The Fihrist of al-Nadîm

A TENTH-CENTURY SURVEY OF MUSLIM CULTURE

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The Seventh Part

of the book Al-Fihrist, with accounts of the ancient and modern scholars, who were authors, with the names of the books they composed. The composition of Muhammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadim, known as Abū al-Faraj ibn Abi Ya'qūb al-Warrāq.

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Seventh Chapter

of the book Al-Fihrist, which includes accounts of the philosophers, the ancient sciences, and the books composed about them, in three sections.

The First Section

with accounts of the philosophers of the natural sciences and of logic, with the names of their books and translations of these [books] and explanations about them: Which of them are extant, which have been recorded but are no longer extant, and which of them used to exist, but have later disappeared.1

1 The title follows MS 1934. The first few lines, “The Seventh Part . . . known as Abū al-Faraj ibn Abi Ya’qūb al-Warrāq,” are on a separate page in the manuscript. The phrase “an imitation of the handwriting of the author, His servant, Muhammad ibn Ishāq” is written under this heading, on the left-hand side of the page. “The chapter of philosophers of the book Al-Fihrist” is written on the right-hand side. In MS 1135, the title for Chapter VII is erroneously given as “The Second Section.” There are not many variations in wording between MSS 1135 and 1934, but the latter seems to be more accurate. See the Introduction for the parts of Al-Fihrist covered by the various manuscripts.
Statements at the Beginning of the Chapter [Quoted] from the Scholars in Their Own Words
Abū Sahīl [al-Fadl] ibn Nawbakht said in the book Two Things Seized Upon:

The types of sciences, the kinds of books, and the forms of questions have increased, as have the sources from which things indicated by the stars are derived. This increase was from what existed before the reasons [for these things] were made clear, and human knowledge about them was described by the Babylonians in their books, learned from them [the Babylonians] by the Egyptians, and applied by the Indians in their country.

These things dealt with the original created beings, their defilement by evil, their commission of sins, and their falling into such depths of ignorance that their minds became confused and their visions made to err. For as mentioned in the books about their affairs and actions, things reached a point at which their minds were perplexed, their visions confused and their religion destroyed. Thus they became bewildered and erring, understanding nothing.

They [the original created beings] remained in this state for a period of time until some of their successors coming after them, their offspring and the seed of their loins, obtained help in remembering, understanding, and perceiving phenomena. [They also received] knowledge of the past about the circumstances of the world, about its condition, the directing of its origin, the arrival at its intermediate status, and the issue at its end. [They also learned about] the condition of the inhabitants, and the positions of the heavenly bodies and their routes, degrees, minutes, and stations, both high and low, and with their courses and all of their directions. This was the period of Jam ibn Awijhān, the king.

The scholars were acquainted with this learning, recording it in books and explaining what they wrote down. Together with this recording they described the world, its grandeur, the origin of its causes, its foundation, its stars, kinds of drugs, remedies, charms, and other things which are devices for people and which they describe as suitable to their wants, both good and bad. Thus they continued for a period of time, until the reign of al-Dāhāk ibn Qayy (Kai).

From other than the words of Abū Sahīl, it is said, 

“Dah āk’ means ‘ten vices,’ but the Arabs turned it into al-Dāhāk.”

We now return to the words of Abū Sahīl:

[Al-Dāhāk] ibn Qayy, during the season (share) of Jupiter and his period, turn, dominion, and power in controlling the years, built a city in al-Sawād, the name of which was derived from that of Jupiter. He gathered into it the science of the scholars and built there twelve palaces, according to the number of the signs of the zodiac, calling them by the names of these signs. He stored the scholars’ books in them and caused the scholars themselves to live in them.

From other than the words of Abū Sahīl: “He built seven shrines, according to the number of the seven stars, assigning each of these dwellings to a [wise] man. The Shrine of Mercury he assigned to Hermes, the Shrine of Jupiter to Tinkalis, and the Shrine of Mars to Tingarūs.”

We return to the words of Abū Sahīl:

The people obeyed them [the seven wise men] and were submissive to their command, so that they managed their affairs. They [the people] appreciated their superiority over them in different forms of learning and modes of living, until a prophet was sent during that period. Because of his appearance and what reached them about his mission, they refused the wisdom [of the seven wise men]. Many of their ideas became confused, their cause was broken up, and there were differences regarding their aims and coming together. So each of the wise men sought a city in which to dwell, so as to become a leader of its people.

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3 Flügel gives muqārašah ("defilement"), probably correct, although the manuscripts give mufrārašah ("separation").
4 Literally, “these matters.”
5 This was a legendary king of Persia. He was called Jamūshī ibn Tahmūras ibn Hūshang (Awijhān).
6 Al-Sawād here signifies ancient Chaldea. The city was Babylon; see Yaqūt, Geogr., I, 448 l. 12, 449 l. 14.
7 The seven shrines of Babylon were almost certainly seven small temples inside a sacred enclosure, consecrated to the sun, the moon, and the five known planets. They very likely formed a semicircle facing the ziggurat. Cf. the 12 shrines in the sacred enclosure at Harrān as described in Chap. IX, sect. 1, n. 30, and the 12 shrines at Sumatar as described by Segal, Anatolian Studies, III (1913), 97-103, 107.
8 Hermes is evidently Trismegistus. Nakosteen, p. 218, spells the next two wise men “Tingrous” and “Tuklous.” For these two, see Chap. VII, sect. 2, n. 30.
Among them there was a wise man named Hermes. He was the most thoroughly intelligent, the most strikingly wise, and the most refined in discernment among them. He went to the land of Egypt, where he ruled over the inhabitants, making the land prosperous, improving the conditions of the people, and manifesting his wisdom among them.

This situation lasted, in Babylon in particular, until Alexander, the king of the Greeks, set forth from a city of the Greeks named Macedonia to invade Persia. Then when he [Darius III] refused to pay the tribute still imposed upon the people of Babylon and the kingdom of Persia, he [Alexander] killed him, Dārā ibn Dārā the king [Darius III], taking possession of his kingdom, destroying his cities, and razing the ramparts built by devils and giants.9 His destruction [ruined] whatever there was in the different buildings of scientific material, whether inscribed on stone or wood, and with this demolition there were conflagrations, with scattering of the books. Such of these things, however, as were gathered in collections and libraries in the city of Iṣṭakhr10 he had transcribed and translated into the Greek and Coptic tongues. Then, after he had finished copying what he had need of, he burned the material written in Persian. But there was a book called Al-Kustaj11 from which he took what he needed of the science of the stars, as well as of medicine and the natural sciences. This book and the scientific material, riches, and treasures which he hit upon, together with the scholars, he sent to the land of Egypt.

In the regions of India and China there were left some things which the kings of Persia had copied at the time of their prophet Zoroaster and the wise man Jāmāsh. They cared for them in those places, as their prophet Zoroaster and Jāmāsh had warned them of the actions of Alexander, with his conquest of their land and destruction of as many of their books and scientific materials as possible, and of his transferring them to his own country.

After that, learning was wiped out and torn to pieces in al-ʻIrāq, while the scholars disagreed and decreased in number and the people became the exponents of partisanship and division. For each of their sects there was a king. They called them [the kings] the Kings of the Tribes.12

9 This refers to Alexander’s invasion of Persia and overcoming of Darius III. The translation is a free one, as the Arabic text is difficult to render literally.
10 This was ancient Persepolis; see Jackson, Persia Past and Present, pp. 299–95; Yaqtī, Geograph., I, 299.
11 This may come from the Persian kustaj (“palm fibers”). See Flügel edition of Al-Fihrist, p. 13 nn. 7, 10.
12 For the Kings of the Tribes, see the Glossary.

After the division, disagreement and quarreling which they had before the time of King Alexander, the rule13 of the Greeks formed one kingdom. Thus they became one force, whereas the regime of Babylon continued to be broken, weakened, and corrupted. Her people continued to be oppressed and subdued, unable to prevent lawlessness or to ward off injury, until the reign of Ardashīr ibn Bābak of the lineage of Sāsān. He changed their disagreements into unity, joining together their divisions and conquering their enemies. He became master of his land, seizing for himself the rule over them. Thus he did away with their schisms, assuming for himself the sovereignty. Then he sent to India and China for the books in those directions, and also to the Greeks. He copied whatever was safeguarded with them, even seeking for the little that remained in al-ʻIrāq. Thus he collected what was scattered, gathering together the things dispersed.14

Shāpūr, his son, followed his example, so that there were transcribed into Persian all of the books, such as the ones of Hermes the Babylonian, who ruled Egypt; Dorotheus the Syrian; Phaedrus the Greek from the city of Athens, famous for learning; Ptolemy [Ptolemaeus Alexandrinus]; and Farmāšib the Indian.15 They explained them [the books], teaching the people about them in the same way that they learned from all of those books, which originated in Babylon.

Then after the time of these two [Ardashīr and Shāpūr] there appeared Chosroes Anishtiwān, who collected, edited, and worked over them [the books] because of his interest in learning and his love for it. Thus for the people of every time and age there is new experience and a renewal of scholarship as foreordained by the stars of the zodiac, which is the master of time’s destiny as commanded by Allāh, exalted be His majesty.

Here ends the account of Abū Sahl [al-Fadl] ibn Nawbakht.16

13 Although the Flügel version has the plural form “kings” (mulūk), MS 1914 has the singular “rule” (mulk). The words translated “formed one kingdom” are literally “assembled to one kingdom.”
14 For the disturbed period of history at the end of the Parthian period and the restoration by Ardashīr the Sāsānian, see Sykes, History of Persia, I, 410–30.
15 Instead of Farmāšib, Tabari, Amilaeis, Part I, pp. 1552 n. b, 1553 l. 12, give Farmāšib. Gutschmidt, ZDMG, XXXIV (1880), 746, sect. 371, suggests Pulukēšā. This name is not included in the Biog. Index, as the identification is uncertain. The name should also be compared with Pulakesin I, founder of the Chalukya Dynasty in India, A.D. 550 (see “Chalukya,” Enc. Brit., V, 813), and with Vikramaditya (see “India,” Enc. Brit., XIV, 399). As translation from Indian into Persian and then from Persian into Arabic involved difficulties of transliteration, the names were inevitably confused.
Ishāq al-Rāhīb relates in his history that when Ptolemy Philadelphus, who was one of the kings of Alexandria, reigned, he made a search for books of learning, placing a man named Zamīrah in charge. According to what is related, he collected fifty-four thousand one hundred and twenty books. Then he said, “Oh, King, there are still a great many more books in the world, in Sind, India, Persia, Georgia, Armenia, Babylon, al-Mawṣil, and among the Greeks.”

Another Account
Abū Ma’shar [Ja’far ibn Muḥammad] said in his book about the variations of astronomical tables:

Because of their care in preserving [the books about] the sciences, their eagerness to make them endure throughout the ages, and their guarding them from celestial happenings and earthly damages, the kings of Persia actually chose for them the writing material which was the most durable in case of accidents, the longest lasting in time, and the least prone to decay or effacement. This [writing material] was the bark of the white poplar tree, the bark being called ʿūz. The peoples of India, China, and the neighboring countries imitated them. They also selected this [material] for their bows with which they shot, because of its hardness, smoothness, and durability in the bows during a long period of time.

Then, after they [the kings of Persia] had obtained the best writing materials in the world to preserve their sciences, they desired [to store the books about] them in the place which among all of the regions of the earth and the towns of the provinces had the cleanest soil and the least amount of decay, being also the furthest removed from earthquakes and eclipses, as well as possessing the most cohesive clay with the quality of construction, which would endure the longest throughout the ages. After they had made a complete survey of the lands and regions of their kingdom, they were unable to find under the vault of the heavens any place possessing these advantages to a greater extent than did ʿIṣbahān. Then as they examined the districts of this locality, they did not find any spot in it that could excel Rustaq Jayy. Furthermore, in Rustaq Jayy they did not find any place more completely like what they desired than the locality in which, later on, the city of Jayy was marked out during the time of Dahir.

Then they went to the quhunduz, which is inside the city of Jayy, to make it the depository for their sciences. This [depository] was called Sārwayh (Sārūyahl) and it has lasted until our own time. In regard to this building, the people knew who the builder was, because many years before our time a side [of the building] became ruined. Then they found a vault in the cliff-off side, built without mortar, and in which they discovered many books of the ancients, written on white poplar bark (tūz) and containing all of the sciences of the forefathers written in the old Persian form of writing.

Some of these books came into the possession of a man interested in them. Upon reading them, he found among them a book related to the ancient kings of Persia. In it it was mentioned that Tahmīrath, the king who loved the sciences and scholars, was forewarned of an atmospheric phenomenon in the west, in the form of a series of rains which were to be excessive in both duration and abundance, surpassing the [normal] limit.

From the first day of the years of his reign, to the first day when this phenomenon in the west began, was two hundred and thirty-one years and three hundred days. From the beginning of his reign the astrologers led him to fear that this occurrence might pass from the west to the eastern regions. So he ordered the engineers to reach an agreement for the selecting of the best place in the kingdom, with regards to soil and atmosphere. They chose for him the site of the building which is known as Sārwayh and still exists at the present time within the city of Jayy. So he commanded the construction of this well-guarded building. When it was

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18 This is probably a misspelling for Demetrius Phalereus. The erroneous spelling is in all of the versions of Al-Fihrist, so that the name was evidently copied from an older source. The Arabic زمیر (Zamīrah) and دمتر (Demetrius) might easily be confused.

17 The great astronomer Abū Ma’shar wrote numerous books about the astronomical tables; see Chap. VII, sect. 2, near n. 87, and the titles of Qīfī, pp. 152-54.

18 The Arabic word translated “writing material” is makhṭīr, a plural form. It usually means “schoole.” Tūz šīja al-khadamk is the inner bark of the khadam or white poplar tree. As a rule it was used for wrapping bow strings.
completed there was moved to it from his libraries a great deal of scientific material of various sorts, copied for him on white poplar bark (tüz) and placed in a part of the building so that it might be preserved for mankind until after the phenomenon should come to an end.

