteller.<sup>51</sup>

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

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

<sup>43</sup> "Proverbs" may also be translated as "allegories," "Fables and proverbs" is omitted in the Flügel edition. For these titles, see the article by Rosenthal in *Oriens*, XV (1962), 35.

<sup>44</sup> See Perry, *Humaniora* (1960), p. 157.

<sup>45</sup> This title is given in various forms by the different versions, but it almost certainly refers to a book by Myronianus. See Diogenes Laërtius, p. 157; Smith, *GRBM*, II, 1131.

<sup>46</sup> In Arabic the name is *Amūs*. For this book, see Rosenthal, *Oriens*, XV (1962), 35. Rosenthal explains that *al-ḥi*, which usually means "traveler," refers to a "holy man" here.

<sup>47</sup> 'Āribūs is probably supposed to be the Greek word meaning "the Arab." "Dialogue" may refer to Muḥammad's correspondence with the emperor at Constantinople. See "Muḥammad," *Enc. Islām*, III, 653.

<sup>48</sup> These names cannot be identified.

<sup>49</sup> This is probably the *Simās* of the ancient book *Fiṣṣah wa-Simās*. See Mas'ūdī, IV, 90, 463; "Bida'at," *Enc. Brit.*, XXVI, 883–84; Flügel, p. 306, n. 4.

<sup>50</sup> This is evidently Lyda in Palestine; see Yāqūt, *Geog.*, IV, 354. The story may refer to the slaying of the dragon, as Lyda was supposed to have been the place where Perceus saved Andromeda.

<sup>51</sup> In the manuscripts the forms appear to be *Shāzād* and *Shaharīyār*, but they are probably Greek corruptions for the names of the king and storyteller in *A Thousand and One Nights*. The *l* in the king's name could be mistaken for *hā* and the *n* for *r*, while *s* would be a common Greek ending.

*Artawān*, [his Vizier,<sup>52</sup> Lāhij ibn Abn,<sup>53</sup> The Wise Man Who Was a Hermit.

## The Names of the Passionate Lovers during the Pre-Islāmic Period and the Period of Islām about Whose Historical Traditions There Were Books<sup>54</sup>

The books which we mention were composed about their traditions by a group [of authors] such as 'Isa ibn Da'b, al-Shāfi' ibn al-Qaṭmī, Hishām al-Kalbī, al-Haytham ibn 'Adī, and others as well.

*Mutaḡghish* and *Asmā'*; 'Amr ibn 'Ajlān and *Hind*; 'Urwaḥ and 'Aḡḡā'; *Jamāl* and *Buthayyah*; *Kunhayyir* and 'Azzaḥ; *Qays* and *Lubna*; *Majmūn* and *Laylā*; *Tawbah* and *Laylā*; Al-Shimnah ibn 'Abd Allāh and *Rajyā*,<sup>55</sup> Ibn al-Yahyāyah and *Wahsūyah*,<sup>56</sup> Playing [Music] and Attachment; *Yazīd* and *Habibah*; *Qāḥis* and *Mumyah*; *As'ad* and *Laylā*; *Waddāh* al-Yaman and *Umm al-Barān*; *Amīn* ibn 'Amrān and *Hind*; *Muḥammad* ibn al-Salt and *Jamāl* al-Khulīd; Al-'Umar ibn Dirār and *Jumī*; Sa'd and *Asmā'*; 'Umar ibn Abī Rabi'ah and a Multitude;<sup>57</sup> Al-Mustahall and *Hind*; Bakir and *Lahzah*,<sup>58</sup> Mutaykakh, Nu'ayn, and the Son of the Vizier; Almad and *Dāḥah*,<sup>59</sup> The Young Man of al-Kūfah, the Protégé of Mushmah and His Female Companion; 'Ammār, *Jumī*,

<sup>52</sup> *Ardashir* was the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty and *Artawān* (Artabanah) was the last king of the Ashtukānian dynasty. The title should probably have an "and" before "vizier"; *Ardashir* the King of Babylon, *Artawān*, and His Vizier.

