

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nādīn]: 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.⁴

The first book to be written with this content was the book *Hizār Afšān*, which means "a thousand stories."⁵ 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 *Shahrazād*,⁶ 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

The Eighth Part

The Eighth Chapter

of the book *Al-Fihrist*, with accounts of the ancient and recent scholars of the rest of the sciences and the names of the books which they composed. The composition of Muhammad ibn Ishāq al-Nādīn, Ishāq known as *Abū Yāqūb al-Warrāq*.¹

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The First Section

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

¹ This title is taken from MS 1934. It contains the ungrammatical expression *Ishāq ab-nafīf bi-Abū Yāqūb al-Warrāq* ("ishāq known as Abū Yāqūb al-Warrāq"), which also appears in the title of Chapter II in the Beatty MS. Under the title on the left is the inscription, "An imitation of the handwriting of the author, His [Allah's] servant Muhammad ibn Ishāq al-Warrāq." On the right and somewhat lower down on the page is written "In it, the Eighth Chapter." MS 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 Biog. Index.

² "With accounts . . . of fables" is in Arabic *fī akhbar al-muṣṭafī wa-al-muḥkārīfīn*. The last term is an unusual form, perhaps derived from the expression for clowns and popular entertainers.

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

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

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

⁵ 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; Matīrī, IV, 90; "Al-Lāla wa-Lāla," *Enc. Islam*, I, 242. The final version of *A Thousand and One Nights* was not completed until after *Al-Fihrist* was written.

⁶ Shahr Azād comes from the Persian *dhīr azād* ("of noble race").

towards her and kept her alive. The king had a head of the household⁷ named Dīnār Zād who was in league with her in this matter. It is said that this book was composed for *Hūmātī*,⁸ the daughter of *Bahramīn*, there being also additional information about it.

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

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Isḥāq [al-Nadīn]: Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn 'Abdīs al-Jahshīyārī, author of *The Book of Viziers*,⁹ began the compiling of a book in which he was to select a thousand tales from the stories of the Arabs, Persians, Greeks, and others. Each section (story) was separate, not connected with any other. He summoned to his presence¹⁰ 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

⁷ This is the feminine form of *qahānīn*, which Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 457, translates as "stewardess" and Mas'ūdī, V, 364, in the French translation gives as "regent." The woman referred to was probably the sister of Shahrīzād, usually called Dunyāzad. She helped to get the king interested in listening to stories.

⁸ *Hūmātī* is taken from MS 1934. Mas'ūdī, II, 121, 123, 235, gives the name as Hunayyāt and on p. 129 says that she was known with her mother Shahrīzād. Sykes, *History of Persia*, I, 422, says that *Bahramīn* "married his sister *Hūmātī*." See also Firdawī, *Shahnameh*, V, 290 ff. Flügel and Nichobon, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 457, spell the name as Hunātāt.

⁹ 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-Jahshīyārī; see Chap. III, sect. 2, n. 177.

¹⁰ 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-Tayyib [ibn Idrīs], the brother of al-Shāfi'i.

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'; *Sahl* ibn Harūn; 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd, the secretary of Zubayrāh;¹¹ 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-Dimnah* 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 *Buzūnjīnī*, the wise man, but it is Allah who knows about that.

There was the book *Sindibād al-Ḥakīm*,¹² which is in two transcriptions, one long and one short. They disagreed about it, too, just as they disagreed about *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*. What is most probable and the closest to the truth is that the Indians composed it.

The Names of the Books of the Persians

Hazār Dastān,¹³ *Būsfās* and *Sūmās*; *Jahd Khusraw*,¹⁴ *Kitāb al-Marbiyin*; *Fable and Amusement*; *The Bear and the Fox*,¹⁵ *Rūzbih the Orphan*,¹⁶

¹¹ The queen of Ḥārun al-Rashīd.

¹² For this famous book of fables, see the Glossary.

¹³ See the Glossary also for this hero of fiction.

¹⁴ *Hazār* 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.

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

¹⁶ See Perry, *Hunātāt* (1960), p. 158.

¹⁷ This may refer to the high priest of King Bahram; see Firdawī, *Shahnameh*, VII, 26-27. Or perhaps it refers to some character of fiction.