There was in it [the building] a book which was related to some of the ancient sages and which contained [knowledge of] the years and known cycles for deriving the intermediate positions of the stars and the reasons for their motions. The people of the time of Talmūrath and those who lived earlier than they did in Persia called these the cycles of thousands (aduwar al-hazārā). The wise men, the kings of India who were on the face of the earth, the former kings of Persia, and the ancient Chaldeans, who were tent dwellers belonging to the earliest Babylonian period, reckoned the intermediate positions of the seven stars from these years and cycles. He [the king] gave special care to this [book] from among the astronomical tables of his time, because he and his contemporaries found upon examination that it was the best and briefest. The astrologers of the period, therefore, derived from it the astronomical tables, which they called the Astronomical Tables of al-Shahrīyār.

This is the end of the statement of Abū Ma‘ṣhar.

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Iṣḥāq [al-Nādīm]: A reliable authority once told me that during the year three hundred and fifty after the Hijrāh [A.D. 951/52], another vaulted building cracked open. As it had appeared solid on the surface, the location [of the books] did not become known until after it had become a ruin. Many books were discovered in this place, but nobody found out how to read them.

A thing which I saw and witnessed myself was [the occurrence] when, some time after the year forty [A.D. 951/52], Abū al-Fadl ibn al-'Amīd sent here some torn books which he had found at Iṣbahān, in boxes in the wall of the city. As they were in Greek, suitable authorities like Yuhannā [al-Qass] and others deciphered their contents, [which dealt] with the names of the troops and the amounts of their wages. The books had the worst possible stench, as bad as though the skins had been freshly tanned. But after they

had been at Baghdād for a time they dried and changed, so that the smell left them. Even at the present time some of them are with our shaykh, Abū Sulaymān [Muhammad ibn Bahrām]. It is said that the Sārwayh is one of the solid ancient buildings, with such marvellous construction that it is compared in the East with the pyramids, which are in Egypt in the land of the West, both in magnificence and wonder of structure.

Another Account

In ancient times learning was forbidden, except for those who were scholars or known to be able to receive it [learning] by natural genius. Philosophers examined the times of birth of those who sought learning and philosophy. If it was ascertained that a person when born was endowed with it [the genius for learning and philosophy] at birth, they enlisted his services, imparting to him learning, but if not, then no.

Philosophy appeared among the Greeks and Romans before the religious code of the Messiah, for whom be peace. When the Byzantines became Christians, they prohibited it. Some of the books about it they burned, but some they treasured. They, moreover, prevented people from speaking about anything in philosophy which was opposed to the prophetic doctrine. Then, later, the Byzantines returned to the schools of philosophical thought. This was due to the Byzantine king Julian, who used to stay at Antioch and whose minister was Themistius, the commentator on the books of Aristotle.

When Shāpūr dhū al-Aktāf [Shāpūr II] sought him [Julian] out, he was overthrown by Julian. This was either in battle, or else it is

29 See n. 22.
30 Literally, "from its people."
31 In the Arabic it is Liṣāliyānus, a corruption for Ayūlānus, derived from the Greek name for the Emperor Julian.
32 The following story is evidently quoted from an old legend about Shāpūr II. In the legend, Shāpūr II traveled into the Byzantine Empire in disguise, was recognized and imprisoned, but freed by a girl. He returned to the city Jundi-Shāpūr in time to defeat the invading Byzantine emperor, Julian. For this story, see Firdawsī, Shāhnāma, VI, 337 ff; Sykes, History of Persia, I, 444 ff; "Shāpūr," Enc. Islam, IV, 314–15.
saw because Shāpūr was recognized and caught when he went to the Byzantine country to seize its rule. The accounts about this are confused. Julian invaded Persia, coming to Jundishāpūr, where until our own day there is a breach known as the Breach of the Byzantines. When the chiefs of the Persians, the cavalry leaders, and the rest of the king’s guard arrived, the attack against it [Jundishāpūr] became prolonged. Entering it was difficult.

Shāpūr had been imprisoned in the Byzantine country, in the palace of Julian, whose girl (daughter) fell in love with him and released him. He secretly crossed the land until, reaching Jundishāpūr, he entered it. Then the spirits of his companions who were there were so revived that they immediately set forth to attack the Byzantines, regarding the rescue of Shāpūr as a good omen. They took Julian prisoner and killed him, so that the Byzantines were disrupted.

Constantine the Great was in the host of the army, but the Byzantines differed as to whom they should make their ruler, being weak from their lack of support for him. As Shāpūr was solicitous for Constantine [Jovian] and his succession [to rule] over the Byzantines, for his sake he was kind to them, arranging for them a means of withdrawing from his [Shāpūr’s] country. This, however, was on condition that Constantine [Jovian] would make an

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82 Jundishāpūr (Jundaysābūr) became a center of learning when, in a.d. 489, the Emperor Zeno closed the school at Edessa and King Kobad of Persia gave some of the professors refuge. Then, when the Neo-Platonic school at Athens was closed, a.d. 519, King Chosroe Anithshāvūn gave a number of the philosophers his patronage in Persia. As Jundishāpūr was the center of these émigrés, it became a point of exchange for the learning of Persia, India, Greece, Rome, and Syria. Scholars from there contributed a knowledge of science to the ‘Abbāsid caliph, as accounts in this chapter of Al-Fihrist explain. The city fell into ruin, but before he died in 1063, Dr. Allen O. Whipple identified its site in Southern Persia. For the history of this city, see Campbell, Arabian Medicine and Its Influence in the Middle Ages, I, 46; Sarton, I, 435; Yaqūt, Geog., II, 130; Whipple, Annals of Medical History, New Ser., 8 (July 1919), pp. 313-33; “Djundāl-Sibūr,” Enc. Islam, I, 1064.

83 This is an obvious mistake. The king referred to was of course not Constantine but Jovian, who was with the Byzantine army in Persia when Julian was killed. Because of the collapse of morale caused by Julian’s death, Jovian was obliged to make an ignominious peace. See Smith, GRBM, II, 615. It was Jovian who re-established Christianity as the state religion in the Byzantine Empire, after the pagan regime of Julian the Apostate.

84 This was similar to ancient Chaldea.

85 Probably this refers to moving stores and equipment into the enemy’s territory, so that he could pillage for supplies and destroy obstacles to his military movements.

86 This account should be compared with Baḥdūri, Origins, p. 465 ff. When the Muslims first conquered the eastern provinces, they used Persian for the tax accounts and government records.


88 During the year a.d. 650/51 al-Rabi’ ibn Ziyād invaded Sijistān, taking many prisoners; see Yāqūt, Geog., IV, 728 l. 18.
above you, so that you will lose your position.” He [Zād Infarrūkh] replied, “Do not imagine that, for he is more in need of me than I am of him. There is nobody except myself who is satisfactory for keeping his records.” Then he [Ṣāliḥ] said, “By Allāh, if he wishes to change the accounts into Arabic, I will change them.” So he [Zād Infarrūkh] said, “Change some lines for me to see.” This he did. Then it was said to him, “Feign sick, feign sick.”49 When al-Hajjāj sent him his physician, Theodorus,46 he found that he had no illness. This reached Zād Infarrūkh, who ordered him to appear [back at work].

It happened, during the revolt of Ibn al-Ash‘ath, that as Zād Infarrūkh was leaving some place to go to his house, he was killed. Then al-Hajjāj appointed Ṣāliḥ to be the secretary in his place. When he [Ṣāliḥ] told him about what had taken place between his associate and himself in connection with the translation of the records, al-Hajjāj decided upon the plan [to translate the records into Arabic], making Ṣāliḥ responsible for it.

Mardān Shāh ibn Zād Infarrūkh then said to him [Ṣāliḥ], “What will you do with daḥwiyah and shashwiyah?” He replied, “I shall write ‘ushr’ (ten) and musf ‘ushr’ (half of ten).” Then he [Mardān Shāh] said, “How will you deal with al-wid?”. He answered, “I shall write wa-aydān (and likewise).” Then he went on to say, “Al-wid, al-nayf, and al-ziyādah signify ‘something more (increase).’” He [Mardān Shāh] retorted to him, “May Allāh cut off your seed from the earth, as you have cut off the basis of Persian!”49

The Persians offered him [Ṣāliḥ] one hundred thousand silver coins (s., dirham) on condition that he would appear to be incapable of translating the records. But refusing to give up the translation, he actually did translate them. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yahlīyā said, “What an excellent man Ṣāliḥ is! How great is his graciousness to the secretaries!” Al-Hajjāj, moreover, honored him greatly.

The records at Damascus were in Greek. The man who kept them in writing for Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān was Ṣarjūn (Sergius) ibn Mansūr; later it was Mansūr ibn Sarjūn. The records were translated during the time of Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malīk.48 Abū Thābit Sulaymān ibn Sa‘d, a protégé of al-Ḥusayn, translated them. He was in charge of the correspondence during the days of ‘Abd al-Malīk. It has [also] been said that the records were translated during the time of ‘Abd al-Malīk. When he asked Sarjūn to do some of the work, he desisted from it. This angered ‘Abd al-Malīk, so that he consulted Sulaymān, who said to him, “I will translate the records (diwan) and be responsible for them.”44

Mention of the Reason Why Books on Philosophy and Other Ancient Sciences Became Plentiful in This Country45

One of the reasons for this was that al-Ma‘mūn saw in a dream the likeness of a man white in color, with a ruddy complexion, broad forehead, joined eyebrows, bald head, bloodshot eyes, and good qualities sitting on his bed. Al-Ma‘mūn related, “It was as though I was in front of him, filled with fear of him. Then I said, ‘Who are you?’ He replied, ‘I am Aristotle.’ Then I was delighted with him and said, ‘Oh sage, may I ask you a question?’ He said, ‘Ask it.’ Then I asked, ‘What is good?’ He replied, ‘What is good in the mind.’ I said again, ‘Then what is next?’ He answered, ‘What is good in the law.’ I said, ‘Then what next?’ He replied, ‘What is good with the public.’ I said, ‘Then what more?’ He answered, ‘More? There is no more.’” According to another quotation: “I [al-Ma‘mūn] said, ‘Give me something more!’ He

49 The Arabic text, as translated in Baladhuri, Origins, p. 465, indicates that Zād Infarrūkh said “feign sick.” But it is more reasonable to believe that the friends of Ṣāliḥ told him to pretend illness so as to escape the anger and jealousy of Zād Infarrūkh.

46 This name seems to be a mistake. Theodorus was the name of al-Hajjāj’s physician.

48 Cf. Baladhuri, Origins, p. 466. Mardān Shāh hoped to succeed his father as the secretary, using Persian. He was jealous when Ṣāliḥ persuaded the governor to use Arabic for the records and accounts, making his own knowledge of Persian unnecessary. For this and the next sentence, see Flügel edition, p. 242, nn. 7, 8.

44 The Tonk MS omits part of the sentence. It is not certain who al-Ḥusayn was. Compare this account with Baladhuri, Origins, pp. 101 ff.

48 Literally, “I will translate the records and undertake them.”

44 Compare this account with Qīṭī, p. 29, which gives variations. The Arabic text uses “said” throughout, but to make the passage readable, other words are substituted. In the first sentence of the following paragraph, MS 1934 omits “color” and gives “eye” in the singular.
This dream was one of the most definite reasons for the output of books. Between al-Ma'mūn and the Byzantine emperor there was correspondence, for al-Ma'mūn had sought aid opposing him. Then he wrote to the Byzantine emperor asking his permission to obtain a selection of old scientific manuscripts, stored and treasured in the Byzantine country. After first refusing, he complied with this. Accordingly, al-Ma'mūn sent forth a group of men, among whom were al-Hajjāj ibn Maṭar; Ibn al-Batīrīq; Salmān, the director of the Bayt al-Ḥikmā; and others besides them. They brought the books selected from what they had found. Upon bringing them to him [al-Ma'mūn], he ordered them to translate [the manuscripts], so that they made the translation.

It was said that Yūhannā ibn Māsawayh was one of those who went to the Byzantine country. Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: Among those who were concerned with the bringing of books from the Byzantine country there were Muḥammad, Ahmad, and al-Ḥasan, the grandsons of Shākir al-Munajjīm. There will follow an account about them and their liberality with gifts, sending Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq and others to the Byzantine country to bring them rare books and unusual compositions about philosophy, geometry, music, arithmetic, and medicine. Qusṭā ibn Lūqā al-Ba'labakki also brought some material with him, which he translated, it also being translated for him. Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiqī al-Sijistānī [Muḥammad ibn Bahram] said that the sons of al-Munajjīm [Banū Mūsā] supported a group of translators, among whom there were Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, Ḥababysh ibn al-Ḥasan, Tāhbit ibn Qurrah, and others besides them. Each month the translation and maintenance amounted to about five hundred gold coins (ṣ., dinār).

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: I heard Abū Ishāq ibn Shahrām tell in a general gathering that there is in the Byzantine country a temple of ancient construction. It has a portal larger than any other ever seen with both gates made of iron. In ancient times, when they worshipped heavenly bodies and idols, the Greeks exalted this [temple], praying and sacrificing in it. He [Ibn Shahrām] said, "I asked the emperor of the Byzantines to open it for me, but this was impossible, as it had been locked since the time that the Byzantines had become Christians. I continued, however, to be courteous to him, to correspond with him, and also to entreat him in conversation during my stay at his court."

He [Ibn Shahrām] said, "He agreed to open it and, behold, this building was made of marble and great colored stones, upon which there were many beautiful inscriptions and sculptures. I have never seen or heard of anything equaling its vastness and beauty. In this temple there were numerous camel loads of ancient books." He exaggerated to the extent of a thousand camel loads. "Some of these [books] were worn and some in normal condition. Others were eaten by insects." Then he said, "I saw there gold offering utensils and other rare things." He went on to say, "After my exit the door was locked, causing me to feel embarrassed because of the
favor shown me.” He said, “That was during the days of Sayf al-Dawlah.” He believed that the building was a three-day journey from Constantinople. The people of the district were a group of Chaldean Šabians, whom the Byzantines left alone in connection with their doctrines, but they collected tribute from them. 52

The Names of the Translators from [Foreign] Languages into the Arabic Tongue 53

Stephen al-Qadin, who translated books on the Art [alchemy] and other subjects for Khalid ibn Yazid ibn Mu’awiyah. Al-Baṭrīq, who was contemporary with al-Manṣūr, who ordered him to translate some of the ancient books. His son, Abū Zakariyā’ Yahyā ibn al-Baṭrīq, who belonged to the group of al-Hasan ibn Sah. Al-Ḥājiyy [ibn Yūsuf] ibn Matar, who interpreted for Al-Ma’mun and was the person who translated the Almagest and Euclid.

