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EDITED BY
JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, AND HANNS OERTEI.
Professor in the University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill.
Professor in Yale University,
New Haven.

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The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Hazm.—By Israel Friedlaender, Professor in the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City.

Commentary.¹

The Commentary herewith presented follows Ibn Hazm’s text published in Vol. xxviii of this Journal, pp. 28-80, by page and line. In marking the lines, I have counted every line on the page, including the superscriptions. The footnotes are not quoted by the line but by the number prefixed to them. In the case of some very long footnotes, I also added the line of the footnote referred to.

I prefix a “List of Cited Works,” giving all the authorities (with short biographical dates) regularly or frequently quoted in this treatise. The abbreviations under which they are quoted are made noticeable to the eye.² Books only incidentally referred to are omitted in this list. MS, before the title signifies that the book has not yet appeared in print and has been used in manuscript.

In quoting from Arabic sources I have discriminated between printed works and manuscripts. The latter I quote in the original; the former I give—except in cases of necessity—in

¹ Continued from Vol. xxviii, pp. 1-80.
² To simplify the abbreviations, I purposely neglect the rules of exact transliteration.
translation, as the text itself is accessible to the specialist. In translating from the printed edition of Ibn Hazm's *Milat*, I usually attach the important variants from the manuscripts at my disposal.

I plead guilty to being inconsistent in transliterating the Arabic. Such inconsistencies are scarcely avoidable. The specialist will pardon them, the layman will hardly notice them.

As regards the index to this treatise, I refer the reader to my remarks in Vol. xxviii of this Journal, p. 27.

*List of Cited Works.*


Agh. Abū'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī [d. 356/967], Kitāb al-AGRâni, Būlāk.


Bagd. MS. On Bagdadī [d. 429/1038] and his work, see Introduction to this treatise, p. 26.

Blochel, Le Messianisme et l'hétérodoxie Musulmane. Paris, 1903.—Draws largely on Persian (Shi`i) sources.


Diyarbekri. Diyārbeķri [died after 982/1574], Ta`rīkh al-Khamâs. Cairo, 1283⁰.


Haarbrücker. German translation of Shahristânî I—II. Halle, 1850—51. Unless otherwise stated, quotations refer to vol. I.


Ikd. Ibn ‘Abîd Rabbihi [d. 328/940], al-‘Ikd al-farîd, I—III. Cairo, 1293. If not otherwise stated, quotations refer to vol. I.


Kashi. 1 Abū 'Amr Muḥammed b. ʿOmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kashshī (from Kashsh in Jurjān) [approximately 306 4, Imamīte], Maʾrifat akhbār ar-rijāl, Biographies of Shiīte worthies chronologically arranged. Bombay 1317 8. — The author apparently draws on old and rare sources.


Makrī. Makrīzi [d. 845/1442], Kitāb al-mawāʾiz wa-l-ittibār bi-dikrīl-khitāt wa-l-āthār, I–II. Bālāk, 1270 8. Drawn partly on very old sources. Unless otherwise stated, quotations refer to vol. II.

Masūdī. Masūdī [d. 345/956], Murūj ad-dahab, ed. Barbière de Meynard, I–IX. Paris, 1861–77. — His information is incidental and brief, but extremely valuable.


1 Mr. Ellis, of the British Museum, kindly called my attention to this work.

2 I have been unable to find any statement bearing on the age of this author. The date given in the text is based on the following calculations. al-Kashshī was a pupil of al-ʿAyyāshī (edition of his work, p. 379). The latter is no doubt identical with Fikri 193 4, and Tusi, List of Shaykh books, No. 690. Neither of these authors give his age. But according to Tusi, ib., al-ʿAyyāshī, "heard the disciples (ashūb) of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Faḍḏāl" who died 224 8 (Tusi, No. 191). This justifies the rough estimate given in the text.
A biography of Ali and his successors in the Imamate. Cod.


Tab. Tabari [d. 309/921], Annales, ed. de Goeje.


van Vloten, Chittisme. van Vloten, Recherches sur la Domina
tion arabe, le Chittisme et les Croyances messianiques dans le Khalifat des Omayyades. [Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling Letterkunde, Deel I, No. 3.] Amsterdam, 1894.

van Vloten, Worgers. von Vloten, Worgers in Iraq [Feest-
bundel ... van zijn tachtigsten geboortedag aan Dr. P. J. Veth]. Leyden, 1894. (See this volume, p. 92.)


Wüstenfeld, Register. Wüstenfeld, Register zu den gene-
alogischen Tabellen. Göttingen, 1853.

Wüstenfeld, Tabellen. Wüstenfeld, Genealogische Tabellen

ZDMG. Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesell-
schaft.


Zeid. Mutaz. Ahmad b. Yahya b. 'l-Murtadā [d. 840].

Yakut. Yākūṭ [d. 626/1229], Geographical Dictionary ed.
Wüstenfeld I–VI. Leipzig, 1868–73.
List of Abbreviations.


Comm. = Commentary to Ibn Ḥazm’s Milal published in this volume.

Ed. = printed edition of Ibn Ḥazm’s Milal wa’n-Niḥal.


Milal = the manuscripts of Ibn Ḥazm’s Milal wa’n-Niḥal:

Br = British Museum.

L = Leyden.

V = Vienna.

Y = Yale.

See Introd., p. 17.

Note. with a number following, refers to the footnotes under the Text (see next).


Small figures above large figures indicate the line on the page referred to. When underlined, the small figure indicates that the lines are to be counted from below.

[28] P. 28, l. 21 f.¹ I am not sure that I have correctly rendered the words of the original (Ed. II, 111¹):  

وإياً ما شغب بدها من شغب منهم فيما غلط فيه من غلئتة (LVY read شغب بدها من شغب منهم فيما غلط فيه من غلئتة). The meaning of the sentence is not quite clear. It largely depends on the interpretation of the verb شغب. The latter, followed by بCUR or قبل, usually designates "to excite, stir up evil, mischief or discord, against or among people" (Lane). We have translated accordingly, taking بCUR as referring to الإسلام and to بدها in the preceding sentence. But our author, who is apparently very fond of this word, seems to use it in a somewhat different sense. Thus Ed. II, 131²¹

¹ The reference is to Vol. xxviii of this Journal, as already stated.
contradiction to anything that has been logically demonstrated is nothing but the casuistry of the Sophists." 19: a certain heretic was convincingly refuted and nothing was left to him except sophistc arguments:
See also III, 214".
Comp. Dozy sub voce: "suppositions captious, sophisms" (from Makkari). The verb is applied by Ibn Hazm in the same sense and construed with rei. Ed. V, 15: "we know of no proof whatever which they could casistically bring forward in favor of this nonsense." III, 203

"One of them sophistically assumes that the verse (Koran 17, 104) reads "alimat" with a "damma" over the "ta". In accordance with these quotations the sentence under consideration ought to be translated: "and to expound the sophisms that were brought forward by those of them who argue sophistically" would then be the (Wright, Arabic Grammar II, 320A) of and the variant with a would be an intentional correction. In somewhat hard, but it can scarcely be translated otherwise than it has been done in the text.

29. 1. 1. Ed. as well as Codd. write, as a rule, the marjihah (or marjihah) both with Hamza and Ya. This spelling may have been chosen intentionally, so as to embrace the two interpretations given to the word, the one deriving it from "to delay," the other from the root "to inspire hope." Comp. Shahr. 103, Makr. 349a, Goldziher, Muh. St. II, 90, note 1.

L. 10 f. For the better understanding of this paragraph I insert here the synopsis of Murji'ite doctrines given in Mialal I, II, 162:

"as theiva Imam is the transcendent over the act:

فلم حكروا ذلك وعزروا عليه قال حيهم بن صفوان وال丈晖
I. Friedlaender.

[1908.]

إذ الأموار كذلك فهو التصديق بالقلب خاصية إبن أعلى الكفر [29]
بلسانائه في دار الإسلام بلا نيةً، وقال حمد بن عرواء الأموار
كذلك فهو التصديق باللسان وإبن آمن الكفر بقلبه فنفر
سائر المرجية عن هذين الشعبيين وأكثماها الجمعية
والكريمية والاشتريعة. See the detailed account on the Murji'a
Ed. IV, 204 ff. On the question as to the nature of "Faith"
see III, 188 ff.

— L. 11. Abū Hanifa died 767 C. E. Shahr. 105 admits
that this famous Fakih is generally counted among the Murji-
ites. 8 He does so reluctantly, as the latter, in spite of their
close relation to the Sunna, are considered heterodox, and he
explains this, in a rather far-fetched manner, as the result of a
misunderstanding. But inconsistently enough, he himself later
mentions him among the prominent men of the Murji'a (p. 108).

— L. 15. Jahm was executed for his heterodox beliefs
towards the end of the Omayyad period, Shahr. 19, 60. Makr.
349 9

— Ibidem. On al-Ash'ari's (873–935 C. E.) doctrine see
de Boer, 56 f. At first opposed, "he was finally considered so
orthodox that anyone who attacked him was regarded as an
infidel who deserved capital punishment. The devout philoso-
pher was revered as a saint" (Dozy, Isl. 255). It is highly
characteristic that Makrizi, who quotes this passage almost
verbatim (345") , omits al-Ash'ari's name both here and l. 17.

Although himself a Zahirite like Ibn Hazm, 9 he did not possess
his courage or consistency to charge the patron-saint of the
Sunna with heterodox views. The same consideration probably
accounts for the variant in L and Y (see note 6). The printer
of Ed. repeatedly endeavors to defend al-Ash'ari against the
attacks of our author. In a footnote to this passage (II, 111)

1 On the margin
بلا قلمبه ص.

8 Comp. IKot. 301.
9 Makrizi frequently plagiarizes Ibn Hazm; see Goldziher, Zahiriten
392; Muh. St. II. 289.
10 Goldziher, Zahiriten, p. 196 f.
he maintains that Ibn Hazm misrepresents al-Ash'ari's view, ascribing this circumstance to the geographical distance between these two men (the former in Spain, the latter in Basra). In a footnote to III, 206 he asserts that the difference between al-Ash'ari and Ibn Hazm is merely verbal.

— L. 16. Muhammed b. Karram (died 256 \textsuperscript{a}, Makr. 357 \textsuperscript{a}) is counted Makr. 349 \textsuperscript{a} (comp. 357 \textsuperscript{a} ff.) among the Mushabbibiya. On his view regarding the external nature of "faith" (our text l. 31 ff.) see Ed. III, 188, Bagd. 4 \textsuperscript{a}. Comp. de Boer, 56.


— L. 24 f. See the chapter on the Mu'tazila, Ed. IV, 192 ff.

— L. 25 f. The three Mu'tazilites named here occupy an intermediate position in the question of Kadar: It is God who creates the actions of man, but man has the privilege of giving assent to them. Shahr. 62, de Boer 56.

— L. 25. On an-Najjar (9th century C. E.) see Makr. 350 \textsuperscript{a}.

— L. 26. Instead of غياث (also Ed. IV, 45 \textsuperscript{a}, Makr. 356 \textsuperscript{a}) Shahr. 63 \textsuperscript{a} has عتاب (Haarbrucker 94 \textsuperscript{a} 'Attāb).—Makr. 350 \textsuperscript{a} counts him among the Mujabbira, admitting, however, that because of his other views he is generally reckoned among the Mu'tazila. He died 218 \textsuperscript{a}, Fih\textsuperscript{a}. 182, n. 7.


— L. 2. See on this famous Mu'tazilite p. 66 \textsuperscript{a} and passim—His peculiar position in the question of Kadar, de Boer, 51.

— L. 5 ff. See Text 74 \textsuperscript{a} ff. and Comm.

— L. 14. The synopsis of Kharijite views given in Milal I II, 163 \textsuperscript{a} will serve to illustrate this passage:

See Ed. IV, 188 ff., Shahr. 100.
— L. 15. The Khārijite named here was an intimate friend of the extreme Shi‘ite Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (p. 65\textsuperscript{ii}), Masudi V, 343.

— L. 17 f. The names of these three heretics appear in so manifold and puzzling variations that it is well-nigh impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion.

The father’s name of the first occurs in the following forms:
1) حَاتِب (or حَاتِب) Midāl V 50\textsuperscript{a}, I II, 145\textsuperscript{a}, Masudi III, 267, Shahr. 18, 42, Makr. 347\textsuperscript{a}, de Sacy XLII footnote, also in the carefully printed manuscripts of Bagd. 49\textsuperscript{a}, 136\textsuperscript{a} and Isfr. 8\textsuperscript{a}, 62\textsuperscript{a}. We have adopted this reading in our text,—2) حَاتِب very frequently: Ed Y in our passage. Ed. I, 78\textsuperscript{a}, 90\textsuperscript{a}, Midāl I, I, 36\textsuperscript{a}, IJI 340, de Sacy, ibidem.—3) حَاتِب I here (so probably also V, see note 8), Ed. IV, 197–198 (several times).—4) حَاتِب Ed. III, 120\textsuperscript{a}.—5) حَاتِب Br. here, I, II, 162\textsuperscript{a} l. 1 (حَاتِب).

Still more numerous are the variations of the father’s name of the second person. It is found written as follows:\textsuperscript{1} 1) مَالِوس (Malōs) Ed. here.—2) نَادِبَس (Nābōs) Masudi III, 267.—3) مَالِوس Midāl V, 50\textsuperscript{a}.—4) مَالِوس Ed. IV, 198\textsuperscript{a}.—5) نَادِبَس Br. here (V نَادِبَس) Shahr. 43.—6) مَالِوس (Malōs) Ed. I, 90\textsuperscript{a} l. (نَادِبَس) Isfr. 63\textsuperscript{a} نَادِبَس (sic).—8) نَادِبَس (Nābōs) Ed. I, 90\textsuperscript{a} l. 9) مَالِوس (Malōs) Bagd. 103\textsuperscript{a} نَادِبَس (Nābōs). We have followed this reading of Bagd., owing to the careful punctuation of the manuscript (see Introduction, p. 27).—The ending نَادِبَس appears in all these readings. This most probably indicates Christian origin, the more so as the views of these men (see later) distinctly show Christian influence.

\textsuperscript{1} Note 9 contains several misprints which must be corrected in accordance with the text above.

\textsuperscript{2} "Mānūṣ," as Haarbrücker (II, 419) transcribes the reading of Isfr., is impossible in the manuscript.

\textsuperscript{3} Schreiner, \textit{Der Kaldām in der jüdischen Litteratur}, p. 63, note 1, is inclined to accept this reading, and to identify it with the Greek Νάνας which occurs as the name of several Syrian bishops (Harkavy, Halboker II, 17). But the latter name is transcribed in Arabic as نانا (Harkavy, ibidem).
The by-name of the third as given by Ed. is no doubt incorrect, [30] as according to the express statement Ed. IV, 197⁴⁹ al-Fadl was (as well as Ahmad b. Hâ'ît) from Basra. Instead of we find: 1) Ḥarîrî Isfr. 64⁴ l. 3.—2) al-Khayrî Ed. III, 120⁴, IV, 197⁴⁹; (V lire Br. L here and L II, 163⁵, l. 1); (sic) al-Khayrî II, 146⁴ Shahr. 18; 42 al-Muṭṭalî Iji 340. It is impossible to decide on the proper form.

The doctrines common to these three men consist mainly of the belief in the divinity of Jesus and a fully developed theory of Metempsychosis; see the sources quoted above, especially Ed. I, 90, Shahr. 43 f., Makr. 347. They are usually mentioned together and designated as the pupils of the Muʿtazilite ana-Nazām (p. 58⁵), who himself betrays the influence of Christian doctrine, comp. Schreiner, der Kalâm in der jüdischen Letteratur, p. 4.—According to Ed. I, 90⁴⁹ and Bagd. 103⁵, Ahmad b. Yânîš (or whatever his name) was a pupil of Ahmad b. Hâ'ît.

—L. 18. On the term "Rawâfīd" see Appendix A.

—L. 19. On the Sûfis see Text 73⁵. The omission in L. Y. 29 (note 11) is probably intentional. Ibn Hazm as Zâhirite has naturally enough a particular aversion to the allegorical interpretation current among the Sûfis.


31. L. 1. On the 'Ajârida of the Khawârij see Ed. IV, 191⁴⁹, [31] Shahr. 95. On the conception of "Ijmâ'" see de Boer 38.

—L. 17. Muḥātîl is counted Shahr. 108 (comp. ib. p. 106) among the Murji'a, but later on, p. 121, among the Zeidiyya.

—L. 20. See the names of these three Shiites in the Index.

—On the close relation between the Shi'a and the Muʿtazila see ZDMG. 52, 216; 53, 380, 538; 60, 225, de Boer 43 ult. Comp. Müller, Islam, II, p. 9. The Shiites mentioned here all belong to the Imâmiyya. Still closer is the relation of the Zeidiyya to the Muʿtazila. Zaid b. Ali (Text 74⁴⁹), the founder of the former sect, was a pupil of Wâsil b. 'Atâ, the founder of the latter
(Shahr. 116), who in turn is said to have received the "science of Kalām" from Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya, Zaid. Mutaz. 10 penult. Typical is the utterance Makrizi's (348\textsuperscript{a}) "Seldom is a Muťazilite found who is not a Rāfidite, except a few."

33, l. 23. "Went to the extreme," lit. "exaggerated"—

This verb, which in the form of the participle (طلب or طلب) has become the technical term for the Ultra-Shi'a, originally seems to have had a wider range and to have been applied to other than Shiitic movements. Thus Iṣlāl (249) has a special chapter on "guluww" in asceticism. Makrizi applies this expression to all sects of Islam and states in the case of each sect the nature of its "guluww," i.e., in how far it exaggerates the correct principles of the Sunna.

L. 24. This view is held by Abū Ismā'îl al-Bittikhi (p. 11\textsuperscript{a}), Ed. IV, 189\textsuperscript{a}.

L. 26. This view is held by the Meimūniyya, a section of the 'Ajārīdā, Ed. IV, 190\textsuperscript{a}, Shahr. 96, Bagd. 4\textsuperscript{a}. They slavishly adhered to the restrictions in Koran 4, 27.

L. 27. This view, too, is attributed to the Meimūniyya, Shahr. 95 f., comp. Noldeke, Geschichte des Korans, p. 277 ff.

L. 28 f. See Koran 24, 2; 5, 42 and comp. Ed. IV, 189\textsuperscript{a}.

Mīthāl I. II, 25\textsuperscript{a} l. 21: "قال أبو خصر: وبعض الخوارج جسَّر فقال يُقام الخدود عليهم ثم يَستنابون فَايقتالون قُال أبو خصر وهذا خلاف للاجتماع المتبقيَّ وخلاف للقرآن المجَّد.

L. 33. The doctrine of Metempsychosis was current among the Muťazilites, Schreiner, der Kalām in der jüdischen Literatur, p. 62 ff. It was of vital importance for the extreme Shi'a, to whom it served as a metaphysical substructure for many of their beliefs and practices (see Index s.v. "Transmigration of Souls"). Shahr., Makr. and others mention a special sect called Tanāṣukhiyya.—See also p. 26\textsuperscript{a} ff.

34, l. 2. This view is attributed to a certain Abū Gīfār, Ed. IV, 197\textsuperscript{a}. L II, 145\textsuperscript{b} is more explicit: 

I cannot identify the passage in Ed.

L II, 162\textsuperscript{b} he is called as in Ed.
The change in gender because milk naturally refers to the female.

See p. 82."
[34] — L. 13. On Hallaj see Comm. to p. 69*. Ibn Hazm effectively ridicules this belief in the divinity of Hallaj, Ed. V., 117. He repeatedly quotes Hallaj as the type of a (pseudo) miracle worker, e. g., Ed. I., 110* and elsewhere.
   L. 16. See p. 78*.
   L. 18. On as-Sayyid, see passages specified in the Index.
   L. 20. See Text 69* and Comm.
   L. 21. See p. 79*.
   L. 22. On Abu Mansur, see p. 89*.
   L. 23. On Bazig, see p. 95*; on Bayan, p. 88*.

[35] 35. L. 1 ff. Comp. a similar utterance of Ibn al-Athir (VIII, 21). These heretics maintain "that all the religious precepts have an inner meaning, and that Allah has imposed upon his saints and those that have perceived the Imams and the "Gates" (abwab, safiic term) neither prayer nor alms nor anything else." Makr, 352* quotes in the name of the Khatibabiyya (Text 69) the same specimens of allegorical interpretation, with a few characteristic modifications. Thus "Jibt" and "Taght" (l. 7) are interpreted as referring to Abu Sufyan and 'Amr b. al-'As, while Abu Bekr and 'Umar are represented by "khamr" (wine) and "maysir" (a gambling game), Koran 2, 216; 5, 92. This is no doubt an attempt to soften somewhat the insult to "the two Sheikhs" implied in the original interpretation.

Interesting, because reflecting the attitude of official Shiasm toward these exegetic endeavors, are the two anecdotes told, Kashi 188. "Abu 'Abdallah (i. e., Ja'far as-Sadiq, see Index) wrote to Abu'l-Khattab (Text 69*): 'It has come to my knowledge that thou assest that "adultery" means a person, that "wine," "prayer," "fasts" and "abominations" (fawâshish, Koran 6, 152; 7, 31) mean certain persons. It is not as thou sayest.'—Someone said to Ja'far: 'It is reported in thy name that "wine," "maysir," "images," and "arrows" (Koran 5, 92) stand for certain persons.' He replied: Allah would certainly not have told his people something that they could not know (i. e., understand by mere allusion)."
   L. 13 ff. See also Text 49*. I. H. alludes to the same attitude of the Shiites, Milal I. II, 83* (=Ed. IV, 83): Jahm b. Safwan and Abu'l-Hudeil, as well as certain Rawafid, deny the
eternity of Paradise and Hell (comp. p. 74). He then pro-ceeds to refute Jahm and Abū'l-Hudail. As for the Rāwāfid, they deserve no refutation, as they do not rely on logical demonstration (the last sentence missing in Ed.). In another passage (Ed. II, 94) I. H. elaborately argues against those of his co-religionists who "take it for granted that religion cannot be accepted on the basis of logical demonstration, thus gladdening the hearts of the heretics and testifying that religion can be established by means of assumptions and by superior force."

How deeply seated this aversion to argumentation was in Shi'itic circles can be seen from the utterances of the famous Imamite Ibn Bābūye (P'tikadat 6), who devotes a whole chapter to this subject. I reproduce this interesting chapter in its essential parts:

باب الاعتقاد في التنافعي عن الجدال والإبراء في الله تعالى

وفي دينه قال الشيخ أبو جعفر رضي الله تعالى اقتناننا

في ذلك أن الجدال في الله تعالى منتهى عنه لأنه يُؤδى إلى

ما لا يليق به وسُلل الصادق عليه السلام عن قول الله تعالى

وأن إلى رفيع المُنتهى قال عليه السلام إذا انتهى الكلام إلى

الله تعالى فآمسكوا وكان الصادق عليه السلام يقولون يا أبي

آدم لو أكل علبك طائر لم تُشبعه وتكَرَّك لم وُضع عليه حُريص

إيما لغطاة تريد أن تعرف بها مَلَكوت السماوات والأرض إن

كنت صادقاً فهذى الشمس خُلق من حُليق الله فإن قدرت

فأمالاً عينيك منها فهروها كما تقول وجدال في جميع أمير الدين

منتهى عنه وقال امیر المؤمنين، عليه السلام من طلب الدين.

1 This is the Kunya of Ibn Bābūye.
2 Korn 53, 43.
3 Shahr. 148 mentions in the name of al-Warrāk (author of the Fihrist?) that this reply of Ja'far was transmitted by Hishām b. Sālim (see Index) and Muḥammed b. an-Nu'mān (p. 59), who strictly followed this injunction till they died.
4 i. e., Ali.
This elimination of logic from the province of religion is complemented and justified by the claim of a higher source of knowledge, the claim of inspiration (I. 14). See on this p. 54.

— L. 22. The Ultra-Shiites are excluded from Islam by all orthodox theologians, comp. Introduction, p. 23, l. 1-2. I. II. sees in this agreement of the orthodox the force of an "ijma."

— L. 24 ff. The following significant passage was first communicated by Kremer (Ideen, p. 10) from the Vienna manuscript. Makr. 363' ff. reproduces our passage without giving credit to its author (comp. p. 8, n. 3). Ibn Hazm’s view on the origin of Shiitic heterodoxy is founded on the observation of the rôle played by the Persian element in the Shiitic movement, a view fully shared and frequently over-emphasized by modern scholars (see Introduction, p. 3, note 1). This view, which conveniently enough regards the introduction of "gulwâr" (see p. 12") into Islam as a treacherous act of revenge on the part of the subjugated nationalities, is voiced also by other Muhammedan writers, comp., e.g., the utterance of Ibn al-Athir VIII, 21 (p. 14") and Ijli 349. I. II. gives repeated expression to this conviction in his Milal, comparing the treachery of the Persians with the deceitful attitude of the Jews towards Christianity, the latter having bribed the apostle Paul to smuggle the doctrine of "gulwâr" into the new faith. Thus in the chapter dealing with Christianity (Ed. II., 38) I. II. endeavors to prove that the Apostles were infidels. "Either they sincerely and firmly believed in the divinity of Christ and "exaggerated" on his

Comp. Text 53' and Comm.