<sup>53</sup> These are probably names in fiction.

<sup>54</sup> These names are book titles. These men and women were historical persons, though also characters about whom stories were written. The names which cannot be identified elsewhere have not been listed in the Biog. Index. Those listed can be identified by the lovers connected with them.

<sup>55</sup> Tammām, *Al-Hamāsah*, Part 2, sect. 448, gives this name in German as *Rajūn*; Iṣḥāq ibn 'Aghānī, Part 5, p. 132 l. 8, speaks of the love of al-Shimnah for a girl named al-'Ammīyah; see also Biog. Index.

<sup>56</sup> MS 1934 gives this title incorrectly; MS 1135 and Flügel omit "and" between the names.

<sup>57</sup> The word translated "multitude" may mean "his sexual intercourse," but more likely refers to the many girls loved by the poet, who was famous for his amours.

<sup>58</sup> This title and the one preceding are omitted by MS 1135. *Bakir* means "starting early in the morning" and *lahzah* means "the twinkling of an eye." These are evidently nicknames for persons who cannot be identified, perhaps characters about whom poems were written. Some of the persons on this list were evidently not poets themselves, but persons about whom the poets composed verses.

<sup>59</sup> *Dāḥah* may be the singer *Dāḥah* included in the Biog. Index, or perhaps some less famous person.

and Sawāb; Al-*Ḥamr* ibn Malik and *Qabīl*;<sup>65</sup> *ʿAmr* ibn Zayd al-Ṭaʿi and *Laylā*; *ʿAlī* ibn Ishāq and *Sumnah*; Al-*ʿAḥwas* and *ʿAbdālī*; *Bishr* and *Hind*; The Lover of the Hand; The Lover of the Picture; *ʿAḥqar* and *Sahām*;<sup>66</sup> *Iyās* and *Safwah*; Ibn *Muʿīn*, *Raḍlah*, and Saʿadah; *Khawāfah* and *Ishīq*;<sup>67</sup> Al-Makhlūmī and al-Hidāyah;<sup>68</sup> *ʿAmr* ibn al-ʿInqirī and *Nahd* ibn Zayd Manāb;<sup>69</sup> *Murrah* and *Laylā* [bint Zuhayr]; *Dhū* al-Rummah and *Māry*.

The Names of the Passionate Lovers from the Rest of the People, about Whose Traditions Books Were Written<sup>64</sup>

Sabīl and Qāṭūn;<sup>65</sup> *ʿAlī* ibn Ādam and *Manhalah*;<sup>66</sup> Al-Muʿadhdhab (the Tormented) and Ladhḍah (the Delight);<sup>67</sup> Al-Faḍl ibn Abī Duʾamnah and Ḥalīm;<sup>68</sup> Al-Muʿadhdhab (the Tormented), al-Ḥarā (the Angry, Bright), and al-Ṭirah (the Bad Omen); *Shīr* al-Lahw (The Enchantment of Amusement) and *Sukr* (Intoxication of Love); *Ibrāhīm* and *ʿAḥam*; Ṭarab (Rejoicing) and *ʿAjāb* (Admiration); *ʿAmr* ibn Ṣāliḥ and *Qusāf*; *ʿAḥmad* and *Sanāʿ*; *Muḥammad* and *Duḡayḡ*;<sup>69</sup> *Ḥakīm* and *Khulūd*;<sup>70</sup> *ʿAbbad* al-Faḥk (the Intrepid) and *Fanak*.

<sup>64</sup> MS 1133 spells this name with a *jīm*(*j*) instead of a *hāʾ*(*h*), probably an error.

<sup>65</sup> Zirikli, Part 2, pp. 179, 347, cites names of men called *Khurāṭah*, *Ḥudhāṭah*, and *Ḥudhāqah*. The man's name may be the same as one of these, but neither he nor the girl can be identified.