52 It is probable that Ibn Shahram journeyed by sea. In that case the building was very likely three days by boat from Constantinople, near Ephesus or Miletus. By the tenth century, the great temple of Apollo Didymaeus at Branchidae near Miletus and the famous library at Pergamon were almost certainly in ruins. It is likely therefore, that this library was a second-century building at Ephesus with the famous temple of Diana nearby. The library at least may have been in fairly good condition. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, I, 584 and II, 1583, describes this library: “The most famous of all the gifts to Ephesus during this period was perhaps the great library dedicated to the memory of Tiberius Julius Celsus Polemaeanus, a native of the city, who after having held various administrative posts, had been proconsul of Asia [about A.D. 100]. The building was erected and endowed in the early second century by Polemaeanus’ son and completed by the latter’s heirs. Contemporary with it was another large structure, fronting on one of the streets leading to the harbor and consisting of a great hall with a room at either end, which has been regarded as either the Museum . . . or a sort of bazaar.”

For the Chaldean Šabians, see “Šabians” in Glossary. This term may refer to a group of persons from Harran or southern Iraq who belonged to one of the sects of Šabians in those regions, residing in Asia Minor for trade. It also may simply refer to a group of pagans, permitted to live in Asia Minor and called Chaldean Šabians by the Arabs because they were accustomed to think of the undisturbed pagans in their territories as Šabians. One school of thought believes that the name “Šabian” comes from the word to “baptize,” so that they see a connection between John the Baptist and the Šabian of ancient Chaldea. People holding such views might connect the Šabians mentioned here with the disciples of John at Ephesus; see Acts 19:3. This relationship with John, however, seems very farfetched.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Basil, who served [Tāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn] dhū al-Yaminayn.†
Ibn Sahlād al-Karkhī, who translated badly from Syriac into Arabic.
Among the works which he translated there was Hippocrates' book on
embryos.‡
Abū 'Amr Yūhanna ibn Yūsuf al-Kātib, who was one of the translators.
He translated Plato's book on the training of boys.§
Ayyāb ibn al-Qāsim al-Raqqī, who translated from Syriac into Arabic.
Among his translations was the book Iṣagoge.¶
Maḥdīj (Marfāḥī), who during our own time has a good knowledge of
Syriac, but stammers in pronouncing Arabic. He has translated from
Syriac into Arabic, and served Abī 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Dahakī. Ibn al-
Dahakī improved his translation.∫
Dādishā (Dādishū), who interpreted from Syriac into Arabic for Iṣāq
ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī al-Ḥāshimi.
Qustā ibn Lūqā al-Balʿabakī, who was skilled in translating and had a
good literary style in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic. He translated some
things and corrected many [other] translations. Mention of him will
be made in the proper place among the scholars who were authors.™
Hunayn [ibn Iṣḥāq].
Iṣḥāq [ibn Hunayn ibn Iṣḥāq].
Thābit [ibn Qurrah].
Hūbaysih [ibn al-Ḥasan al-Aʿsam].
Iṣā ibn Yahyā.
Al-Dimashqī (Dimishqī).
Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ṣalt [Abū Nūḥ].
Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh.
Yahyā ibn 'Adi al-Nafṣī.††

If Allāh Almighty so wills, we shall deal thoroughly with these
men later on, for they were composers of books.

† This means "ambidextrous" and refers to Tāhir ibn Ḥusayn, who was appointed
as governor in Khurāsān A.D. 820.
‡ Probably De resectione foeminis.
§ Although this might refer to the second and third sections of the Repub-
lic, about the education of guardians and rulers, it more likely refers to the dialogue
Laches.
¶ Almost certainly the well-known book of Porphyry.
∫ At this point there is a space in MS 1934, evidently left for other names to be
filled in.
†† In MS 1934, written perpendicularly over Lūqā, the following phrase is found:
"From the handwriting of Ibn al-Kalbī: He was surnamed Abū Saʿīd." ﹩
††† Only the Tonk MS gives this name clearly as al-Nafṣī.

SECTION ONE

The Names of the Translators from Persian into Arabic
Ibn al-Muqaffa', who has already been mentioned in the proper place.
The family of Nawbakh, most of them.‖ Mention of them has already
been made and [more] will follow if Allāh so wills.
Noūs and Yuṣuf, the sons of Khalīd, who served Dāʾūd ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn
Humayd ibn Qaḍīmābād, translating for him from Persian into Arabic.
Al-Tamīmī, whose name was Abī 'Alī ibn Ziyād, surnamed Abū al-Ḥasan.
He translated from Persian into Arabic. Among the works which he
translated, there were the Astronomical Tables of al-Shahriyār.
Al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl [ibn Nawbakh], mention of whom will be made in
the proper place with accounts of the astrologers.
Al-Balādhurī, Ahmad ibn Yahyā ibn Jābir, who has already been mentioned
and who translated from the Persian tongue into Arabic.
Jabalāh ibn Sālim, the secretary of Hishām, who has already been
mentioned. He translated from Persian into Arabic.
Iṣāq ibn Yazīd translated from Persian into Arabic. Among the works
which he translated there was a book about the record of Persia, known
as The Book of Choice (Iktiyār Nāmah).‡‡

Among the Translators of Persia
Muḥammad ibn al-Jahm al-Barmakī.
Hishām ibn al-Qāsim.
Noūs ibn 'Isā al-Kisrāwī.
Zādwayh ibn Shahwayh al-Iṣbahānī.
Muḥammad ibn Bahrām ibn Mityār al-Iṣbahānī.
Bahrām ibn Mardān Shāh, the priest of the city of Niṣbūr, which was
one of the cities of Persia.
'Umar ibn al-Farrukhān, whom we shall mention in more detail among the
authors.

Translators of India and the Nabataeans
Mankah [Kankah] al-Hindi, who was one of a group [employed by]
Iṣāq ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī al-Ḥāshimi. He translated from the Indian
language into Arabic.‡‡‡

‡‡ This probably means that most of them translated Persian books. The Tonk
MS has a variation.
‡‡‡ This was probably Hishām ibn al-Qāsim.
‡‡‡ The title is corrected on the margin of MS 1934. See "choices" in Glossary.
‡‡‡ Qīfī, p. 265, calls him Kankah, and devotes two pages to him.
Ibn Dahn, al-Hindi, who administered the Bimaristan (Hospital) of the Barmak family. He translated from the Indian language into Arabic. Ibn Wāshīṣyāh, who translated from Nabataean into Arabic. He translated many books, as is recorded. Mention of him will follow, if Allah so wills.

The First to Speak about Philosophy

Abū al-Khayr ibn al-Khammar [al-Hasan ibn Suwār] told me in the presence of Abū al-Qāsim Ṣaib ibn ‘Ali, when I asked him who the first person was to speak about philosophy, that Porphyry of Tyre asserted in his book, History, which was in Syriac, that the first of the seven philosophers was Thales ibn Mālis al-Amalī. Two chapters of this book were translated into Arabic. Abū al-Qāsim said, “So it was,” not denying it.

Others have said that the first person to speak about philosophy was Pythagoras, who was Pythagoras son of Mnesarchus, one of the people of Samos. Plutarch said that Pythagoras was the first person to call philosophy by that name. He wrote epistles known as The Golden, which were called by this name because Galen wrote them with gold so as to glorify and ennoble them.

The books of Pythagoras which we have seen are the following: His epistle to the tyrant (rebels) of Sicily; his epistle to Sīfānus; The Derivation of Meaning; his epistle, Rational Politics.

These epistles have come down with the commentary of Malchus.

He said that after that Socrates, the son of Socrates of Athens, a city of scholars and wise men, spoke about philosophy with statements about which not a great deal is known. What has come from his writings are Discourse about Politics and his epistle, The Beautiful Life, which is said to be authentic as his own.

SECTION ONE

Another Account

"Socrates" means "holding health (truth) (māṣik al-ṣahhah)." He was an Athenian, ascetic, eloquent, and wise. The Greeks killed him because he disagreed with them. Information about him is well known. The king in charge of his death was Artakhasht. Plato was one of the associates of Socrates.

From what is written in the handwriting of Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn: “Socrates lived nearly as long as Plato lived.” Also from the handwriting of Ishāq: “Plato lived for eighty years.”

Plato

From the book of Plutarch: “Plato was the son of Ariston.” The meaning [of his name] is “breadth.” Theon states that his father was called Aṣṭūn [Ariston] and that he was one of the aristocrats of the Greeks. In his early life he [Plato] became interested in poetry, from which he derived a large share [of good fortune]. Then, when he attended the sessions of Socrates, he saw that he [Socrates] did not approve of poetry, but from him also he derived a large share [of good fortune]. After that he went over to the doctrine of Pythagoras about rational phenomena. According to what has been said, he lived for eighty-one years. Aristotle learned from him and succeeded him after his death. Ishāq [ibn Ḥunayn] states that he learned from Hippocrates.

Plato died during the year in which Alexander was born, which was the thirteenth year of the reign of Lakhwus. Aristotle followed him. In those days the king of Macedonia was Philip, the father of Alexander.

Perhaps Artakhasht is meant to be Artaxerxes. In that case, some early writer probably said that Socrates’ death occurred during the reign of Artaxerxes II in Persia and then a later writer inferred that Artaxerxes was responsible for Socrates’ death. Actually, the principal accusers of Socrates were Meletus and Anytus. Polybius pronounced the sentence.

This name refers to the breadth of his shoulders or his forehead, or possibly to the breadth of his style; see “Plato,” Enc. Brit., XXI, 868. For the name of his father in the sentence which follows, see Diogenes Laërtius, p. 113; Smith, GRBM, III, 392.

The translation is taken from MS 1934 and the Tonk MS. Flügel and MS 1135 do not repeat “he derived a large share.” Instead they give “he left it.”

Plato died 347 B.C., whereas Alexander was born 356 B.C. Diogenes Laërtius, p. 127, says that Alexander was born during the 13th year of the reign of Philip of
I read what was written in the handwriting of Yahyā ibn 'Adi, "Ishāq [ibn Ḥunayn] translated the Sophistes, with the commentary of Olympiodorus.

A dialogue which he called Timaeus, which Yahyā ibn 'Adi corrected; a dialogue which he called Parmenides, the compilation of which was made by Galen; a dialogue which he called Phaedrus; a dialogue which he called Meno; a dialogue which he called Minos; a dialogue which he called Hipparchus; a book which he called Menexenus; a book which he called Politicus.

From Other Than the Statement of Theon

From what I myself have seen and from the information of a reliable person about what he has seen:

Timaeus; three dialogues which Ibn al-Batrīq translated, and which Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq either translated or else Ḥunayn corrected what Ibn al-Batrīq had translated; Relationship, [taken from] the handwriting of Yahyā ibn 'Adi; book of Plato to the Cretan about the laws, [taken from] the handwriting of Yahyā ibn 'Adi; Oneness (Al-Tawḥīd), with his dialogue about the soul (al-nafs), the intelligence (al-ʿaqil), the elemental substance (al-jawwāt), and the dependent properties (al-ʿarḍ), Sense Perception and Pleasure, a dialogue; Timaeus, about which Plutarch spoke, according to [what is written in] the handwriting of Yahyā [ibn 'Adi], Theaetetus, which Olympiodorus translated, according to the handwriting of Yahyā; Education of Young Men (Taʿdib al-Ąḥdāth).

He also wrote epistles, which are extant. Theon said, "Plato arranged his writings for reading. Each group, consisting of four

79 The three dialogues were the Timaeus, the Critias, and the unfinished Hermocrates.

80 Flügel is probably correct in suggesting that this is the Cratylus, with its reference to the relationships in language.

81 Although Qīfī, p. 18, gives the title as simply Oneness, the manuscripts and Flügel are probably correct in connecting it with the phrase of explanation which follows. This book seems to refer to the Timaeus, which deals with the four emanations mentioned in the title, and ends with the words, "the only begotten universe." See Plato, Dialogues, III, 614, 617, 676. For al-ʿarḍ, see Lane, Lexicon, I, Part 5, 2008.

82 This is probably al-būs ("sense perception"), although it would fit Plato's dialogue more accurately if it was al-būs ("beauty" or "goodness"). "Pleasure" is al-lassālāthā. This dialogue is almost certainly Philebus.

83 The texts are unclear. This title might be, instead, Sophistes.

84 This is most likely the Laches.
books, he called a tetralogy.” 85 Ishāq the Monk said, “Plato became known and his work became famous during the days of Artaxerxes I [known as ‘the Long Hand’].” Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadim]: This king [Artaxerxes] belonged to Persia, so that there was no connection between him and Plato. It [probably] was Hystaspes, the king to whom Zoroaster presented himself; it is ʿAllah who knows. 86 Book of Plato: The Roots of Geometry, which Qustā translated. 87

Account of Aristotle

The meaning [of his name] is “lover of wisdom,” or, it is said, “the excelling, the complete,” there also being given “the perfect, the excelling.”

He was Aristotle, the son of Nicomachus son of Machao, one of the descendants of Aesculapius, who invented medicine for the Greeks. Ptolemy the Foreign (al-Gharib) recorded and said: “His mother’s name was Phaestias and she traced [her lineage] to Aesculapius. He came from a city of the Greeks named Stageira. His father, Nicomachus, served as a physician to Philip, the father of Alexander. He himself was one of the pupils of Plato.” 88 Ptolemy also said, “His submission to Plato was because of a revelation from the god in the Pythian temple.” He went on to say, “He continued to teach for twenty years, and when Plato was absent in Sicily, Aristotle took his place in the court of instruction.” 89

85 Although Aristophanes of Byzantium arranged some of Plato’s works in triologies, Thrasybus formed tetralogies. Thucydides evidently accepted this latter arrangement; see Smith, GRBM, III, 393.
86 Zoroaster’s date is uncertain, but the best authorities think that he lived about 660–583 B.C. The King Hystaspes converted by Zoroaster was probably a provincial prince; see Browne, Literary History of Persia, I, 95–96. Al-Nadim is obviously wrong also.
87 This book was probably not written by Plato. The name of the translator is garbled. Flügel suggests that it is meant to be Qustā ibn Lūqā.
88 Aristotle’s mother’s family lived at Stageira (Stagira) where Aristotle was born, 384 B.C. After spending twenty years with Plato, 367–347 B.C., he served as tutor to Alexander, 343–335 B.C. Then he spent 12 years in the Lyceum before he died, 322 B.C.
89 This might be, instead, “He continued with instruction.”
90 For Plato in Sicily, see Smith, GRBM, III, 393. The story of the oracle at Delphi is probably a legend.