The expression "كِلَّامِ الإِسْلَام" is repeatedly found in this connection, comp. Ed. IV., 227, 227, and elsewhere.

It is worthy of notice that I. II. repeatedly quotes the latter view as being held by the Jews of his time.
behalf, in the same way as did the Sabāʾiyya and the other sects [35] of the Gāliya as regards Ali, or as the Khattābiyya believed in the divinity of Abū'l-Khattāb (Text 69°), the adherents of al-Hallāj (Text 69°) in the divinity of al-Hallāj and the other infidels among the Bāṭiniyya . . . . or they were seduced by the Jews, as the latter claim, to corrupt the followers of Christ and lead them into error, in the same way as ‘Abdallah b. Sabā the Himyarite, al-Mukhtār b. Abū Ḥaibid, Abū ‘Abdallah al-ʿAjāni, Abū Zakariya al-Khayyat, Ali an-Najjār, Ali b. al-Fadl al-Janadi and the other emissaries of the Karmatians and Shiites 39 rose to lead into error the partisans (Shiʿa) of Ali.”

Next to the Persians, the largest share in the importation of heterodox doctrines into Islam is attributed to the Jews, mainly on the ground that ‘Abdallah b. Sabā (p. 18° ff.), the founder of the first Shiʿite sect, is said to have been a Jew. Thus I. H., 35 in referring to the claim of the Jews regarding the apostle Paul, thoughtfully adds (I, 232): “This is something which we do not consider improbable on their part. For they tried the same thing towards ourselves and our religion, although this time they failed to carry out their cunning. I refer to ‘Abdallah b. Sabā known as Ibn as-Sandā, the Jew, the Himyarite—may Allah curse him!—who embraced Islam in order to lead into error as many Muslims as possible. He assumed the leadership of an ignoble party, who stood on the side of Ali, so that they might profess the divinity of Ali, in the same way as Paul became the leader of the followers of Christ that they might believe his divinity. These are now the Bāṭiniyya and Gāliya,

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1 Cod. I. 105° and V. 160° read Sabābiyya, see p. 41°.
2 See on most of these men the Index.

39 proprement les Orientaux, était en Afrique le nom par lequel on désignait les Chîites (Dozy s. v.).
4 How widespread this belief was can be seen from the elaborate story, given by Isfr. (71°) and designated by him as generally known, how Paul at the instance of the Jews became a Christian, studied in the Christian monasteries and, having gained their confidence, smuggled into Christianity the belief in the Trinity, etc.

5 Ed. I. 224°. The correct reading in Codd. See p. 18°.
6 Ed. 223°. L. V. correctly Kalādī Nahj.
and the least heretical among these are the Imámiyya." See more on the relation of Judaism to Shiism, p. 19ff.

— L. 29. I owe the explanation of these two terms to a private communication of Professor Nöldeke: "Ibn Hāzim's statement with reference to the Axra' and the Anbā' is not quite exact. The Axra' are not the Persians as a whole, but those descendants of the Persians (mostly or wholly Arabized) who conquered Yemen at the time of the great Chosroes. In Yemen the 'Axrā' were prominent as a class during the time of Muhammed and his immediate successors. The same name was afterwards (third century H.) applied to the descendants of the Khorasanian warriors who won the empire for the Abbasids.—

The Axra' (the free ones) properly designates the Persian nobles, (the Λαοκοιος of the Parthians). About 600 C. E. the poets apply this name to the Persians in general, and later writers use the same appellation merely on the basis of a scholarly tradition." See Nöldeke, Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden, p. 225, n. 5 and 342, n. 7.

[36] 36, l. 9. On Sunbad (or Sinbad) see Blochet, l. 44 f.

— Ibidem (note 2). "The form of the name is still very uncertain, I hardly believe that Ustādīs is correct. Astādīs may represent many different forms of an Iranian name" (Nöldeke).


— Ibidem. On Bābak comp. Fāhr. 343 f. and notes. He was crucified in Surra-man-ra'a in the year 229b, Bagd. 107b.

— L. 11. On Khidāsh see p. 98a. On Abū Muslim, see Index.


[37] 37, l. 2 f. Fifty prayers are mentioned in connection with the Karmatians and the Naseriyya, de Sacy CLIV ult. and footnote, CLXX. This is apparently based on the Mahomedan legend according to which Allah had originally prescribed fifty prayers, but, yielding to Muhammad's presentations, reduced them to five; comp. Golzihier, Muk. St. 1, 36.—On 'Abdallah (l. 5) see Comm. to p. 71f.

— L. 7. On 'Abdallah b. Sabā', also known as Ibn as-Sandā, see Ibn Hazm's utterances pp. 16f., 17f. and passages in Index. The identity of Ibn as-Sandā and Ibn as-Sandā is assumed by all
Muhammedan scholars, except Bagd. and Isfr. Tabari's account [37] (I 2941; comp. Wellhausen, Opp. 91) differs in several essential points from the reports of the theological writers. Altogether the data on this enigmatic personality are as interesting as they are conflicting; they deserve to be made the subject of special investigation. He is generally considered the founder of Shi'ism, and this, in connection with his Jewish origin, sufficiently explains the endeavors of the Muhammedan theologians to charge him with many a heresy which developed in the later course of Shiism. His Jewish birth was a sufficient pretext for the Sunnites to bring Shiism in connection with Judaism. We saw Ibn Hazm's remarks p. 16 f. Kashi, in the biography of 'Abdallah b. Sabā, p. 70, plainly says: "On account of this the opponents of the Shi'a maintain that the root of Shiism and Rāsidism (التشّعّب والفرص) was taken over from Judaism." The famous theologian ash-Shābī (died 103) is reported to have drawn an elaborate and odious parallel between the Shiites and the Jews (Ibid. 269). He says among other things, with special reference to Ibn Sabā: "The Rāsida are the Jews of this nation. They hate Islam as the Jews hate Christianity. They embraced Islam, not because they longed for it or because they feared Allah, but because they detested the Muslims and intended to overpower them."

On 'Abdallah's alleged participation in the uprising of 'Othmān see Wellhausen, SKizzen und Vorarbeiten VI, 124 f.—On 26 l. 13 see p. 100.


— L. 15. On Mazdak see Nöldeke, Geschichte der Perser und Araber, p. 455 ff. — Similarly I. H. expresses himself Ed. I, 34": "As for the Mazdakiyya (written with ق), they are the adherents of Mazdak the Môbad. They are those who believe in communism as to property and women. The Khur-
ramiyya, the adherents of Bābak, are one of the sects of the Mazdakiyya. They are also the secret (basis) of the doctrine of the Ismāʿīliyya and their (vital) element, as well as of those who hold to the doctrine of the Karmatians and the Banū Ṭāhirī, "Obeid (= Fatimid)."


—L. 15. The author has apparently in view the belief held in Shiite, as well as in certain Sunniite quarters, that the Prophet bequeathed to Ṭāhirī, Fatima, 'Abbas or 'Ali, respectively, some mystic lore; comp. Goldziher, *Muḥ. St.* II, 118.

—L. 18. Comp. Ed. V, 36 penult.: "It is firmly established regarding the Prophet . . . that he was sent to the red and the black."


وقول العرب ما تخفي ذلك

على الأسود والأخضر يريد العربي والعبجي.

—L. 23. "As he was commanded," see Koran 5, 71. —L. II. uses the same argument *Mīlāl* I, II, 89 (not found in Ed.)

فإن كان عليه السلام كتم عن سائر الناس ما علَّمه على بن

ابي طالب. فلَم يبلُغ كما أمر قال تعالى: ليتَبْين للناس ما أَوْرَل

إِلَّا هُمْ فَين قال أَنَّه عليه السلام لم يَبْيِنِ للناس ما أَوْرَل اللَّه

تغالى عليه بل كتبه إِنَّه وَحَصَّه بِهِ عَلَى دَم ابي طالب سِرًا فَقد

كفر آن وصف النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يُنَّ أَمْرٌ عَصِي أَمْرٌ رَّحِمَ تعالى له بالبيان للناس جُهَارًا فبطل ما أَذَعَوه يقينًا مِن كِلّ

وَجَهَّلَ وَلَحَمَّد لِلَّهِ رَبَّ الْعَالَمِين.

39. L. 11. In accordance with his Zahirite conviction, which strictly and exclusively adheres to the bare text of the Koran and the Ḥadīth, I. II. lays special emphasis on the reliability

1 Ed.  "the worst.

* Koran 16. 46.

40, l. 11. "The Mu'tazilites, the Khārijites, the Murjilites [40] and the Shiites." The same enumeration of Muhammedan sects (comp. Introduction, p. 21) Ed. IV, 2":

- جمع أهل الإسلام
- من أهل السنة والجماعة والفتيائية (والمرجية والخوارج)
- والشيعة.

— L. 15 (note 6). The words ما لا يثبت له اليم بعدها I interpret in the sense that nothing remains to the infidels to boast of, beyond (= except) the infamies and lies to be found in their Scriptures. The reading of L. and Br. ما لا يثبت بعدها (without لفهم) I would translate: "beyond which (sc. الفضائح) no proof (is needed)," i. e., the infamies in themselves are sufficient to impeach the infidels. On this meaning of بعد see the glossary to Tabari, sub voce.

41, l. 15. Characteristic of I. H.'s truthfulness (see Intro-[41] duction, p. 15) is another utterance of his, Ed. IV, 108": "If we thought that dishonest quoting was permissible, we should use as an argument (against the Shiites) the words reported (in the name of the Prophet): 'Follow the example of those after me, viz., 'Abū Bekr and 'Omar.' But this (tradition) is not true, and may Allah guard us from using as an argument anything that is not true."

— L. 17 (note 7). Comp. Text 42, I. 5 and note 8. I. H. uses a very similar phraseology Ed. IV, 207": "We have here set forth the depravities of the adherents of heresy (he refers to the Murjilites) in order to cause people to flee from them and to frighten away the illiterate among the Muslims from becoming familiar with them and from thinking well of their corrupt words."

42, l. 1 f. The heresies referred to are those of the Mu'tazilites. They are quoted as such Ed. IV, 193 (in the chapter on the Mu'tazila).—I. H. chooses them as specimens in his introduction because, in the original disposition of the pamphlet against the four heterodox sects, which is now incorporated with his Milāt, the Mu'tazila occupied the first place. See my
— I. 18. On "Rawāfīd" see Appendix A.
5. 43, l. 1. The founder of the Jārūdiyya is called with his full [43] name Abūʾl-Jārūd Ziyyād b. al-Mundir al-ʿAbdī, Masudi V, 474, Kashi 150, Tusy, p. 146 No. 308, Shahr. 121; Fihr. 178⁸⁷ and Makr. 352⁸⁷ assign to him the additional Kunya Abūʾn-Najm. Muḥammad al-Bākīr (died 117) called him "Surhūb," which is said to designate "a blind devil dwelling in the sea" (Kashi, Shahr. 119), because he was born blind (Fihr., Kashi, Tusy).

The sect was accordingly called also the Surhūbiyya (Kashi).

As regards their tenets, the Jārūdiyya variously differ from the bulk of the Zeidiyya, whom they regard as infidels. They share with the latter the central doctrine that Muḥammad appointed Ali as his successor, not, as the Imāmiyya maintain, by means of a written will which the Companions maliciously set aside, but "by a description (of his qualities) without the mention of his name" (Shahr.: *بالمُوصِف دون الاسماء*). But they differ from them in that they regard the Companions as infidels because they did not endeavor to find out the man to whom the Prophet referred and chose a wrong one in his place. According to Shahr. 118, Abūʾl-Jārūd went so far as even to deny the Imamate of Zeid b. Ali, the founder of the Zeidiyya, on the ground that the latter considered Abū Bekr and ʿOmar legitimate rulers. Isfr., however, (9th ult.) insists that the recognition of Zeid as Imam is common to all Zeiditic sects without exception. It is strange that L. H. should omit the mention of this typical heterodoxy of the Jārūdiyya: the "Takfīr as-

As to the succession in the Imamate, the Jārūdiyya agree with the rest of the Zeidiyya that it is legitimate in the descendants both of Hasan and Husein, and in these exclusively, on condition that they are qualified for the Imamate and present their claims with the sword in their hands. Of the three Imams quoted in our passage one is a Ḥasanide, the other two Husainides.

On the Jārūdiyya compare also the account of Bagd. 9th.
— L. 2 (note 1). "al-Husein" is also found Shahr. 118, [43] Iji 352, Bagd. 17* (also elsewhere) and Isfr. 12*. It is known how frequently these two names are confounded.—Muhammed died at the hands of 'Isa b. Māsa, the governor of Kufa (died 167), in 145, IKit. 192, Tab. III, 189 ff.

— Note 7. On Radwa see p. 36*. Bagd. 17* calls the locality جبل مس ناحية که (with soft ح under the line) حاحم, See further Text 60* and Comm.

— L. 7-8. The belief that the Imams have not died and will reappear on earth is the central tenet of the Ultra-Shi'ā, and occurs, as can be seen in this treatise, in connection with nearly every one of their sects. This belief is founded on two doctrines which must have gained wide currency in heterodox Islam at a very early period: the one is the Raj'a doctrine, the other is a doctrine derived from heterodox Christian Docetism. It is necessary to gain a clear view of these two doctrines in order to grasp in its full meaning the conception which practically lies at the bottom of all Shi'ite movements.

The doctrine designated as Raj'a¹ has apparently had its history and presents in consequence a complex appearance.²⁰ Kremer (Culturgeschichte unter den Chalif en II, 397), in speaking of this doctrine "which was widely current among the Shi'ites of the earliest period," gives the following definition of this belief: "For a man to believe in the 'Return' (Raj'a) amounted to the conviction that Ali would rise from the dead, and that he himself would, after a certain period of time (as a rule, after forty days), come to life again." According to the national dictionaries, Raj'a signifies "the returning to the present state of existence after death, before the Day of Resurrection." (See Lane, sub voce, and the authorities quoted there.) It would thus appear that this belief in returning to life after death, which was known to the Arabs as early as in the time of Ignorance (Lane, ib.) applied to people in general, without reference to specific personalities. Jābir b. Yazid al-Ju'fī (died 128, see p. 86¹) believed in the Raj'a, Muslim, ³⁰ Sahîh (Cairo 1283) I, 51. This is more explicitly stated by

¹ The pronunciation Raj'a is recorded, although not approved of, by Nawawi on Muslim's Sahîh (Cairo 1283) I, 51.
Bagd. 18

[43] The poet al-Bashshār b. Burd (died 167) held the same belief, *Agīh*. III, 24, and this is again explained by Bagd. 17.

* strike out *

6

strike out

similarly Isfr. 12

* strike out *

Kuthayyir (died 105) expressed on his death-bed the conviction that he would return to life after forty days on a fine horse (*Agīh*. VIII, 33).

It seems, however, that this belief was, or became, mainly connected with certain prominent individuals who, by reason of their prominence, deserved a return to life. We find this belief repeatedly in connection with Muhammed. When Muhammed had died, 'Omar violently rebuked those who believed that the Prophet was dead, and he gave emphatic expression to his belief that he would "return" after forty days, "just as Moses had done," *Tabl. I*, 1815 f., IBab., *Ibbat* 31, Bagd. 5 (here Muhammed is compared with Jesus). 'Abdallāh b. Sābā, the founder of Shiism (p. 18 f.), is said to have believed in the "Return" of Muhammed. Referring to Koran 28, 85, he argued: "It is strange that people who assert that Jesus will return should deny that Muhammed will return... Muhammed being worthier of returning than Jesus." "And he laid down for them the Raj'a." *Tabl. I*, 2941.

As a rule, the Raj'a belief is found in connection with the Imāms of the Shi'a, in the first place, of course, with *Ali*. The

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1 This form of Raj'a is probably the real basis of the belief current among the Khaṭṭābīyya that they will never die (p. 727).—An allusion to this belief is perhaps found *Agīh*. XI, 75: A friend of 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyya (p. 44) was called al-Bakil (p. 46)

2 Hallāj composed a book bearing on this verse under the title "كتاب في إن الذي انزل عليك القرآن لرأoke إلى معاذ." (*Fihr. 192*).
idea that Ali was hidden in the clouds, whence he would return [43] on earth, was very common in Shi'ite circles (see p. 42''). The term Raj'a zar' ḥayyir very frequently designates this belief; comp. Lisân and Tâj al-'Arâs, sub voce, Nawawi on Muslim, Sahîh I, 51, Kremer, Culturgeeschichte ib. Makr. 354''

The Muhammedan writers, with extremely few exceptions, ascribe the authorship of this belief to 'Abdallah b. Sabâ. Apart from the ordinary sources, see also the interesting notice IKhall. No. 645 (p. 26'): al-Kalbi (died 146) "was one of the followers of 'Abdallah b. Sabâ, who maintained that Ali had not died and would return on earth." To the references given in the course of this treatise (see p. 42 f.) may also be added Madâini (died about 225/840), who reports that al-Hasan, the son of Ali, protested against the belief that God would bring Ali to life on earth before the day of Resurrection (ZDMG. 38, 391). How deeply rooted this belief was in the masses may be seen from the curious anecdote narrated by 'Abdallah b. Abbâs (Ikd 269). A man called on him at a very unusual hour and asked him: "When will this man be brought to life?" — "Which man?" — "Ali b. Abî Tâlib." I said: "He will not be brought to life, until God brings to life those that are in the graves." He said: "You speak like one of these fools." I said: "Take him away from me, may Allah curse him!"

Next to Ali the Raj'a occurs in connection with his son Muhmmad b. al-Ḥanâfiyya. It was the belief of the Keisâniyya, and its famous champions were the poets Kuthayyir and as-Sayyid al-Hîmyari, Agh. VII, 24*, VIII, 32*, 33, 34, XI, 46'; see also Fâvâd al-Wâfayât I, 24. Ikd 268 designates

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1 On Tabâri's account see above. Makr. 356 ult., with characteristic eclecticism, combines both views. 'Abdallah b. Sabâ believed

2 They believed at the same time in their own Raj'a, pp. 24* and 26*, — Kuthayyir, who returns from a tour in the region between Mekka and Medina, reports that he has found everything absolutely unchanged.

وعده بكون حينى نرجع الى الله بكون يوجز به بالرجعة. "This will remain so till we return to it (after death)." Perhaps it would be more reasonable to read "till he (Muh. b. al-Hanâfiyya) returns to it."
the belief in the "Return" of Ibn al-Hanafīyya as the belief of the Rawāfīd in general.

In the later development of the Shi'a we find the Raj'a belief in connection with nearly every Shiītic Imam. Numerous instances can be gleaned from Ibn Hazm's and Shahrastānī's accounts on Shiism. It was the salient feature in the controversies of the Shi'a and the belief which characterized the Wāḳifīyya in distinction from the Kitṭī'iyya (p. 50).

It now remains for us to state the relation of the Raj'a doctrine to the belief in the Transmigration of Souls (Tanāsukh al-Arwāh). This relation is perhaps best illustrated by the amusing anecdote (told of as-Sayyid al-Himyari, who believed in Raj'a as well as in Tanāsukh, l. 26 f. and p. 283). A man asked as-Sayyid for a loan of a hundred dinārs, promising to repay them when he (the debtor) should return to life. As-Sayyid answered: "Yes, and even more than that, if you will give me a guarantee that you will return as a man." He said: "How else can I return"? as-Sayyid said: "I am afraid that you will return as a dog or as a pig, and my money will be lost." (Agh. VII, 8. See the same anecdote with a few variations Fawādī al-Wayyatt, 1, 25). The former possibility is Raj'a, the latter Tanāsukh; in other words, Raj'a signifies the return as the same person, Tanāsukh the return as a different being. The two conceptions, though related to one another and, in consequence, often found side by side, are by no means identical and are distinctly kept asunder. Kuthayyir, as well as as-Sayyid, believed not only in Raj'a but also in Tanāsukh (Agh. VIII, 27; he claims to be the Prophet Jona, ib. 34). But it is expressly stated that he believed "in Raj'a and Tanāsukh" (Agh. VIII, 27). In the same way both expressions are found side by side Shahr. 125"", 132". Makr. (334"), who enumerates a sect of Raj'iyya (see above), mentions in the same passage that the c ṣ a t l o n o n ḍ a n a r a h T a n a s u k h I n b u Bābīy e, who staunchly defends Raj'a, violently rejects Tanāsukh (see p. 75"). Only in

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1 In a special chapter on Raj'a, I'tikadat 126: He promises to write a special book on the subject which may be identical with his Ithbāt al-ghāiba. Mirza 46 makes the Imāmītes respon-
a few isolated instances do the two terms seem to be used as syno-
ynms. Thus IKhald. (II, 164) says: "in a kind of Trans-
migration or in reality," i. e., returning in spirit as a different
being, or as the same person. The same close contact between
the two conceptions is apparently assumed, ib. II, 169. Makr.
3577 contradicts his own previous statements when he says:
"From him (i. e., 'Abdallah b. Sahâ) they also took over the
belief in the concealment of the Imam and the belief in his
return after death on earth, in the same way as the Imāmiyya to
till this day believe it of "the man of the cellar,"" and this is
the belief in Tānâsukh al-Arwâh." Apart from these instances,
which are otherwise not very striking, the two ideas are clearly
separated from one another.

sible for this attitude of Ibn Bābūya:

وَمِنْ عَقْلَائِهِمْ الْحَكَمَةِ الْعَلَّمَةِ الْعَالِمِينَ

بالرَّجَعَةِ كَالْأَجْلَلُ سَابِقِهِمْ وَسَيْتُلْ لَاجِعَائِهِمْ صَمِيدِ

بَيْنِ بَابِيَةِ الْعَلَّمَةِ فِي عَقَائِدِهِ فِي بَنَادِهِ الْإِبْنِانِ وَيَجِبُ الْإِبْنِانِ

رَفَعُهُمْ قَالَواْ مَنْ لَمْ يَوْمُنْ بِرَجَعَةِ فُلَيْسَ مَنْ رَأَاهُ ذُهْبُ جَعْبِ

عَلَّمَائِهِمْ.

The Prophet says to Ali: "Thou art its (this nation’s) Du‘l-Karneîn
(Alexander the Great)." See de Slane’s translation, II, 196, note 4, and
Comm. p. 28, note 1 towards the end.

I read بَيْغِيْةٌ instead of بَيْغِيْة.

The twelfth Imam, the Mahdi.

We have dwelt on this point at some length because Wellhausen,
Opp. 99, denies the explanation set forth above, and insists that Raj’a is
originally identical with Tānâsukh, and that the meaning usually
attached to it is a later development. His contention, however, practi-
cally rests on a single passage (Agh. VIII, 34) which, even if taken in
Wellhausen’s interpretation, cannot stand against the numerous pas-
sages to the contrary. But the passage in question does not necessarily
prove Wellhausen’s assertion. We are told that Kuthayyir used to give
money to the little sons of Hasan b. Hasan (b. Ali; not, as Wellhausen
erroneously has it, “Hasan and Husein”) and to call them “little
prophets” (similarly on the same page before). Wellhausen assumes that these words are meant to explain Kuthayyir’s
It can be seen from the preceding expositions that Raj'a as such leaves the question open whether the Imam had really died, or whether he had merely disappeared and abides in concealment, pending his reappearance. On the strength of the instances quoted above one is inclined to assume that the former belief is the original one, while the latter is the later but the more popular one. It is in this form—as a correlative of "gaiba" ("concealment" of the Imam)—that Raj'a became a predominant factor in Shiism and still is the official belief of the Shiites of today.

action, which can only have been the outcome of his belief in the Transmigration of Souls, and that consequently the two beliefs are identical. That Kuthayyir was an adept of Metempsychosis is repeatedly stated in Agh. (see in the text above). But the construction put on the explanatory words is not irrefutable. On the same page a similar action of Kuthayyir (he hugs Mur'awiya b. Abdallah b. Ja'far (see p. 45), who was a schoolboy at the time, and calls him a little prophet) is recorded without the explanation appended here. The words

may signify here as little as in the statement regarding as Sayyid (Agh. VII. 249). In both cases the explanatory remark may simply mean to imply that the man in question was an abominable heretic, the belief in Raj'a being regarded as a sign of extreme heterodoxy (comp. Agh. III. 249). At any rate, the weight of the passage referred to by Wellhausen is largely counterbalanced by the statement, Agh VIII. 277, that Kuthayyir believed in "Raj'a and Tanasukh," where the two ideas appear as distinctly different.