<sup>66</sup> Al-Makhlūmī is probably the ninth-century poet; see Abū Saʿd al-Makhlūmī. In MS 1034 the girl's name is al-Hidāyah; Flügel and MS 1133 give al-Hudhāyah.

<sup>67</sup> *ʿAl-i-ḥuḡḡir* means "misfortune," evidently a nickname. Neither this father nor his son can be identified, though they were probably Arabs. For the *Nahd* and *Zayd* Manāb tribes, see Durayd, *General*, pp. 133, 320.

<sup>68</sup> These names are book titles. In the Arabic, the last clause of this heading is in the singular. Many of the names of this list seem to belong to fiction. Only the names which can be identified are in the Biog. Index.

<sup>69</sup> MS 1133 has *Shībī* instead of *Sabīl*; these names cannot be identified.

<sup>70</sup> *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part 14, pp. 51, 52, gives Ādam. The various versions of *al-Fihrist* give Ādm.

<sup>71</sup> In MS 1034, a small extra *was* ("and") has been inserted before the second name, so that instead of *wa-Ladhḍah* it becomes *wa-wadhḍah* ("and his son"). The translation follows Flügel.

<sup>68</sup> MS 1034 gives Ḥalīm and the other versions *Kalīm*.

<sup>69</sup> MS 1133 has *ʿAḥmad* instead of *Muḥammad*. *ʿAḥmad* was the son of *Duḡayḡ*.  
<sup>70</sup> *Khulūd* is taken from Flügel. MSS 1034 and 1133 give *Khāṭid*, which is probably wrong.

*Suʿf* and *ʿAṭf*;<sup>71</sup> *ʿAḥmad* and *Zayn* al-ʿUṣr (Adornment of the Ages);<sup>72</sup> *Bishr* al-Muhallabī and *Basbāsah*;<sup>73</sup> *ʿĀṣm* and *Sulṭān*;<sup>74</sup> *Dhawb* and *Rakīm*; *ʿAḥmad* ibn *Qutaybah* and *Bānīyah*;<sup>75</sup> *Sahl* and *Salman*; Al-Kaṭīb (the Secretary) and *Munā*; *Abū* al-*ʿAṭhīyah* and *ʿUḥab*; *ʿAbūs* and *Firuz*;<sup>76</sup> The Lover of the Cow; *ʿIsā* and *Sarāb*; *ʿIsām* and *Dumaynah*; *Mazid* (Yazid) and al-Zahrāʿ; *ʿUbayd* Allāh ibn al-Muhadhdhab and *Lubnā* bint al-Muʿannir.<sup>77</sup>

Names of the Loving and Fickle Girls<sup>78</sup>

*Rūḥān* and *Qarānūl*; *Ruḡayyah* and *Khudfah*;<sup>79</sup> *Muʿayyis* (One Who Drives to Despair) and *Dakḡā* (Becoming Pure);<sup>80</sup> *Sukaynah* and al-*Rahā*;<sup>81</sup> Al-Ḥirfīyah (Princess, Beautiful) and *Dalāʾ*;<sup>82</sup> *Hind* and the Daughter of al-Nuʿmān [ibn al-Mundhir];<sup>83</sup> *ʿAbdah* al-ʿĀqilah (the Intelligent) and *ʿAbdah* al-Ḥadārah (the Treacherous); *Luʾluʾah* (the Pearl, the Unsullied) and *Shāṭirah* (the Clever, the Wanton); *Najdah* and *Zaʿūm* (Ineffective in Speech); *Salīmā* [bint Saʿd] and *Suʿād* [of al-Kūfah]; *Sawāb* (Correctness) and *Surūr* (Delight); Al-Dahmāʾ and *Nīmah*.