It is said that he studied philosophy after he had lived for thirty years. He was the master of eloquent style among the Greeks and among their excellent writers. After Plato, he was the most honored of their scholars, holding the highest rank in philosophy among the ancients. 91 He also had an exalted position among the kings. Matters used to be administered in accordance with his opinion by Alexander, to whom he addressed a quantity of letters and communications about politics and other subjects.

Among these there was an epistle on politics which began, 92 “As for wondering about your good qualities, the evidences for them have become dissipated, they are out-of-date, forgotten, no longer new or causing astonishment. What the populace says about you is true: ‘He who praises you is not a teller of falsehood.’” There is in the same epistle: “When people are saddened by misfortunes, they are moved [to turn] to whatsoever is for their benefit. But if they attain security, they turn to evil, stripping off the bridle of caution. Thus, during a time of safety and calm, people are in the greatest need of the law.”

There is also in it: “Treat enemies with injury,” 93 those who have abscission with forgiveness; confessors with compassion; those who assault with opposition; troublemakers with social amency; 94 the envious with anger; the insolent with magnanimity; assailants with dignity; the seditious with disdain; those who vex (sting) with caution; ambiguous matters with postponement; things that are clear with firmness; affairs that are confused with investigation; and association with kings with confidential secrecy, guidance about affairs, praise and assiduity, for what they desire for themselves is praise, while demanding servitude from the people.” This is a saying of utmost wisdom, eloquence, and fullness of meaning, in

91 This is a free translation of an idiom.
92 This quotation may come from one of Aristotle’s short prose works, which he learned to write during his association with Plato, and some of which are well known. See “Aristotle,” Enc. Brit., I, 503; Smith, GRBM, I, 312.
93 The manuscripts have bi-al-ʿadāh (“with injury”), whereas Flügel gives bi-al-ʾilāh (“with permitting”).
94 MS 1934 has bi-al-ʿudāqādah (“with social amency”). Flügel has bi-al-ʾumānaqādāh (“with contention” or “with disputation”).
spite of being translated from one language to another. How great it must have been in the language of its utterance!

It is said that when Philip died and when, upon becoming king, Alexander turned his attention to wars against the nations, Aristotle withdrew, becoming ascetic. He went to Athens and established a place for teaching, the place with which the Peripatetics are associated. He turned his attention to the interests of the people, the aiding of the weak, and restoration of the buildings of the city of Stageira. The accounts about him are many; we have given only a few of them.\(^{85}\)

Aristotle died at the age of sixty-six, during the end of the period of Alexander, or it is said at the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Lagus. His sister's son, Theophrastus, followed him in his teaching.\(^{86}\)

The Will of Aristotle

Al-Gharib\(^{87}\) said, "When death attended him, he [Aristotle] stated:

I have made Antipater my executor permanently over all that I have left behind. Until Nicanor arrives, let Aristomedes, Timarchus, Hippiarchus, and Diotcles be responsible for seeking whatever there is need to seek for, and for handling whatever there may be need to take care of, on behalf of the people of my house and Herpyllis, my servant, as well as for the rest of my slave girls and slaves and those whom I have left behind.

If it is easy and feasible for Theophrastus to join them in this affair, he should also be one of their number. When my daughter gains maturity, let Nicanor have charge of her. In case she should happen to die before she marries, or afterwards before having a child, the responsibility for my son, Nicomachus, falls to Nicanor. My charge to him in this case is that he shall manage the affairs which he handles in a way both desirable and sincerely."

\(^{85}\) The Tonk MS adds the words "for information."

\(^{86}\) Aristotle died 322 B.C., a year after Alexander died, at the time when Ptolemy I Soter, son of Lagus, founded his dynasty in Egypt.

\(^{87}\) Al-Gharib was Ptolemy Chennus, see Ptolemy the Foreign in the Biog. Index. As most of the names mentioned in the will have nothing to do with the cultural topics of Al-Fihrist, only Nicanor, Nicomachus, and Theophrastus are included in the Biog. Index. The version of the will given in Arabic should be compared with Diogenes Laërtius, p. 185, as there are numerous variations. Most of the Greek names are greatly garbled in Al-Fihrist. The translation gives the proper spelling of these names and on the whole follows MS 1974, which differs from the Fligel text only in minor ways.

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SECTION ONE

In case Nicanor dies before he marries my daughter, or after her marriage but before she has a child, I charge that whatever Nicanor bequests in a will shall be valid and authoritative. In case Nicanor dies without a will and if it is convenient for Theophrastus, I should like to have him serve as his substitute in caring for my children and others whom I have left behind. But in case this is not agreeable to him, then let the executors whom I have named return to Antipater, so as to ask for his advice about what they should do with all that I have left. Then let them manage the affair in accordance with what they agree upon.\(^{89}\)

Let the executors and Nicanor take care of Herpyllis\(^{90}\) for me. She deserves that from me, because of what I have seen of her solicitude in my service and her diligence in connection with what fulfilled my desires. Let them give her all she needs and, if she desires to marry, let her take only a man who is virtuous. Let there be given her in addition to what she possesses a talent of silver, which is one hundred and twenty-five roubles, as well as three female slaves whom she shall choose in addition to the handmaid she already has and her servant boy. If she desires to reside at Chalcis, she may live in my house, the guest house on the edge of the garden. Or if she chooses to live in the city of Stageira, let her dwell in the house of my fathers. Whichever one of the houses she may select, let the executors provide there for her what she records that she needs.\(^{100}\)

With regards to my family and their affairs, I do not need to give a charge for their protection and the care of their affairs. Let Nicanor look after Myrmex, the slave boy, until he sends him with all his possessions to his town, in the way that he longs for. Let him set free my handmaid Aubracis. In the event that, after being emancipated, she offers to serve my daughter until she marries, give her five hundred drachmæ and her slave girl.

Let there be given to the girl Tales, whom we have recently acquired, a young man from among our slaves and one thousand drachmæ. Let the price of a slave boy be paid to Timon so that he can purchase for
 himself someone in addition to the boy whose price has already been paid to him. Let there also be given to him whatever the executors may see fit.

When my daughter marries, let there be set free my slave boys Tychon, Philon, and Olympius. Let not the son of Herpyllis be sold, let none of the boys who have served me be sold, but let them be continued in service until they reach the maturity of manhood. Then when this stage is reached, let them be enfranchised, with arrangements made to give them what they deserve, if God Almighty so desires.

From what is written in the handwriting of Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn], and in his own words, "Aristotle lived for sixty-seven years."

The Order of His Books on Logic, the Physical Sciences, Metaphysics, and Ethics

Statement about His Books on Logic: Eight Books

Categoriae, which means "definitions"; De interpretatione, which means "expressions"; Analytica, which means "analysis of the syllogism"; Apodeiktikos, which is the second Analytica and means "proof"; Topica, which means "argument"; Sophistici, which means "those in error"; Rhetorica, which means "oratory"; Abūṭiqā, which is called Poetica and which means "poetry."

Account of the Categoriae with the Translation of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq

Among those who explained it and wrote commentaries about it there were Porphyry, Stephanus the Alexandrian, Aelianos, Yahyā al-Nahwī, Ammonius, Themistius, Theophrastus, and Simplicius. A man known as Theon has made both Syriac and Arabic translations of the Categoriae. From the commentary of Simplicius there is an addition to the supplement. Among the odd commentaries, there is a fragment

ascribed to Iamblichus. Shaykh Abū Zakariyā106 said, "It is likely that this was falsely ascribed to Iamblichus, as I saw among the supplementary words, 'Alexander says.'" Shaykh Abū Sulaymān said that Abū Zakariyā worked over the translation of this book with the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias; [it amounted to] about three hundred leaves.

Among those who explained this book there were Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī and Abū Bishr Mattā. The book has the abridgments and compilations, both tabulated and not tabulated,107 of a group including Ibn al-Muqaffā, Ibn Bahriz, Al-Kindī, Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn,108 Ahmad ibn al-Ṭayyib, and al-Rāzi.

Account of the De interpretatione

Ḥunayn [ibn Ishāq] translated it into Syriac and Ishāq [ibn Ḥunayn] into Arabic, the distinctive part.109

The Commentators

Alexander [of Aphrodisias]: not extant. Yahyā al-Nahwī; Iamblichus; Porphyry, a compilation;110 Stephanus; Galen, a commentary which is rare and not to be found; Quvayri; Mattā, Abū Bishr; al-Fārābī; Theophrastus.

Among the Abridgments


Account of the Analytica priora

Theodore [the Commentator] translated it into Arabic. It is said that he showed it to Ḥunayn, who corrected it. Ḥunayn translated a portion into Syriac and Ishāq translated also into Syriac what was left.

106 See Qiṭṭī, p. 361 l. 18, where Yahyā ibn 'Adi is called Shaykh Abū Zakariyā. In the following sentence, Abū Sulaymān was probably Muḥammad ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī, and MSS 1934 and 1135 have different forms for "worked over."

107 The Arabic word refers to diagrams arranged like family trees. For simplification it is translated "tabulated."

108 The Tonk MS has Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq and also contains other errors due to careless copying.

109 MSS 1934 has al-fāṣ ("distinctive part"); Flügel has al-nāṣ ("text"), with a note to question its accuracy.

110 Flügel places "compilation" with Stephanus, probably wrongly. The manuscript suggests that it goes with Porphyry.
The Commentators

Alexander made two commentaries as far as al-ashkāl al-jumliyah, one of them more complete than the other. Themistius wrote a commentary on the two sections together. Yahyā al-Nahwī made a commentary as far as al-ashkāl al-jumliyah and Quwāyī wrote a commentary as far as al-thalāthah al-ashkāl. Abū Bishr Mattā made a commentary on the two sections together and al-Kindī also wrote a commentary on this book.¹¹¹

Account of the Apodeiktikós, which is the Analytica posteriora, in two sections

 Hunayn translated part of it into Syriac and Ishāq translated it in complete form into Syriac. Mattā translated the version of Ishāq into Arabic.

The Commentators

Themistius made a complete exposition of this book. Alexander also explained it, but his work is not extant. Yahyā al-Nahwī commented upon it. Abū Yahyā al-Marwazi, with whom Mattā studied, had a statement about it, while Abū Bishr Mattā, al-Fārābī, and al-Kindī wrote explanations of it.

Account of the Topica

Ishāq [ibn Hunayn] translated this book into Syriac, while Yahyā ibn ‘Adī translated into Arabic what Ishāq had rendered. Al-Dimashqī translated seven of its sections, the eighth being translated by Ibrāhim ibn ‘Abd Allāh.¹¹² There also existed an ancient translation.

¹¹¹ The expression al-ashkāl al-jumliyah is probably either “universal syllogisms” or “composite syllogisms”; see Aristotle, Prior and Posterior Analytics, pp. 369, 414. The term al-thalāthah al-ashkāl probably refers to syllogisms in the third figure; ibid., p. 362. These two terms are subjects dealt with in the Analytica priora. Themistius’ commentary was evidently about the two books which compose the Analytica priora.

¹¹² In the Greek edition there are eight sections and in the Latin edition eight books. See Aristotle, Opera omnia, I, 172.

The Commentators

Yahyā ibn ‘Adī said at the beginning of the commentary on this book, “I find no commentary on this book by any predecessor except for Alexander’s commentary on part of the first section, and also the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth sections. There is also the commentary of Ammonius on the first, second, third, and fourth sections. For what I sought in my commentary, I relied upon what I understood in the commentaries of Alexander and Ammonius. I also improved the diction of the translators of those two commentaries.” The book, with the commentary of Yahyā, has nearly one thousand leaves.

From an account other than that of Yahyā: Ammonius explained the first four sections and Alexander the last four, as far as the twelfth topic in the eighth section.¹¹³ Themistius explained the topics in it, while al-Fārābī also wrote a commentary on this book, with an abridgment of it. Mattā made a commentary on the first section, Ishāq translated what Ammonius and Alexander commented upon in the book, and Abū ‘Uthmān al-Dimashqī translated this book.

Account of the Sophistici

It means “falsified wisdom.” Ibn Nā‘imah and Abū Bishr Mattā translated it into Syriac, while Yahyā ibn ‘Adī translated it into Arabic from [the version of] Theophilus.¹¹⁴

The Commentators

Quwāyī wrote a commentary on this book and Ibrāhim ibn Bakīs al-Ushārī translated into Arabic what Ibn Nā‘imah rendered, with corrections. Al-Kindī also wrote a commentary on this book, and it is said that a commentary on the book by Alexander was found at al-Mawṣīl.¹¹⁵

Account of the Rhetorica

It means “oratory.” There has come down an ancient translation. It is said that Ishāq translated it into Arabic and that Ibrāhim ibn ‘Abd Allāh also made a translation.

¹¹³ There were fourteen topics. For the twelfth, see Aristotle, Categoriae et topica, p. 196.

¹¹⁴ This was probably Tūfīl ibn Thūmā.

¹¹⁵ The reference to Mawṣīl is omitted in MS 1135.
Account of the Natural Hearing \text{[Physica auscultatio]}, with the Commentary of Yahyā al-Naywī of Alexandria

Thus saith Muḥammad ibn Ishāq [al-Nadīm]: The part of this book which Qustā [ibn Lūqā] translated is in the form of precepts, but the part which 'Abd al-Maṣīḥ ibn Nā'imah translated is not in this form of precepts.²¹⁹ Qustā translated the first half, which is in four sections, and Ibn Nā'imah the last half, also four sections.