By way of appendix a few isolated usages of the term Raj'a may find place here. Extremely interesting, but somewhat obscure, is the passage Agh. III. 188. Omayya b. Abi Salt, who is anxious to become a prophet, goes to Syria and repeatedly enters a church, while his companions have to wait outside. A monk who lives in that church had told him that there were to be six Raj'dl (see the remark on the margin of Agh.) after Jesus, of which five had already come to pass. When he comes another time, he is told by the monk: "The Raj'a has already come and a prophet has been sent from among the Arabs." Thereupon he gives up his prophetic ambitions.—A very peculiar interpretation of the Raj'a belief is found Mirza 466, but, in view of the polemical tendency of his treatise, this interpretation may only reflect his own individual conception of the Shiitic doctrine. He says: 

سماحهم من

الرجعة إن الدين وعليا وأئمة من كلما جبرى في آخر الزمان
This conception, which regards the death of the Imams as a mere disappearance, indispensably needs a complement which should account for the fact of their apparent death, the more so as the Imams of the Shi'a, with scarcely any exception, all died an unnatural death. This complement is supplied by a heterodox Christian doctrine borrowed from Docetism. It cannot be our task here to trace the influence of Docetism on Islam. But it seems highly probable that this doctrine came to the Muslims through the medium of Manichaeism, which adopted this belief and gave it a definite shape. "The Jesus of the Manichaens then had no objective reality as man. His whole human appearance, birth and baptism were a mere apparition, and so were his sufferings. For it was not he who was really crucified, but it was an emissary of the devil who tried to frustrate the instructive activity of Jesus, and who, as a punishment for his wickedness, was fastened to the cross by Jesus himself" (Kessler, Article "Manichæer," PRE', XII, 218. Comp. Flügel, Mani, 124, 336 f.).

But the word can scarcely be said to have the meaning of a technical term.—Fictitious is the meaning ascribed to the word by de Slane (Prologomenes d'Ibn Khaldoun II, 196 note 3): a new period of time during which every past event will return, or repeat itself. The passage referred to proves nothing of the kind. It merely says which has nothing to do with the term Raj'a. In Ibn Khaldun's text (II, 190) the meaning of the word is probably close to that of Transmigration of Souls, see p. 27.

1 On Docetism see Harnack, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte (2nd ed.) I, 164, and the passages specified there in the index.
This docetic belief, which afforded a satisfactory explanation of the alleged death of the Shiitic Imams, was readily adopted by the radical Shiites, and it often occurs in the very same form which Manichaeism had given it: that not the Imam was really killed, but a devil who assumed his shape (شيطان تصرف بصورة). We find this belief in connection with nearly every Imam of the Ultra-Shiites. On its application to Ali, which is undoubtedly historical, see p. 43 f. Bagd. and Isfr. mention this theory in connection with the following Imams: Ali (in the name of Abdallah b. Sabā) Bagd. 94°, Isfr. 55° f.; Abū Muslim (see Index), Bagd. 100°, Isfr. 59°; Muhammed b. Abdallah b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan (p. 87), Bagd. 18° f., 97°; Hallaj (Text 69°), who is said to have stamped his features on someone else, Bagd. 102°, Isfr. 61°. The Imamites who believe in the "return" of the twelfth Imam, the only one who was not murdered (at least according to the Imamite belief), and therefore insist that the preceding Imams are really dead, have no room for this belief. But it can be seen from the polemics of Ibn Báhýe that this docetic belief was widespread in Shiitic circles. After having described the manner of (violent) death of the eleven Imams—a favorite topic in Imamite works—IBab. thus sums up his position (Ittikādat 23°, in the chapter في نقي الغلظ والتفويع): واعتقادنا في ذلك أن مجري عليه على الحقيقة وأنه ما اشتهية للناس أمرُهم كما يرضوا ما (من) يتجارب المد فيهم بل شاهدوا تقليلهم على الحقيقة والصحته لا على الهسبان والخبلولة ولا على الشك والشبة نعم زعم أنهم شتبوا أو واحد منهم فليس من ديننا علي شيء وحسن منه رأي.

This docetic belief, in conjunction with the Raj'a doctrine, enabled the Ultra-Shiites to assume a position which made them practically invincible. The former made their Imams invulnerable; they were immune from death or murder. The latter made them immortal and carried over their living influence to posterity.

-I. 9. حتّى يملأ الأرض عدلاً كما ملأه جبرئيل. This phrase, as is well known, forms a part of the Mahdi tradition, IKhald.
II, 142 ff.; Snouck Hurgronje, Der Mahdi p. 13 ff. Apart from this generally accepted form of the hadith, we also meet with the variant


Ikhald, II, 149; IBab., Itbat 35, Diyärbekri II, 288; Abul-Mahasin (Leyden, 1855) I, 243. Bagd, repeatedly quotes the reading instead of . One might think of a scribal error. But the following story (Bagd. 96) makes this supposition impossible. Muğra b. Sa'id (p. 79 ff.) acknowledged Muhammed b. 'Abdallah as Imam. But when the latter was killed, Muğra was cursed by his followers, who maintained


See also fol. 9 and Isfr. 12, who gives on the same page the conventional form of the Mahdi tradition.

— L. 10. I have restored Yahya's genealogy with the help of Gen. Loyd. Comp. Tab. III, 1515 note i and 1403 (Addit.), where the editor equally substitutes Husein (not al-Husein, as he expressly remarks). Ij 352 has Yahya b. 'Omeir.—Yahya was killed during the reign of al-Musta'in in 250, Tab. III, 1515 ff., Shahr. 119. The general of the Zenj (p. 98) pretended to be this Yahya, Tab. III, 1745 (anno 255).

— L. 12 ff. The same fact is recorded Tab. III, 1518. The genealogy of 'Abdallah was appointed Sahib ash-Shortah of Bagdad in 237, 258 Tab. III, 1410. Ikhall. No. 366 (in the biography of his brother and successor 'Obeidallah). His pedigree, as given in our text and confirmed by Tab. and Ikhall. (who deals bio-

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1 Masudi V, 181 gives also the variant .

2 This Muhammed cannot very well be identical with the one mentioned Tab. III, 1314 who died eleven years earlier. They are erroneously identified in the Tabari index. In the last mentioned passage is to be struck out with Cod. C.
[43] graphically with everyone of his ancestors), is absolutely assured. Just as certain is the genealogy of Ḥusein b. Ismā‘īl, whose uncle, Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm (l. 16), accepted a prominent post in the police of Bagdad in 207, Tab. III, 1062. Under these circumstances it is difficult to account for the apposition "the son of his paternal uncle" (l. 15). Perhaps our author confounds the fact mentioned here with the one recorded Tab. III, 1405 (anno 236), that Muḥammad, the son of Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm, dispatched Ḥusein b. Ismā‘īl, this time his real cousin, to put down a rebellion in Fāris. Another not impossible, though less probable, solution would be to explain as a cousin of a remoter degree,—in this case a third cousin. Thus Tab. I, 510 (=IAth. I, 142) Moses is called the "‘āmm" of Phinehas. So far the reading of L. Br.—As for the genealogy given in Ed. and the other codices, it can scarcely be correct and seems to be an attempt to explain.


1 The relation of the three men mentioned in our text presents itself as follows:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muḥ’ab</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al-Ḥusein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāhir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abdallah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥammad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ḥusein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāhir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abdallah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥammad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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1868.

I. Friedländer,
and he died there, Tab., Masudi, Shahr. According to Masudi [44] (VII, 117), there were many Zeidites at the time he was writing his history (352) who believed in the "return" (Raj'â) of Muhammed. His followers were especially numerous in Kufa, Tabaristan and Deilam.

— L. 6 ff. Ibn Hazm's references to the *Keisâniyya*, which are frequent, though brief, substantially enrich our knowledge of this important sect. This at once shows itself in the explanation of the name, which is the only correct one among the numerous interpretations offered by other writers. The conventional explanation derives the name from Keisân, which is declared to have been a nickname of Mukhtar (p. 79), so the Dictionaries: *Jauhari* (comp. IKhall, No. 570), *Kâmûs, Lisân* and *Tâj al-Ârus*, sub voce كيسان; IKot. 300, Ikd 269, Makr. 351 (= de Sacy II, 392), Bagd. 11. On the other hand, endeavors were made to connect the founder of this sect in some way with Ali, or with his son Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya, whom the Keisâniyya regard as his successor and the heir of his mystic knowledge (a point on which this sect lays great stress). As there was a *maula* of Ali named Keisân (he falls, while defending his master, in the battle of Siffin, Tab. I, 3293 — Iâth. III, 247), he was declared the founder of the Keisâniyya and the disciple of Ali, or of Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya, in the lore of mysticism, see Shahr. (who distinguishes between the Keisâniyya and the Mukhtâriyya), similarly Abu'l-Maali 157, IKhall. ib. (who also quotes the preceding explanation, with the confession وَاللهِ أَعۡلَمَ), IKhall. I, 357, Makr. ib., Kremer, *Ideen* 375. An attempt to reconcile both derivations is the interpretation quoted by Bagd. (11) "that *Mukhtar* acquired his heterodox opinions from a *maula* of Ali by the name of *Keisân*," or the explanation recorded by Kashi 75 that Mukhtar was called Keisân after Ali's *maula*, "who induced him to seek revenge for al-Husein's blood and pointed out to him his murderers." Closest to the facts is Masudi V, 180: "They were called Keisâniyya because of their relation to 33

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1 The suffix in ٌا literally refers to Muh. b. al-Hanafiyya, and so it is taken by de Slane, p. 402. In accordance with our expositions, however, the suffix must be referred to Ali, who is mentioned a little earlier. Vol. XXIX.
[44] al-Mukhtar b. Abi 'Obeid ath-Thakafi, whose name was Keisân and whose kunya was Abû 'Omra ... Some of them, however, hold that Keisân Abû 'Omra is not identical with al-Mukhtar" (he refers for further information to his Makâlât).

The only correct explanation is the one offered by Ibn Hazm (here and Text, p. 77''), who designates Keisân Abû 'Omra as the follower (sâhib) of Mukhtar. The person referred to is Keisân, the chief of Mukhtar's body-guard, Tab. II, 671 (= I'ath., IV, 187).³ He was a maula of the 'Oreina, a clan of the Southern Bajila (Wüstenfeld, Tabellen, 9''), and stood at the head of the Mawâli. As the latter were the main actors in Mukhtar's uprising (comp. especially the characteristic notice Tab. II, 651''), the sect, which first asserted itself on this occasion, received its name (perhaps as a nomen odiosum) from the leader of the Mawâli.⁴

So far the name of the sect. As for its tenets, they contain elements both of the Zeidite and the Imamite creed, a circumstance which renders the classification of the Keisâniyya within the bipartite division of Shiism extremely difficult. Their cardinal doctrine is the recognition of the Imamate of Muhammed b. al-Hanâfiyya. But while agreeing with the Zeidiyya in rejecting the strictly legitimate principle in the Imamate and basing the claims of the Imam on his personal qualifications,⁵ they strongly emphasize with the Imâmiyya his supernatural knowledge of mystic lore.⁶ In consequence of this ambiguous position, the theologians often count the Keisâniyya as an independent sect, on an equal footing with the Zeidiyya and Imâmiyya, thus, e.g., Shahr. 109, Bagd. 9⁷, Isfr. 7⁸. The latter two, however, become unfaithful to their own classification and occasionally reckon the Keisâniyya among the Imâmiyya: وَالكِسَائِيْةُ يُعَدُّونَ فِي الإِمَامَيّةُ Isfr. 14⁹ (the same Bagd.). I. H., too, appears to

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² Ksahi 75 strangely misses the point when he states that Mukhtar was called Keisân "after his sâhib ash-Shorjah whose kunya was Abû 'Omra and whose name was Keisân." See his other explanation above.
³ Comp. Wellhausen, Opp. 89, and the footnote.
⁴ Ibn Hazm can scarcely be correct when he incidentally remarks (Ed. IV, 108') that according to the Keisâniyya, Muhammed b. al-Hanâfiyya was Imâm through a written statement (النَّطَاق).
⁵ Van Vloten, Chilisme, p. 41-42.
waver on this point. While in our passage he expressly designates them as a branch of the Zeidiyya—and he is the more justified in doing so, as, in distinction from all other writers, he regards as the cardinal doctrine of the Zeidiyya the recognition of the Imamate in all the descendants of Ali (not Fāṭima), he counts them repeatedly (Text 45\textsuperscript{t}, 53\textsuperscript{r}, 54\textsuperscript{r}) among the sects of the Imāniyya.

After the death of Muh. b. al-Hanafiyya, the Keisāniyya fell asunder into a number of factions. The most important of these was the Hāshimiyya, which transferred the Imamate to his son in Abū Hāshim and considered him the heir of his father's mystic knowledge, Shahr. 112. Abū Hāshim having died without offspring, the Hāshimiyya were again divided into a large number of factions, which assigned the Imamate to various pretenders. Only a fraction of the Keisāniyya, stimulated by the mystery that surrounded Muh.'s death, denied his death altogether, and believed that he was hidden in the Radwa mountains, whence he would return. This belief, as is well-known, found its poetical expression through Kuthayyir and as-Sayyid, and became through them known as specifically Keisaniitic. A notice by Bagd. (11\textsuperscript{o}) has luckily preserved the name of the originator of this belief: 

قُالَوا بِلمَّا بَعَلَهُ كَحْدَنَ بِنِّ الدِّينِ بعَمُّ قَرَمُ مِنْهَمُ يُقَالُ لَهُمْ 

The year of his death fluctuates between 80 and 114. See I.Kot. 111, Masudi V, 267, I.Khali. No. 570, and especially Nawawi, Tahdīb 113. The same uncertainty exists as regards the place of his death. See the above-mentioned sources and Barbier de Meynard in Journal Asiatique, 1874, p. 165.

The dogmatic historians are very well aware of these differences within the Keisāniyya. See also Istakhri 21 (=Hankul 26), Yākūt II, 790\textsuperscript{r}, Masudi V, 180.
Similarly Isr. 10th.

The Radwa mountain (or rather mountains) is situated at a distance of seven days from Medina, Yakut II, 790. It was considered extremely fertile, and was believed to be one of the mountains of Paradise.

The individual traits, with which the belief in Ibn al-Hanafiyya's sojourn in Radwa has been embellished, are properly intelligible only when we bear in mind their origin, as well as the origin of the underlying conception, which is no other than the Messianic idea. On the overwhelming influence of this idea over Islam, see de Saecy XXXI ff., van Vloten, Chasisme 54 ff. and my essay "Die Messiasidee im Islam" (in Festchrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstage A. Berliner's, Frankfurt a. M. 1903, pp. 116-130, especially 121 ff. and 127). This influence also shows itself in numerous minor details which the Muhammadan theologians, being unaware of their origin, were bound to misunderstand, and which they in consequence purposely modified. A striking example of this tendency is offered, in our opinion, by the detail, also recorded by I. II., that Ibn al-Hanafiyya was surrounded by beasts of prey. The original significance of this conception can scarcely be doubtful when examined in the form in which it appears in a poem of as-Sayyid (Agh. VII, 4). In view of the importance of the question, I quote the decisive verses in the original, adding the vowels and a translation:

1 Makr. 352 says briefly

ناقلت الكربة إتباع أبي كرب بأن ابن أبي الكرب

المذكورة حتي لم يثبت وهم الإمام المنتظر.

Still briefer Abu'l-Maali

ابن الكربة أتباع أبي كرب غير

153. Is this Abu Karb, of whom nothing else is known, identical perhaps with

ابن الكربوس.

banished for his extravagant doctrines, Ikd 269 ?

Interesting in this connection is Burton's remark (Pilgrimage to al-Medinah and Mecca, ed. 1898, I, 222): "I heard much of its valleys and fruits and bubbling springs, but afterward I learned to rank these tales with the superstitious legends attached to it. Gazing at its bare and ghastly heights, one of our party, whose wit was soured by the want of fresh bread, sulkily remarked that such a heap of ugliness deserved ejection from heaven, an irreverence too public to escape general denunciation."
Years and months (has Ibn al-Hanafiyya been hidden). But he can be seen in Radwa in a glen among leopards and lions. He resides between land marks (?), while big-eyed kine and the young ones of ostriches walk about at evening tide in the company of speckled goats. Together with them graze beasts of prey. Yet none of them attacks them to tear them with the point (of their teeth?). They (the tame animals) are through him secure from destruction, and they feed together without fear on the same meadow and at the same drinking place."

There is no need to prove that this description is a reflex of the Messianic prophecy Isa, 11, and the parallel is far more striking when we take into consideration the orthodox Muhammedan belief that at the end of Time, when Jesus shall have re-appeared and introduced the Golden Age, "lions and camels, tigers and oxen, wolves and lambs will graze peacefully together, and boys will play with snakes without danger." This original idea of the eternal peace extending over the wild animals can still be discerned in I. H.'s words, if we vocalize (Ed. IV, 178) عمن يعبيد أسد وعين يصار نمر and thus read the plural, which is also found in as-Sayyid's poem (first line of our quotation).

In any event, the Messianic character of this conception was misunderstood. The wild animals were taken to be the guardians of Ibn al-H. The plural was accordingly substituted by

1 Comp. Lane s.v. لَجَمُ.

2 Through Muh. b. al-H. If the suffix referred to صَعَب, we should expect مَنِه, not مِنْهَ. [See, however, p. 38, n. 1.]

3 Snouck-Hurgronje, Der Mahdi, p. 9.

4 In our translation, p. 44\textsuperscript{49}, we have followed the ordinary conception.
the singular, and in explanation the dual was added, which gives an entirely different appearance to the whole description, thus, e.g., Shahr. 111 penult., Fawâd al-Wafâyât I, 24, Bagd. 11, Isfr. 10.

The other details recorded in this paragraph equally show traces of the Messianic idea.

"Conversing with angels" (l. 11) has its source apparently in the words of as-Sayyid (Agh. VIII, 32, Masudi V, 183). The Messias residing in Paradise (comp. Ret Hamidrash, ed. Jellinek II, 29), he naturally holds intercourse with the angels.

L. 12 apparently rests on as-Sayyid’s verse Masudi V, 183, Dahabi, Ta’rikh al-Islâm VII. Here the original conception obviously is that the Messiah gets his food from the outside. I. H.’s words remind one vividly of I Kings 17, 6.

Another form of this conception which strongly indicates Messianic influence is that which makes Ibn al-H. derive his sustenance from two fountains, one of honey, the other of water, both flowing near him. Bagd. 11 (and Isfr. 10): "Abdun min al-bâla, Shahr. 111: "Abdun min al-fusul ya‘âdûl minhum râ‘îa, comp. Fawâd I, 24. This statement is probably derived from a Keisânite poem which is generally assigned to Kuthayyir, Agh. VIII, 32, Masudi V, 182, Shahr. 111, IKhald. I, 358. The real character of this conception

1 Ms. Strassburg (Spitta No. 12), in the biography of Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya. The Ms. is not paginated. — Comp. Yâkût II, 790

2. Istakhîr 21 (= Ibn al-Kal 29) only has "îmam kâmil bihi ilâ ilâhim min yâ’âd, ilâhim min yâ’âd bihi.

3 Only Ibn, Izbubut 32, ascribes it to as-Sayyid. Similarly Agh. VII, 19, contrary to VIII, 32, and omitting the decisive verse.

Just what considerations led Barbier de Meynard (Journal Asiatique, 1874, p. 247) to decide in favor of as-Sayyid’s authorship is difficult to understand.
is revealed in the undeniably older form which is preserved [44] Bagd. 94°. Ibn as-Saudâ (p. 18°) is quoted as saying: وَالَّذِي
لِيَبْنُيَّنَعْنِّيٍّ لَعَلَّيْنِّي فِي مَاحِدٍ الكُوفَة عَيْنِانْ تُفْيِضُ اَحِدَاهُمَا عَسْلًا
والآخِرِي سَمَّىٰٰنَا وَيُعْتَفِر مَنْهَا شَيْعُنَّهُ، to which assertion Bagd. reasonably replies (95°) وَقَدُ مَاتِ ابْنُهُ الْمُحِسُّنٌ وَاِسْتَحْمَارَهُ بِكَرَبِيَّة
عَطُشًا وَلَمْ يَنْفَعْ لَهُمْ مَا فَضَّلَ عَنْ عَسْلٍ وَسَمَّىٰ.

This "honey and butter" which is the food of the Messiah seems nothing but the [45] الْاِتْحَالِةِ الْوَرِيَّةِ which, according to Isaiah's prediction (7. 23), "everyone shall eat that is left in the land.

It is but natural that to Kuthayyir, who was at home in Najd and Hijâz, water appeared a more appropriate article of food than butter (or cream), which was accessible to every Bedouin, the more so, since the Radwa mountains were believed to be very rich in water.

— L. 16. Müsa b. Ja’far, with the by-name al-Kâzim, was born 129 and died between 183-186, IKhall. No. 756, Tab. III, 649, see also ib. 2509. He was imprisoned by the Caliph Mahdi and, having been released for a time, again imprisoned by Rashid. It is assumed that he was poisoned in prison, IKhall. ib., Shahr. 127. He was buried in the Kureish ceme-
tery (في مَقَابِر قُرَيْش) in Bagdad, and his grave was still visited by pilgrims in the time of Bagdâdi: مشاهد موسى بن جعفر معروف في الجاين الغربي من بغداد ديار (Bagd. 19°).

1 Isfr. 56° اذا نزلت (بعتى علیا) من السماء يَفْتَحُ له في ماحد
[add the koufâ عيْنَان إِخْدَاعُها من العسل والأَخرَي من السمَّى [ورَضَو
read وَشَيْعُنَّهُ يَأْكَلُ يَمِينِها (منهَا]

Kuthayyir lived mostly in Medina; Brockelmann, Geschichte der arab. Lit. I. 48. His poems are innumerable times quoted by Yākût as loci probantes for localities of that district.

*This also would speak in favor of Kuthayyir's authorship of that poem. As-Sayyid lived mostly in large cities, Brockelmann I, 83.
The sect which recognizes Mūsā as Jaʿfar's successor in the Imamate, his elder brother Ismāʿil having died before his father, are called the Mūsawiyya (میسیون), Shahr. 126, Bagd. 19, Isfr. 13, Ḥankal 65 and others. After his death his followers still denied that he was dead and believed in his "return." They were for this reason designated by a more comprehensive term as the Wākifa or Wākifiyya (see p. 51), Shahr. 127; IBah. Ithḥāt 36. Probably in consequence of their having been deceived in this expectation, the Mūsawiyya were branded by their opponents as the Mamtūra: "those that were rained upon." The belief of the Wākifiyya attaches to Mūsā b. Jaʿfar. They are identical with the Mamtūra, and it is by this name that this party is known in distinction from other sects of the Shiites" (Masudi VII, 117). Zeid. says similarly (fol. 104b): 3

وَقَتَلُوا عَلی مُوسَى وَزَعُمُوا أَنَّ مُوسَى حَتَّى لَمْ يَمْتَ وَلَا يَمْتَ حَتَّى يَمَلِلَهَا (يَعْنِي الْأَرْضُ) عَدَلًا كَمَا مُتَلََّهَ جَنْعُ اَلْقَالِ لِهنَا الْوَافِقَةَ وَالْمَبْطَورَةَ. See also Kashi 287, bottom. According to Shahr., this nickname was coined by Ali b. Ismāʿil (p. 60), who said to them ما انتم إلا كلاب مبطورة. Bagd. ascribes it to Yūnus b. ʿAbderrahmān: 4 كان من المطيعية وناظر بعض الموسية فقال في بعض كلامه انتم أَعْثَنَ على بعض من الكلاب المبطورة. Isfr. again ascribes this utterance to the well-known Shiite Zurāra b. Aʿyūn.

1 Kashi 286 tells a story which satisfactorily accounts for the rise of this belief. Two trustees of Mūsā, who were in charge of a fund of 30,000 dinārī consisting of taxes that belonged to Mūsā, had squandered the money while the latter was in prison. When Mūsā died, the trustees, fearing the claims of his heirs, denied Mūsā's death, and endeavored to spread the belief in his "return."

2 The opposition of the "Twelvers" to this belief vented itself in the invention of utterances, usually put into the mouth of Jaʿfar, which violently protest against the Mūsawiyya doctrine. Some very characteristic specimens may be found in Kashi 284-288.

3 One of Mūsā's adherents, Fihhr. 220; comp. Tusy, p. 366 f.
The name of this sect is spelt ناقوسية and ناقوسية. Shahr. 126 is in doubt as to whether this name is derived from a man or a place. The other sources have nothing to offer on the subject. The reading al-Basri (instead of al-Migri) adopted in our text is, apart from general considerations, confirmed by the notice Isfr. 13. أَنِّمَ رَجُلًا مِّنْ أَهْلِ الْبِصَرَةَ وَكَانَ يُسَبِّبُ إِلَى ناقوس كَانَ عَنْالِكَ.

The meaning of the last words is not quite clear to me: ناقوس is a vault; especially a sepulchral vault (Dozy, s. v.).

—L. 21. Ja'far as-Sadik was born 80 or 83 and died in Medina in 148 during Mansur's reign; Ikhall. No. 130; Nawawi, Tuh dib, p. 195; see also Blochet 12. Ja'far occupies a central position among the Imams of the Shi'a. His authority is considered final. See on this unique position of Ja'far pp. 79, 89 and Index.

45, l. 1. On Isma'il, see Index.