Mashkād Nānāh and Shāh Zānāh;¹⁸ *Nimrūd* King of Bābāl;¹⁹ Khalil and Dā'īd;²⁰

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

Rustum and *Aṣfandīyādh*, a translation of *Jahālāt* ibn Sālim; *Bahātūn* Chūbūn; *Shah-Buzār* and *Pāwāz*;²¹ Al-Kārnānāk, about the life of Anūshirvān;²² The Crown and What Good Auguries Their Kings Drew from It; *Dārā* and the Golden Idol;²³ The Book of Institutions (*Āyūn Nāmāh*);²⁴ The Book of Lords (*Khuday Nāmāh*);²⁵ *Bahātūn* and *Nārī*;²⁶ *Anīshirvān*.²⁷

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

*Kalīlāt wa-Dimnāt*²⁸ is in seventeen sections, or, it is said, eighteen sections.²⁹ 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffā' and others translated it. This book was also converted into poetry. Alān ibn 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Lāhiq ibn 'Ufayr al-Riqāshī translated it, 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd set it into

¹⁸ *Mashkād Nānāh* is probably an inaccurate transliteration of the Persian *mashkād-nānāh*, which means "grain of musk," probably the nickname of a girl.

¹⁹ See Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, III, 552, article on Nimrod; "Nimrūd," *Enc. Islam*, III, 842.

²⁰ Dā'īd is a girl's name, garbled in the Arabic text.

²¹ Flügel gives *Shahryāzād*, which is evidently a mistake. MS 1934 has *Shah-* Bāzāz, who was the general of *Pāwāz* (Chosroes III).

²² MS 1934 has *Al-Kārnānāk* and Flügel gives *Al-Kārnānāj*. The name means "The Book of Deeds" and is usually known as *Al-Kārnānāk*; see Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, I, 9, 108, 157 ff. for an example of the contents. See also Firdawsi,

²³ Evidently an imaginary story about Dārus III.

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

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

²⁶ This may refer to Bahrūn and Nārī, kings of Persia at the end of the third century A.D., or it may refer to Bahrūn Gūr, who ruled A.D. 420-40, and his brother Nārī. See Sykes, *History of Persia*, I, 466-70; Firdawsi, *Shahnamā*, VII, 86, 99.

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

²⁸ See Glossary for this famous book.

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

poetry. *Bishr 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'; *Sālih ibn Hārun*; *Sālim*, the director of the Bayt al-Hikmah; and *Mītbāthān-Mītbādh*, whom al-Mutawakkil summoned from Persia during his reign (days).

Among Their Books

The large book, *Sindbādh*,³⁰ the small book, *Sindbādh*; The *Buddha*,³¹ *Būdāsāf* and *Balawhar*,³² *Būdāsāf* Alone; The Culture of India and China; *Hābil* about Wisdom;³³ India in the Story of the Fall of *Ādān*, for Whom May There be Peace;³⁴ of *Tārq* (*Zārq*);³⁵ of *Dahāk*³⁶ the Indian, about men and women; Definitions of Indian Logic; *Shādhīrūn*;³⁷ The King of India, the Murderer, and the Swimmer;³⁸ of *Shāhāq*, about administration;³⁹ of *Ātūr*,⁴⁰ about drinks;⁴¹ of *Bidpāi*, about wisdom.

³⁰ See Glossary for this term. 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-Āshbāgh ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Sālim al-Sijistāni and is known by him as *Āshām* and *Sindbādh*."

³¹ For the Buddha, see "Budd," *Enc. Islam*, I, 769; *Shahrazād* (Harbriteken), Part 2, p. 358.

³² See Glossary.

³³ As *Hābil* (*Hābil*) was Abel, but here may refer to some Indian author.

³⁴ The manuscripts omit the pious epithet, which is taken from Flügel. Instead of an Arabic word, this is very likely meant to be some Indian proper name, perhaps that of Chāma, the famous charioteer of Buddha, called *Zārdān* in Pehlevī, and *Zārdān* in Greek. See Budge, *Bārātām and Yēwāzī*, p. xxoviii. The name is evidently not correct as given in the text. Perhaps *zār* should be *zāt* and *qāf* may be a badly copied *dāl* with *nūn*, which could have spelled the Greek name *Zārdān*.