Account of the Natural Hearing \text{[Physica auscultatio]}, with the Commentaries of a Varied Group of Philosophers

Porphyry’s commentary on the first, second, third, and fourth sections is extant. Basil translated it. Abū Bishr Matta wrote an explanation in Syriac of Themistius’ commentary on this book. Part of the first section in Syriac is extant. Abū 'Alīmad ibn Kānib wrote a commentary on part of the first section and part of the fourth section, as far as the statement on time.²²⁰ Thābit ibn Qurrah made a commentary on part of the first section, while [Abū Nūh] Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣalt translated the first section of this book. I saw it written in the handwriting of Yahyā ibn ‘Adī. Abū al-Faraj Qudāmah ibn Ja'far ibn Qudāmah also wrote a commentary on part of the first section of the \text{Physica auscultatio}.

Account of the Book Heaven and Earth \text{[De coelo]}²²¹

It has four sections. Ibn al-Batrīq translated this book, while Ḥunayn [ibn Ishāq] corrected it. Abū Bishr Matta translated part of the first section and Alexander of Aphrodisius made an exposition of part of the first section of this book. Themistius wrote an exposition of the entire book. Yahyā ibn ‘Adī either translated or corrected it and Ḥunayn wrote something about it [entitled] \text{The Sixteen Questions}. Abū Zayd al-Balkhi explained the first part of this book for Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin.²²²

¹¹⁶ In Arabic this is \text{Al-Sana'\textendash}al-Ta'htī. See Aristotle, \textit{Opera omnia}, II, 248. In Latin this book is sometimes also called \textit{Naturalis auscultationis}.

¹¹⁷ This is very likely as far as the tenth topic of the fourth section; see Aristotle, \textit{Opera omnia}, II, 298.

¹¹⁸ This passage is very confused, because the word \textit{al-maṣālaḥ} is used both to refer to the original eight sections in Aristotle’s own work and also to the parts or chapters into which the translations and commentaries were divided by the medieval scholars. The English translation is an attempt to make the meaning clear. The word \textit{al-kalām} is also used in a confusing way. It is translated as “treatise” and “statement.”

²¹⁹ See n. 117.


²²¹ Cf. Qīfī, p. 46 ll. 4, 5.
Account of the Book Being and Corruption [De generatione et corruptione] 198

Ibn Hunayn translated it into Syriac and Ishāq into Arabic, as did also al-Dimashqī. It is recorded that Ibn Bakīs [Ibrāhīm] translated it too. Alexander wrote an exposition of the entire book, Mattā translated it, and Qustā [ibn Lūqā] translated the first section. Olympiodorus wrote an exposition of Eustathius’ translation. Mattā Abū Bishr translated this and, after examining it, Abū Zakariyā 199 corrected it, that is, the translation of Mattā.

A commentary by Themistius on De generatione et corruptione has recently been found. It consists of two expositions, one large and one small. Yahyā al-Naḥwī wrote a complete exposition of De generatione et corruptione, but the Arabic is inferior in excellence to the Syriac.

Account of the Signs on High [Meteorologica] 195

Olympiodorus wrote a long exposition. Abū Bishr [Mattā and] al-Ṭabarī translated it. 196 There was an exposition by Alexander, which was translated into Arabic, but was not translated into Syriac. Later, Yahyā ibn ‘Adī translated it 197 into Arabic from the Syriac.

Account of the Book The Soul [De anima] 198

It is in three sections. Ibn Hunayn [Ibn Ishāq] translated all of it into Syriac. Ishāq [ibn Hunayn] translated all but a small part of it. Then

195 In Arabic Kistāb al-Kaun wa-al-Fasād. See Aristotle, Opera omnia, II, 432.
196 This was probably Yahyā ibn ’Adī, a translator of scientific books.
197 In Arabic Kistāb al-Ḥār al-Ulūwīyā; see Aristotle, Opera omnia, III, 553: “Aristōtēlē,” Enc. Islam, 1, 433, where the title is given as Al-Ḥār al-ulūwīyā. In MS 1135 parts of these passages are misplaced.
198 The name Olympiodorus can be questioned, as the Arabic original is not properly written. Here, it is given in MS 1914 as Alam Ṣafīdūs, but the consonant mark on the letter written as f is omitted. In numerous passages which follow, this letter is clearly marked as q. Wenrich, p. 294, has Macidorus, but Pauly; Smith, GRBM; Sarton; Diogenes Laërtius; and the Encyclopaedia Britannica do not mention a man of this name. What is likely is that some scribe wrote what should have been f as q, placing two dots over the letter instead of one. It was easy for the Arabs to use f for p, as they did not have p in their alphabet. Usually b represents p, but not always. As Olympiodorus was well known and wrote a commentary on the Meteorologica (see Smith, GRBM, III, 25), it seems reasonable to identify this man as Olympiodorus.
199 This probably refers to the Meteorologica rather than to the commentary.

Ishāq translated it a second time in its entire form, with improvements. Themistius wrote an exposition of the whole book; two chapters on the first [section], two chapters on the second, and three chapters on the third. Olympiodorus wrote a commentary which I read written in Syriac in the handwriting of Yahyā ibn ’Adī. There has been found an excellent commentary in Syriac ascribed to Simplicius, which he wrote for Athāwālī. 198 An Arabic edition has also been found.

The Alexandrians had an abstract of this book, about one hundred leaves in length, and Ibn al-Batrīq made compilations of the book. Ishāq said, “I translated this book into Arabic from a manuscript which was in poor condition. Then after thirty years, when I found a manuscript in the best possible condition, I compared it with the first translation, which was of the exposition of Themistius.” 199

Account of the Book Perception and the Perceived [De sensu et sensilib] 201

It is in two sections. No translation which can be relied upon is known or recorded. What is recorded is a small portion which al-Ṭabarī derived from Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnūs.

Account of the Book of Animals: Nineteen Sections 202

Ibn al-Batrīq translated it, and there was also an old Syriac translation, which was better than the Arabic one. From what I have read written in the handwriting of Yahyā ibn ’Adī, “In the catalogue of his books there was, moreover, an ancient compilation.” Then according to what is written in the handwriting of Yahyā ibn ’Adī, “Nicolaus wrote an abridgment” of this book. Abū ’Ali ibn Zur’ah commenced to translate it into Arabic, as well as to correct it.

201 This is probably meant to be Annonius son of Hermes, the master of Simplicius. See Smith, GRBM, I, 146. For Olympiodorus, see n. 126.
202 This quotation should be compared with the rendering in Qīfī, p. 41.
203 In Arabic Al-Ḥus wa-al-Maksūs. See Aristotle, Opera omnia, III, 476, in which there are seven chapters instead of two sections.
204 The nineteen sections probably include Historia animalium, De partibus animalium, and De animalium generatione. These works total nineteen sections; see Aristotle, Opera omnia, III, 1–430, 517–26. The small treatises, De animalium motione and De animalium inessu, were probably not a part of this work.
Account of the Book of Letters known as the *Divine Things* [Metaphysics] 132

The arrangement of this book was according to the sequence of the Greek letters, the first of which was the lesser A. *Ishāq* [ibn Ḥunayn] translated it. The work is extant as far as the letter *M*, which letter [section] was translated by Abū Zakariyyā‘ *Yahyā* ibn ‘Adī. The letter *N* was extant in Greek in the commentary of Alexander. Eusathius, moreover, translated these letters [sections] for al-Kindī, who gives information about it. 134

Abū Bishr Mattā translated into Arabic the letter *L*, the eleventh letter, with a commentary by Alexander. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq translated it into Syriac. Themistius wrote a commentary as far as the letter *L*, and Abū Bishr Mattā translated it with the commentary by Themistius. Shami also translated it. Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn translated a number of the letters and Syrius wrote a commentary as far as the letter *B*. It appeared in Arabic and was catalogued in the handwriting of Yahyā ibn ‘Adī in the catalogue of his books.

From among the Books of Aristotle as Copied from What Is Written in the Handwriting of Yahyā ibn ‘Adī, from the Catalogue of His Books:

**Ethics** 135—Porphyry wrote a commentary on twelve sections which were translated by Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn. A number of the sections, together with the commentary of Themistius, were in the possession of Abū Zakariyyā‘ Yahyā ibn ‘Adī and written in the handwriting of Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn. It was written in Syriac. The Visage 136—al-Ḥajjāl ibn Maṭār translated it. Theology (Theologia), 137 about which al-Kindī wrote a commentary.

132 In Arabic, *Kitāb al-ʿAlāhiyyāt*. The thirteen sections are designated by letters *A* through *N*. The “lesser *A*” is the last part of the first section. See Aristotle, *Opera omnia*, II, 468; *Metaphysica*, l, 1–310; Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, Vols. I and II.

134 Ḥajjāl Khalīfāh, V, 31, and Qīfī, p. 42 l. 2, have variations. It is likely that Eustathius Romanus did provide al-Kindī with a translation.

135 In Arabic Al-ʿAbīlāq. As this included twelve sections, it probably consisted of the ten sections of the *Ethica Nicomachea* and two sections of the *Magna moralia*. See Aristotle, *Opera omnia*, II, 1–183; Ethics of Aristotle, p. 6 ff.

136 The Arabic word al-marādīh indicates something envisaged. Ḥajjāl Khalīfāh, V, 149, calls this book *Liber de Speculo*, which probably signifies the Latin *De divinatione per somnum*. See Aristotle, *Opera omnia*, III, 507 ff.


Theophrastus

He was one of the disciples of Aristotle, and his sister’s son. He was also one of the executors whom Aristotle appointed. After his [Aristotle’s] death, he succeeded him at the court of learning. 138

Among his books there were:

The Soul [De anima], one section; 139 Signs on High [De meterroris], one section; 140 Morals [Theophrast de moribus], one section; Sense and Objects of Sense [Theophrast de sensu et sensibili], four sections translated by Ibrāhīm ibn Bakūs; *Metaphysics* [De metaphysica], one section, which Abū Zakariyyā‘ Yahyā ibn ‘Adī translated; *The Causes of Plants* [De causis plantarum], which Ibrāhīm ibn Bakūs translated—the part of it which is extant is a commentary of part of the first section; 142 a work attributed to him, which is a commentary on the book “Categoriae.”

Diadochus Proclus from the People of Attaleia 142 the Platonist definitions of the origins of natural phenomena [Elementa physica]. 143

The Eighteen Questions [Duodeveginti quaestiones sive argumenta Christianos], which Yahyā al-Nahwī refuted; Exposition of Plato’s Statement that the Soul Is Not Essence [Commentarius in Platonis dialogue de anima immortalitate]; Theology [Institutio theologica],

138 It was an Arab tradition that he was Aristotle’s nephew. The court of learning was of course the Lyceum. For a list of books of Theophrastus, see Diogenes Laërtius, p. 197.

139 See Smith, *GRBM*, III, 1088–90, for the first, second, fourth, and fifth titles.

140 For this title, see Diogenes Laërtius, p. 197; for the following, *ibid.*, p. 199.

142 See Theophrastus, I, 311; II, 201.

143 Al-Fihrist gives this place name as Aṭṭāriyyah, although Qīfī, p. 89, gives Aṭṭūlah. As Proclus was brought up at Xanthus, this may be the large city near the modern Antalya.

The following note is written sideways on the margin of MS 1315, but incorporated into the text in MS 1135 and Flügel: “Yahyā al-Nahwī mentioned in the first section of his refutation of his, [Proclus’, work] that he [Proclus] lived during the Coptic period of Dioecletian, at the beginning of the third century after his reign. This is true.” This statement is wrong, as Dioecletian reigned A.D. 284–305, and Proclus lived 412–85. See Flügel, p. 255 l. 3; “Chronology,” *Enc. Brit.*, VI, 316. For a modern book about Proclus, see Rosén, *The Philosophy of Proclus*.

MS 1135 becomes regular at this point, after omissions and confusion, with the exception that the passage omitted in the account of Aristotle’s *De generatione et corruptione* is erroneously inserted into the account of Proclus.

143 This list of books should be compared with Wernich, p. 288. In the third title, the Arabic word translated “essence” is *al-mātiyyah*. Qīfī, p. 369 n. c., substitutes a better-known form, *maṭiyyah*, which is like the Greek *οὐσία*; see Sprenger, p. 131 ff.
which pertains to God. Commentary on the Golden Testaments of Pythagoras [In Pythagorae aurea carmina commentarius]—it is about one hundred leaves and extant in Syriac. He wrote it for his daughter. Thābit ibn Qurrah] translated three of its leaves, but [then] died, so that he did not complete it.144

The Sublime Elements; book of Proclus called Diadochus, that is, "the follower of Plato," about the Ten Questions [De decem questionibus, sive dubitationibus circa providentiam]; The First Good; The Ten Difficult Questions [Decem dubitationes circa providentiam]; The Atom Which Cannot Be Divided; The Illustration Which Plato Gave in His Book Entitled "Gorgias" [De parabola, quam Plato in dialogo, qui Gorgias inscripsit, prolati], in Syriac; Commentary on the Tenth Section about Happening, appearing in Syriac; book of Proclus, the Platonist, entitled the Smaller Stoichioseis; book of Proclus on a commentary on the "Phaedo," about the soul—Abū 'Ali [ʿIsa ibn Ishāq] ibn Zur'ah translated a small part of it into Arabic.

Alexander of Aphrodisias

He lived during the days of the Kings of the Tribes, after Alexander [the Great]. He learned from Galen and associated with him.145 He nicknamed Galen "Mule Head," and between them there were differences and disputations. In our account of Aristotle we have mentioned his expositions of Aristotle's books.

Abū Zakariyā' Yahyā ibn 'Adī said:

Alexander wrote an exposition on all of the Hearing [Physica australis] and also of The Proof [Analytica posteriora], which I have seen among the things left by Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Nāṣirīd, the Christian. The two expositions were offered to me for sale for one hundred and twenty gold coins (ṣ, dinār). I went to fetch the coins and upon returning found that the people had sold the two expositions along with other books to a man from Khurāsān for three thousand gold coins.

Another person whom I can trust said to me, "These books used to be carried in the sleeve."

Abū Zakariyā' Yahyā ibn 'Adī said that he offered fifty gold coins (ṣ, dinār) to Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh for a copy of the Sophistic, a copy of the Oratory [Rhetorica], and a copy of the Poetry [Poetica], as translated by Ishāq, but he would not sell them. At the time of his death he burned them.