Ibidem. The reading Sababiyya (note 1) is frequently to be met with in MSS. See, e. g., Text, p. 71, note 13; Comm. p. 27, n. 2; Tab. III, 29, note k; Labb. al-Luhab s. v. السبأى note d; the examples can be easily multiplied. The manuscripts of Bagd. and Isfr., which bestow great care on the diacritical points, consistently read the same way. This coincidence cannot be accidental. The reading is satisfactorily accounted for when we bear in mind that the characteristic and most objectionable feature of Shiism, in the eyes of the orthodox, is the سبب البحابة "the denunciation of the Companions," especially

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1 Yakut IV. 733 mentions a place داروس الطيبة, near Hamadan. It is difficult to state whether this is the place to which Shahr. refers.

2 Is it mentioned among the celebrities of the Imamiyya? Shahr. 145 identical with our فیخرب. —Tusy, p. 186 (No. 400), says of a certain 'Abdallah b. Ahmad b. Abi Zeid al-Anbari وكان من سبب البحابة من الشيعة. Fihr. 198 reads instead فیخرب. But the reading ناقوسية is no doubt correct, as immediately afterwards a man is mentioned who also belonged to the party of Ja'far.
of Abū Bekr and 'Omar. Attachment to Ali without this
denunciation is, Goldziher, Shī‘a 443, n. 3, comp.
ZDMG. 50, 115. See Text 72, n. 2, and the characteristic anec-
dote, below p. 65. Typical is also the notice Agh. XI, 46: The
Keisânite Khundak al-Asadî, having been assured by Kuthayyîr
that his family would be taken care of, denounces in Mekka,
during the pilgrimage, Abū Bekr and 'Omar and suffers mar-
tyrdom for it. The Sunnites therefore designate the Shiites
as Sabbâbûn, "denouncers", Goldziher, ZDMG. 36, 280, n. 1.
As the name Sabâ’iyya is frequently applied to ultra-Shiite
sects in general (p. 100), it was for polemical purposes, with a
slight change in the diacritical points, transformed into Sabâ-
bîya, or more correctly, Sabbâbiyya.1
—L. 2. On Ibu Sabâ, see p. 184 ff.
—L. 3. The belief that Ali was hidden in the clouds whence
he would return on earth is ascribed by all theological writers
(Shahr. 132 ult.; Iji 343; Makr 357; see also IKhald. I, 358)
to Ibu Sabâ. While many, or most, doctrines attributed to this
founder of Shiism are apocryphal or of later origin, this belief
is no doubt authentic. This conception must have become
extremely popular among the Shiites at an early period, as
numerous early authorities bear witness to it. Muslim, Sahîh
(Cairo 1284, I, 51) in the name of Sufyân (ath-Thauri, died
Zeid. fol. 104a)
mentions a special sect called as-Sabâbiyya
قَصَصَ مِن الْرَوَايَاتِ
يُقَالُ لَهُم الْكَتَابِيَةَ وَهُمْ يَزَعُّمُونَ آن عَلِيّاً حَتَّى لَمْ يَمِتْ بِسَوَى
الْفُرُوجِ وَالْعَبَّا، وَهُمْ يَزَعُّمُونَ آن عَلِيّاً فِي الْكَتَابِ
Abûl-
Maalî 158 calls the founder of this sect Muhammad b. Ya’kûb
البَيْعُوبِيَةِ الْكَتَابِيَةِ مَعْلُونَ بِنَبِيَّ عِيْقَوبَ اِبْنِ شَمْسَةِ نَبِيَّ
4 Curiously enough there was also a sect called Sabbâbiyya, named
after Sabbâb, a client of the Omeyyad family, which throughout
the Omeyyad reign stood up for this dynasty and denounced its enemies,
Agh. XIV. 163.—A certain 'Abdallah b. Sabbâb is mentioned ibd 209,
immediately after 'Abdallah b. Sabâ, as one whom Ali banished for his
extravagant doctrines. But I have nowhere found any reference to
this person.
Dr. Mian Emami, the well-known Shi'itic traditionist (died 174), "who was a silly, weak-minded old man, believed that Ali was in the clouds. He would sit in our midst, then look up to the clouds and exclaim: 'Here is Ali, passing in the clouds!" (I Khald. II, 155, quoting from an-Nasâ'i, died 757). The poet Ishâk b. Suweid al-'Adawi ridicules in a much-quoted poem: "the people who greet the clouds when they mention Ali." This belief spread the more easily, as Ali's grave was unknown, Damiri, Hayât al-Hayawân (Bulâk 1884) II, 267. According to Ibn Asâkir (died 571), the camel which was carrying Ali's body to Medina to be buried there disappeared with the body: "for this reason the people of Irâk say he is in the clouds."

On the Messianic basis of this conception, see my essay "Die Messinidee im Islam," p. 125.

—L. 9 ff. This utterance of Ibn Sabâ is in all probability derived from the anecdote told by Jâhiz, Bayân (Cairo 1313) II, 73, on the authority of ash-Sha'îbî (d. 103). A certain Jarir b. Keis met Ibn as-Saudâ (= Ibn Sabâ) in Madâin. He (Ibn Sabâ) said: What is the news? I said: the Commander of the Faithful (= Ali) has been killed. . . . He said: Even if you had brought us his brain in a hundred bags, we would surely know that he would not die till he should drive you with his stick." Bagd. 94° tells the same story, perhaps drawing from the same source, in a similar manner:

1 Bagd. 94°, 43°. He was a contemporary of Wâsîl b. 'Aţa, ib.
2 Bagd. ib.; Isfr. 29°; Kânîl ed. Wright 546°; Ikd 267.
3 The Imâmites, however, insist that he was buried in Qarî in Kufa, Abu'l-Maali, 164°; Ibab., Pitkudat 22°. Their motive is plain, see p. 30°.
4 Quoted by Suyuti, Tarîkh 175, also by ad-Dinshki al-Karamânî, Akhbar ud-Dunaw (on the margin of I. Athîr's Tarîkh, Bulâk, 1290°) I, 291°.
5 L. H. quotes Jâhiz also Text. 50° and elsewhere.—The passage in Bayân was pointed out to me by the late van Vloten, Leyden.
6 Ali banished Ibn Sabâ to Madâin, Shahr. 322, Ikd 269, Bagd. 6°, 94°.
له لن (ليش) جتنبنا بدماغه في ضرب لم نصدقو بموتته [40]
لأنه لا يموت حتى ينزل من السماء ويتملك الأرض بذكائه.

The reading adopted in the text (note 6) is in accordance with these quotations.

6. On the two doctrines (Raj'a and Docetism) underlying Ibn Sabā's utterance, see p. 23 ff.

—L. 12 ff. The following are counted among the Keisānīyya, because they regarded their Imams as the successors of Abū Hāshim, the son of Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya (p. 89).  

—L. 13. On Abū Muslim, see Index.

—L. 15 ff. 'Abdallāh rose under the last Omeyyad Caliph in 127, see the elaborate accounts of Agh. XI., 68 ff.; Tab. II, 1879 ff.; I Ath. V. 246. He was forced to give up Kufa and to retreat into the mountains of Media. He was in temporary possession of the province of Fāris, and—this is significant in connection with l. 16—the mountains of Isbahān. He went so far as to strike his own coins (ZDMG. 46, 443). He was killed in 129 by order of Abū Muslim, Tab. II, 1976=I Ath. V, 282. See about him also Text 71°.—Gen. Leyd. has the following notice about

20. him: (read عبد الله الشاعر المطرب المترجم قيس (قينص) عليه أبو مسلم صاحب الدولة العباسية وجسمه بضرورة وقيل (دعا وكتب) بوضع يقال له تهدر (sic) من عرابة وکأن له ولد وانقرض.

His followers were called Janāhiyya, Bagd. 97°, 103°; Isfr. 357°; Iji 345; Makr. 353°, because his father' Mu'awiyah bore the by-name Dā'ī-Janāhein, see especially Nawawi, Tahāfūb 339.

On the Imamate of the descendants of Ja'far b. Abī Tālib see I. H.'s remark (Ed. IV. 90°): "one party says: the

1 The text is corrupt أتباع عبد الله بن البغيرة (sic) بن أبي جعفر بن أبي طالب بن عمرو (sic).

2 On the sects deriving their name from the father's name of the founder see Goldziher, ZDMG. 61, 75, n. 2.

His father Muʿāwiya must already have enjoyed a similar distinction. When he still was a school boy, the Keisahite—this is important on account of L. 14—Kuthayyar would hug him fondly and say to him: "Thou art one of the little prophets" (Agb. VIII, 34, see p. 27, note 4.)

—L. 20. 'Abdallah's teachings as described by Bagd., Iji and Makr. are in the nature of other ultra-Shiitic doctrines: God's successive incarnation in the prophets and Imams, the belief in Transmigration of Souls coupled with the denial of Resurrection (see p. 74) and the allegorical interpretation of the Koran, Iji, Makr. = de Saéc. II, 595.

— Ed. erroneously Ali. Cod. I., II, 86+ has the correct reading.

* Interesting is the remark of Sibšt, Imams: (read "ولم يسمى أحداً (إحداً)")

من بنى هاشم وَلَدَه معاوية إلا عبد الله بن جعفر فهجره (الحبيب) عليه احده منهم اثنان القليل.

— Of his offspring Gen. Loyd. says: ولدت ناصبة ونجرها من الجبال ورأيت مع الصوفية رجلاً صوفيًا ولد في إبهران... فقدكر الله من ولد محمد بن صالح بن معاوية بن عبد الله بن جعفر ولم يتسع لي الرمان في مستمته عن سلفته وما بقي من اهله هذا البيت.

Bagd. 97+ وزعم أنه هو الإمام بعد عليّ وأوّدته من صلة إله كاتب في آدم ثم في شيت ثم دارت في الإنباء. Here the text breaks off. Between 97+ and 98+ something (in all probability one leaf) is missing. This is to be added to Ahwardt's Catalogue No. 2800. On this doctrine of successive incarnation see Text 68+ and Comm.
On the belief in ‘Abdallah’s concealment (gâiba) in the mountains of Isbahân see especially Iji (who writes اصفهان) and Isfr. 57°.

— I. 22. On the Dahriyya see de Boer 80.—One of his stable companions was called al-Baklih, because he was of the opinion that man is like a vegetable (al-bakl) and when he dies, he does not return (on earth), see p. 24, n. 1, Agh. XI, 75. ‘Abdallah’s Sâhib ash-Shortah is said to have been a Dahrite, ibidem.

46, l. 2 ff. The same belief of the Jews in four Immortals is mentioned by I. H., Ed. I, 187, in a brief survey on Jewish history. After Joshua it was Phinehas who ruled over the Jews for twenty-five years. "A large section of them (the Jews) maintain that he is alive till this day, he and three persons besides him, viz., Iyâs (Elijah) the Prophet, the Aronide, Malkisidek, Fâlig, 'Ābîr [b. Shâlîl], Arfahshâd, b. Sâm, b. Nâhî, the servant whom Ibrâhîm dispatched to woo Ribkâ, the daughter of Banûlî, the son of Nâkhûr, the brother of Ibrâhîm."

In our passage (p. 46, note 1) L. Br. also add the name of Methuselah. But it is clear from the parallel quoted here that the name came in by mistake.

As to the four others above-mentioned, there can scarcely be any doubt that, as far as Malchizedek is concerned, I. H. con-

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1 The following variants are taken from Codd. L. and V.—L. agrees with Ed. See Intro., p. 18.
2 V., missing. See p. 47°.
3 V., missing.
4 Ed., L. V.
5 فاغ
6 لفاغ
8 So L. V.—Ed. رفقة.
9 L. V.

Methusaleh is reputed in Jewish tradition as a "a perfectly righteous man," Abodh di R. Nathan, ed-Schechter, ch. 33, and he is counted among the seven Long-lived, Baha Bathra, fol. 121°, comp. Goldziher, Kitâb al-Mu'awma, p. xlii. But this has nothing to do with immortality. Perhaps he is confounded here with his father Enoch.
founds the Jews with the Christians. M.'s immortality is taught [46] as early as in the Epistle to the Hebrews 11: 6, 7, 3 ff., and it is known from the polemics of the Church fathers to what extent this belief, which found expression in a special sect called Matchizedekites, was spread among Christian sectarians.

The genealogy of M. as given by I. H. (and other writers) is only a modification of the early Jewish tradition (also recorded by the Church fathers) which identifies him with Sem, the son of Noah; see Louis Ginzberg, Die Haggada bei den Kirchenräten I, 118, II, 104.

Eliezer, "the servant of Ibrahim," is mentioned among the nine Immortals who entered Paradise while still alive, Derekh Erez Zuta, ch. 1. It is worthy of notice that in neither passage is Eliezer mentioned by name. He was probably designated in Jewish circles merely as "Eliezer." 25

Elijah's immortality, which is, of course, a direct consequence of the Biblical report, is already implied in Sirach 48:13-14. On the Rabbinical legends clustering around Elijah see the exhaustive article (by Louis Ginzberg) in Jewish Encyclopedia V, 122 ff.—The notion that he was a Kohen, "an Aronide," is very old and already known to the Church fathers, Jew. Enc. V, 122a bottom; Ginzberg, Die Haggada II, pp. 76-80.

Phinehas is in Jewish tradition commonly identified with Elijah. This identification is very old and already known to Origen, Ginzberg, Die Haggada II, p. 78.

— Note 7, I. 2. Read "brainless" (Turkish).
— I. 8. The literature on al-Khadir is too extensive to be recorded here in detail. The best accounts on the Khadir legends are found in Tālabī's Arūs (Cairo 1302), p. 137 ff., Damiri, Fayḥ al-Hayawān (Bālāk 1284) I, 338 ff. (sub voce حروف موسي) and Tāj al-'Arūs III, 187 (sub voce الخص). The ubiquitous prophet is particularly popular with the Sūfis (see spec. Tāj ib.), just as Elijah is with the Jewish mystics. The famous Sūfī Ibn al-'Arabi (died 6385) — to quote one instance — records in his al-Futūḥat al-Makkiyya numerous conversations with al-Khadir, Kremer, Ideen, p. 103, comp. p. 71 note.

The Shī'ite sects which believe in the "concealment" and "return" (gaiba and raj'a, p. 28) of their Imams quote in con-
formation of their belief the continued existence of al-Khadir and Elijah, Shahr. 131, 1Khâlîsh I, 358.
— L. 10. Elijah is usually associated with deserts and ruins, see, e.g., Pirke Aboth, ch. 6, Berakhot 3°, Sanhedrin 98c.— al-Khadir ("the green Prophet") is, on account of his name, brought in connection with water and vegetation.
— L. 13. The same objection is found in connection with Elijah, who in the belief of the people is present at every circumcision. "How can it be imagined that Elijah should be present at every circumcision that takes place in Israel? How can he accomplish it, since, Israel being a nation scattered and divided, many circumcisions take place simultaneously in the East of the World and the West thereof?" Glasberg, Zichron Brith ha-Kishonim (Berlin 1892) p. 233.

47 L. 3. "Abdallah b. Salâm" is a lapsus calami for "Abd as-Salâm."—Muhammad b. 'Abd as-Salâm is identical with Ibn 'Abd as-Salâm, who defends the belief in al-Khadir, Tâj al-Arâfâ III, 187. He is mentioned by Ibn al-Abbâr, Complementum libri as-Silah, ed. Codera, Madrid 1887, p. 136, No. 483:

الليل (sic)
Talabira is situated on the Tajo, in the district of Toledo, Yakut III, 542.
— L. 6. I have not been able to identify this Kâtib with the not unusual name. He is mentioned by I. H., Ed. 1, 111:
He takes I. H. to a friend of his to show him the miracles he is working. But I. H. succeeds in unmasking him as a juggler.
— L. 11. This hadith, which is recorded both by Muslim and Bukhârî and is in consequence canonical, reads fully as follows:

أما ترضي أن تكون مثنا بمسيلة عاورون

Nawawi, Tahâfîb 438, Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-Gâba IV, 26 (with the variant لا ضخامة بعد و
comp. ZDMG. 50, 119. The tendency of the hadith is transparent. It is directed against the extravagant worship of Ali (and the Imamîs) by the Gâliya. On the beginning of the

1 Whether خمیل بن عبد السلام الخشتی repeatedly quoted by I. H. in Isââds (e.g. Ed. I, 109 ult, V, 56) is identical with our Muhammad I am not in a position to determine.
hadith see p. 135—A similar tradition with the same tend-
ency is quoted by Goldziher, Muh. St. II, 105.
—Note 8. Cod. L. contains the following marginal note
(in extremely illegible and unpointed characters)

The gloss is apparently
tical with L.

—L. 15. I. H. expresses himself similarly Ed. I, 77: "It
is well-established that the Prophet said that there would be no
prophet after him, with the exception of what the reliable
traditions contain regarding the advent of Jesus, who was sent
to the Jews and whom the Jews pretend to have killed and
crucified. It is necessary firmly to believe in all this and it is
well-established that the existence of prophecy after the Prophet
is absurd."

—L. 17. The Berber tribe Baragwata in the extreme North-
west of Africa formed an independent commonwealth under
Tarif, who claimed descent from the tribe Simeon. His son
Saliuh pretended to be a prophet and composed a new Koran of
eighty Suras in the Berberic language, Ibn Adhari, ed. Dozy
1, 44. For their doctrine, see ibidem 234 ff. During the reign
of their seventh king they still expected the "return" of Saliuh;
Dozy, Isd. 348 ff., Kremer, Ideen 200, 372.

—Note 12. The Baragwata Commonwealth was destroyed
by the Almoravides in 1030, Dozy, ib., Kremer, ib.

—L. 19. The name of this sect alternates between Kat'iyya
and Kitti'iyya. The former is found, e. g.,
Masudi VIII, 40; Shahr. 17, 127, 128, 147; Makr. 35119. The
latter form is consistently used by I. H., Bagd. and Isfr., also
Masudi V, 443, 475. The form Kitti'iyya as the more unusual
one seems to be original.
The nature of the Kitābīyya can best be understood when contrasted with its antithesis, the Wākhīyya or Wākīfa, p. 40. The point of controversy is the reality of the Imam’s death (see p. 30) and the question, dependent on it, of the election of a successor. وقف or قتله means “to be uncertain, to be in doubt,” as regards the Imam’s death,” i.e., refuse to believe that the Imam is dead and, still recognizing him as Imam, refrain from electing a successor. The exact reverse of it is قتله “definitely to assert his death,” to believe that the death of the Imam was real and, in consequence, transfer (ساق) the Imamate from the dead Imam to his successor. This state of the case is still perfectly clear in Shahr., as the following examples will show: 173 ... من قتل في موته ... ومن قتل قتلبموته وساق الإمامة إلى ابنه ساسى ... سادوا الإمامة بعده (in opposition to the Wākhīyya, p. 40). Then وقف and قتله were interpreted in their literal meaning “to stand still” and the construction وقف (وقتله) عليه came in use in the sense: “to stand still at him (at the Imam),” i.e., to uphold his Imamate without electing a successor because of the unreal character of his death. Substantially then this expression is identical with the phrase قتل قتلبموته, and both are opposed to قتل قتلبموته “to believe in the Imam’s death and elect a new Imam.” Thus Shahr. 127 ومنهم من قتل: في موتهم (يغني نموت موسى بن جعفر) ويقال لهم القطعية ومنهم من وقف عليه وقال أنه لم يموت وسقط خرج بعد الغيبة ويقال ثم منهم من وقف وقال بالرجعية ومنهم 16: لهم الواقفية

1 See, e.g., Shahr. 131. "Then we are in doubt concerning this."

2 See on this meaning of قتل my Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides, I (Frankfort on M., 1903) sub voce.
Both the beliefs of the Kittâ'iyya and Wâkıfîyya are in themselves merely relative conceptions and express but a certain attitude of mind. They become real only when applied to certain definite individuals. In consequence of this their relative character, their contents are somewhat elastic and change in accordance with the person to whom they are applied. As a rule, the contrast between the two sects hinges on the person of Mûsa b. Ja'far (p. 39\textsuperscript{19}), the succession down to Ja'far, his father, being a matter of common agreement among the Shiites (p. 104\textsuperscript{20}). Those that refuse to admit his death and await his "return" are called Wâkıfîyya (also Mûsawiyya and, with their nickname, Mamûtûra, p. 40\textsuperscript{20}). Those, on the other hand, who admit his death and in consequence transfer the Imamate to his descendants are called the Kittâ'iyya. Comp. the passages quoted above from Shahr. See Masudi V, 443: Hishâm b. al-Hakam (p. 65\textsuperscript{20}) was an intimate friend of Mûsa b. Ja'far. Yet he was a Kittâ'iyy, i. e., he believed that Mûsa was dead. Bagd. 19\textsuperscript{a}.

Kashi in a special article on the Wâkıfîyya, p. 284-288, understands and applies this term in the same manner.

The name, however, occurs also in connection with other individuals of the Alid family.

Thus Wâkıfîyya is found as another designation for Ismâl b. 'Iliyya, those who believe in the "return" of Musa's brother Ismâ'il, Shahr. 127.

\textsuperscript{1} I have dwelt at some length on this point, as Haarbrücker in his Shahr. translation utterly misunderstood the whole matter. He takes قطع in its ordinary meaning "to cut off" (abschneiden) and interprets it in the sense "to cut off the series of Imams" and allow no further Imam. In consequence, the contradictio in adiecto that those who cut off (i. e., close) the series of Imams transfer the Imamate to their descendants, is repeatedly to be met with in his translation. E. g., I, 25: "Andere machen mit seinem Tode einen Abschnitt und führen das Imamat auf seinen Sohn über," or, still more nonsensically, 192: "Andere schmitten mit seinem Tode (die Reihe der Imame) ab" and so forth. The same, Wolff, Drusen, p. 82 ff. — It is difficult to see how these authors could make any sense out of this translation.
The name Kittitiyya is found in connection with Ali, the son of Musa, Makr. 351. Zeid. 104 applies this term to the "followers of Ali b. Muhammad," apparently referring to Ali an-Naki (died 254), the grandfather of the Shi'ite Mahdi, "the man of the cellar."

Gradually, however, the two terms were used pre-eminently in connection with the Mahdi, the Imam of the "Twelvers." Those who did not admit the death of his father, al-Hasan al-'Askari, and consequently rejected his own claims to the Imamate are called the Wakiyya, Bab., Ithbat 39 (p. 36, however, this term is used as a synonym for the Masa'yiyya). Those again who believed in al-Hasan's death and transferred the Imamate to the Mahdi, were called the Kittitiyya. With the spread of the "Twelvers" and the extinction of the other Shi'ite factions, the term Kittitiyya became the exclusive possession of this sect and was generally used as a synonym for Ithnawi ashariyya, which is probably of later origin (I. H. does not use it in his Milal), comp. I. H. in our passage; Shahr. 17, 127, 147; Masudi V, 475; Bagh. 196 expressly. And in the same way Isr. 136.

The old Marracci recognized the identity of the Kittitiyya with the Ithnawi ashariyya. The rebuke preferred against him by de Saey (II, 590 n, 1 = Wolff, Dresen, p. 83, n. 1) is without justification.

48. l. 3 ff. See I. H.'s remarks on the same subject, Text [48] p. 76 ff. I. H.'s account on the Mahdi is extremely interesting and in many a detail quite novel.1

— L. 5. The year of al-Hasan's death is unanimously given as 260. All other dates and facts of the Mahdi's life were early entangled in myth and legend.

This shows itself at once in the question as to the date of his birth, which is extremely problematic. Conspicuous in its tendency is the notion that he was born on the day on which his father died, Blochet 21. It betrays itself through the explanatory remark that the Mahdi has, just like Jesus, been Imam since his infancy. According to another supposition (comp.

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1 Sibt, Imams, remarkably enough says nothing about the twelfth Imam.
Text here, 1. 7) he was born eight months after his father's [48] death, Shahr. 130°. Repeatedly to be found as the year of his birth is 258, i. e., two years before his father's death, IBab. Ithbat 441. 2 (read مولى instead of ولد); Ibn Zulak (died 387°) in IKhall. No. 573; Diyarbekri, II, 288. Very frequently the year 255 is given, Abu'l-Maali 164; Anon. Sufi 170°; Abulfeda II, 222; IKhall. ib. See the various suppositions Shahr. 129-130.

The insinuation that the Mahdi was not born at all I have not met with outside of I. H. He repeats the same charge Ed. IV, 10 96°: "If so, what need is there for them (the Imams), especially so for the last 180 years? (see Introduction, p. 19). For they pretend to have a lost Imam who (however) was never created, just like the fabulous griffin," Gen. Leyd. omits the Mahdi altogether, as it only records the Aliides who had offspring. Al-Hasan, however, is designated as Abü Muhammed.

The identity of the Mahdi's name with that of the Prophet which is demanded by the Mahdi traditions is regarded by the Shiites as proof of the legitimacy of the twelfth Imam. To the same end the Prophet's kunya Abü'l-Kásim was conferred on him. The generally accepted Mahdi tradition demands, besides, identity in the father's name. But there are variations of this tradition which are so trimmed as to meet the special circumstances of the twelfth Mahdi, comp. IKhalil. II, 144 ff.; Diyarbekri, II, 288.