³⁵ MS 1135 gives a different form, which is not clearly written.

³⁶ This title is given in various forms in different versions and cannot be identified as both Flügel and MS 1934 give *al-sādhāb* ("swimmer"); MS 1135 has a variation.

³⁷ Both the word is something different.

³⁸ Both Flügel and MS 1135 give what seems to be *Shāhāq*, who was probably the author of this book. See Flügel, *ZDMG*, XI (1837), 25. MS 1934 lacks some signs.

³⁹ *Atar* is probably an Indian proper name, but it cannot be identified and may not be correctly spelled.

⁴⁰ "Drinks" may refer to medicines, but not necessarily so.

⁴¹ For information about this well-known work, see Jacobs, *Fables of Bidpāi*, and "Bidpāi," *Enc. Brit.*, III, 919. MS 1135 spells the name incorrectly.

The Names of the Books of the Byzantines about Evening Stories, Histories, Fables, and Proverbs⁵³

Artauwān, His Vizier;⁵⁴ Iāhij ibn Abān;⁵⁵ The Wise Man Who Was a Hermit.

History of the Byzantines; *Samsah wa-Dīnnah*, like the book "Kālidah wa-Dīnnah," but its title is in Greek—it is a book which is unappealing (cold) in authorship and destestable in composition; it has been said that some of the recent authors produced it;⁵⁶ Cultures (Literature) of the Byzantines; of *Myronianus* about culture;⁵⁷ Anthony the Holy Man and the Byzantine King;⁵⁸ Dialogue of the King with Muhammad 'Ārabūs;⁵⁹ Dīnūn and Rājil, the Two Kings;⁶⁰ *Sinās* the Learned, about proverbs;⁶¹ Intelligence and Beauty; Account of the King of *Lud*;⁶² *Shahriyār* the King and the Reason for His Marrying *Shahrazād* the Storyteller.⁶³

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; *Nimrād* the King of Babylon; The King Riding the Stick; The Old Man and the Youth; *Ardašir* the King of Babylon and

⁵² "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.

⁵³ See Perry, *Humaniera* (1960), p. 157.

⁵⁴ This title is given in various forms by the different versions, but it almost certainly refers to a book by Myronianus. See Diogenes Laëtius, p. 157; Smith, GRBM, II, 113.

⁵⁵ In Arabic the name is *Antūs*. For this book, see Rosenthal, *Oriens*, XV (1962), 35. Rosenthal explains that *sīḥ*, which usually means "traveler," refers to a "holy man" here.

⁵⁶ 'Ārabūs is probably supposed to be the Greek word meaning "the Arab." "Dialogue" may refer to Muhammad's correspondence with the emperor at Constantinople. See "Muhammad," *Enc. Islam*, III, 653.

⁵⁷ These names cannot be identified.

⁵⁸ This is probably the *Sinās* of the ancient book *Fitzal wa-Sinās*. See Mas'ūdī, IV, 90, 465; "Bīdārī," *Enc. Brill*, XXVI, 883, 84; Flügel, p. 306, n. 4.

⁵⁹ This is evidently Lydda in Palestine; see Ya'qūt, *Geog.*, IV, 354. The story may refer to the slaying of the dragon, as Lydda was supposed to have been the place where Perseus saved Andromeda.

⁶⁰ In the manuscripts the forms appear to be *Shāzid* and *Shatayyārūs*, but they are probably Greek corruptions for the names of the king and storyteller in *A Thousand and One Nights*. The *t* in the king's name could be mistaken for *hā* and the *ā* for *t*, while *s* would be a common Greek ending.