Among Alexander's books there were:

The Soul [De anima], one section; Refutation of Galen about Possibility [Alexandri Aphrodisiensis contra Galenum de possibili dissertatio], one section;—also one section refuting him about time and place; Vision (Sights) [Visum], one section; The Sources of Providence [De providentia], one section; Contradiction of Premises [De praemissorum inversione], one section; The Origins of the Whole According to the Opinion of Aristotle [De universalibus], one section; What Exists Is Not Homogeneous with the Ten Categories; Providence [De fato], one section; The Difference between Primordial Matter and Genus [De materiae a genere differentia]; Refutation of Whoever Says That Nothing Exists Except from Something Else [Refutatio illorum, qui adserunt nihil ex nihilofieri]; That Visual Perceptions Do Not Exist Except by Rays Traced from the Eye and a Refutation of Whoever Speaks of Diffusion of the Rays [Refutatio illorum, qui contendunt, visum nonnisi ope radiorum ex oculus emanatim effici], one section; Color [De coloribus], one section; Differentiation according to Aristotle [De differentia ex Aristotelis sententia], one section; Theology [De theologia], one section.

144 See Wenrich, p. 288, and Sarton, I, 404.
145 This was a composition ascribed to Pythagoras and called "golden" because Galen was supposed to have copied it with gold ink; see text near n. 71.
146 This was very likely Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum commentaria.
147 This book cannot be identified and is probably not known in modern times.
148 This book cannot be identified.
149 This may be De providentia et fato.
150 This was very likely an abridgment of Instituo theologica.
151 For the Kings of the Tribes, see the Glossary. In the following two sentences, the man referred to is Galen, the great medical authority, who died A.D. 199, about the time Alexander of Aphrodisias became director of the Lyceum. For "Mule Head," see Smith, GRBM, II, 217.

152 The word for "possibility" is not given correctly in the Arabic. It is not entirely certain that the Latin title applies in the book which follows.
153 The Latin title seems to fit the Arabic one, but the identification is not certain.
154 Alexander wrote numerous commentaries on Aristotle's works. The Latin for this commentary is not identified.
155 Qifīf, p. 55 top, and MS. 1115 have al-lawm ("existence"). Alexander wrote a book with this title which is called De generatone. Flügel and MS. 1914 have al-lawm ("color"), as given in the translation. These titles should be compared with Wenrich, F. 273 ff.
Porphyry

He came after Alexander of Aphrodisias, but before Ammonius, and was one of the people of the city of Tyre. Coming after the time of Galen, he expounded the books of Aristotle, as we have mentioned in the place where we have given an account of Aristotle. His additional books were:

Isagoge [Porphyrii isagoge], an introduction to books on logic; Introduction to the Categorical Syllogisms [Introductio in syllogismos categoricos], translated by Abū ‘Uṯmān al-Dimashqī; Intelligence and the Intelligible [De intellectu atque intelligibili], in an old translation; two books addressed to Anebo [Ad Anebonem]; refutation of Longinus in connection with “Intelligence and the Intelligible” [De intellectu atque intelligibili], seven sections in Syriac; Seeking an Explanation, one section in Syriac; Accounts of the Philosophers [Philosophia historica]—I have seen its fourth section in Syriac; Abridgment of Aristotle’s Philosophy [Philosophiae Aristotelicae compendium].

Ammonius

In his history Ishāq ibn Hunayn said that he [Ammonius] was one of the philosophers who lived after the time of Galen. He wrote commentaries on the books of Aristotle. We have already mentioned the ones among them which are extant when we were recording the books of Aristotle. Among his other books there were:

Exposition of Aristotle’s Doctrines About the Creator; Aristotle’s Aims in His Books; Aristotle’s Proof of Oneness.

Themistius

He served as secretary to Julian, the apostate from Christianity who [supported] the doctrine of the philosophers, later than the time of

A.D.: Ammonius lived three centuries later.

155 For the Isagoge, see Sarton, I, 335; Wrenrich, pp. 280–81; “Isāḥāḥuddā,” Enc. Islam, II, 527; Porphyry, Isagōgē.
157 MS 1934 has istaṭfā (seeking an explanation). The other versions omit or confuse the title. Another possibility is that the word is meant to be ikhtisāt (“abridgment”) and is an unfinished title; the title Abridgment of Aristotle’s Philosophy (“Ikhṭisāt Falsafah Aristūqāśli”) is given as the last entry in the list in MS 1135. It is omitted in Flügel and MS 1934.
158 For Ammonius and Themistius, see Wrenrich, pp. 286, 289.

Galen. We have already mentioned the commentaries which he [Themistius] wrote about the books of Aristotle in the proper place. Among his [other] books there were:

Book to Julian, Administration; The Soul [De anima], two sections; Epistle to Julian the Emperor.

Nicolaus

He was a commentator on the books of Aristotle. We have already mentioned his commentaries in their proper place. In addition to these there were among his books:

On the Beauty of Aristotle’s Philosophy about the Soul [Summa philosophiae Aristotelae], one section; Plants [De plantis]—a number of its sections have appeared; Refutation of Whoever Makes Action and the Enacted the Same Thing [Refutatio illorum, qui intellectum et intelligibile unum esse statuunt]; Abridgment of Aristotle’s Philosophy [Compendium philosophiae Aristotelae].

Plutarch

Opinions of Nature [De placitis philosophorum physicis], which includes the opinions of the philosophers about natural phenomena, in five sections—Quṣṭa ibn Lūqā al-Ba’labakki translated it; Morals [Moralia], about what he pointed out in connection with the treatment of an enemy and the way to benefit by him; Anger [De ira]; Self-Training [De virtutis exercitio], one section in Syriac; The Soul [De anima], one section.

Olympiodorus

He was a commentator on the books of Aristotle. Mention has already been made of the commentaries which he wrote, in the passage giving an account of Aristotle. Nothing particular from his works has fallen into our hands.

161 MS 1934 has “commentary” instead of “commentator,” evidently a mistake. These titles should be compared with Wrenrich, p. 254.
162 This passage should be compared with Wrenrich, p. 255.
163 This is probably De Capienda ex inimicis utilitate, bound with other treatises to form Moralia. See Plutarch, Moralia, I, xxxii–xxxiv.
164 This may be confused with the treatise on Aristotle’s De anima which was not written by the famous Plutarch, but by the Athenian; see Biog. Index., Plutarch son of Nestorius.
165 For this name see n. 126.
to back down, they deposed him. He lived until Egypt was invaded by ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ, who, when he went to him, honored him and found a position for him.

He wrote commentaries on the books of Aristotle. I have mentioned the commentaries which he wrote in their proper place. His additional books were:

Refutation of Proclus, eighteen sections; That Every Body Is Finite, So That Its Force is Also Finite, one section; Refutation of Aristotle, six sections; Commentary on What Occurred to Aristotle, the Ten; a dissertation in which he refuted Nestorius; book in which he refuted people who do not profess [their beliefs], two sections; another treatise in which he refuted another group.

He also had some explanations of some of Galen’s books on medicine, which we shall mention when we give an account of Galen. In the fourth section of his commentary on Natural Hearing [Physica auscultatio], in the statement about time, Yahyā al-Nahwī mentioned a comparison, saying, “Like this year of ours, which is the three hundred and forty-third Coptic year of Dioscorian.” This indicates that between us and Yahyā al-Nahwī there are more than three hundred years. It is reasonable to suppose that the writing of the commentary on this book was at the beginning of his life, because he lived during the days of ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ.

The Names of the Philosophers of Natural Science
Their periods and order of sequence are not known. They are:

Ariston

Among his books there was The Soul [De anima].

Qifṭi, p. 356, has “death” instead of “force.”

See Qifṭi, p. 356, where the word translated “the ten” is omitted. “The ten” may be instead “the tenth” (al-‘āšir), in which case it might refer to the last section of the Categories, or to the last of ten books. Hajj Khalifa, III, 620, says that the commentary of Yahyā was in ten volumes. On the other hand, “the ten” may refer to the ten categories themselves.

The Coptic year of Dioscorian dates from the accession of the emperor, A.D. 284, so that 343 years later would be A.D. 627. ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ invaded Egypt A.D. 640, at which time he befriended Yahyā. For the Coptic year of Dioscorian, see “Egypt,” Enc. Brit., IX, 89.
Pantuleius

Among his books there was *Secrets of Nature*, one section.

Taurus

Among his books there was *The Dream*, one section.

Artemidorus

He was the author of *The Dream*. He also wrote *Interpretation of a Dream*, in five sections, translated by Hunayn ibn Ishāq.

Gregorius

He was the Bishop of Nyssa. Among his books there was *The Disposition of Man*.

Ptolemy the Foreign (al-Gharib)

He admired Aristotle and divulged his good qualities. Among his books there was *Account of Aristotle, His Death, and the Sequence of His Books*.

Theon

He was a zealous partisan of Plato. Among his books there was *Sequence of Reading Plato’s Books and the Titles of His Compositions*.

On the back of a piece [of manuscript] I found written in an ancient handwriting the names of persons whose names have come down to us from among [those of] the commentators on the books of the philosopher [Aristotle] in connection with logic and other branches of philosophy. They are Theophrastos, Eudemus, Herminius, Jovian, Iamblichus, Alexander, Themistius, Porphyry, Simplicius, Syrianus, Maximus, Aedesius, Lycur, Nicostratus, Plotinus.

Account of al-Kindī


He was the distinguished man of his time and unique during his period because of his knowledge of the ancient sciences as a whole. He was called “the Philosopher of the Arabs.” His books were about a variety of sciences, such as logic, philosophy, geometry, calculation, arithmetic, music, astronomy, and other things. He was miserly.

We are mentioning him with the natural philosophers so as to indicate his preeminent position in science. We shall mention everything that he compiled about all of the sciences if Allāh Almighty so wills.

Names of His Philosophical Books

Elementary (First) Philosophy, introductory to natural phenomena and unity; Intrinsic (Inner) Philosophy, Logical and Difficult Questions, etc.

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177 See Durayd, *Genol.*, p. 219 bottom, for this element of the name.
178 This name is very likely incorrect. Flügel spells it with a double t. Compare variations in Qīfī, p. 366 l. 16; Durayd, *Genol.*, p. 212 l. 2; *Al-Kindī*, Enc. Islam, II, 1018–19.
179 See *Al-Kindī*, Enc. Islam, II, 1018, where this name is written “Udad.”
181 For an amusing description of the miserly traits of al-Kindī, see Jībīq, *Le Livre des awarets*, pp. 115–33.
183 It is probable that the epistles written by al-Kindī were similar to modern essays. The word fi (“about” or “on”) is often placed after “his epistle” in the Arabic; it is omitted in the translation. Compare the following list of philosophical books with Kindī, *Rasīl al-Kindī al-Falsafīyah*.
184 Islam did not regard spirit and matter as two existences, but insisted upon the oneness of creation. This was a difficult subject for the philosophers, influenced by Greek thought, to discuss.
and Metaphysics (the Supernatural); his epistle on the subject that philosophy cannot be acquired except with a knowledge of mathematics; Encouragement for the Learning of Philosophy; Arrangement of the Books of Aristotle; about the intention of Aristotle in the "Categorica," what they [the categories] aim at, and their subject matter; The Essence of Science and Its Divisions; The Divisions of Human Learning; his long epistle, Scientific Evaluation; his epistle epitomizing scientific evaluation; That the Works of the Creator, May His Name Be Glorified, Are All Just, There Being No Injustice in Them; about the Essence of the Phenomenon Which Has No Termination, and in What Way It Is Said That It Has No Termination.

His epistle, Evidence that the Firmament of the World Cannot Be without Termination and That This Is [Known] by Power [of Intellect]; about Agents and the Things Acted upon among the First Natural Phenomena; about Explanations of the Combinations of Thought (al-Jawā'īl al-Fikriyyah); Questions Asked about the Benefit of Mathematics; about investigating the statement of one claiming that natural objects produce uniform action due to the inevitability of their creation; about the Origins of Perceptible Phenomena; epistle, Benevolence in the Arts; epistle about the procedure for letters to the caliphs and viziers; epistle, Division of the Law; epistle, The Essence of the Mind, with an explanation of it.

His Books about Logic
His epistle on an introduction to logic, with a full discussion of it; his epistle on an introduction to logic, with abridgment and summary; his epistle, The Ten Categories; his epistle about the clarification of Ptolemy’s statement at the beginning of his book "Almagest" in connection with what Aristotle said in the "Analytica"; his epistle about choosing of the four books; his epistle, Guarding against the Deceits of the

This may refer to the five vowel sounds, but it is not included with the books on music.

Here the Arabic is Sam’ al-Kiyān, whereas the Physica auscultatio of Aristotle is as a rule entitled Al-Samā’ al-Tahiti’i ("Natural Hearing").

For organ see Goichon, Vocabulaires comparés d’Aristote et d’ Ibn Sīnā, p. 2 no. 31. For "union of premises," see Rescher, Studies in the History of Arabic Logic, pp. 15 n. 18, 36.

Both Qīṭī, p. 370, and Flügel have khhuṭā ("lines"), but the manuscripts do not give a consonant sign over the first letter, and the word makes more sense as ḥuṭā ("redaction of a fraction").

Al-shā’ī is defined as a measure of weight equal to a barley grain, or of length equal to six mule hairs, side by side. See Lane, Lexicon, Book I, Part 4, p. 1561.

MS 1934 adds an extra title which is too badly written to be sure of its meaning.

Flügel gives al-kurrīyāt, which is not a usual form and does not make sense. Qīṭī, p. 370, and the manuscripts have al-kurrīyāt, which in modern times is used for spherules, but formerly may have been used in a more general way for spheres.

Qīṭī, p. 370, omits the word "shape." This title probably refers to the spaces between the seven heavenly bodies.
His Musical Books
His long (great) epistle, Composition; his epistle, The Ordering of Melody according to the Heavenly Bodies, and the Similarity of Their Composition; his epistle, An Introduction to the Art of Music; his epistle, Information about the Art of Composition; his epistle, Making Melody; his epistle, The Arts (Works) of the Poets; his epistle, Accounts of the Art of Music.