— L. 11 f. A more elaborate form of this anecdote see Blochet 22 (who writes Hakimch). The motive of the anecdote is the Shiitic tendency to pattern the image of the Mahdi after that of Jesus, whose advent at the end of time is expected by all Muhammedans. The miracle of "talking in the cradle" is ascribed to Jesus, Koran 3, 41; 5, 109; 19, 30 ff.; comp. Geroek, Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Qoran

1 The latter gives besides 256, which he considers correct. Anon. Sufi ib. quotes Yâfi'T's Ta'rikh to the effect that al-Hasan died when the Mahdi was six or five years old, which would imply 254 and 255 respectively.

2 Already as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī refers to such a tradition, Agh. VII, 4.

3 Zeid: Mutax. 11' quotes a tradition according to which Muhammed ordered Ali to give his son his (the prophet's) name and kunya. He was referring to Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafīyya.
The Sunnitic protest against the transferring of this miracle to the Mahdi found expression in an interpretation forcibly put upon the well-known hadith—"in itself an anti-Shiite protest—there is no Mahdi except Jesus". 

"That is, none except Jesus talks in the cradle (al-mahdi)." SeeIKhall, II, 163 and 169.

LINES 13, 15, 16. On the name or names of the Mahdi's mother see Diyarbekri, II, 288, IKhall. No. 573, who also adds "Khame" (a sort of fragrant milk). Narjis is given by the authorities quoted by Blochet, p. 21. See also Anon. Sufi fol. 170v: On the custom of giving the slaves pet names of this description ("narcissus," "lily," "myrtle" see above, "the polished one (?)"). See the remark Müller, Islam I, 570 footnote.

49, l. 4. The Dictionary of Technical Terms (ed. Sprenger), p. 1308, gives the following definition of "Inspiration" (al-ilham): "الإلهام معنوي في القلب بطريق الفيض أي بلا اكتساب وفلك ولا استفادة (استفادة) بل هو وارد عيب (read ""اعتياد""). It mentions a Sufi sect called al-Ilihamiyah and various other sects of the time, including the Imamiyya, and claims to have had authoritative interpretations of Islamic law.

This claim of Inspiration is the reason why the Shiites object to religious discussions, p. 16f.

In the same way as here and Text p. 35ff., I. II. expresses himself. Ed. IV, 104: "Some of them (the Imamiyya) when asked (to prove) the truth of their claim regarding the Imams (i.e., that the Imams are the only source of religious knowledge) take recourse to the claim of Inspiration in this matter.

1 Comp. Snouck-Hurgronje, Der Mahdi, p. 16.

2 Ed. de Slane, p. 632, has خَبَط; ed. Wüstenfeld has incorrectly خَبَط.
But if they arrive at this sophism, then the latter is not beyond reach of any one man, and their opponents are very well able to pretend that they have been informed by way of inspiration of the absurdity of their claim."

A Shiitie writer of the eleventh century (Hijra) uses the following characteristic argument to prove the superiority of the Imams and scholars of the Shi'a, Goldziher, Shi'a, p. 509: "because their words are not a matter of opinion or effort, but of true knowledge. Their source is either a tradition which every one of them has received from his father, the latter from his own father and so on up to the Prophet, or Revelation and Inspiration, so that both small and big are equal in this respect among them. For this reason it has never been recorded of any of them that he has ever gone to a teacher, or studied under a master, or asked any question."

— Note 6. The reading of Ed. and Codd. presupposes ظريف and the same word is found in Ed. Text 5?"", 64° (see also Ed. IV, 97?). It is possible to get along with the ordinary meaning of ظريف "clever, ingenious."

— L. 9 (note 10). I took this as an example of some monstrous (of course, imaginary) charge for which Inspiration might be invoked. See a similar charge note 9. Prof. Nöldeke (in a private communication) objects to this interpretation. He prefers to retain متلعشي in the text and to translate "or that all of them have a piece (lit. a branch) of madness in their heads."

— L. 13 ff. (and previously). The tone in which I. H. speaks of this charge of illegitimate birth shows that he takes it quite seriously. I have not found any reference to it elsewhere. The concluding words of this paragraph are characteristic of I. H.'s biting sarcasm: It is possible that you all may still be saved by becoming orthodox Muslims. But then you

* One is vividly reminded of the frequently quoted sentence من علماء مسلمين وما هو الباطن: "as he is so impudent, it is clear that he is a bastard." Comp. S. Krauss, Das Leben Jesu (Berlin 1902), pp. 188, 378.
will have proved, according to your own contention, that you are all bastards.

50, l. 9 ff. Comp. I. H.'s notice (Ed. IV, 195\textsuperscript{e}): أبو عثمان عمرو بن (يمضى + الماجز القصري (البصري\textsuperscript{6} (Cod. L. (Cod. L. وقيل بل مولى وهو تلميذ النظام\textsuperscript{6} (read صليبه) واحد تلميذ النظام\textsuperscript{6} واحد شيوخ المعتزلة.

Jähiz died in Basra in 255/869, over ninety years old, IKhall. No. 479, 58\textsuperscript{a}; Brockelmann I, 152.\textsuperscript{4} He was a pupil of al-Nazzám (p. 58\textsuperscript{a}), whom he quotes in this passage. He himself figures as the founder of a sect bearing his name, de Boer, 53.

I. H.'s remark bearing on Jähiz is reflected in the attitude towards him of the Arabic literary critics, which is on the whole more hostile than favorable. "The style of his genius is mediocre" is the verdict of de Boer (p. 54). The Muhammadan writers, however, are ready to appreciate his literary talent and particularly his eloquence, e. g., Masudi VIII, 34; Shahr. 52; Iji 341. But his orthodoxy is held in great suspicion, Goldziher, Zaahirat, p. 190. IKhall. (No. 186, p. 125), after stating that Jähiz declared Ibn Mokaffa\textsuperscript{a} to be an infidel, sarcastically adds: "But, as someone remarked, how could Jähiz have forgotten himself?" Still less favorably than his orthodoxy is judged his moral character. Masudi VIII, 34 says of him briefly but poignantly: انصرف عمرو بن يحيى \textsuperscript{7} من المشهور. He sells his literary talent to the highest bidder and writes successively in favor of the 'Abbasides, the 'Othmanides and Merwanides, ib. p. 56.\textsuperscript{1} For an instance of his unprincipled attitude see later (p. 104\textsuperscript{e} ff.).

Extremely interesting is the crushing criticism of Jähiz as man and writer, by Bagd. and Isfr. I give the essential parts of Bagdâdi's remarks (fol. 69\textsuperscript{b})\textsuperscript{1} as they are apt to illustrate.

\textsuperscript{1} Comp. Kašī 38.
\textsuperscript{2} Kremser, Hist., p. 136, note 17 gives the erroneous date 235/849-850.
\textsuperscript{3} See Goldziher, Muh. St. II, 129.
\textsuperscript{4} Isfr. 37\textsuperscript{b} gives substantially the same. But the wording is quite different.
The Heterodoxies of the Shiites, etc.

[50] اغتُرَوا نجَسً بِذالةِ المجاَحظِ في كُتبَهَا التي بِها تُرجمَةُ قُوْرِينِ بِلا
معْنَى وَاسمٍ يُهْيَؤُ لَبَلا ّجمَّس، وَلَوْ عَرَفَوا جُهَالَاثِهِ في ضَلالَاهُم
لَأَسْتغفَروا اللَّهُ تَعَالَى مِن تِسْمِيَتِهِم إِيَّاءًا اسْتِنَاسًا فَضَّلَّ بِعَن آن
يَنْسَبُوا النَّبيِّ إِحْسَانًا.... [70] وَقَدَ افْتَتْحَتُ الكَعُبِيُّ بِالمِجَاحِظ
وَرَمَعَ آنُهُ مِن شَيوخِ المَعْتَرِفَةِ وَنَفَتَ بِتِصْنَافِهِ الكَثِيرَةَ وَرَمَع
هَا كَتُبَهَا مِن بَنِى كُنَانِي، بِنَحْيَةِ بِنْ مُمْرِكَةَ بِنْ الْيَاسِ بِنْ
مُقْمِرَ فَيْقَالُ لَهُ إنَّ كَنَانِيًا كَمَا رَحَّبَتْ فِي وَلَدِهِ (صَنَّفَكَ
كَتَابٍ مَّفَاخِرَ الفَخْتَانِيَّةَ عَلَى الْكَنَانِيَةَ وَسَاتِرَ العَذْانِيَةَ وَإِن
كَانَ عَرَبِيًا فَلِيَّمْ صَنَّفَ كَتَابَ فُضَّلَ الْمَوَالِي عَلَى العَربِ.... وَإِنْ
كَتَبَ الْمُهْدَرَةَ بَكَّانَ مِنْهَا كَتَابَهُ فِي جِيْلِ النَّصْوِ وَقَدَ عَلَمَ
بِهَا الفَضْقَةَ وَجِوَاهُ السَّرَّتَةَ وَمِنْهَا كَتَابُهُ فِي عَشْرِ الصَّنَاعَاتِ وَقَد
أَفْسَدَ بِهَا عَلَى الْيَتَّارِ سِلْعَهُم وَمِنْهَا كَتَابُهُ فِي الْنَّارِ وَأَمْوَالُهُم
وَكَتَابُهُ فِي الْقَمِّ وَهُوَ مَارَجُونُ بِطَاعُ أَسْتَنَادُهُ الْمَنْظُورِ عَلَى أَغْلَام
الْبَصَابَةَ وَمِنْهَا كُتِبَهُ فِي الْفَصْحَةَ وَالكَلَابِ وَالْثَّلَاثَةَ وَفِي جَيْلِ
المَيْكَانِيَّ، وَمِعَانِي هذِهِ الكَتِبَ لَا تَأَقُّلَهُ بَهُ وَبُصَّرُتْهُ وَأَسْرُتْهُ وَمِنْهَا
كَتَابُ طَمْنِيَّةَ الجُبَّاَيْنِ، وَقَدَ سَلَحَ فِيهِ مَعَانِي كَتَابِ الْمُيْنِيَّ
لِإِرْضَوْتَالِيِّ وَضَعْتُ الْيَدَ مَا ذَكَرَهُ الْمِدَائِنِيُّ مِنْ حَكِمِ الْعَربِ
وَأَشْعَارُهَا فِي منْقَعِ الغَيْدِانِ ثُمَّ إِنَّهُ سُحْبُ الكَتِبَ بِمَفَاطِرَةٍ بِيَنِين

1 See Makr. 348
2 Isfr, declares it to be his most important (أَعْلَى) work.
الكلب والديك، والشيامال. بيشل هذه المناهجة تتسع للمرتبة 70.

[الكلام]

الشمس في الحاضر كفرول الشاعر فيه

لويسح المزير متحاك ثانياً ما كان إلا دوَّن فنّ قيّم الحاضر

رجول ينوب عن الأشياء بنفسه، وожно القدا في كل عرف لاحظ.

L. 14. Abu 'Ishak Ibrahim b. Sayyur an-Nazzam, a pupil of Abu'l-Hudail 9 (p. 669) and teacher of al-Jahiz, was one of the most respected leaders of the Mu'tazila, "noteworthy as a man and a thinker," de Boer 51. He flourished about 2216, Kremer, Iidea 31; Shahr. 18, 37, 39 ff.; Iji 337 ff.; Makr. 346. He leaned towards Shiism ("Rafid"), Shahr. 39; Iji 338. Bagd. 49a protests against the interpretation of his name as Nazzam and explains that he was called

كان ينظم الميز في سوق المصعة.

Ibidem. A man by the name of Bishr b. Khalid is otherwise unknown. But the context and the additional remark of Codd. L. Br., (note 8) strongly suggest that he is identical with the highly respected Mu'tazila-Sheikh Bishr b. al-Mutamir, the founder of the Bishriyya sect. He is mentioned together with an-Nazzam, Shahr. 18; Zeid. Mutaz. 30; comp. Shahr. 44; Iji 338 and others. I. H., too, frequently refers to him in his Milal. Ed. III, 1366, I. H. mentions an-Nazzam, Abu'l-Hudail, Bishr b. al-Mutamir and al-Jubba'il as remarkable for their speculative and argumentative powers.

I. H.'s (or the copyist's) mistake in our passage may perhaps be explained by assuming that Bishr's kunya was Abu Khalid. For a similar mistake see p. 59.

According to Zeid, Mutaz., Bishr was imprisoned by Rashid on the charge of being a Shiite (Rafidi). But he denied it in one of his poems.

1 See van Vloten, Worgers 59, n. 16.
2 Jahiz was frightfully ugly, Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur, popular edition, Leipzig 1901, p. 98.
3 Zeid. Mutaz. p. 35 ult., 27.
— L. 15. I. H. consistently designates this Muhammad as [50] the son of Ja’far. All other sources call him “b. an-Nu’mān,” Fīhr. 176; Bagd. and Isfr. frequently; Tusy No. 698; Shahr. 142; Ijī 347; Makr. 348, 353; IKhall. No. 166; Kāmūs s.v., الطاق. Luhb al-Luhāb s.v.—Agh. VII 9' and 5. Kashi 122, 123 call him Muh. b. Alī b. an-Nu’mān. His kunya was Abū Ja’far (Fīhr. 176; Shahr. 142; Kashi ib., Goldziher, Shi‘a 509”), hence probably the mistake. See p. 58*.

His nickname was Sheitān at-Tāk (see the sources quoted above), which, according to Kāmūs, signifies “the devil of at-īn Tāk, a citadel in Ṭabaristān.” The Shiites, however, call him Mu’mīn at-Tāk, Tusy ib.; Kashi 123. The sect founded by him is generally called Sheitāniyya. Shahr. calls it Nu’māniyya, (comp. Goldziher in ZDMG. 61, 75, n. 2). He was an adherent of Ja’far as-Sādik (died 146), who valued him highly, Kashi 122. He had a dispute with as-Sayyid al-Ḥimyari about the Imamate and came out victorious, Agh. ib.

His ready wit is attested in several instances quoted by Tusy and Kashi.

His book on the Imamate referred to on l. 17 is duly recorded by Fīhr. and Tusy.

— L. 18. This verse plays a prominent part in the polemics between Shiites and Sunnites. Abū Ja’far at-Tāsī, the author of the List of Shy’ah books, wrote a كتاب الناقض على ابن شاذان في مسألة الغاز, p. 355, No. 771. Hishām b. al-Ḥakam 28 (p. 68”) is the author of a كتاب الولد على احجاب القذير, by which most probably our verse is meant. The Caliph al-Ma’mūn anxiously endeavors to refute the consequences to be drawn from this verse in a discussion with a Sunnite, Ikd II. 3

1 Kashi explains the name in a very artificial manner. He was once shown a Dirhem and he said: فقالنا ما هو إلا، سفوق شيطان الطاق.—Comp. Barbier de Meynard in Journal Asiatique 1874, p. 245 note: “Quant au surnom Satan du portique, je n’en ai trouvé l’explication nulle part.” Correct ibidem Hishām b. al-Ḥakam for Hicham b. Malek.

* I have unfortunately lost the reference to the page.
[50] I. H., too, lays great stress on this verse as proving the legitimacy of Abū Bekr's Imamate, Ed. IV., 1441 ff.
[51] 51, l. 1. The objection appears ridiculous in his eyes because in his belief the verse is an interpolation of the Ashāb, see p. 61 f.

— L. 3. His full name is Ali b. Ismā'īl b. Mitham1 at-Tammar (see the references later), but he is frequently called Ali b. Mitham, so here and Text p. 752, Bagd. 213. The variant ميثم (instead of ميثم) occurs frequently, see Text p. 75, note 12; Masudi VI, 369; Tab. (in the variants to the passages quoted below α. 1); Makr. 3513 (de Sacy II, 589 has, however, Maittham). The reading and pronunciation Mitham is confirmed by Bagd. See also Fihrist, 174 note 4. Instead of at-Tammar, Fihrist gives at-Tayyar.2 The by-name اس-نحان (the soap boiler) is not found elsewhere.

His grandfather Mitham at-Tammar was an esteemed follower of Ali, Fihrist, ib.; Tusi p. 212, No. 438; Kashi (in a separate article) 53-58. Makr. 3514 (= de Sacy II, 589) erroneously refers this adherence to Ali b. Ismā'īl himself.—Ali was by origin from Kufa and was a client of the Banū Asad, but he lived in Basra. He participated in conjunction with those named Text p. 752 in a discussion in the Majlis of the Bar- mekide vizier Yahya, Masudi VI, 369. He had a dispute with Abūl-Hudeil and an-Nazzam, Tusi ib.

He is regarded as the originator of the Imamite doctrine,
Masudi, Fihrist, Tusi, Makr. (= de Sacy). Bagd 21: من شيوخ الرافضة. In spite of it, he is reported to have been moderate in the denunciation of Ali's opponents, see Text p. 792; comp. Wolff, Drusen, p. 80, 82.

50 He is in all probability identical with Ali b. Ismā'īl, who gave the Musawwiyya the nickname Mamtūra, p. 40v.

1 Tab. III, 349v, 354v, 383 inserts between Ismā'īl and Mitham the name Šālih. See, however, ib. 288 note a.

2 Kashi 170 calls him repeatedly unlike ميمنه الهمشية also goldziher, Shī'ā 510 (cf. ib. p. 5).

3 There is one mentioned Kashi 176 among the intimates of Ja'far as-Sādik who may be identical with him. Ja'far alludes to the meaning of the name (179f), so that a mere copyist's error is out of the question.
— L. 11. Perhaps the reason for it is that the Räuând have [51] no hesitation to change their minds, as they attribute the same (see on the Bädá doctrine, p. 72") to God.

— L. 14. The belief in "tablíf" is, properly considered, the basis of Shiitic doctrine. It accounts for the lack of the Prophet's written announcement regarding the succession of Ali and justifies the distrust toward the bearers of the Sunna, which again is the starting point for a complete remodelling of Islam. Isfr. 14's ably summarizes the far-reaching consequences of this belief:

More comprehensively, and, as is to be expected, from a higher point of view does I. H. deal with this problem. Having proved that the Gospels had been interpolated, I. H. (Ed. II, 76'-ff.) quotes two Christian counter-arguments which he tries elaborately to refute. The first is that the Caliph Othman removed numerous readings from the Koran, and the other
"that the Rawāfiḍ maintain that the Companions of your Prophet altered the Koran by way of omissions and additions."

The first objection I. H. discards briefly, though somewhat superficially, by pointing out that in the time of Othman the Koran text was already so wide-spread and so firmly established, that the Caliph could not, even if he would, change it. 

As for their argument regarding the Rawāfiḍ and their contention that the Koran readings were interpolated, the Rawāfiḍ do not belong to the Muslims. They consist of a number of sects, the first of which arose twenty-five years after the Prophet's death. It was originally the response of some people abandoned by Allah to the call of those who beguiled Islam, a party which followed the course of the Jews and Christians as regards falsehood and heresy. They are divided into various sections. The most extravagant of them assume the divinity of Ali b. Abī Talib and of a number of people besides him. The least extravagant of them believe that the sun was twice turned backwards for Ali. How can one be indignant over lies coming from people whose lowest rank in lying is such (as described)?" He then proceeds elaborately to refute this charge. He cleverly beats the Rawāfiḍ with their own weapons by pointing (Ed. II, 80*) to the fact that Ali himself, "who according to most of them is a god, a creator, and, according to some of them, a prophet endowed with speech, while in the opinion of the rest he is an infallible Imam, the obedience to whom is a religious command imposed by Law," did not object to the Koran in its present shape and, while Caliph, did not fight the interpolators, which would have been his sacred duty. "Thus the mendacity of the Rawāfiḍ becomes evident, and praise be unto Allah, the Lord of (all) Created Beings!"

A brief reference to the same subject is contained Ed. IV, 146*; "unless the Rawāfiḍ fall back on ignoring the Koran and (assuming) omissions and additions in it. This is something whereby becomes evident their impudence, ignorance and stupidity."

A thorough discussion of the whole question and a refutation of the charges raised as well by modern scholars can be found in Nöldeke, Geschichte des Qorans, p. 217 ff. See also Goldziher, Muh. St. II, 111 ff.

1 Ed. II, 78.
2 See p. 16, n. 2.
3 See p. 65.

*

—Note 12. “Better to be translated: ‘yet at the same time to be openly and publicly declared himself a Mu’tazilite.’ (The same in Text l. 20.) Otherwise عنهم منهم or could not be missing.” (Nöldeke.)

—L. 21 f. I could find nothing bearing on Abū Ya’la. As a possibility I would suggest his identity with at-Tusi, the author of the frequently quoted List of Shy’ah books. He calls himself a pupil of All al-Murtadā (List. p. 218, No. 473). He is counted Shahr. 145 among the writers of the Imāmiyya. A catalogue of his own writings, List, p. 285, No. 629.—سبلان as a proper name occurs Fihr. 180°. The variant ميلاد seems much easier. But Abū designate the date, not, as we expect here, the place of birth.

—L. 5 f. I have not been able to identify this Abū’l-Kāsim. [52]

—L. 5 f. The belief in Transmigration is not characteristic of the Keisāniyya, but is rather, as I. H. himself points out (Ed. IV, 198°), a logical consequence of the Mu’tazilite doctrine of Divine Justice which necessitates an exact retribution after death. This belief, however, is attributed to several men known as Keisānites, so to as-Sayyid al-Himyari (in our passage), Kuthayyir (p. 26°), ‘Abdālih b. Mu‘awiya (p. 44°), Abū Muslim, (p. 64°).—Makr. 354 mentions a special sect "Tanāsukhiyya.”

On the relation between Tanāsukh and Raj’a, see p. 26 f. See also next note.

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1 See Schreiner, Der Kalām in der jüdischen Literatur, p. 62 ff.
2 Dahabi, Tūrīkh al-Islām, vol. VII (MS. Strassburg, not paginated) in the biography of as-Sayyid, quotes I. H. as authority for the assumption that as-Sayyid shared this belief.
—L. 8 ff. The peculiar procedure described in this paragraph is the outcome of the belief in Transmigration. I. H.'s own expositions on the subject of Tanassukh (Ed. IV, 90 ff. in a special chapter) are apt to illustrate and explain our passage.

Those that believe in the Transmigration of Souls are divided into two sections: one section holds that the souls on leaving the bodies are transferred to other bodies which are different from the kind of bodies they had left. This is the belief of Ahmad b. Ha'it [V + the pupil of an-Nazzám], of Ahmad b. Nánás, his pupil [V, the pupil of Ibn Ha'it], of Abú Muslim of Khorásán, of Muhammed b. Zakariyá ar-Rázi, the physician, who expressly advocates this (doctrine) in his book entitled "Al-Im al-Hāht." This is also the belief of the Carmathians [V + the Kesáníyya and some of the Rásida] . . . These people are of the opinion that the Transmigration of Souls takes place in the form of Punishment and Reward. They say: the soul of the sinner who has made himself guilty of bad actions is transferred to the bodies of repulsive animals which wallow in all kinds of filth, which are forced to work, are inflicted with pain, and are used for slaughtering." See also Ed. IV, 198 ff.

Note 5. The addition of L. Br. is not justified. The hatred of the Rawāfid concentrates itself on Abū Bekr and Omar. See the interesting remark Mithal V, 608: فادب بكم عمر رضي الله عنهما تعايدةهما الباذعة . . . وعثمان وعلي .

An instance of the intense hatred of the Shiites towards the "two Sheikhs" which is as curious as it is typical is quoted Mirza fol. 52: ونم احلفاهم الكُفَّانة ما زُروُوا في معتَبرات كُتُب

1 I add a few important variants from Cod. V (509), L. siding with Ed.
2 Ed. I 90 strike out
3 the add.
4 Ed. 111, 101.
6 See p. 59.
7 V, غابوس p. 1011 11.
8 See de Boer, p. 77 ff.
9 The following differently worded in V.
10 =L. I, 42. I cannot identify the passage in Ed.
The story is not impossible. At any rate: se non e vero...—L. 17. On Hishām see also Text p. 74th ff., 75th.—Hishām b. al-Hakam Abū Muḥammed al-Aḥwāl ar-Rāfdī (al-Harrār, Masudi VII, 231) was born in Wāsit (Kashi 165), but lived in Kufa as a client of the Banū Asad (Text 52, note 10), or of the Banū Kinda (Kashi; Fihr. 175; Tusi, p. 355, No. 771). He moved to Baghdad in 199 and is said to have died in the same year. He belonged to the intimate circle of Mūsa b. Jaʿfar (p. 39th), but he had also, when still a young man (Kashi 167), come in contact with Jaʿfar (Fihr., Tusi), who converted him from his heresies to the orthodox Imamītic belief (Kashi). In spite of the difference in opinion, he held intimate intercourse with ʿAbdallah b. Yazīdī, the founder of the Kharijīte sect Ibādiyya, Masudi V, 343.