<sup>71</sup> *Suʿf* has many meanings. Here it may mean "endowed with genius or generosity," which fits with *ʿaṭf* ("affectionate" or "well-favored"). Flügel and MS 1133 have *ḥad* (*h*) ("death") instead of *Suʿf*. Flügel gives *ḡarraq* instead of *ʿaṭf*, but the word cannot be identified and seems to be an error.

<sup>72</sup> MS 1133 has *qasr* ("palace") instead of *ʿaṭf* ("ages").

<sup>73</sup> Flügel, p. 307, n. 1, suggests that this was *Bishr* ibn al-Mughīrah. The second name seems to be the rare nickname for a girl, meaning "Covering of a Nurture."

<sup>74</sup> This may refer to *ʿĀṣm* ibn Thābit.

<sup>75</sup> *Bānīyah* was the name of the sister of *Hārūn* al-Rashīd.

<sup>76</sup> MS 1133 has an error in giving these names.

<sup>77</sup> MS 1034 gives al-Muʿannir; Flügel and MS 1133 give al-Muʿannir.

<sup>78</sup> These names are book titles. In the Arabic, "loving and fickle" is *al-ḥabāʾib* *al-muḥarrifāt*. An "and" is inserted between the two words in the translation to make better sense, as some of those mentioned were not "fickle." These women were probably real persons, some of them slave girls called by nicknames which cannot be identified. MS 1133 gives the last word of the heading as *al-muḥarrifāt* ("affecting elegance"). Only the names which can be identified are in the Biog. Index.

<sup>79</sup> This may refer to the Prophet's first wife and his eldest daughter.  
<sup>80</sup> MS 1133 has a different form for *Muʿayyis*, probably incorrect. *Dakḡā* is a Persian word.

<sup>81</sup> The wife and daughter of al-Ḥirayḡ ibn ʿAlī.

<sup>82</sup> MS 1133 has *al-ḡhīrif*, probably meant to be the feminine form of *al-ḡhīrifah*.  
<sup>83</sup> See *Iṣbahānī*, *Aghānī*, Part 2, p. 34 top; *Kabāḍīyah*, *ʿĀṣm* *al-Nisāʾ*, Part 5, p. 259.

The Names of Passionate Lovers Whose Traditions Enter into the Evening Stories<sup>84</sup>

The Master (Friend) of *Bishr* ibn Marwān and the Daughter of His Cousin; Al-Kalbī and His Cousin; The Man and the Girl of the Tamim Tribe Who Gave Pledges [of Love]; The Egyptian and the Girl from Makkah; 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far and the Tree upon Which There Was an Inscription; *Asmā'* ibn Khārijah al-Fazārī, *Mālik* ibn Asmā' and the Mistress of al-Husayn; 'Abbās [ibn al-Ahnaf] al-Hanafi and the One [Girl] Whom He Hit; The Daughter of the Chief (al-Wajihah) and the Bedouin; The Youth and the Woman Who Threw the Pebble; 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Hakam ibn Ḥassān al-Asadi and Sa'd, the Two Owners of the Wood; The Slave Girl, Her Master, and 'Ubayy al-Ishāh ibn Ma'imar; Al-Rashīd and Her Husband, Who Were Pledged Together;<sup>85</sup> Sulaymān, Unwān, and Shaybān; Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik, the Concubine, and Her Child; The Woman, Her Brothers (Sisters), and the Man Who Loved Her; The Arabian and the Daughter of His Other (Last) Uncle; 'Abd al-Malik and al-Kalbī, the Friend of *Khalīf* ibn al-Walid; Al-Zuhri and the Daughter of His Paternal Uncle, Who Journeyed to *Hisām* ibn 'Abd al-Malik;<sup>86</sup> *Diyār* and *Zamya* (Zamīyā); *Mālik* al-'Ayyār (Charleton)<sup>87</sup> and His Cousin; Ghannah, Uzayhir, and 'Amr the King;<sup>88</sup> The Kurd, His Love, and the Daughter of the Priest;<sup>89</sup> The Two Brothers, One from al-'Irāq and the Other from al-Madīnah; Al-Mu'allā and Sinā; The Naked Man among (Al-Muqarrirā about) the Women;<sup>90</sup> Badr and Shādhān;<sup>91</sup> *Ḥabīb al-'Aṭār* (the Perfume Dealer); Hasan and the Jewish Thief; *Ḥafīyah*, the Daughter of *Ḥashim* al-Kindi; Al-Mu'ammal ibn al-Sharīf, the Picture, and Ma'ūn;<sup>92</sup> the jinn; 'Anir