The Names of the Passionate Lovers during the Pre-Islamic Period and the Period of Islām about Whose Historical Traditions There Were Books⁵⁴

The books which we mention were composed about their traditions by a group [of authors] such as 'Isā ibn Da'b, al-Shanqī ibn al-Qaṭānī, Hishām al-Kalbī, al-Haythamī ibn 'Adī, and others as well. Mūraqqish and *Asmā'*; 'Amr ibn 'Ajāj and *Hind*; 'Urwath and 'Afī'; *Jamīl* and *Buqaynāt*; *Kuthayyīt* and *Azzah*; *Qays* and *Lubnā*; *Miqīnū* and *Laylāt*; *Tawbīh* and *Laylāh*; Al-Simmaħ ibn 'Abd Allāh and *Riyāħ*; Ibn al-Tāhīyah and *Wāħidīyah*;⁵⁵ Playing [Music] and Attachment; *Yazid* and *Habābūh*; *Qāñūs* and *Munājāt*; *As'ad* and *Laylāt*; *Waddīh* al-Yāman and *Umm al-Bātin*; *Amīn* ibn 'Amīrān and *Hind*; *Muhammad* ibn al-Salt and *Jāmīl* al-Khalīd; Al-'Umar ibn Dīnār and *Jamīl*; *Sād* and *Asmā'*; 'Umar ibn Abī Rābi'ah and a Multitude;⁵⁶ before "Yazid"; *Al-Mustakħħ* and *Hind*; Bākīr and *Laylāh*;⁵⁸ Mūlāyākah, Nū'īm, and the Son of the Vizier; *Al-hmad* and *Dājħah*;⁵⁹ The Young Man of al-Kifāh, the Protégé of Muslimah and His Female Companion; 'Amīnūr, *Jamīl*, *as'ad*, *Ardašir* the King of *Babylon*, *Ardašir*, and His Vizier.

⁵⁴ These are probably names in fiction.

⁵⁵ 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 Jovans connected with them.

⁵⁶ Tannmān, *Al-Hāfiyah*, Part 2, sect. 448, gives this name in German as *Rejjā*; Iṣbālān, *Al-qūm*, Part 5, p. 132 l. 8, speaks of the love of al-Simmaħ for a girl named al-'Amīrīyah; see also Biog. Index.

⁵⁷ MS. 1934 gives this title incorrectly; MS. 1135 and Flügel omit "and" between the names.

⁵⁸ 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.

⁵⁹ This title and the one preceding are omitted by MS. 1135. *Bākīr* means "starting early in the morning" and *lāzīd* 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.

⁶⁰ Dājħah may be the singer Dājħah included in the Biog. Index, or perhaps some less famous person.

and *Sawāb*; *Al-Ghāmīr* ibn Malik and *Qābil*; *‘Amr* ibn Zayd al-Ta‘ī and *Laylā*; *‘Afl* ibn *Ishāq* and *Sunnah*; *Al-Āḥwās* and *‘Abdah*; *Bishr* and *Hind*; The Lover of the Hand; The Lover of the Picture; *‘Abqar* and *Saḥām*; *Iyās* and *Safūrah*; *Ibn Ma‘īn*, *Raṭīlah*, and *Sa‘dah*; *Khurāfah* and *Ishāq*; *Al-Makhrūmī* and *al-Hidāyah*; *‘Amr* ibn al-‘Inqāfir and *Nahd* ibn *Zayd* *Mañāh*; *Murārah* and *Laylā* [bint *Zuhayr*]; *Dhī al-Rummah* and *Mary*.

The Names of the Passionate Lovers from the Rest of the People, about Whose Traditions Books Were Written⁶¹

Sabil and *Qalūn*; ⁶² ‘Alī ibn Ādām and *Mālikah*; ⁶³ *Al-Mi‘ādhahab* (the Tormented) and *Lādhahab* (the Delight); ⁶⁴ *Al-Fādīl* ibn Abī *Dūlāmāh* and *Hālīm*; ⁶⁵ *Al-Mu‘ādhhab* (the Tormented), *al-Ghārā* (the Angry, Bright), and *al-Tirāh* (the Bad Omen); *Sibr* al-Lāhw (The Enchantment of Amusement) and *Sukr* (Intoxication of Love); *Ibrāhīm* and ‘Alām; *Tārāb* (Rejoicing) and ‘Ajāb (Admiration); *‘Amr* ibn *Ṣalīh* and *Qusāf*; *Ahmad* and *Sānā*; *Muhammad* and *Duqīq*; ⁶⁶ *Hakam* and *Khuld*; ⁶⁷ ‘Abdāb al-Fātīk (the Intrepid) and *Fānak*.

⁶⁰ MS 1133 spells this name with a *ṣīn* instead of a *ḥīy*, probably an error.