He was considered an authority on the Imamate question. When a Syrian once came to Jaʿfar and insisted, among other things, on having an argument about the Imamate, he was referred to Hishām (Kashi 179). The theory of the Imamate is the central point of his doctrine. He compared the Imamate

1 Jaʿfar as-Sādiq.
2 This either refers to Sheiṭān at-Tāḥ (p. 59th) or to Hishām b. al-Hakam, this page, l. 11. They both bore the nickname al-Aḥwāl.
3 Kashi quotes an exact topographical description of his Baghdad residence by an eye-witness.
4 According to Kashi, he died in Kufa twenty years earlier, 179, during the reign of ar-Rashīd. But this can scarcely be correct, as he was a young man during Jaʿfar's (died 140) lifetime. See the following.
with the heart in the human body, Masudi VII, 234, 236. See his pretty and elaborate comparison of the limbs with the Imamate, Kashi 175. He belonged to the Kitābiyya, who admitted Mūsā b. Ja'far's death, p. 511.

In the domain of Kalam, Hishām occupied a prominent position. He was the representative of a grossly anthropomorphic doctrine and, in conjunction with Hishām al-Juwalīki (p. 1325), was considered the founder of the Hīshāmiyya sect, Bagd. 19v, 125v; Isfr. 14v, 15v, 54v; Shahr. 18, 60, 76, 141 ff.; Iji 346.

— L. 18. See Text 75v. Abū Ali is called the pupil or adherent (sāhib) of Hishām in the other sources as well. His by-name is uncertain; see the variants p. 52 note 12 and 75 note 13. Masudi VI, 369 has the same sakkal; Shahr. 145 sakkal, the same Fihr. 176 (var. sakkal). I have adopted the reading of L. Text 75v: "ash-Shakāk," "the sceptic." Masudi expressly designates him as Imamite. Shahr. counts him among the writers of the Imāmiyya. The title of his book recorded Fihr. inb. points to the same thing: کتاب على عنى أبي وجوه الإئمة بألف.

— L. 19. Comp. the discussion of this question Ed. II, 128. An elaborate account of Hishām's theory of Divine Knowledge is given Bagd. 20v and Shahr. 59 ff. It became popular not only with Shiites, e.g., the Sheitiyya (p. 59v), Isfr. 54v; Shahr. 25 142; Iji 347; Makr. 353; or Zarrā b. A'yun (Shahr., Makr.), but also with Mu'tazilites, the famous al-Jubbāl approving of it (Shahr. 59).

53. l. 1. "Abāl-Hudeil b. Makhūl al-'Allāf," a client of the 'Abd al-Keis of Basra, one of the leaders and foremost men of the Mu'tazila" (Ed. IV, 192v), died about 233 (Shahr. 37; IKhall. No. 617; Zeid. Mutaz. 28) at an extremely old age

1 Ja'far is so delighted with his expositions that he exclaims ilb. 177. [Cf. I Cor. 13, 13 ff.]

5 Makr. 348 calls it also al-Hakamiyya, after the name of his father (comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 61, 75 n. 2).

Zeid. Mutaz. 29

f Ki. Khall. gives besides 226 and 237. Iji 336 has erroneously 135.
(Zeid. Mutaz.).—He was an opponent of anthropomorphism. [53] On his doctrines see de Boer 49 ff.

On his disputes with Hishām b. al-Hakam see the sources quoted p. 66, ll. 12–13, espec. Shahr. 18, 141. According to Zeid. Mutaz. 36 and somewhat in contradiction with 53 note 1 and 5 this page, l. 27, Abū'l-Hudail, while on a pilgrimage to Mekka, paid a visit to Kufa and there met Hishām and other opponents, with whom he victoriously argued about subtle Kalam matters.

— L. 2. This utterance is attributed—erroneously as Makr. 348⁸ points out—to Mukāṭil b. Sulaimān (p. 11⁸), see also to Shahr. 141.—The purport of this utterance is rather obscure, in spite of the following two notices which sound more intelligible: Bagd. 20⁸: وحكى بعضهم عن هشام أنه قال في معبودة

انها سبعة أشباه بشير نفسه كأنه تأسه على الإنسان لين كن الإنسان في الغالب من العادة سبعة أشباه بشير نفسه. Similarly Mirza fol. 80⁴ from Imām ar-Rāzī's (died 606/1209) Milal wa'in-Nihal. وتعاطبُ رأي أو ندان قرارَ كفرت كد صفيت بلست است زده كن مقدارٌ أو عمه مقدارًا معتدلَ التريست. Accordingly, the most proportionate human figure is that whose height (''length,''' 53 note 2) is seven times the size of its own ''span,''' and Hishām, who was excessively anthropomorphistic (p. 66⁸), conceived God as a human figure of the most proportionate size. But ''span'' (shibr) is too large in this connection. Perhaps it signifies here a smaller measure (see Dozy sub voce).

Interesting and characteristic of Hishām's doctrine is the 26 notice Bagd. 20⁸: وذكر أبو الهدأ بعث في بعض كتبه أنه لقي هشام بن الحكم بعده عند حبل أي قبض فسألته أيما أكبر معبوده (add 4) أم هذا الجبل قال تأسار إلى أن الجبل يوق على عليه تعالى (أين). Hishām indicated that the mountain towered above Him the Exalted, i. e. (he meant to say) that the mountain was bigger than God.''

— L. 3. The reading adopted in the text is found Text p. 75⁸ and Bagd. 124⁸ (with a soft under the line). gjri occurs frequently, see the variants 53 n. 4 and 75 n. 11, Shahr.
[53] (Haaibr. 115); Wolff, Druseen 48. is found Shahr. 143 (Haaibr. 215); Isfr. 55° and is also reflected in the reading of Ed. in our text, note 4. — On his extravagantly anthropomorphic doctrines see the sources just quoted, espe. Shahr. 143.

— L. 6. I. H. refers twice to the same belief in his Milal. Ed. II, 78°: "Those of them (the Shiites) who are the least extravagant (still) believe that the sun was turned back twice for Ali b. A. T." Ed. V, 3°, in discussing the question whether miracles can be performed by non-prophets, he refers to "the claim of the Rawâfiq that the sun was turned back twice for Ali b. A. T." He quotes as illustration a poem of as-Sayyid al-Himyari referring to the turning back of the sun, in order to enable Ali to recite the prescribed prayer (see later), and to the same miracle happening a second time—if the reading be correct—in Babylon (Irâk). He farther quotes a poem by Habib b. Aus (Abû Tamâm, died 231) of which the last verse reads thus: "By Allah, I do not know whether Ali has appeared to us and the sun has been turned back for him, or whether Joshua has been among the people." He points out, however, that the verse in this form is a forgery and that the correct reading offers something entirely different. 1

1 The quotation from as-Sayyid which is found in L. II, 106° is omitted in Ed. and runs as follows:

[الکامل]

ودت عليكم الشمس حين بذرتما في قدمها و قدمها للقصص ثم عبرت فو تنور الكواكب

(1. inicio)

و عليكم قد رددت باياد مرة أخرى وما رددت بيدلٍ مغرب (L. unpr.)

I am not certain as to the meaning of مقرب (sic) مغبر. In L. follows a rhymed refutation by Ibn Hazm which is missing in Ed. The text is too doubtful to allow of a reproduction.

قَالَ ابْنُ حَازِمُ رَأَيْنَا الْجَوْرَابَةَ الْمُحِيَّةَ

فَرَأَلَّهُمَا سَلَامٌ سَلَامٌ فَاتِمٌ وَوَافِقُتَا كَانَ بِنَا الْقُوَّمِ يُرْشَعُ

This remark is missing in Ed. In the second verse I offers the undoubtedly correct reading

و انطوى لي بلَعْنَتْهَا نبَوٍّ السماء الجَزْرَةٍ
The miracle of the standstill of the sun is reported in connection with Ali in two cases. In one case the sun halted to enable Ali to complete the conquest of a besieged city. The Sunnites claim this miracle for the Prophet (see Goldziher, Muh. St. II, 331 and at the end of this note). In the other Muhammed bids the sun to rise again to enable the beleaguered Ali to recite the afternoon prayer, Goldziher ib., and note 9. It seems that official Shi'ite tradition takes cognizance merely of the latter case. At least it is the only one which figures as the Hadith of the Turning back of the Sun" recorded by Sibt, Inams fol. 32a. I reproduce the chapter in extenso as it gives an exhaustive presentation of the subject and contains, besides, numerous points of interest.

حديقة رَحَمَةُ الشَّمسِ، أَنَا أَبُو القاسم عبد المَكَّسَى بن عبد الله
ابن أحمد الطوسي قال: اخبارنا وليدٌ عبد الله بن أحمد الطوسي قال: اخبرنا أبو الخنسين من النجور اخبرنا ابن حبان بن بُنْت البَعْقُوِيِّ تَمَّة طالوت بن عبد بن ابنا ابنا الخنسين عن فاطمة بنت الخنسين على أسمانا، بنى مَعْمِس قال: كأن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في جمر على عليه السلام وجمع نِيْوَيْهِ عليه فلم يصل العصر حتى غريبت الشمس فقال: رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: إنما كان في طاعةك وطاعة رسولك فأردْ على الله عليه وسلم، وقد تصفف تقوم هذه الحديثة وذكره جلدي في كتاب الموضوعات وقال في إنسابه جمعية مُفعَّاء وساعتم يقال وصلية العصر ماتت قضاء ولا يُفيض زوجٍ للشمس [32b] قلت قد حكي القاضي عياض في كتاب النَّصَّا

1 Jamāl ad-Dīn Abūl-Faraj al-Jauzī, died 597/1200, Brockelmann 1, 600.
2 Here begins the quotation.
3 See the definition given by Ta'rifat in Freytag's Lexicon sub voce.
4 Died 544/1149, Brockelmann, I, 369.
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
In conclusion follows a lengthy poem bearing on this hadith by Ibn ‘Abbád called Káffl-Kufát (died 385).

It is clear from this account that the legend wavers between the standstill of the sun (see the legend quoted at the beginning; is the verses just quoted speak in the same way of “Wukáf”) and its rising again, the latter being represented in the hadith attributed to Asmá. The two forms of the legend bear the same relation to one another as the solar miracle of Joshua (Joshua 10, 13) to the one under Hezekiah (II Kings 20, 11; Is. 38, 8).

The hadith owes its origin to the Shiite tendency to pattern the biography of Ali, the “wasi” (legatee, cf. Introd. p. 22) of Muhammed, after Joshua, the wasi of Moses. See another instance of this tendency, Shahr. 132. I believe for this reason that the miracle referred to p. 69 is originally a Shiite invention and its transfer to Muhammed a polemical attempt on the part of the Sunnites.

1 Died 547.
2 Or رومي. I am not quite clear as to the meaning of this sentence.
— L. 9. I am not certain as to the meaning of this line. Does the reference to the nearness of age (see note 9) imply a reproach against Asmā, the author of the hadith? I cannot make out what the reference to the multitude of people, which is missing in L. Br., is meant to convey here.

— L. 12. The doctrine of Badā (i.e. "pleasing"); if anything pleases God, he may change a previous decision) presupposes the belief in the changeability of the Divine Will (cf. p. 661n) and is a counterpart of the orthodox belief in Nuskh (the abolition by God of a previously revealed Law).

Generally this doctrine is regarded as a specific tenet of the Keisāniyya, Bagd. 111; Makr. 352; Iji, who makes no mention of the Keisāniyya, enumerates in their stead the Badā'īyya (348°). This belief is supposed to have been invented ad hoc by Mukhtār (p. 72°) when, contrary to his prophecies, he was defeated in battle, Bagd. 152; Isf. 11; Shahr. 110. Wellhausen, however, points out (Oppl. 88) that, according to Tab. II, 732° and 706°, it was 'Abdallah b. Nauf who originated this doctrine, in opposition to Mukhtār.'

The Zaidite Suleimān b. Jarir (p. 136°) makes the Rawāfid (= Imāmiyya, Appendix A) in general responsible for this belief, Shahr. 119 penult. IBab., however, (I'tikadat fol. 6°) protests against those who charge the Imamites with Badā. These people merely imitate the Jews who prefer the same charge (he apparently means Nuskh) against the Muslims. He quotes Ja'far as-Sādik as saying that he who believes in Badā is a Kāfir.'

A curious instance of the application of the Badā doctrine is quoted I Ath. VIII, 21. Abā'īl-Khāṭṭāb (p. 112) and his adherents claimed that no sword could do them any harm. But when some of them had been executed, he resorted to the pretext: "since it pleased God to do otherwise, how can I help it"?

اذا كن قد بدأ لله نبا جليلتي.

1 It must be remarked, however, that Tab. II, 732°, a variant, reads Mukhtār instead of 'Abdallah b. Nauf.
2 This passage is quoted Anon. Sufi fol. 20° in the name of Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (died 606°).
3 The text of this passage is apparently corrupt and does not allow of a reproduction.
— L. 13. I have not been able to find an authority for this statement. The number of (official) wives legally permitted by law is four, Koran 4, 4.

— L. 14. On similar dietary restrictions by a Carmathian missionary see later p. 76. The prohibition of cabbage is very old. The pagans considered the eating of it disgraceful and the Harranians in later times clung to the same custom, Chwolsohn, *Sahib* II, 110. In our passage apparently the red cabbage is referred to. The reason given for the prohibition reminds one vividly of the popular Shiitic notion—which originally was no doubt but a poetical figure—that the sunset glow represents the blood of al-Husein and never existed before, Goldziher, *Muh. St.* II, 331.

— L. 18. This notion is probably the consequence of the great emphasis laid by the Shiites on the significance of the name Ali ("Exalted"). One is reminded of Koran 19, 8, where the prediction of Yahya's (John's) birth is followed by the solemn declaration لَمْ تَجَعَلْ لَهُ مِنْ تَأَلَّفِ سَمِيثًا. Comp. also the stress laid on the identity of the Mahdi's name with that of the Prophet, p. 53.


— L. 3. Azd. see ib., e.g., 11.; Bajila, e.g., 9.


— L. 9. This conception is not specifically Shiitic but rather belongs to the domain of Kalam. Makr. 348, at the end of his account on the Mu'tazila, mentions a special sect of the مُثَلِّنَةِ القَاطِلْنِ. I. II. refers to it more explicitly Ed. IV, 83 ff. in a special chapter on "the eternal existence of the
residents of Paradise and Hell"; "All sects of the (Muhammedan) Community agree that there is no decay for Paradise and its pleasure nor for Hell and its pain. The only exceptions are Jahm b. Saifwân, Abûl-Hudjil al-'Allâf and some of the Râwa'fîd. Jahm maintains that both Paradise and Hell will decay and their residents as well. 1 Abûl-Hudjil, however, maintains that neither Paradise and Hell nor their residents will decay. But the movements of the latter will decay and they will remain in an immovable state like a mineral. In spite of it, they will be alive and enjoy pleasure and suffer pain respectively. The party of the Râwa'fîd referred to above believes that the residents of Paradise will leave Paradise and the residents of Hell will leave Hell for some unknown destination (lit.: whither it is Allah's desire). 15 See Iji 336; Makr. 349 16. — On Abûl-Hudjil's view see de Boer, p. 51.

A certain heretic by the name of 'Abdallah b. 'Abdallah b. Shunayf attacks a friend of I. H. on account of his belief in the eternity of Paradise and Hell, Ed. I, 19.

— L. 11. The eternity of the world is taught by the Mu'amariyya, a section of the Khaṭṭâbiyya, p. 114 17, see Shahr. 137 = Makr. 352 18; Iji 346. This belief is the outcome of the doctrine of Transmigration (Makr.), as the latter, taking the place of Reward and Punishment after death, dispenses with Resurrection and accordingly with the establishment of a new world, 19 Isfrīr 57 20 is apparently aware of this connection when he curtly remarks:

أَنَّ الْدُّنْيَا لَا تَتَقَدِّمُ وَكَأَنَّا يَتَكَدِّرُونَ الْقِيَامَةَ وَيُقَدِّرُونَ

bymnastus al-awâlî.

The way this view is contrasted with the belief in the decay of Paradise and Hell suggests a connection between them. In point of fact, the belief in Transmigration, when carried out logically, not only necessitates the eternity of this world, but, fulfilling the function of Reward and Punishment, dispenses altogether with Paradise and Hell. Ihbâb., Pīkâdât 12 21

1 Comp. Kashi 177; an-Nazmûn (p. 58) said to Hishâm b. al-Hâkâm (p. 65) 22: "The residents of Paradise will not exist in Paradise an eternal existence" and so forth.

2 The last words most probably refer to the belief mentioned later, p. 85 23 ff.
fully recognizes this connection: "To the right of the Banū Māğūs there is a tribe called Banū Lamās. They are all Rawāfi' and known under the name Bajalīyyān. There settled in their midst a Bajalite of the people of Nafta in Kastilla, before Abū 'Abdallah ash-Shī'ī entered Ifriqiyya. His name was Muḥammed b. Wrsdl (sic). He called upon them (read ٍرَعَعِلَم) to denounce the Companions (of the Prophet) and permitted them forbidden things . . . They still adhere to his doctrine to this day and (believe) that the Imamate is permissible only in the descendants of al-Hasan, not in those of al-Husain. Their ruler was Idrīs Abū'l-Kāsim b. Muḥammed b. Ja'far b. 'Abdallah b. Idrīs." The name of the founder of this sect appears here in a different form. Ihaukal 65" (=Yakut 1, 320) agrees with I. H. in calling him ٍبُسَرَفِن, but they omit the mention of his first name. The name and pedigree of their ruler are altogether different and I have no means to decide which are the correct ones.  

As regards the cardinal doctrine of this sect—the limitation of the Imamate to the Hasanides—Bekri agrees with I. H. (55, 1. 5). In contradiction with it, Ihaukal (=Yakut) reports that they were Mūsawītes (cf. p. 40), i.e. acknowledged the Imamate of Mūsa b. Ja'far, who was descended from al-Husain. The former statement is no doubt correct, as the Idrīsides who ruled over them were Hasanides.  

—L. 14. On Nafta see Yakut IV, 800. It is two days' journey from Kafṣa, mentioned in the same line, ib. Kafṣa, a small place (ٍبَلَدَة مَعْفَرَة), lies three days from Keirowan, ib.  

1) of the tribe Bajila?  
2) I. e. before 220.  
3) Gen. Leyd. omits the Idrīsides in Africa.
Kastilia mentioned here is not the Spanish province, but a region in Northwest Africa on the great Zäh, Yakut IV, 97; see also I, 392, IV, 151. The emendation proposed, note II, is not necessary.

It is worthy of notice that the people of this region, from which the founder of this Shiitié sect came, were Kharijites, Yakut IV, 97, 800.

— L. 16. The city mentioned here is as-Sūs al-Aksa. It is fully two months' journey from as-Sūs al-Adna, Yakut III, 189.—On the Masmūda tribes, see Kremer, Ideen 383, note.

55. L. 3. According to IHaukal (= Yakut) ib, the two parties of the city (the others were Mālikites) alternately worshipped in the same mosque.


Note 1. On 'Abdallah b. Yāsin, the founder of the Almoravide dynasty (middle 11th century), see Dozy, Isl. 359 ff. "The by-name al-Muṭṭawwāl I have not found elsewhere.

L. 7. See also Text, p. 80, 1. 2. On Abū Kāmil, see Bagd. 121 a, 136 c; Shahr. 133; Iji 343; Makr. 352.

L. 17. See also Text 80, 1. 4. The author of this contention, which is certainly not unjustified, is unfortunately not known. The contention itself is not mentioned in the other sources.

— L. 22. المتعتسطة في الغالِمُ more literally "who occupy the middle as regards 'extremism'." From the point of view of gilāwī the Shi'a appears divided into three parts: the Zaidiya who are entirely free from it, the Imāmiyya who partly adhere to it (comp., e.g., Rajja, Tanāsukh, etc.), and the Gāliya who unfinchingly profess it. The reading of L. Br. (note 6) "who keep back from gilāwī" is thus justified. However this may be, the Imāmites themselves protest against any affinity with the Galāt. I Bab., Iṭikādāt 23 b (in a special chapter) emphatically declares that they are infidels.

Note 7. They betray Islam, because both Koran and Hadith insist that Muhammed is the last prophet, comp. Text 47, 1. 8 f.
— Note 8. The reading of L. Br. is not doubt correct. Poly-[55] thesism is not the charge usually preferred against the Jews by Muhammedan theologians. This would confirm our supposition as to the later date of Codd. L. Br., see Introd. p. 19.

56. l. 3. On the Ġurābiyya see IKot. 300; Iji 346; Makr. b 353"; Bagd. 98"; Isfr. 58". The latter two and Iji state the[56] comparison more elaborately: "more than one raven the other one and one fly the other one." The adherents of this sect curse the "sahib ar-rish," i.e. Jibril. In a parallel between the Rawāfiḍ and the Jews put into the mouth of ash-Sha'bi (Ibd 260, w comp. p. 19") the two are identified because of their dislike of Gabriel. Bagd. 98" sorrowfully remarks that the Gāliyya are even worse than the Jews, for the latter, though disliking Gabriel, yet abstain from cursing him.

In his polemics against Judaism, I. II. (Ed. I, 138") very cleverly draws a parallel between the Jews who believe that Isaac confounded Esau with Jacob and the Ġurābiyya. "This contention (of the Jews) very closely resembles the stupidity of the Ġurābiyya" among the Rāfiḍa who believe that Allah dispatched Jibril to Ali, but Jibril erred and went to Muhammed, In the same way Isaac blessed Esau, but the blessing erred and went to Jacob. Upon both parties (may rest) the curse of Allah!"

— L. 13f. Ali was about thirty years younger than the Prophet (comp. Kremer, Ideen, p. 315). Consequently he was ten years old when Muhammed made his first appearance. The same is assumed Ed. IV, 142" and in the variant of L. Br. to our passage (note 7). The reading of Ed. seems to be incorrect. But there is a difference of opinion as to the date of Ali's birth, see I. II in the quoted passage and Tab. I, 3467"ff.

— L. 15ff. On Muhammed's physical appearance see Ibn Hishām I, 266; Tab. I, 1789 ff.; Nawawi, Tahāfī 32-33. It is interesting to observe that I. II is unprejudiced enough to point out that Muhammed was above middle-size. The other writers

1 Allusion to Koran II, 91, comp. Geiger, Was hat Muhammed aus dem Judentum aufgenommen, p. 15.
2 Ed. has العربية, but V 80", and L. I, 54" (which in this section of ملائی sides with Ed.) have the correct reading.
3 V. + بالله وإلى Ed. L. missing.
[56] anxiously insist that the Prophet was neither short nor tall, but the exact medium between the two.

[57] 57, l. 1 ff. On Ali’s appearance see Tab. I, 3470° (=IAth. III, 333); Tahdib 441 penult.—Sibt, Imams fol. 4°, gives a similar description of Ali:

كان آدم شديد الأدمة عظيم العينين غليظ الساعدتين أقرب إلى القصر من الطول عريض الكعبة

أصلع (أصلع) أبيض الرأس والكعبة

Ali looked particularly short because of his corpulence. Whenever Ali appeared on the market of Kufa, the satirical Persians would exclain

"Here comes the big-bellied man!" (ZDMG. 38, 392, from Madāsīn). It is characteristic that both Sunnite and Shi'ite writers anxiously avoid to mention this feature of Ali which is so repugnant to the Arabic taste. Of all the sources at my disposal I find, besides the reference quoted above, only one more allusion to it in Ikhār II, 274 (بطنًا).

— L. 11. The number 23 is not exact. The interval between Muhammad’s first appearance and his death was 21½ lunar years; see the list in Sprunger, Leben Muhammad’s 1, 205.


58, l. 3. The exclusive (note 3) reverence of Ali is characteristic of several sects: the Sabā’īyya (Text 71") and the ʿUyunīyya and Nuseirīyya, which, according to I. H. (Text 66, l. 17 and 71, l. 18), are branches of the former.

— L. 4 ff. The persons named in the following are the twelve Imams of the Ithnā'ashariyya. The biographical data concerning these Imams can best be learned from the list in Abūl-Maʿalī, p. 164–165, see Schefer’s Introduction, p. 184 f. A more detailed account Diyarbekri II, 286–288. The omission (in l. 6) of the tenth Imam, Ali b. Muḥammad (al-Hādī at-Taklī, born 214, died 254), is, it seems, not accidental. For in accordance with it, Ali (l. 7) is changed to Muḥammad. The same omission and the same change are exhibited by Codd. L. Br. Text p. 76, note 4 and 5. Whether this peculiar error is due to his proximity to the eighth Imam, who bears the same name, or to some more significant circumstance, is difficult to determine.

1 Ed. IV, 163 16,11 his genealogy is given correctly.
— Note 6. It is worthy of note that the benediction 

is[58]. added only after the name of Ja'far. Ja'far as-Sādik (died 146) was not only the patron-saint of the Shiites. He was also highly esteemed by the Sunnites, see p. 105[59]. Cf. ZDMG. 50, 123.

— L. 10. On the Carmathians, see p. 19, l. 32. Muhammed b. Ismā'īl at-Tāmm, "the Completer," is the seventh and last "open" Imam in the belief of the Sahiyya, or "Seveners." After him begins the series of hidden Imams, Shahr. 127 ff., 146. The Carmathian missionary Yahya b. Dikrweih pretended that he was this Muhammed, Tab. III, 2318 (anno 289).