His Astronomical Books
His epistle, That Visibility of the New Moon Cannot Be Determined Accurately, a Statement about It Being Approximate; his epistle, Questions Which Are Asked about the States of the Stars; his epistle, The Answers to Questions of Physics about Astronomical Procedures; his epistle, Projection of the Rays; his epistle, The Two Divisions; his epistle, How Each One of the Countries Is Related to One of the Signs of the Zodiac and to One of the Stars; his epistle, What Has Been Asked as an Elucidation Regarding How Variation Has Taken Place in Connection with the Forms of the Newly Born; his epistle, What Is Said about the Age of People in Ancient Times and the Difference in Our Time; his epistle, Verifying the Operation [of Calculations] for Nativities, Labor, and the Star Predominant at Birth; his epistle, An Explanation of the Cause of the Retrogression of the Stars.

His epistle, The Speed Appearing with the Movement of the Stars, When on the Horizon, and Their Slowness after They Have Risen; his epistle, A Clarification of the Diversity Existing among the Heavenly Bodies; his epistle, The Rays; his epistle, The Difference between al-Tasýr and the Operation for the Projection of the Rays; his epistle, The Causes for the Positions (Settings) of the Stars; his epistle related to the heavenly bodies designated as beneficial and auspicious; his epistle,


The word translated “information” is probably khabar or khubur, but is not clearly written. Qifû, p. 370, has ıkhabâr, the plural form.

For al-Kindi’s articles about music, see Kindî, Mu'allâsât al-Kindî al-Misîqiyah, pp. 8, 9 ff.

This may refer to the seasons; see Sprenger, p. 1139 top.

See the Glossary for “calculations for nativities” and “labor and the star predominant at birth.”

Al-Tasýr is also spoken of as “directly” and “theoria planetarium.” For an understanding of this term as applied to astrology, see “Al-Tasýr,” Enc. Islam, IV, 694; “Astrology,” Enc. Islam, I, 496; and Sprenger, p. 663.


His Geometrical Books
His epistle, Explanations of the Book of Euclid; his epistle, Correction of the Book of Euclid; his epistle, Reversal of Observations; his epistle, How the Ancients Related Each of the Five Polyhedra to the Elements; his epistle, Approximating Archimedes’ Statement about the Measuring of the Diameter of a Circle from Its Circumference; his epistle, Establishing the Form of the Medians; his epistle, Approximating the Chord of a Circle; his epistle, Approximating the Chord of a Ninth; his epistle, Areas of Vaulted Chambers; his epistle, Division of the Triangle and the Square and Calculating Both of Them; his epistle, How to Form a Circle Equal to the Surface of a Designated Cylinder; his epistle, The Risings and Settings of the Stars by Means of Geometry.

His epistle, Dividing the Circle into Three Parts; his epistle, Correction of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Propositions of the Book of Euclid; his epistle, The Proofs from Surface Measurements of What Is Shown by Astronomical Calculations; his epistle, Correction of the Statement of Anaxilaus about Risings of Heavenly Bodies; his epistle, Reversal of Observations in a Mirror; his epistle, Laying Out an Astrolabe by Means of Geometry; his epistle, Determination of the Meridian and the Direction of the Qiblah by Means of Geometry; his epistle, Making a Sundial by Means of Geometry; his epistle, Determination of the Hours by a Sundial which Is Set on a Plane Parallel to the Horizon, and Is Better than Any Other Method; his epistle, Auspicious Auguries.

Both Flügel and Qifû, p. 371, have ʾaṣbūd (“purposes”), whereas the manuscripts give ʾaṣâd (“explanations”). Two titles following, Reversal of Observations should be compared with the fifth title in the following paragraph, about reversed reflections in a mirror.

A chord is a line between two points on the circumference of a circle. Here it probably refers to the line marking a segment equal to a ninth of the circumference. The word “areas” in the title which follows is uncertain.

The manuscripts do not have the letter n in this name. Qifû, p. 71, gives an account of Anaxilaus. This scholar was very likely Anaxilaus of Larissa.

A written page, for instance, held before a mirror reads backwards.

This probably refers to a hemispherical sundial.

Qifû, p. 71, and Flügel have sawânih, which means “auspicious auguries.” It may also mean “accidents,” or it may imply “obliqueness,” such as that of a solid having an axis which is not perpendicular, or the obliqueness of an obtuse angle.
His Cosmological Books
About the Impossibility of Measuring the Surface of the Farthest Sphere, Which Governs the [Other] Spheres; his epistle, The Nature of the Celestial Sphere Is Different from the Natures of the Four Elements, Being a Fifth Nature; his epistle, Manifestations of the Celestial Sphere; his epistle, The Most Remote World (Extreme Universe); his epistle, Worship of the Most Remote Sphere of Its Creator; his epistle, Refutation of the Manicheans in Connection with the Ten Questions about Subjects Related to the Cosmos; his epistle, Forms; his epistle, It Is Impossible that the Sphere of the Cosmos Should Be without Termination; his epistle, Celestial Objects of Observation; his epistle, The Impossibility for the Most Remote Sphere to Change; his epistle, Ptolemy's Art of Cosmology; his epistle, Termination of the Sphere of the Cosmos; his epistle, The Essence of the Celestial Sphere and the Inherent Azure Color Perceived in the Direction of the Heavens; his epistle, The Essence of the Celestial Sphere, Bearing in Its Nature the Characteristics of the Four Elements; his epistle, Proof of the Moving Body and the Essential Quality of Lights and Darkness; his epistle, The Concealed.

His Medical Books
His epistle, Hippocratic Medicine; his epistle, Nutrition and Deadly Medicine; his epistle, Vapors Which Cleanse the Atmosphere from

His Astrological Books
His epistle, Offering Knowledge about Questions by Indication of the Heavenly Bodies; his first, second, and third epistles about forming [astrological] judgments by division; his epistle about an introduction to astrology in accordance with questions; his epistle, Questions; his epistle, Indications of the Two Maleficent [Planets] in the Sign of

Pestilences; his epistle, Medicines Which Give Healing (Protection) from Harmful Odors; his epistle, How to Facilitate (Lubricate) Medicines and Compound the Humors; his epistle, The Cause (Disease) of Spitting Blood; his epistle, Remedies for Poisons; his epistle, The Regime of the Healthy; his epistle, The Cause of Vertigo with Acute Diseases; his epistle, The Soul, the Principal Part of Man, with an Explanation of Man; his epistle, The Procedure of the Brain (How the Brain Works).
Cancer; his epistle, Determining the Usefulness of Choices; his epistle, Determining the Usefulness of the Art of Astrology, and Who the Man Is Who Is Deservedly Called an Astrologer; his abridged epistle, The Ordinances of Nativities; his epistle, Revolution (Transfer) of the Years of Nativities; his epistle, Obtaining Indications about Happenings from Eclipses.

His Books of Disputations

His epistle, Refutation of the Manichaeans; his epistle, Refutation of the Dualists; his epistle, Guarding against the Deceit of the Sophists; his epistle, Confuting the Questions of the Heretics; his epistle, Confirmation of the Apostle, for whom May There Be Peace; his epistle, That the First Agent Is Perfect and the Second Agent Figurative; his epistle, Istiṣṭa’ah and the Period of Its Existence; his epistle, Refutation of Whoever Thinks that There Is Arresting of Motion for Bodies in Their Descent in the Sky; his epistle, The Falsehood of the Statement of Whoever Thinks that There Is Rest between Natural and Accidental Motion; his epistle, It Is a False Conception that, When First Originated, a Body Is Neither at Rest Nor in Motion; his epistle, Oneness, with explanations; his epistle, Falsity of the Statement of Whoever Thinks that an Atom Is Indivisible; his epistle, Essentials of Bodies (Substances); his epistle, Beginnings (Origins) of a Body (Substance); his epistle, The Difference between the Sects about Oneness and [the fact that] although They Are All for Oneness, Each Has Disagreed with Its Associate; his epistle, Glorifying [God]; his epistle, Proof.

His Books about the Souls

His epistle, The Soul Is an Uncombined Essence, Imperishable, Affecting Bodies (Substances); his epistle, The Essence of Man and His Principal Part; his epistle, Information about the Agreement of the Philosophers Regarding the Signs of Passionate Love; his epistle, That of Which the

Soul Was Mindful, When in the Realm of Intellect, before Its Existence in the Realm of Sense; his epistle, The Cause of Sleep, Dreams, and What the Soul Manifests.

His Books about Politics (Government)

His long (great) epistle, Politics (Government); his epistle, Facilitating the Ways of the Virtues; his epistle, Averting the Making of Grief; his epistle, The Government (Politics) of the Common People; his epistle, Ethics; his epistle, Calling Attention to (Admonition regarding) the Virtues; his epistle, Information about the Virtue of Socrates; his epistle, The Words of Socrates; his epistle, A Dialogue Taking Place between Socrates and Aeschines; his epistle, Information about the Death of Socrates; his epistle, What Passed between Socrates and His Guards; his epistle, Goodness of the Intellect.

His Books on Ontological Occurrences

His epistle, An Explanation of the Creative Cause Related to Being and Corruption, about corruptible phenomena (al-ka’nīāt al-fāsidāt); his epistle, The Reason Why It Is Said that Fire, Air, Water, and Earth Are the Elements of All Corruptible Phenomena and Why These and Other Things Are Transmuted, One to the Other; his epistle, The Diversity of the Times in Which the Potency of the Four Original Principles Appears; his epistle, The Relativity of Time; his epistle, The Reason for the Diversity of the Seasons of the Year; his epistle, The Essential Nature of Time (al-Zamān), Limited Time (al-Hin), and Eternity (al-Dahr).

His epistle, The Reason Why the Highest Part of the Sky Is Cold, While the Part Near the Earth Is Warm; his epistle, The Happenings in the Sky; his epistle, The Object (Sign) Which Appears in the Sky and Is Called a

In this paragraph there is a word which can be either khaṭar ("information") or khayr ("goodness") mentioned three times. In the title about the death of Socrates the consonant is indicated, so that it is "information," but in the other cases there are no consonant signs to mark which of the two meanings is indicated.

Although the Arabic texts have an r in this name, it is almost certainly "Aeschines," who was one of those taking part in the dialogue Phaedo.

The manuscripts have al-luwarī ("guards"). Qīṭī, p. 374, and Flügel have the ḥarrānīyīn, which must be a mistake.

Although Flügel has ḥaḥr ("information"), the unmarked form found in the manuscripts, khayr ("goodness"), is probably correct.

The word translated "ontological" is ʿabdāthīyīn. Sprenger, p. 278, gives ʿabdāthū, the noun form, as synonymous with "being."

The word translated as "seasons" usually means "species." It is omitted in MS 1135.
His Miscellaneous Books

His epistle, The Kinds of Jewels, Precious Ones and Others; his epistle, The Kinds of Stones; his epistle, The Shining of Glass; his epistle, That Which Dyes and Gives Color; his epistle, Kinds of Swords and Iron; his epistle, That with Which Swords and Iron Are Treated So That the Edges Are Not Blunted and They Are Not Dulled; his epistle, Domestic Birds; his epistle, Crossbreeding the Dove; his epistle, Setting on Eggs; his epistle, Species of the Bee and Its Nobles; his epistle, The Making of a Vessel for Mixing; his epistle, Perfume and Its Varieties; his epistle, The Alchemy of Perfume; his epistle, The Making of Foods from Other than Their Elements; his epistle, Names That Are Obsolete (of Obsolete Places); his epistle, Warning of the Deceit of Alchemists; his epistle, The Principles of Mechanics; his long (large) epistle, Bodies Plunged in Water; his epistle, The Two Traces Perceived in Water; his epistle, The Flow and the Ebb; his epistle, Falling (Descending) Bodies; his epistle, Making Mirrors Which Produce Flame.

His epistle, The Heat of (Produced by) a Mirror; his epistle, Pronunciation (Dialects), in three sections: first, second, and third; his epistle, Al-Ḥasharāt Muṣawwarī "Uṭāridī; his epistle, The Science of the Winds in the Bowels of the Earth, Which Produce Many Earthquakes and Terrors; his epistle about an answer to fourteen questions of natural science about which some of his brothers asked him; his epistle about an answer to three questions about which he was asked; his epistle, The

The word translated “miscellaneous” is al-awāḥib, which usually means “species.” MS 1113 shows variations in this paragraph, but they are unimportant.

MS 1934 omits ḥadīth, evidently an error. It is translated “so that.”

MS 1934 gives a form which appears to be tanzīj and probably means in this connection “crossbreeding.” Qiṭṭī, p. 375, has ṭanawīj ("trembling"), while Flügel has tanawīth ("calming"). MS 1934 is probably correct, as the other forms are not included in the dictionaries.

The word translated “the bee” is al-naḥl, a generic noun for bees. It is possible that various versions have omitted the sign over the third letter and that it is meant to be al-naḥlī ("palm tree"). In that case the title would be Species of the Palm and Its Noble Qualities.

The word translated “vessel” is qunūn. Instead of al-nabbiyāt ("mixing"), Qiṭṭī, p. 375, has another word, which is probably an error.

For this title, see Sarton, I, 170, 183, 427.

Flügel gives al-aṭṭ ("heat"), which is probably correct, although MS 1934 gives a word which might be al-aṭṭar ("subtleties").

The meaning of this title is not clear. Al-ḥasharāt ("reptiles," "small creeping things") may be instead al-ḥawāšī ("quaints"). Muṣawwar means “formed” or “painted,” and ṭarīdī means “ingenious.”

MS 1934 and Flügel have ḥilm ("science"). Qiṭṭī, p. 376, gives aml ("action").
CHAPTER SEVEN

Story of the Man Pretending to be a Philosopher by Silence; his epistle, The Cause of Thunder, Lightning, Snow, Cold, Thunderbolts, and Rain; his epistle, The Falsity of the Contention of Those Who Claim to Make Gold and Silver, and Their Deceit; his epistle, Completion (Al-Wafā’);\(^\text{539}\) his epistle, Explanation that the Diversity Existing among the Heavenly Bodies Is Not Responsible\(^\text{540}\) for the Primordial Reactions, as It Is for What Is Subject to Generation and Corruption.

The Disciples of Al-Kindi and His Scribes

Hasanuwaṣḥ, Naṣfuwaṣḥ, Salmuwaṣḥ, and others with this [name] formation.\(^\text{541}\) Among his disciples there was Ahmad ibn al-Ṭayyib, whom we shall mention in what follows. Abū Ma‘ṣhar [Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad] also derived knowledge from him.