⁶¹ Zirikli, Part 2, pp. 179, 347, cites names of men called *Khūrātah*, *Hudhāfah*, and *Hudhāqah*. The man's name may be the same as one of these, but neither he nor the girl can be identified.

⁶² *Al-Makhrūmī* is probably the ninth-century poet; see *Abū Sa‘d al-Makhrūmī*. In MS 1934 the girl's name is *al-Hidāyah*; Flügel and MS 1133 give *al-Hudhātah*.

⁶³ *Al-īqīqīn* means "misfortune," evidently a nickname. Neither this father nor his son can be identified, though they were probably Arabs. For the *Nahd* and *Zayd* *Mañāh* tribes, see Durayd, *General*, pp. 133, 320.

⁶⁴ 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.

⁶⁵ MS 1133 has *Shibl* instead of *Sabil*; these names cannot be identified.

⁶⁶ MS 1133 has *Ahmad* instead of *Muhammad*. The various versions of *Al-Fātīk* give *Admīn*.

⁶⁷ In MS 1934, a small extra *wa* ("and") has been inserted before the second name, so that instead of *wa-Lādhahab* it becomes *wa-wālādhahab* ("and his son"). The translation follows Flügel.

⁶⁸ MS 1934 gives *Hālīm* and the other versions *Kālīm*.

⁶⁹ MS 1133 has *Ahmad* instead of *Muhammad*. Ahmad was the son of *Duqīq*.

⁷⁰ Khuld is taken from Flügel. MSS 1934 and 1133 give *Khālid*, which is probably wrong.

Names of the Loving and Fickle Girls⁷¹

Rilānah and *Qaraūf*; *Rūqayyah* and *Khārijah*; ⁷² *Mu‘ayyis* (One Who Drives to Despair) and *Dakya*; (Becoming Pure); ⁷³ *Sukaynah* and *al-Ruhāh*; ⁷⁴ *Al-Ghūrifah* (Princess, Beautiful) and *Dalīfā*; ⁷⁵ *Hind* and the Daughter of *al-Nūrānī* [ibn al-Mundhar]; ⁷⁶ ‘Abdah al-‘Aqīlah (the Intelligent) and ‘Abdah al-Ghaddarah (the Treacherous); *Lu‘lu‘ah* (the Pearl, the Unusual) and *Shāqrah* (the Clever, the Wanton); *Najdah* and *Zā‘ūm* (Ineffective in Speech); *Sahmā* [bint Sa‘id] and *Sū‘ad* [of al-Kūfah]; *Sawāb* (Correctness) and *Surūr* (Delight); *Al-Dahmā* and *Ni‘mah*.

⁷¹ *Sū‘ad* has many meanings. Here it may mean "endowed with genius or generosity," which fits with "aīqīqī" ("affectionate" or "well-favored"). Flügel and MS 1133 have *shātīb* ("deceit") instead of *Sū‘ad*. Flügel gives *‘aṣraq* instead of *aīqīqī*, but the word cannot be identified and seems to be an error.

⁷² MS 1133 has *qasr* ("palace") instead of *hīsān* ("ages").

⁷³ 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 Nutmeg."

⁷⁴ This may refer to ‘Asmā’ ibn Thabit.

⁷⁵ Bānūjān was the name of the sister of Harūn al-Rashīd.

⁷⁶ MS 1133 has an error in giving these names.

⁷⁷ MS 1934 gives *al-Mu‘ānnīr*; Flügel and MS 1133 give *al-Mu‘ānnīr*.

⁷⁸ These names are book titles. In the Arabic, "loving and fickle" is *al-‘āħāb ib al-‘āħāfīfī*. Al-‘āħāb 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-‘āħābīfī* ("affecting elegance"). Only the names which can be identified are in the Biog. Index.

⁷⁹ This may refer to the Prophet's first wife and his eldest daughter.

⁸⁰ MS 1133 has a different form for *Mu‘āyyis*, probably incorrect. *Dakya* is a Persian word.

⁸¹ The wife and daughter of *al-Husayn* ibn ‘Alī.