— L. 12. Read: "This is a party." On the Keisāniyya, see p. 33 ff. The Keisāniyya do not agree as to whether Muhammed b. al-Ḥanafiyya inherited the Imamate directly from Ali, or indirectly through Hasan and Husein, Shahr. 110. Kuthayyir (p. 134[60]) speaks of four Imams, comp. Barbier de Meynard in Journal Asiatique, 1874, p. 164.

— L. 13. On Mukhtar, see Shahr. 110 (he distinguishes between the Keisāniyya and Mukhtāriyya). Very elaborate accounts on Mukhtar with specimens of his safi can be found Bagd. 126 ff.; Isfr. 106 ff. Wellhausen, Opp. 74 ff., gives an elaborate sketch of his personality.

59. l. 1 ff. On Mugira see the passages in Index.—Text 34, [59] n. 3, Ed. and Codd. have bnu Abi Sa'id. Ed. I, 112 ult. and elsewhere correctly. Sa'id instead of Sa'id occurs Agb. XIX, 58, Ikd. 267. Abu'l-Maali 157, gives him the by-name as[61]. According to Shahr. 134, Makr. 353 (= de Saucy XLVI) he was a "client" of Khālid al-Kasri, who afterwards executed him. It is possible, however, that this is a mere inference drawn from the fact that Khālid's clan Kasr belonged, as did Mugira (l. 2), to the Bajila tribe (IKot. 303; IKhall. No. 213). He is specifically designated as al-'Ijli (of the Banū 'Ijil) Shahr. 134; Jī 344; Makr. 340, 353; Bagd. 355; Isfr. 54, 56; Tabari Index (in the text the statement is missing). This is significant in connection with van Vloten, Worgieres, p. 57, and later, p. 80[62] ff. Mugira rose against Khālid b. 'Abdallah al-Kasri, the wali of Kufa, in 119, accompanied by twenty (Kāmil ed. Wright 20; Makr. 353), according to Tab. II, 1621 only by seven men. Despite their small number they spread such terror around them (the reason, see p. 92[63] ff.), that Khālid, who chased
to be in the pulpit when he heard of their uprising, came near fainting and asked for a glass of water, an action which made him the object of general ridicule, Kāmil ib. Agh. XIX, 56, XV, 121 (here they are called by the general name al-Ja'fariyya, see p. 107\(^\text{a}\)), Makr. 353\(^\text{a}\), van Vloten, Worgers, 58. The rebels were crucified, Tab. I, 1620\(^\text{b}\); IKot. 300 ("in Wāsit"); Ikd 267 (probably quotation from IKot.). According to another version (Tab. 1620\(^\text{b}\) ff.; I. H. Text 60, l. 17; Ikd ib.), they were burned at the stake.

An exposition of Mu'qira's doctrines is found Shahr., Iji, Makr., IKot., Ikd, very elaborately Bagd. 95\(^\text{c}\) and, more briefly, Isfr. 56\(^\text{d}\). His tenets, which show all the earmarks of "guinww," seem to have exercised a powerful influence in ultra-Shiitic circles. The Imamites solicitous reject any connection with Mu'qira, see the article on Mu'qira, Kashi 145 ff. Ja'far as-Sādik is reported as saying that all the extravagant views to be found in the writings of his father's (Muhammed al-Bākīr's, died 117\(^\text{e}\)) followers are forgeries of Mu'qira, ib. 146, 147.

His system, if system it be called, presents an odd mixture of ancient Eastern beliefs and distinctly shows the influence of gnostic, notably of Mandaeans and Manichaeans, doctrines. The Mandaeans were very numerous in Irāk; at the time of the Abbassides they are said to have had there 400 churches. Their head resided in Baghdad.\(^1\) The Manicheans, too, were identified with Irāk. Mani was born in Babylonia, and he was believed (according to al-Birūnī) to have been sent to the people of Babylonia only. Their head had to reside in Babylonia.\(^2\) The Harrānians, too, who may be mentioned in this connection, were very numerous in Irāk.\(^3\) On these influences see van Vloten, Chittisme 47; Blochet 135, the latter also in Revue de l'histoire des Religions, XL (1899), p. 25, note 1.

It can scarcely be doubted that ultimately all these influences root in the ancient religion of Babylonia; see Kessler ibidem,

\(^1\) Kessler, Article "Mandaer" in PRE, XII (1908), p. 172.
\(^2\) Kessler, Article "Manichäer" ibidem, p. 226, Flügel, Manii 97, 105.
\(^3\) Chwolson, Sogdier I, 483 ff.
\(^4\) It is perhaps not insignificant that a part of the Banū 'Ijl (see above p. 79\(^\text{d}\)) who lived in Bahrehin "completely passed into the Persian nationality," Goldziher, "Islamisme et Parâisme" in Revue de l'histoire des Religions XLIII (1901), p. 23.

In the following an attempt is made to point out the various sources of Mugira's doctrines. It does not claim to be more than an attempt. A closer acquaintance with the religions and literatures under consideration will no doubt bring to light far more numerous points of contact.

— L. 5. The corporeal conception of the Godhead was current in Shiitic circles; see, e.g., p. 67. The crown in this connection is found in various philosophemes. In the Cabbala the "Crown" (אֲרֹן) is the highest of the Ten Seferoth (Spheres). The latter are represented in the shape of a man with a crown on his head; comp. the diagram in the Jewish Encyclopedia I, 181 and in the Hebræ Encyclopaedia (יהויה יִנְקָה), New York, 1907, I, 183. See also later, p. 83.

According to Shahri.; Makr. 349; Bagd. 95 f. and others, Mugira believed that God was a man of light bearing a crown of light. This reminds one of the Mandean doctrine of the "King of Light." Brandt, Mandäische Religion (Göttingen 1889) §§ 19-29, 80-81; the same, Mandäische Schriften (Göttingen 1893), p. 13-19.

— L. 6. Bagd. 96 is less scrupulous and adds two more instances: "Ain for the eye and Há for the pudenda. A very similar description of God is quoted in the name of the Gnostics by Irenaeus, adversus Haereticos* XIV, 3. A Jewish parallel, see in Gaster, "Das Schiur Komah," Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums 37 (1893), p. 225. Similar speculations about the shape of the letters in the name Allah (the latter in Kufic), see Bloch, 133, 192.

— L. 12 ff. This peculiar theory of Creation is evidently the reflection of a Gnostic doctrine. Irenaeus, adversus Hæret. XIV 1, reports a similar theory in the name of the Gnostic

* I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to my friend and colleague, Prof. Louis Ginzberg, who lent me his effectual aid in pointing out the Rabbinical illustrations, the latter, too, bearing witness to the same influences. I profited by his valuable advice also in other parts of this treatise.

The following quotations all refer to the first Book.
Marcos: "When first the unoriginated, inconceivable Father, who is without material substance, and is neither male nor female, willed to bring forth that which is ineffable in Him, and to endow with form that which is invisible, He opened His mouth, and sent forth the Word, similar to Himself... Moreover, the pronunciation of His name took place as follows: He spake the first word of it which was the beginning [of all the rest] and that utterance consisted of four letters. He added the second, and so forth. In Jewish Mysticism similar notions can be traced. Comp. Menakhoth 29b: "God created the two worlds (this and the future world) through the letters Hê and Yôd (constituting the Divine name Yâh)." See also Berakhoth 55a. A similar theory is elaborately set forth in Sefer Yezirah and is to be found in other ancient mystical works. It may be mentioned in this connection that under the influence of a similar notion the Mandæan verb יָֽעַל, "to call," has assumed the meaning "to create." See Kessler, art. "Mandæer" ibid. p. 164" and p. 165.

—L. 12. The "Greatest Name" is, as was already pointed out by de Sacy xlvi, note, identical with the "Shém ha-Mephôrash," the "Ineffable Name" which occupies so prominent a place in the Jewish mystical speculations of all ages (see M. Grünbaum, Gesammelte Aufsätze (Berlin 1901), p. 238 ff., Revue des Études Juives 19, 290 f.). It plays an important part in Islam as well, and here, too, the belief is current that by means of the Ineffable Name all miracles can be easily performed; see, e.g., Isd 396, and (as an illustration) IKhall. No. 756. Most of the sources dealing with Mugira report that he claimed...

1 I quote the translation of Roberts and Hambant, Edinburgh, 1868.
2 According to L. B., the Jews believed that the sorcerers were able to resuscitate the dead by means of Divine names and that Jesus was able to do the same and to perform miracles generally by the same means, Cod. V. 92a (missing in Cod. L. and Ed. I. 156, which is shorter in this part of the work): "إِذْنَذُمُ كُلّهُمُ مُتَّفَقُونَ عَلَى أَنَّ النَّكَرَةَ يُضَعُّنُنَّ الْوَلْدَينَ حَقِيقًةً بِأَسْمَاءِ اللَّهِ... وَهُمُ لا يُتَّفَقُونَ فِي إِنَّ عَيْسِي عَلِيَّمَ الْحَلَالَمَ كَانَ يَعْمَلُ الآيَاتُ بِتَأْلِيمَ الْإِسْمَاءِ الْكَاَحِذَةِ الَّتِي

to be able to perform miracles and resuscitate the dead through [59] his knowledge of the "Greatest Name." Tab. ib. puts into his mouth the typical utterance that he had the power to bring to life the 'Ād and Thamūd and the generations that were between them.

— L. 13. Instead of, "fell (the Greatest Name) upon his head as a crown." He referred, as Shahr. and Bagd. tell us, to Koran 87, 1:

وَسْبَحْ اَسْمَ رَبِّكَ الْعَظِيمِ الذِّى-Feb 3, 2023

and, as Bagd. explains, "he assumed that the Highest Name was identical with this very crown." The same conception of the identity of the "Shām ha-Mephōrash" with the Crown is frequently found in the Cabbala. It takes the form that the name was engraved upon the Crown, see Jev. Enc. IV, 370⁴ and 372⁶ (the references can be multiplied). — On the crown of the Mandaeans "King of Light" see Brandt, Mandäische Schriften 13–19. The Mandaeans priests wear during the service a crown (tāj) on the right upper arm, Kessler, article "Mandäer," p. 214 ult. ³⁰

— L. 14. Apart from the words left out in Ed. (note 6), the passage reflects the ancient idea, also found in the Bible, that man's actions are written down in heaven. The additional words of L. Br. are confirmed by Shahr. 135⁵:

وَقَدْ كَتَبَهَا عَلَى

— L. 15 ff. This queer notion, too, has its root in some Gnostic doctrine. Irenæus, adv. Haeret. IV, 2, commenting upon the Gnostic belief that from the tears of Achamoth

¹This is no doubt the original version. According to IKot. and (probably quoting) Ikd 267, he claimed this power for Ali. This may partly be the reason why these two writers designate Muğira as one of the Sabâliyya. For the latter was considered as the party of Ali see ⁴⁹xiv. see p. 101⁷.

²Prof. Ginzberg suggests a connection with Is. 49, 18: "Behold I have engraved thee on my palms." It may be the consequence of some mystic interpretation of this verse.
all that is of a liquid nature was formed," funnily remarks that he could easily enlarge upon it. "For when I perceive that waters are in part fresh... and in part salt,... I reflect with myself that all such waters cannot be derived from her tears, inasmuch as these are of a saline quality only. It is clear, therefore, that the waters which are salt are alone those which are derived from her tears. But it is probable that she, in her intense agony and perplexity, was covered with perspiration. And hence, following out their notion, we may conceive that fountains and rivers, and all the fresh waters in the world, are due to this source." A somewhat similar idea is found in the Talmud (Hagiga 13b): "Whence does the stream Dinur (Daniel 7, 10) come? From the perspiration of the Holy living Creatures." [Cf. Bereshith Rabbâ, ch. 78.]

The two lakes, then, are formed of the Divine tears and the Divine perspiration respectively. They no doubt correspond to the mâyê siyâvê and the mâyê hivârê, the "dark and white waters" of the Mandaens; see Brandt, Mandäische Religion, pp. 30, 43, 51, etc.—Instead of "sweet" (ll. 17 and 22) read "fresh."

— L. 18 ff. The same conception is found in several Gnostic systems, notably among the Mandaens. "When Life... had thus spoken, Abatur rose and opened the gate. He looked into the Dark Water, and at the same hour was formed his image in the Dark Water. Ptahil was formed and he ascended the Place of the Borders."

Illustrative of l. 19 is the passage in Irenaeus XIV, 1: "The world, again, and all things therein, were made by a certain company of seven angels. Man, too, was the workmanship of angels, a shining image bursting forth below from the presence of the Supreme power; and when they could not, he says, keep hold of this, because it immediately darted upwards again, they exhorted each other saying: let us make man after our image and likeness."

— L. 20. Out of the two eyes of the shadow only two luminaries could naturally be formed. For this reason I disre-
gard the additional reading of L. (note 12). ¹ ²
Shafr. 135° and [59]
very similarly Bagd. speak of the sun and the moon. But our
text seems to reflect a more complicated and, consequently,
more original conception. Perhaps one may combine it with
the well-known Jewish legend that originally the two lumi-
naries were of equally large size and that the moon was subse-
quently reduced in size on account of its jealousy.

L. 23. Sin, and correspondingly Evil as being primitive
and co-existent with Creation, is a widespread Gnostic doctrine
and is a consequence of Dualism, which is at the bottom of all
Gnostic systems. According to Irenaeus XXIV, 2, Saturninus
"was the first to affirm that two kinds of men were forced by
the angels,"—the one wicked, and the other good. ²—On the
lakes see before.—Instead of "the Faithful," Makr. 353 has
"the Shi'a," Bagd. says more explicitly: ... 
الشيعة
²

الجُمَّانِ. Extremely interesting in this connection is the pas-
sage Ed. IV, 69*: "Some people among the Rawâhid are of the
opinion that the spirits of the Infâdels are in Burhût—this is a
well in Hadramant"—and that the spirits of the Faithful are in
another place, I think it is al-Jâbiya." ²

60, 1. 1. This view is in all probability a reflection of the [60]
Clementine doctrine of the "True Prophet" who appears in
various ages under different names and forms, but is in reality
one, "Clementine Homilies III, 12 ff., 20; Recognitiones I, 16.
He is called Christ but he is also identical with Adam, Recog., 25
I, 45, 47. The persons in whom the true Prophet revealed
himself are given Homilies XVII, 4 (in a statement by Simon
Magus) as Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses;
in XVIII, 13 (in a reply by Peter) as Adam, Enoch, Noah,
Abraham, Isaac, Jacob [and Christ]. In both the number..."
seven is evidently intended. This is important in view of the numerous Shiitic doctrines which are based on the same number of prophets (see Index s.v. Seven).—The conception of the "true Prophet" is complemented, it seems, by the Clementine belief that God has the power of changing himself: "for through his inborn Spirit He becomes, by a power which cannot be described, whatever body He likes" (Homilies XX, 6). This is practically the doctrine of Incarnation, which is of such fundamental significance for the Ultra-Shi'a. Another instance of the adaptation of a Clementine doctrine, see p. 116 n. 2.

—L. 2. Jābir died 128 or, according to another version, 132 (Tab. III, 2501). Either date contradicts the statement Bagd. 974 that he was among those who expected the "return" of Muhammed b. 'Abdallah (see I. 10) who died in 145: 15. Jābir was a passionate admirer of Ali and maintained that the latter was meant by "the beast of the Earth" (Koran 34, 13); Goldziher, Muh. St. II, 113, comp. ZDMG. 38, 291.—The Imamites consider his traditions trustworthy, Kashi 126. He is briefly mentioned Tusy, p. 73, No. 139.

—L. 3. 'Amr b. Shurahl ash-Sha'bi (ash-Shu'bi is misprint) died 103 or 104. The sources dealing with this celebrated traditionist are enumerated Fihr. 183 note 14.—Shahr. 145 counts him among the Shi'a. He appears Ikd. 289 (= Isfr. 15) as a bitter enemy of the Rawsid. But the utterances put into his mouth are no doubt spurious. [See Index s.v. ash-Sha'bi.]

—L. 4. Khalid al-Kasri (Kasr, a clan of the Bajila) was executed in the year 126 by his successor in the governorship of Kufa. Yūsuf b. 'Omar ath-Thakafi, in a most barbarous manner. See on Khalid, IKhall. No. 212; IKot. 203; Agh. XIX, 53 ff.; Flügel, Mani 320–322. He frequently appears in our text as a relentless persecutor of heretics. But the motive for his attitude was evidently not religious zeal but loyalty to the Omeyyad dynasty, which was threatened by these heretics. His own orthodoxy was of a rather problematic nature. He was a
powerful protector of the Manichaens (Flügel, Moni, p. 195),[60] and his mother was a Christian. His achievements in the extermination of heretics were rewarded by a hadith in which the Prophet announces to his ancestor Asad b. Kurz that Islam will be victorious through his descendants, Goldziher, Muh. St. 5 II, 45 f.

— L. 6. I find no reference bearing on Bekr, except the notice Bagd. 97°: فل قرى مات بكر الأموّر الكتخري. The question and rejoinder. The People of the Book had no answer, and they went away. And all this is cited from the books of the People of the Book. From them, these words were attributed to Bekr. I have no answer to that.

— L. 10. On Muhammed see Text 43. I have not been able to fix the date of his birth and cannot therefore confirm the statement preserved in L. Br. (note 5). Bagd. 17° and more elaborately 96° reports that after Muhammed's death the Muģirriyya claimed that a devil was executed in his stead (comp. p. 30°) and that he himself was hidden in Hājir, in the mountains of Radwa (Text 43 n. 7). They also believed that Muhammed would bring to life seventeen men whom he would endow with the seventeen letters of the "Greatest Name", so as to enable them to perform miracles (see p. 83). They adduced in proof of his Imamate his identity in name and father’s name with that of the Prophet (comp. p. 53°).

The Muģirriyya referred to here are, of course, the followers of Muģira, not Muģira himself, who died (anno 119) 26 years before Muhammed (145). Bagd. reports the same beliefs in the name of Jābir al-Ju‘fi.

— L. 12. On the sanctity with which water is invested among the Mandaeans and which is no doubt of old Babylonian

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1 See for a similar claim p. 113°.
2 Isfr. 12° gives a similar account which is extracted by Haarbrücker II, 412.—It is remarkable that Iji 344 mentions as the Imam of the Muģirriyya not Muhammed but a man named ركبا بن محصد بن يعني بن الميس بن علما (Ibidem read حامَّر instead of حامِر)

— L. 16. The name of this sectarian appears in the form بیان of Banū Bīan. Ed. as well as Codd. have indiscriminately both (comp., e.g., Ed. I, 112 ult. and Text 34 note 8). The general form, however, is بیان. It is found Shahr. 113 (Haarbrücker 171; Bunān; Barbier de Meynard, *Journal Asiatique* 1874, p. 169; Bennain), Kashi (consistently, e.g., 195, 196 etc.); Iji 344 (also quoted in *Dictionary of Technical Terms* sub voce); Mirza repeatedly; Lubb al-Lubab s.v. (see Appendix s.v.滨采尼 where the editor argues against the form بیان). In spite of this consensus, the only correct form, as is apparent from the application of the name p. 61, l. 17, also Bagd. 95, is بیان.

On Bayân’s teachings see Makr. 349, 352; Bagd. 12, 91, very elaborately 90; Isfr. 56. Most writers ascribe to him the same doctrines as to Muqīra. According to Kashi 196, he believed, on the basis of Koran 43, 84, that the God of Heaven and the God of Earth are two different beings. For a similar doctrine see later p. 127.

— L. 17 ff. The following story is given Tab. II, 1820 (anno 119) =IATH. V., 154 in a different presentation.


— L. 16. For a very similar example see Text 62, l. 4. I. H. (Ed. IV, 198*) reports that Ahmad b. Yānush (Ed. has ساموس see p. 10*) "pretended to be a prophet, maintaining that it was he who was meant by the saying of Allah (Koran 61, 6): ‘Announcing an apostle who will come after me, whose name will be Ahmad.’"

1 Whether the application is historically true or not, makes no difference.

2 ابن رکع البنانی who is mentioned *Führ.* 180 among the مکملی المبعثة has certainly nothing to do with Bayân, as is assumed by the editors in note 3.
— L. 18. Abū Hāshim died in Humeima (Palestine) in 78 [61] or 79, Nawawi, Tuhdīh 369; van Vloten, Chiittisme 45. On his alleged concession of the Imamate to the Abbassides see Tab. III, 24, 2500; IKhali I, 360. Van Vloten (ib. 44) is inclined to ascribe to the Hāshimiyas the initiative to a systematic Shiitic propaganda. However this may be, certain it is that Abū Hāshim, who left no children,¹ presents a turning point in the development of Zeiditic or anti-legitimistic Shiism, in the same way as does Jaʿfar as-Saddik, on account of his numerous children, in the history of Imamitic or legitimistic Shiism.

— Note 17. This addition is in keeping with the Zeiditic principle which demands the personal qualification of the Imam, see Text 75, 1, 9.

62, l. 1. On Abū Mansūr see IKot, 300; Ikd 267; Shahr, 136 f.; Iji 344; Makr, 91, 97; Isfr, 56; particularly van Vloten, Worgers 58. The appellation al-Mustanir, which is not quite clear, does not occur in the other sources. His nickname “al-Kifs” is explained Shahr. 136 in connection with his assumption that he was lifted up to heaven, then hurled downwards and thus became “a fragment falling down from heaven.” According to Ikd and Shahr. 136 (the later in contradiction with himself), Abū Mansūr applied this designation to Ali.

— L. 2. Abū Mansūr was by descent (note 3) a member of the ‘Ijl to which Muqir attached himself as manful (Text 59).² Interest in this connection is the remark of Ibn Fakih (ed. de Goeje), p. 185:\n
\[\text{رَكَانُ مَنْ هِمْ أَبُو مَنْصُورَ الْخُلْقُ وكانَ يُتَوَلَّى}
\[\text{سَمَعَتُ اَتْبَاءٌ مِنْ بَنِي قَرْشٍ وَسَمَعَتُ مِنْ بَنِي عُثْمَانُ غَيْبَلُ}\

To these (the inhabitants of Kufa who pretended to be prophets) belonged Abū Mansūr the Stranger (see later, p. 92). He chose for his friends (?) seven prophets out of the Banū Kureish and seven out of the Banū ‘Ijl.” Comp. van Vloten, Worgers 58. On the Banū Ijl, see p. 80, note 4. This remark alludes perhaps

¹ Gen. Leyd., which enumerates only the Alides who left offspring, does not enumerate Abū Hāshim among the children of Ibn al-Hanafiyya.

² Or “favored.” The meaning of تَوَلَّى is not quite clear. See, however, next note.
[62] to the Karmatian theory of the seven prophets and their substitutes (cf. p. 79). The significant passage Kashi 187 (parallel 195) may bear some relation to the subject in question. Ja'far as-Sādik makes the following statement: "Allah revealed in the Koran seven (pseudo-prophets?) with their names. The Kureish, however, struck out six and left only Abū Lahab." When subsequently asked about the saying of Allah (Koran 26, 221-229): "Shall I inform you of those on whom the Satans have descended? Descended they have on every sinful liar," he replied: "They are seven; al-Muğira b. Sa'īd, Bunān (see p. 88), Sā'īd an-Nahdi, al-Ḥārith ash-Sha'īrī, 'Abdullah b. al-Ḥārith, 'Abdullah b. Harb, al-Muzayn b. al-Mu'āwiyah, and Abūl-Khaṭṭāb (p. 112)." Abū Mansūr is not mentioned.

— L. 7. According to Makr. 478 ult., the Jewish sectarian Abū ṭais al-Iṣbahānī similarly claimed "that he was lifted up to heaven and the Lord patted him on his head." The early Jewish sects under Arabic dominion show a great many traces which remind one of the early Muhammedan sects, especially those of the Shi'a.

— L. 9. Curiously enough Kashi 196 relates in the name of a man who had it from Abū Mansūr himself that God addressed the latter in Persian يَا بُسْرُ.—The reading adopted in our text (note 8) is confirmed by Shahr. 136 l. 4.

— L. 10. The "Word" (Logos) is Christ, as he is often styled in Arabic. Comp. Ed. IV, 197: Ahmad b. Ḥā'īt and Ahmad b. Yanūs, the pupils of al-Nazzām (see p. 10 l.) both maintained that the world had two creators: one who is eternal

1 I am not certain, however, as to the meaning of the passage. تَوْنِي which is difficult (see preceding note) may signify "to become a maula" (see Dozy s.v.). Then the nominative ought to be read: سَعَةُ أَبِيَاء. and the meaning would be the following: Among the pseudo-prophets in Kufah seven attached themselves as maulas to the Kureish and seven to the 'Ijil. The number seven is in any case noteworthy and hardly accidental. See the Index to this treatise s.v. Seven.

2 P. 195. See p. 124.

3 Var. on the margin: p. 195.
and this is Allah, and the other one who is created and this is [63] the Word of Allah. (كلمة الله), Jesus Christ (مسيا عيسى), the son of Maryam, through whom he created the world." This distinctly points to Christian influence, whether directly (see the quotation from Bagd. in the next note) or through some gnostic medium, must be left open.