Ahmad ibn al-Ṭayyib

He was Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmād ibn Muḥammad ibn Marwān al-Sarakhšī. He was, moreover, one of those who traced a start in life to al-Kindi, with whom he studied and from whom he learned. We mention him in this place because of his relationship to him [al-Kindi].

He was learned in many of the sciences of both the ancients and the Arabs, with an excellent knowledge, fine genius, eloquent speech, and an ability for compilation and composition. At first he was the teacher of al-Mu‘taḍid.\(^\text{542}\) Then he became his intimate companion, devoting himself to his service. He [al-Mu‘taḍid] used to tell him about his confidential matters and consult him about the affairs of the kingdom. The preeminence of Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib, however, was due to his learning rather than to his intelligence.

The reason why al-Mu‘taḍid executed him was because of his intimacy with him, for he confided to him a secret which had to do with al-Qāsim ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh and with Badr. This Badr was a young man attached to al-Mu‘taḍid. Its [the secret’s] divulgence and becoming known was because of a famous trick played on him [Aḥmad] by al-Qāsim. Then al-Mu‘taḍid turned him over to these two men, who chose the best of his possessions and then committed him to the grain cellars.

At the time when al-Mu‘taḍid set forth to invade Āmid and to fight with Aḥmad ibn ‘Īsā ibn Shaykh,\(^\text{543}\) there escaped from the cellars a group of the Khawārij and others, whom Mu‘nis al-Fahl happened upon. He [Mu‘nis] was chief of the guard and deputy of al-Mu‘taḍid at the court. Aḥmad stayed in his place, hoping that he would be safe, but his remaining there was the cause of his death.

Al-Mu‘taḍid ordered al-Qāsim to confirm [the names of] a group of persons whom it was necessary to execute so that he could relax from anxiety in his heart about them. When he confirmed [the names], al-Mu‘taḍid signed [an order] for their execution. Since al-Qāsim entered the name of Aḥmad along with the others, he was executed. When al-Mu‘taḍid inquired about him, al-Qāsim recorded his death, producing the confirmation, so that he [the caliph] did not question it.

So this man passed away during the year ——, after he had reached the sky in rank.\(^\text{544}\) Among his books there were:

Abridgment of the Book “Categoricae”; Abridgment of the Book “De interpretatione”; Abridgment of the First Book of “Analytics”; Abridgment of the Second Book of “Analytica”;\(^\text{545}\) the large book, Gathering Together and the Operation of Calculating;\(^\text{546}\) the small book, Gathering Together of the Operations and Calculating; Pleasure of Souls, which did not appear in its complete form; Amusement, Instruments for

\(^{539}\) He was the chief of the regions of Āmid and Diyar Bakr, and revolted against al-Mu‘taḍid. For Āmid on the Upper Tigris, see Yaqūt, Geog., I, 66; for Diyar Bakr, see “Diyar Bakr,” Enc. Islam, I, 928.

\(^{540}\) Ahmad ibn al-Ṭayyib was director of weights and measures, so that he may have been corrupt and have amassed an unreasonably large fortune. Perhaps for that reason the caliph allowed his officers to confiscate his estate and execute him. See Ma‘ṣūdī, VIII, 179; Qīfī, p. 77.

\(^{541}\) These of course were works of Aristotle’s. The last two were the Analytica priora and Analytica posteriora.

\(^{542}\) In this title the term “gathering together” comes from the Arabic ‘aṣḥah, which refers to building a bird’s nest.
SECTION ONE

Ibn Karrīb

He was Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn ibn Abū al-Ḥusayn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd, al-Kāthīb, who was known as Ibn Karrīb. He was one of the most eminent of the theologians, upholding the doctrines of the natural philosophers. His brother, Abū al-ʿAlā', was interested in the science of geometry. We are mentioning him in his proper place. Abū Aḥmad was extremely virtuous, learned, and skilled in the natural sciences of the ancients. He died ———. Among his books there were:

Refutation of Abū al-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah's Denial of the Necessity for the Existence of Two States of Rest between Two Contradictory Movements; Treatise about Types and Species, concerning matters of a general nature.

Al-Fārābī

He was Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭarkhān. His origin was in al-Fāriyāb in the land of Khurāsān. He was one of the leaders in the field of logic and the ancient sciences. Among his books there were:

Grades of the Sciences; Commentary on a Portion of Aristotle's Book of Ethics [Ethicorum Nicomacheorum]. Al-Fārābī wrote commentaries on Aristotle's books, which are extant and in circulation among the people. They are:

Analogy—Categorica; The Proof—Analytica posteriora; Oratory—Rhetorica; Those in Error—Sophistic.

They were in the form of compilations. He also wrote discerning compilations on the books of logic.

Abū Yahyā al-Marwazi

Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus studied under him. Although an excellent man, he was a Syrian, so that everything he wrote about logic and other things was in the Syriac tongue. He was also a well-known physician in the City of Peace [Baghdād].

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Singing, Singers, Court Companions, Sittings Together, and Varieties of Stories and Anecdotes: the large book, Government (Polities); the small book, Government (Polities); Introduction to the Art of Astrology; the large book, Music, two sections which have not been equaled for excellence and greatness; the small book, Music; Arithmetic, about numbers, algebra, and equation.

Roads and Kingdoms; Animals of Prey and Hunting Them; Introduction to the Art of Medicine, in which he refuted Huwayri n Ibshāq; The Questions; The Virtues of Baghdad and Historical Traditions about It; Cooking, which he composed according to months and days for al-Muṭṭadd; Provision for Travelers and the Service of Kings, a delightful book in two sections; Introduction to the Science of Music; Training of Kings; Companions and [Social] Sessions; his epistle about the reply of Thābit ibn Qurrah to the question addressed to him; his treatise about spots on the skin and moles; The Poor and the Manner of Belief of the Populace; The Benefit of the Mountains; his epistle describing the doctrines of the Šābiyān (Šābiyūn); about [the Subject that] in the Process of Creation, Created Bodies Are Neither Moving Nor at Rest.

Quwayri

His name was Ibrāhīm and he was surnamed Abū Ishāq. He was one of those by means of whom the study of logic was learned, and he was also a commentator. Mattā ibn Yūnus studed him.

Among the books of Quwayri there were:

Commentary on the "Categorica," tabulated [with designs]; De interpretatione, tabulated; Analytica priora, tabulated; Analytica posteriora, tabulated.

His books are unpopular and rejected, as his style lacks fluency and is hard to understand.

687 For "spots on the skin" this translation follows MS 1934 and Flügel; MS 1135 has instead al-bahaj ("leprous").
688 The translation follows MS 1934, which gives tarīq l-tāqīd al-ʿummah ("manner of belief of the populace"). Flügel gives tarīq l-tāqīd al-ʿimmah, which might mean either "new belief of the populace" or possibly "new acquisition of an estate of the populace."
689 See "Šābiyāns" in Glossary.
690 MS 1934 and MS 1135 have Yūnān, which is a form of Yūnus.
691 The proper names in these titles are transliterations from the Greek. It is possible that the word "commentary" is meant to be understood before the Greek titles. For these books, see the account of Aristotle's works.
Abū Yahyā al-Marwazi

He was another man whom I have mentioned, as this point [in the book] requires his inclusion. He was a physician who was also learned in geometry.

Various Books of a Number of Miscellaneous People

The Obscure Way (Mind), about the secret of the Creator; Bryson on the Management of the Home, by Apollonius.274

Māttā ibn Yūnūs

Abū Bishr Māttā ibn Yūnūs was a Greek and one of the people of Dayr Quinnā, one of those who matured in the School of Mar Mārī.275 He studied under Quvayrī, Theophilus, Benjamin,276 and Abū Ahmad ibn Karrīb. He translated from Syriac into Arabic. The leadership of the logicians of his period culminated with him. Among his commentaries there were:

Commentary on the Three Last Sections of the Commentary of Themistius; translation of the book “The Proof” [Analytica posteriora], the main text; translation of “Sophistic,” the main text; translation of the book “Being and Corruption” [De generatione et corruptione], with the commentary of Alexander [of Aphrodisias]; translation of the book “Poetry” [Poetica], the main text; translation of “Respect for the Sciences and Inquiring about the Subjects,”277 by Themistius; translation of the book which is the commentary of Alexander about the book “Heaven” [De coelo]—Abū Zakariyā Yahyā ibn ‘Adi corrected it.

274 In the manuscripts this second title is garbled. Rūfūs is the first name, and the last is not clear, but they are probably intended to be Bryson and Apollonius, as translated. See Plessner, pp. 4–5, 8, 144 ff.
275 For Dayr Quinnā and Dayr Mar Mārī, see Yāqūt, Geog., II, 687, 700. Dayr means “monastery.” Mar is probably meant for the Syriac Mār (“saint”).
276 This name, written Banyāmīn, may refer to Benjamin Nahawandī, the well-known scholar who lived in Persia during the late 8th and early 9th century. No other man of this name has been identified.
277 Instead of “sciences” (al-ḥikam), perhaps this should be “authority” (al-ḥukm). This book does not seem to be known in modern times.

Mattā also wrote commentaries on all of the four books of logic, upon which people rely for their reading. Among his books there were [also]:

A section on the introductions preliminary to the book “Analytica”; Conditional Analogies of Estimation.

Yahyā ibn ‘Adi

He was Abū Zakariyā Yahyā ibn ‘Adi ibn Ḥumayd ibn Zakariyā the logician, who became the foremost of his group in our time. He studied under Abū Bishr Māttā [ibn Yūnūs], Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī and a group of scholars. He was unique during his period. He belonged to the Jacobite Christian sect.

One day when I spoke earnestly with him about the great amount of material which he had transcribed, he spoke to me with regards to those who are copyists (uvarāqīyūn), saying: “Wherefore now do you wonder at my patience? In my own handwriting I have transcribed two copies of the Commentary of al-Ṭabarī,278 which I have taken to the kings of distant regions. I have transcribed so many books of the theologians that they cannot be counted. It is my agreement with myself that I should copy a hundred leaves every day and night, which I feel to be too little.”

He also said to me, “My birth was during the year ——.” He died in the year ——. Among his books, commentaries, and translations there were:

A commentary on Aristotle’s book “Topica”; his treatise about the four investigations;279 his epistle refuting the arguments which someone280 set forth in support of the statement of those who say that actions are the creation281 of Allāh Almighty and an acquisition for his servant [man].

278 See Ṭabarī, Taḥārī.
279 Cf. Qīfī, p. 363 l. 11. Flügel does not separate this phrase from the one preceding it, as is done by the manuscripts.
280 The word translated “someone” is not clear in the manuscripts. Flügel has al-‘a‘līs (“headman”); it may be a proper name.
281 “The creation” is given by the manuscripts but not by Flügel. “Almighty” is omitted by the manuscripts but included by Flügel.
Abû Sulaymân al-Sijistânî

He was Abû Sulaymân Muhammad ibn Ṭâhir ibn Bahrâm al-Sijistânî, whose birth was during the year ———. Among his books there was a treatise about the degrees of man’s ability and how warnings inform the soul of what takes place in the world of phenomena.

Ibn Zur’ah

He is Abû ‘Ali ‘Isâ ibn Ishâq ibn Zur’ah ibn Murqus ibn Zur’ah ibn Yuhannâ. He is contemporary with our time, and one of the leaders in the science of logic as well as in the philosophical studies. He is also one of the accurate translators. His birth was at Baghdâd during Dhū al-Ḥijjah [the twelfth Muslim month] in the year three hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 942/43]. Among his books there were:

An abridgment of Aristotle’s book about the inhabited parts of the earth, one section;288 The Aims of Aristotle’s Books about Logic, one section; The Meaning of the “Isagoge,” one section;289 The Meaning of a Portion of the Third Section of the Book “Heaven” (De coelo), one section; about the mind, a treatise which did not become known; The Amulet, a treatise which he translated;290 what he translated from the Syriac; “Historia animalium” of Aristotle; “Uses of the Parts of the Animal,” according to a commentary of Yahyâ al-Nâwî;291 a discourse about ethics, which is not extant; five chapters from the book of Nicolaus [of Laodicea] about the philosophy of Aristotle;292 “Sophistici” of Aristotle, the main text.

Ibn Khammâr

He is Abû al-Khayr al-Hasan ibn Suwâr ibn Bâbâ ibn Bahrâm, and is living in our own time. He is one of the best of the logicians who studied under Yahyâ ibn ‘Adî, having the greatest intelligence, comprehension, and ability for the sciences of his associates. His

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birth was in the month of Rabî’ al-Awwal [third Muslim month], during the year three hundred and thirty-one [A.D. 942/43].

Among his books there were:

Formless Matter, one section; Agreement between the Opinions of the Philosophers and the Christians, three sections; a commentary on the “Isagoge,” explained;293 a commentary on the “Isagoge,” abridged; The Friend and Friendship; Biography of the Philosopher [Aristotle], one section; Pregnant Women, a treatise about medicine; about diabetes, which means emission, drop by drop, one section; Apparitions Imagined in the Sky as a Result of Water Vapor—they are the halo of the moon, the rainbow, and the mist, one section; his translations from Syriac into Arabic; The Heavenly Signs, which he translated;294 The Confused in the Four Books of Logic,295 the “Questions” of Theophrastus, which he translated; Discourse on Ethics, which he translated.

Al-‘Awwâqi [al-‘Uqî]

He is one of the people of al-Baṣrâh and is living in our own time. His name is ———, and his books are: ———.

287 See n. 157.
288 Very likely the Meteorologia of Aristotle.
289 The word “confused” is taken from Flügel, as the manuscripts are not clear. The words “the found from that” are added at the end of the title. This probably signifies the logic in four of the books of Aristotle’s Organon.

290 This may have been falsely assigned to Aristotle.
291 See n. 157.
292 Qâfi, p. 246 top, has al-tamânah (“amulet”), whereas Flügel gives al-namânah (“calumny”). The manuscripts lack consequent signs.
293 This probably refers to De partibus animalium; see Aristotle, Opera omnia, III, 218.
294 De summa philosophiae Aristotelicae; see Smith, GRBM, II, 1192 bottom.