<sup>84</sup> These names are book titles. Many of these characters seem to be fictitious.

<sup>85</sup> MS 1135 omits "who were pledged together."

<sup>86</sup> See *Ishāhīn*, *Aghānī*, Part 6, p. 106.

<sup>87</sup> This name does not have consonant signs, but *al-'ayyār* is probably correct.

<sup>88</sup> These names lack consonant signs and are given differently in the different texts.

<sup>89</sup> MS 1135 gives *al-Kindiyah* ("Kurdish woman") instead of "the Kurd," found in MS 1934. Flügel has a word which seems incorrect.

<sup>90</sup> Flügel and MS 1934 give *al-muqarrirā*, MS 1133 gives *al-muqarrirā*; both can mean "naked man." Or else the word may be a nickname.

<sup>91</sup> The translation follows what is apparently intended in MS 1934, as both of these names are in common use. Flügel has *Badan* and *Shādan*, which are uncommon forms.

<sup>92</sup> Flügel has *ma'ūn*, an uncommon form. MS 1934 gives *ma'ūn* ("pestilential" or "with the plague"), a good name for a jinn. Al-Sharīf may be a proper name, or refer to a "nobleman" with special reference to descent from the Prophet's grandson.

and Da'd, the Handmaid of *Khārijah* (the Pure); 'Urwah ibn 'Abd Yā'il al-Tā'i and His Girl Cousin;<sup>93</sup> The Passionate Youth and His Mistress; Al-Mukhamath (the Impotent) and the Damsel Who Loved Him; The Passionate Youth and Hind the Precipitate; The Youth Passionately in Love with the Lady and Dhāt al-Khāl;<sup>94</sup> The Foolish Youth and Shamsah, Who Was in Love with Him; The Crazy Lover and Salim and Her Handmaid with Hallucinations.

The Names of the Humans in Love with the Jinn and the Jinn in Love with the Humans<sup>95</sup>

Da'd and al-Rabāb; *Rifā'ah* al-'Abī and Sukr; Sa'sa' and Qum; Nā'im ibn Dā'im, *Rahimah*, and *Shayyūn* al-Tāq; Al-Aghlab and al-Rabāb; Al-Dirghām (the Lion), Jūd (the Liberal), the Waqs (the Worthless),<sup>96</sup> 'Amr and *Diqyānūs*;<sup>97</sup> Al-Shammākh (the Proud) and *Dam* (the Weeping); The Tricky *Khazrajī* and *Asmā'*; *Husn* (Modesty, Chastity) ibn al-Nabhan and the Female jinn;<sup>98</sup> Al-Dilfā,<sup>99</sup> Her Brothers, and the jinn; Da'd al-Fazāryah, the jinn, and 'Amr; 'Umar ibn *Sufyān* al-Sulamī and the Female jinn; 'Amr ibn *Makshih* and the Female jinn; *Rabī'ah* ibn Qudām (Qaddām) and the Female jinn; Sa'd ibn 'Umayr and al-Nawār (the Timid, innocent).

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: Evening stories and fables were sought after, especially during the days of the caliphs of the Banu al-'Abbās, particularly at the time of al-Muqarrir. Accordingly, the *warraqūn*<sup>100</sup> made [stories] and told untrue [tales].

<sup>93</sup> Yā'il was a Pre-Islamic idol; see Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1703; Kalbi, *Aṣṣūn*, p. 25.