⁸² MS 1133 has *al-‘āħābīfī*, probably meant to be the feminine form of *al-‘āħābīfī*. See *Ibāhānī*, *Aħħābānī*, Part 2, p. 34 top; *Kalbħālāh*, *Aħħāb al-Nisā*, Part 5, p. 239.

The Names of Passionate Lovers Whose Traditions Enter into the Evening Stories⁸⁴

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-*Huss*; 'Abbas [ibn al-*Ahna*] 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 Hassan al-Asadi and Sa'd, the Two Owners of the Wood; The Slave Girl; Her Master, and 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ma'mar; Al-Rubāb and Her Husband, Who Were Pledged Together;⁸⁵ Sulaymān, 'Urwān, and Shaybān; Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik, the Companion, 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 *Khalid* ibn al-Walid. Al-Zulrī and the Daughter of His Paternal Uncle, Who Journeyed to *Hishām* ibn 'Abd al-Malik;⁸⁶ Dīyār and Zāmīyā (Zamīyā); *Mālik* al-'Ayyār (Charleton);⁸⁷ and His Cousin; Ghānāmah, Uzaylī, and 'Amr the King;⁸⁸ The Kurd, His Love, and the Daughter of the Priest;⁸⁹ The Two Brothers, One from al-'Irāq and the Other from al-Madīnah; Al-Mu'allā and Sirā; The Naked Man among (Al-Muṭajarrid about) the Women;⁹⁰ Badr and Shādhān;⁹¹ *Habib* al-'Aṣṭār (the Perfume Dealer); Hasan and the Jewish Thief; Hāfiyah, the Daughter of Hāshim; al-Kindī; Al-Mu'āmmal ibn al-Shārif, the Picture, and Marīm⁹² the Jinnī; 'Amir

Da'd and al-Rabāb; Rīfā'ah al-'Abī and Sukr; Sa'sa' and Qun'; Nā'īm ibn Dārim, Rahimah, and *Shayyīn* al-*Taq*; Al-Aqīlab and al-Rabāb; Al-Dūrīghān (the Lion), Jūd (the Liberal), the Waqṣ (the Worthless);⁹³ 'Amr and Dīryānūs;⁹⁴ Al-Shāmmākī (the Proud) and Dām (the Weeping); The Tricky Khazrajī and *Asmā'*; Huṣn (Modesty, Chastity) ibn al-Nabīhān and the Female Jinnī;⁹⁵ Al-Dilfā;⁹⁶ Her Brothers, and the Jinnī; Da'd al-Fazriyyah, the Jinnī, and 'Amr; 'Umar ibn Sūfīyān al-Sulāni and the Female Jinnī; 'Amr ibn Mākshūh and the Female Jinnī; Rabī'ah ibn Qudām (Qaddām), and the Female Jinnī; Sa'd ibn 'Umayr and al-Nawār (the Timid, Innocent).

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Ishāq [al-Naḍīl]: Evening stories and fables were sought after, especially during the days of the caliphs of the Banū al-Abbas, particularly at the time of al-Muqātādī. Accordingly, the *warrūqīn*⁹⁷ made [stories] and told untrue [tales]. *Asmā'*, P. 25.

⁸⁴ Yāfi' was a Pre-Islamic idol; see Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1763; Kalbī, *Dhāt al-Khalīl* ("With a Mole") was the nickname of a famous singer at the court of Hāshim al-Rasīd. Here it may refer to a girl in a story. Compare Iṣbāhān, *Aṣbāhān*, Part 6, p. 105.

⁸⁵ This name does not have consonant signs, but *al-'ayyār*, is probably correct.

⁸⁶ These names lack consonant signs and are given differently in the different texts.

⁸⁷ MS 1135 gives *al-Kundūsh* ("Kurdish woman") instead of "the Kurd," found in MS 1934. Flügel has a word which seems incorrect.

⁸⁸ Flügel and MS 1934 give *al-muṭajarrid*; MS 1135 gives *al-muṭajarrid*; both can mean "naked man." Or else the word may be a nickname.

⁸⁹ The translation follows what is apparently intended in MS 1934, as both of these names are in common use. Flügel has Badān and Shādhān, which are uncommon forms.

⁹⁰ Flügel has *marīm*, an uncommon form. MS 1934 gives *marīm* (‘pestilential’ or ‘with the plague’), a good name for a *jinnī*. Al-Shārif 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 Khāliṣah (the Pure); 'Urwāh ibn 'Abd Yāfi' al-*Tā'i* and His Girl Cousin;⁹⁸ The Passionate Youth and His Mistress; Al-Mukhannath (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;⁹⁹ The Foolish Youth and Shāmātah, Who Was in Love with Him; The Crazy Lover and Salm and Her Handmaid with Hallucinations.

The Names of the Humans in Love with the Jinn and the Jinn in Love with the Humans¹⁰⁰

Da'd and al-Rabāb; Rīfā'ah al-'Abī and Sukr; Sa'sa' and Qun'; Nā'īm ibn Dārim, Rahimah, and *Shayyīn* al-*Taq*; Al-Aqīlab and al-Rabāb; Al-Dūrīghān (the Lion), Jūd (the Liberal), the Waqṣ (the Worthless);⁹³ 'Amr and Dīryānūs;⁹⁴ Al-Shāmmākī (the Proud) and Dām (the Weeping); The Tricky Khazrajī and *Asmā'*; Huṣn (Modesty, Chastity) ibn al-Nabīhān and the Female Jinnī;⁹⁵ Al-Dilfā;⁹⁶ Her Brothers, and the Jinnī; Da'd al-Fazriyyah, the Jinnī, and 'Amr; 'Umar ibn Sūfīyān al-Sulāni and the Female Jinnī; 'Amr ibn Mākshūh and the Female Jinnī; Rabī'ah ibn Qudām (Qaddām), and the Female Jinnī; Sa'd ibn 'Umayr and al-Nawār (the Timid, Innocent).

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⁹⁴ Yāfi' was a Pre-Islamic idol; see Richardson, *Dictionary*, p. 1763; Kalbī, *Dhāt al-Khalīl* ("With a Mole") was the nickname of a famous singer at the court of Hāshim al-Rasīd. Here it may refer to a girl in a story. Compare Iṣbāhān, *Aṣbāhān*, Part 6, p. 105.

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

⁹⁶ 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.

⁹⁷ MS 1934 gives a form which might be *Daqībūs*; this name is very uncertain.

⁹⁸ Hāshim is taken from MS 1934. Flügel gives the word *hāṣir* ("settled regions"), and MS 1135 omits the name.

⁹⁹ This may be Dhātā ("Ape-Nosed").

¹⁰⁰ It is likely that these *warrāqūn* ("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 Dilān, whose name was *Aḥmad* ibn Muḥammad ibn Dilān.¹⁰¹ Another was known as Ibn al-‘Afār, 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 Ḥarūn, *Abī* ibn Dā’ūd, al-‘Aṭāḥī, and *Aḥmad* ibn Abī Tābir.

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.¹⁰²

Wāhiṭah ibn al-Asqā’; Al-Sumayfa’¹⁰³ ibn Dhī Tarāḥūm (Possessor of Piyy) al-Himyarī and al-‘Aqūf bint Zayd,¹⁰⁴ The Old Man Son of the Youth.

¹⁰¹ MS 1935 does not repeat ibn Dilān.

¹⁰² 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-saḥrāh*) is taken from MS 1934. It might be *al-ṣaḥrāh* ("magician"). Flügel gives what might be *al-ṣaḥrāh* ("trees"), or, if the first letter was unmarked, *al-saḥrāh* ("water sources").

¹⁰³ For the spelling of this apparently fictitious name, see Durayd, *General*, p. 307 l. 19.

¹⁰⁴ MS 1934 gives *al-‘Aqūf*, which might be a rare form meaning "Bent Over." Flügel has what is either *al-‘Aqūf* ("the Pregnant") or *al-Uqūf* ("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,¹ tricks, and talismans.

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Iṣḥāq al-Nadrī: The exorcists and magicians assert that the devils, jinn, and spirits obey and serve them, being directed by their command and their prohibition.² 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

¹ The word translated "incantations" is *al-īlāqiyāt*, which is an old form; see Ḥāfiẓ Khālidah, IV, 186 l. 7. For sorcery, magic, and talismans, see Khaldūn, *Miqādīs* (Rosenthal), III, 157-227.

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