<sup>94</sup> *Dhāt al-Khāl* ("With a Hole") was the nickname of a famous singer at the court of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd. Here it may refer to a girl in a story. Compare *Ishāhīn*, *Aghānī*, Part 15, p. 79; *Kaḥḥālah*, *A'ṭān al-Nisā'*, Part 1, p. 423.

<sup>95</sup> These names are book titles. These stories seem to be about imaginary characters. The only person who can be identified is *Shayyūn* al-Tāq. Some of the names appear in the old poems, but apparently refer to different characters.

<sup>96</sup> The translation follows MS 1934. The other versions do not separate the two last names clearly, so that it is impossible to be sure of the original.

<sup>97</sup> MS 1934 gives a form which might be *Daqlūs*; this name is very uncertain.

<sup>98</sup> *Husn* is taken from MS 1934. Flügel gives the word *ḥadār* ("settled regions"), and MS 1133 omits the name.

<sup>99</sup> This may be *Dhālā* ("Ape-Nosed").

<sup>100</sup> It is likely that these *warraqūn* ("copyists and book sellers") collected copies of popular stories and sold them to professional storytellers.

One of the persons who did this was a man known as Ibn Dīlān, whose name was *ʾAḥmad* ibn Muḥammad ibn Dīlān.<sup>101</sup> Another was known as Ibn al-*ʿAḥdā*, and there were others besides them. We have already mentioned the persons who used to write fables and evening stories as if spoken by animals and other creatures. They were *Sahl* ibn Hārūn, *ʿAlī* ibn Dāʾūd, al-*ʿAḥdā*, and *ʾAḥmad* ibn Abī Ṭāhir.

The Books Composed about the Wonders of the Sea and Other Things

There is the book known as *The Book of Sakhr al-Maghribi*, which was written by ——. It contains thirty stories: ten about the wonders of the land, ten about the wonders of the dawn, and ten about the wonders of the sea.<sup>102</sup>

*Wāḥid* ibn al-Asqaʿ; Al-Sunayfa<sup>103</sup> ibn Dhī Tarāḥūm (Possessor of Pity) al-Himyarī and al-ʿAḥd bint Zayd;<sup>104</sup> The Old Man Son of the Youth.

<sup>101</sup> MS 1135 does not repeat Ibn Dīlān.

<sup>102</sup> Sakhr al-Maghribi seems to be a character of fiction. MS 1934 makes it very clear that a space was left to be filled in here in case the author's name could be discovered. Flügel does not indicate this space. "Dawn" (*al-sūḥr*) is taken from MS 1934. It might be *al-sūḥr* ("magicians"). Flügel gives what might be *al-shūḥr* ("trees"), or, if the first letter was unmarked, *al-sūḥr* ("water sources").  
<sup>103</sup> For the spelling of this apparently fictitious name, see Durzayd, *Critical*, p. 307 l. 19.

<sup>104</sup> MS 1934 gives *al-ʿAḥd*, which might be a rare form meaning "Bent Over." Flügel has what is either al-ʿAḥd ("the Pregnant") or al-ʿUḥd ("the rebellious").

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

### *The Second Section of the Eighth Chapter*

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the scholars and the names of the books which they composed, including accounts of the exorcists, jugglers, magicians, and those who use incantations,<sup>1</sup> tricks, and talismans.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Nadīm: The exorcists and magicians assert that the devils, jinn, and spirits obey and serve them, being directed by their command and their prohibition.<sup>2</sup> The exorcists, who pretend to observe the sacred laws, claim that this is because of obedience to Allāh, may His name be magnified.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> The word translated "incantations" is *al-ḥiṣṣiyāt*, which is an old form; see Ḥajj Khalīfah, IV, 186 l. 7. For sorcery, magic, and talismans, see Khalāṭ, *Muḥadḍah* (Essentially), III, 157–227.

<sup>2</sup> A more literal translation is "and they were shifted between their command and their prohibition."