— L. 11. According to Shahr. 134, Muqira b. Sa'id (p. 79 ff.) similarly believed that the shadows of Muhammed and Ali (Bagd. 93° mentions the shadow of Muhammed only) were created first. Comp. preceding note. This doctrine is called "tafwi'd" and is quoted alongside of "guinw" (Tusy, very frequently, e. g., Nos. 281, 417, 415, 455 speaks instead of

الغم والخليط. (Hab., Pitkudat 24 has a special chapter

في شنار عن رأة الله. He defines it as follows: قالت قناد علية السلام أن رجلا من ود عبد الله بن سما. يقل الجلف التجييف قتام وما التميش قتام يقول إن الله عزز وجل خلف مكتملاً وعلياً ثم في الأسرة السماها فخنقاً وركنباً وأخيهما وأماتا فقال كذب عدما الله."

Bagd. 93° states the matter more accurately: وانما المفهومة من الرافية تقوم وهم أن الله تعالى خلف مكتملاً ثم حلف سما(False) يقل الجلف تجسيرة تقوم وهو الذي خلف العالم دون الله تعالى ثم في الأسرة السماها فخنقاً والدمير الثالث. Masudi III, 266 calls Ahmad b. Hā'it and Ahmad b. Yūnūs (see preceding page) اتحاب التقويص والبساط "the adherents of "Tafwi'd" and Mediators (between God and the world)."

On Zurāra b. Abīyūn (died 150) see Tusy 141 ff. He was a favorite of Ja'far as-Sādiq, Fihār. 220. (See also Index to this treatise under voice Zurāra.)

See p. 19. ولد apparently stands here for "adherent."
At the bottom of this idea lies the Gnostic discrimination between the "unoriginated, inconceivable Father" and the Word (Logos) emanating from him which is the Demiurge; see preceding note and p. 82 ff. See also later, p. 127.


This doctrine is probably the reflection of the Clementine conception of the True Prophet, see p. 85⁷. It contradicts both Koran and Sunna, which equally insist that Muhammad is the last prophet (p. 76⁵).  

— L. 15. The same is reported of the Khatūbiyya, p. 14.  
— L. 18 ff. Ibn Fakih (ed. de Goeje) 185⁶ speaks of "Abū Mansūr the Strangler." IKot. 300 says briefly: "to them (the Mansūriyya) belong the Stranglers." Shahr. 136⁴ says less distinctly: "his (Abū Mansūr's) adherents thought it permissible to kill their opponents and take away their property." Assassination is designated as a peculiarity of the Mugirriyya and Mansūriyya (see Index sub voce Terrorism). Jāhiz in his Kitāb al-Hayawān gives an account of the manners of these terrorists of the eighth century. He who practised both "strangling" and "skull-breaking" was styled "Jāmī," "Combiner." This extremely curious and interesting passage is reproduced and discussed by van Volten, Worgers in Iraq (in a Dutch article. See List of Cited Works sub voce van Volten, Worgers). The Thugs in India, whose beginnings date as far back as the first Muhammedan caliphs, also kill their victims by strangling.

The theological substructure for this peculiar tenet is supplied by L. H., Ed. IV, 171⁷: "The command to do right and the prohibition to do wrong must be carried out with the heart and, if possible, with the tongue. It must not be executed by (employing) the hand nor in any way by drawing the sword or using arms . . . . All the Rawāhid hold to it, though they all be killed (see the reading of L. Br., Text 63, note 1). But they believe in it only as long as the "Speaking" (Imam) does not come forth. When he does come forth, then the drawing of swords becomes obligatory. If not, then it is not (obligatory) . . .

Koran 3, 106, 106, 110 ; 7, 156, etc.
Comp. the Bāṭiniyya, p. 112 n. 3.
Certain sections of the Sannites, all the Mu'tazilites, all the [62] Khawârij and Zeidiyya (comp. Text p. 75) are of the opinion that with reference to the command to do right and the prohibition to do wrong, the drawing of swords is obligatory, since the repulsion of wrong is impossible without it." See following note.

63. l. 1 and note 1. The Khashabiyya are connected with [63] the Keisâniyya (ib. note 1) and originated simultaneously with them in the uprising of al-Mukhtar. IKot. 300 thus explains the name: "the Khashabiyya of the Rawâfîd: Ibrâhîm b. al-Ashtar in encountered 'Obeidallah b. Ziyâd. The majority of Ibrâhîm's followers were carrying with them wooden arms (al-khashab). They were, in consequence, called the Khashabiyya." Masudi V, 226 (anno 67) relates that al-Mukhtar "began to go forth every day to fight Mus'ab and those that followed him of the people of Kufa. Al-Mukhtar (on the other hand) had with him many people of the Shi'a. They were called the Khashabiyya (belonging) to the Keisâniyya." Comp. also the notice Aqîh. VI, 139 (=Tab. II, 1798): "Othman al-Khashabi belonged to the Khashabiyya who were with al-Mukhtar." When Muhallab, who fought against al-Mukhtar, was besieging the city of Nisbis which was defended by the Khashabiyya, he thus addressed himself to the inhabitants: "O ye people! Let not these men frighten you. They are only slaves and have in their hands (nothing but) sticks." (Aqîh. V, 155; comp. Tab. II, 684). These sticks were designated by a Persian word as "the heretic knockers," a name which is characteristic of the

[1] Beid 269: "To the Râfîda (also belonged) the Huseiniyya. They consisted of the adherents of Ibrâhîm al-Ashtar. They used to march through the lanes of Kufa at night-time and shout: "Revenge for al-Husein!" Hence they were called the Huseiniyya." Instead of the حسبية is most probably to be read حسبية (see later). It seems, however, that this reading is not a scribal error but due to the author (or his source) who, neglecting the important detail that they were carrying wooden arms (khashab), brought the name into connection with the war-cry of the party ("Revenge for al-Husein!").

part played by the Persian element in al-Mukhtār’s rebellion. Thus Tab., II, 694 (anno 66) relates that the Khashabiyya who arrived in Mekka to liberate Muḥamed b. al-Ḥamāfīyya (comp. 693) entered the Holy Mosque, carrying with them the 2 "heretic knocker" and shouting: "On to the revenge for al-Ḥusayn!" The Kāfir-kūbāt occur also later in the rebellion of Abū Muslim (see the quotation in de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geogr. Arabic. IV, 278) and as late as anno 257 (IĀth., VII, 993).\(^1\)

The name Khashabiyya, it seems, never came into general use. It is often written حمشية and, in consequence of the war cry of this party (revenge for al-Ḥusayn!), also حسينية; see the variants in Tab., van Vloten, Worgerus, and Ikl (Comm. 93, n. 1).

Originally the name was probably meant to convey a social contrast. It indicated the Mawāli as "men of the sticks," that is, as poor devils who could not afford to equip themselves with proper arms (Wellhausen, Opp. 80). But it seems that this social aspect of the name was early forgotten and the name assumed a religious coloring. It is frequently used to designate the Keisāniyya. Thus Agh., XI, 47: "It was Khundif al-Asadī (cf. Comm. 42\(^2\), where "Khandak" is incorrect) who converted Kuthayyir to the Khashabiyya doctrine (مذهب الحشیعة)." Kuthayyir was a typical representative of the Keisāniyya.

This peculiar idea which makes the use of arms dependent on the arrival of the Mahdi stands in a remarkable contrast to the Messianic conception of the Prophets (Is. 2, 4; Micah 4, 3). Perhaps it reflects the Messianic belief of post-biblical Judaism (adopted also by orthodox Islam), according to which the arrival

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\(^1\) The same IĀth., IV, 267, where the variant مذهب الكافرونات is to be preferred. IĀth. denies that the poor equipment gave rise to the name. He gives a different interpretation to the incident. "They were called Khashabiyya, because on entering Mekka they carried sticks, being reluctant to display swords in the Holy District." Tab., however, (II, 693\(^3\)) reports that they threatened Ibn 'az-Zubair with their swords.

\(^2\) De Goeje in the glossary to Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, ibidem, maintains that the word is an anachronism at so early a period as al-Mukhtār. But the general rôle of the Persian element in that movement and the passage in Tab. confirm the genuineness of the name.
of the Messiah will be connected with a series of bloody wars. [63] At any rate, among the parallels between the Jews and the Râfîd put into the mouth of ‘ash-Sha’bî (Ibid 269, Comm. p. 19") appears also the following comparison: “The Jews say, there shall be no fighting for the sake of God until the Messiah, the Expected One, goes forth and a herald from heaven proclaims (his arrival). The Râfîds say, there is no fighting for the sake of Allah until the Mahdi goes forth and a rope descends from heaven.”

In view of the religious character assigned to the use of wooden weapons, we may, with all due reserve, call attention to the utterance of Ibn Sabâ recorded by Jâhiz (Comm. 45") that Ali “would not die till he would drive you with his stick;” the more so, as, quite independently of Jâhiz, Zaid. (Comm. 42") reports the same form of the Shi’ite belief “that Ali is alive and has not died, but will drive the Arabs and Persians with his stick.” Perhaps it is not accidental that Kuthayyir, who was a Khashabî (see before) and had just returned from a visit to the neighborhood of ar-Radwa, which in the belief of the Keisâniyya was the hiding place of Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya, “appeared before us leaning on a stick” (Aqh. VIII, 33).”


—L. 5. Extremely remarkable is the statement that these adepts of Terror did not even spare one another. But the reason given for it and the solemn assurance of Hishâm’s trustworthiness leave no doubt as to the meaning of the passage.

—L. 8. It is, of course, the fifth of the spoil originally to be delivered to the Prophet, Koran VIII, 42. The Karmatian leader Abû Tahir and his successors still were in the habit of delivering this tax to ‘Ubeidallah, whom they considered their Imam, de Goeje, Carmathes, p. 82.

64. L. 4. Most sources quoted p. 89 f. state that Abû Man- [64] sûr laid claim to the Imamate only when Muhammed b. Ali (al-Bâkir) had died (in 117).

—L. 6. On Bazîzh see Shahr. 137; Iji 346; Makr. 352". His name appears among those of other sectarianists Kashi 196.

? “Rope,” gives no sense. Perhaps has here the meaning recorded Dezyr. v.: “Introducteur,” the person who introduces one to the Caliph: The herald announcing the arrival of the Mahdi? * See on this passage p. 25 n. 2.
96

L. Friedlaender,

196: (sic) An بنان السرا وبريقا Ja'far اس-

Sādiq curses (sic) السرا وابا المختاب

Bashar al-Aswāni and Husayn ben Jāhi

197: (sic) Wābi (sic) معمم بن بنان航海

On some of these heretics see Comm. p. 90 and Index.

When Ja'far was told that Bazig had been killed, he exclaimed:

"Praise be unto Allah! There is surely nothing better for

مغتريي (read instead of مغتريي) than to be

killed, for they will never repent." (Kashi 197.)

On the variants of the name see Text here note 8 and 34 n. 7.

Ed. I, 112 ult. reads بريع. Shahr. ascribes to him the interesting view that a man who has attained to perfection cannot be said to have died. Probably in connection with this belief he claimed that the best among his adherents had been raised to the dignity of angels, Iji. His profession is mentioned only here and Ed. I, 112 ult. The weaver's trade was considered highly degrading, see Ferazdak ed. Boucher 211 f.; Wellhansen, Opp. 62 n. 3. The same view is held by the Rabbis. Tosefta 'Edyoth i, 2 it is designated as the lowest trade in the world.

— Note 10. See p. 55).

— L. 9. Mu'ammār appears again Text 69°. For this reason the reading of L. Br. (note 11) seems preferable. On Sari al-Aksam (with broken front teeth) I have found nothing except the bare mention of his name Kashi 138, 197 (see this page 31. 1 f.). In his stead the other sources enumerate as one of the sects of the Khaṭṭābiyya مغتريي. Shahr. 137 and others.

— L. 10. 'Omeir at-TABBÂN is no doubt identical with 읍만 بن بنان

Bagd. 98; Isfr. 58; Makr. 352; Shahr. 137;

Iji 346 (the latter بنان instead of بنان, comp. p. 88). Most probably بنان (or بنان which is confirmed by the alchemistic utterance i. 12–13,

Comp. Text 69°, Comm. 73°, 113°.
not recorded elsewhere. Note the expression "this straw." [64] That he was an 'Ijīte is significant in view of p. 79" ff.—According to Makr., the 'Omeiriyya erected a special tent in Kufa for the worship of Ja'far as-Sādik, see later p. 107.

65. I. 1. This contradicts Shahr.‘s and Makr.‘s statement that he was killed by Yazid b. 'Omar b. Hubayr (Makr, [65] جـيُر،) the governor of 'Irāk under al-Mansūr.

I. 3. The same number is recorded in the other sources. There is, however, a difference as regards the sects which constitute this number. I. II. apparently counts as follows: 1) Mu‘āṣira, 2) Abū Mansūr, 3) Baziq, 4) Mu‘ammar or, perhaps more correctly, Sari (p. 96") 5) Omeir. The other writers, including Bagd. and Isf., count the Mu‘āṣira and Mansūriyya apart and enumerate as the five sects of the Khattābiyya: 1) the Khattābiyya proper, then the followers of 2) Baziq, 3) Mu‘ammar, 4) Mufaddal (p. 96") and 5) Omeir.

Note 2. The notice, preserved only in L. Br., refers to the event related Tab. III, 2217" ff. (anno 289). The Karmatian missionary Zikrweih b. Mihrweih endeavors to win over the Kelbītes. He sends to them his son Yahya. But no one joined him "except the clan known as the Banū 'Uleis' b. Damdam b. 'Adi b. Janāb and their clients. They swore allegiance towards the end of 289... to Zikrweih’s son whose name was Yahya and whose Kunya Abū 'l-Ḳāsim." Comp. de Goeje, Carmathes, p. 48; Istakhri 23"=Haukal 29"; de Saey ccvit, "Fihr. 187 n. 10.—Yahya pretended to be a certain well-known Alide. But it is not settled which Alide he tried to impersonate.—Tuğl (I. 5 of note 2) was the governor of Damascus. I connect this sentence with the notice Tab. III, 2217":

"The cause of his (Yahya’s) death, according to some reports, was that one of the Berbers struck him with a short spear and a torch bearer followed him who threw fire at him and burned

1 IAth. VII. 353 reads خليص: Well, Geschichte der Chalifen II, 566, Kais.
2 See the variants Tab. lb.
4 See Glossary to Tab. s.v. معرق.
5 See lb. s.v.نقاط.

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him." The construction is rather hard, for it is scarcely probable that it stands here, as it often does in later Arabic, as the exponent of the passive and signifies (burned) by Tugj. Read مع (in his encounter) with Tugj?

— Note 2, 1. 10. On the Zenj see Tab. III, 1742 ff. (anno 255); Kremer, Ideen 195 f., 386. A graphic account of this movement is given by Nöldeke, Sketches from Eastern History, p. 146 ff. Opinions differ as to the person of the Alide he pretended to represent, comp. Masudi VII, 31; Tab. 1743, 1746. Ikhald. I, 361 summarily states that he traced back his origin to 'Isa b. Zeid, the son of Zeid b. 'Ali, the founder of the Zeidiyya.

— L. 4. The reading of Ed. V. (note 3) is correct (Goldziher). 'Then "those" would not refer to the Khattabiyya mentioned immediately before, as they are not connected with the Abbassides, but in general to those who admit prophecy after the Prophet," p. 56.

— L. 6. The reading of L. Br. (note 4) stands quite isolated. The correct pronunciation is Khidâsh; see Taj al-'Arâs sub hâc vâcè: ودختايس ككتاب السمع رجل وهو من قولهم حاذشة الرجل إذا حاذشة وجهة ودختايس هو وجهته. Comp. van Vloten, Chitisme, p. 49: "Khidache (de la racine Khadachs 'dérocher avec les ongles,' puisqu'il déchira la religion)." Kremer, Ideen p. 11, who quotes I. H., writes incorrectly "Chaddâsch."—

'Ammar was executed in a most barbarous manner by Asad b. 'Abdallah in the year 118, Tab. II, 1588. This 'Ammâr is not, at least is not meant to be, identical with 'Ammâr al-'Ibâdî who was also a missionary of the Abbassides and was similarly killed by Asad in 108; Tab. II, 1492.


— L. 13 ff. The incident is reported in all sources, see the quotations later. Kashi offers several details which are not recorded elsewhere. They numbered ten persons and were

1 The latter passage strangely contradicts Tab.'s account, p. 1488 (anno 1071), according to which 'Ammâr alone saved himself, while the others perished.
standing at the gate. When they had been let in to Ali, they [65] said to him: "We maintain that thou art our Lord and that thou art he who created us and who gives us sustenance". (Kashi 48, parallel p. 198). According to another version (p. 72), they were seventy gypsies (جَيْشُ الْمِلَاتِ). The tendency of all these stories is plain: they are intended as a protest against the later "Exaggerators" by showing that Ali himself rejected them. It can be easily understood why the orthodox Shiites who were often made responsible for the extravagance of the Gülät were so very anxious to circulate these stories condemning the Gülät. 66, l. 1 f. "Thou art Allah"; also Makr. 335; Iji 343 with-[66] out the preliminary "Thou art He" (l. 1); Kashi 70, 72; Shahr. 132 more pointedly "Thou art Thou," which reminds one somewhat of the Hindoo "Tat twam asi."

— L. 5. The same Isfr. 54: "لَا يُعَدَّ بِالنَّارِ إِلَّا رَبُّ الْقَلَّةِ مَا عَلِمُ عَلَى الْقُلُوبِ."

— L. 7. The verse is also quoted Kashi 48 and with variants 49.—Bagd. 94 (similarly Isfr. 55) quotes another locus probans and gives a somewhat different version of this auto-66 da-fa: عبد الله بن سبا الذي غلا في علي رضى الله عنه وزعم الله كان نبيًا ثم غلا فيه حتى زعم أنه فلا ودعنا إلى ذلك فقومًا من غواة الكوفة ورفع خبرهم إلى علي رضي الله عنه فأمر بإخراج قوم منهم في خُفْرَتِين حيَّى قال بعض الشعراء في ذلك [الواهر]

الْحَمْرَاءُ لْيَرْمَىٰ بِهِ إِلَّا نَفْسُهُۥ حَتَّى لا يَتَمَهَّم فِي الْخُفْرَتِينَ

According to Kashi 72, Ali killed the seventy gypsies (see before) in a most ingenious manner by throwing them into a number of pits which were connected through holes. Then the pits were closed and smoke was let in through one of them, so that they were all choked.

— L. 10. Kanbar is designated as a servant (خادم) of Ali, Tabdîb 514; Tab. I, 3257 (غلام). He acts as such Kashi 48,
Tāj al-ʿĀrīs sub voce ُقادم, and Suyūti, Tarīkh 159, call him a maula of Ali. He was wounded in the attack on ʿOthman, Tab., ib.; Suyūti, ib.

—L. 11. All the authorities quoted throughout this treatise and a great many other writers equally attest that Ali burned some of those who held "exaggerated" notions about him. Most of them connect these "exaggerators" with Abdallāh b. Sābā. In spite of this consensus of opinion, the historical character of this narrative is more than doubtful. The historians proper (Tabari, Masudi, I.Ath. and the minor ones) are silent on this point. The fact of an auto-da-fé at so early a period is in itself extremely unlikely. The tendency of the story is unmistakable (see p. 99⁴), and the way it is connected with Ibn Sābā is satisfactorily explained when we remember the peculiar rôle assigned to this man and his sect by the Muhammadan theologians. Being a Jew, Ibn Sābā was made the scapegoat for all the subsequent heresies in Islam. The name Sābāʾiyya became synonymous with radical heresy and was applied to heretics who lived long after Abdallāh b. Sābā.⁵ Shahrb.¹⁶ account on Ibn Sābā is almost entirely a projection of later doctrines on the founder of Shiism. It is therefore natural that he should figure in an execution of heretics by Ali.

I regard this story as an anticipation of the frequent executions of Shiite sectarian by Khalid al-Kasri and his successor ¹⁷ Yāsuf b. ʿOmar. Ikd 267, characteristiclly, though unconsciously, states this relation: "al-Muḡrira b. Saʿd (read Saʿdī, see p. 79³) was one of the Sābāʾiyya whom Ali burned at the stake." Muḡrira, however, was burned by Khalid as late as 119. Similarly I.Kot. 300, who mentions Muḡrira immediately after ¹⁸ Abdallāh b. Sābā and designates him as a Sābāʾi.

A striking parallel to our incident and perhaps its prototype is Tab.'s account (III, 418) on the Rāwandiyya who worshipped the Caliph al-Manṣūr. "They came forward shouting to Abū

¹ See, e.g., I.Kot. 300; Ikd 267. According to Kāshī 70, Ali burned Abdallāh himself. This, however, is contradicted by all other sources as well as by the facts, see p. 43.
² Thus al-Kullāb (died 146) is designated as an adherent (صاحب) of Ibn Sābā, I.Kullāb. No. 645, p. 26. See Comm. 59. The same is the case with Muḡrira (d. 119), see this page 1, 30. Cf. Wellhausen, Opp. 12 n. 1.
Ja’far (al-Mansûr): ‘Thou art Thou!’ (The narrator) says: [36] he (al-Mansûr) himself came out against them and fought them. While they were fighting, they came forward crying: ‘Thou art Thou!’ The origin of the Râwandiyya which points to Khurasân (see p. 123) and the time to which the incident is assigned strongly support the historicity of Tab.’s account.

— L. 15 f. The temptation of Jesus consisted in the “guluww” of the Apostles, i.e., in their belief in his divinity (comp. p. 16”). The Prophet himself is reported to have compared Ali with Jesus who fell a victim to the love of the Christians and the hatred of the Jews (ZDMG. 38, 391). As for the Râhîda, they strongly exaggerate concerning Ali; some of them follow the doctrines of the Christians concerning Christ. They are the Sabâ’iyya, the followers of ‘Abdallah b. Sabâ, Allah’s curse on them.” (Ibid.678). More thoughtfully is this relation between the Ultra-Shiîtic and the Christian doctrines stated by Ikhald. I, 358: “The Gulât have transgressed the limits of reason and religion by assuming the divinity of these Imams. As for Ali, he (read فائدة) is (considered by them) a human being which has assumed the attributes of the Deity and (they believe) that God has embodied himself in his human (corporate) essence. This is the doctrine of Incarnation which corresponds to the teachings of the Christians concerning Jesus.”

— L. 17. The sect named in the following is considered an outgrowth of the Sabâ’iyya because it shares with the latter the deification of Ali. The Sabâ’iyya is the Alidic sect zar’ ilâquit. Cf. Text 45 f., 65 f.

— L. 18. Apart from علبانية and علبانية, the readings علبانية and علبانية are frequently found, see Text u. 7, Masudi III, 265 and the references to be quoted presently. The founder of this sect is called Makr. 353 علبان بن ذراع السدرية وقيل العلاب بن ذراع السدرية. Shahr. 134, however, (sic) the asdî.

1 See Kremer, Ideea, p. 377. The general Asfahin (under Mu’tasim) did not interfere with the inhabitants of the province Osrumsha who styled him “Khodâ” (God). Dozy, Isl. p. 231.

2 As-Suyyid composed a poem in which he protests against calling Ali a “son of God.” ib.
The 'Ulyāniyya are designated as ْدِمْنِيِّيْيْا ("the Blamers," Shahr., Makr.) because they blamed Muhammed for having usurped the dignity to which Ali was entitled. The 'Ulyāniyya, in particular, preferred Ali to Muhammed, claiming that Muhammed was Ali's apostle. See also Bagd. 98.

— L. 19. This Ishāk is most probably identical with ٍسَحِيقٌ ٍمَتْكِبِدِ النَّسِيغُي who frequently figures in Ṭagh., as a narrator of biographical stories from the life of as-Sayyid al-

*Himyarî,* e.g., VII, 3, penult., 98, 114, etc.—Shahr. 133 f., fīj 31 and 348 he appears, independently of the 'Ulyāniyya, as the representative of a special sect which is called after him the Ishākiyya and is closely related to the Nuseiriyya (p. 127). De Sacy II, 593 quotes besides a sect called Hamrawiyya, which he rightly connects with this Ishāk whose by-name was al-

Ahmar. On his book and the following passage in general see later.

[67] 67, 1, 1 ff. The Muhammadiyya who believe in the divinity of Muhammed are the counterpart of the 'Ulyāniyya who believe in the divinity of Ali. The literary champions of the Muhammadiyya are al-Bhkî and al-Fayyâd, while Ishāk b. Muhammed represents the other party. Shahr. and Makr. speak of the two sects but allusively. Thus Shahr., in speaking of the Ishākiyya (= 'Ulyāniyya, see p. 101), makes the following remark: "Among them are such who believe in the divinity of both (Ali as well as Muhammed), but they give the preference

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1 Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 56, 190.
2 Like al-Râwî, his name is missing in the index of Ṭagh.
3 Kashi 167 quotes him as authority for an account on a discussion between the Barmakide Vizier Yahya b. Khâlid and Hishâm b. al-

Hakam.
4 As he appears in connection with the Kaisanite as-Sayyid, we may identify him with Ishâk b. 'Umar who is mentioned Abo 'l-Ma'âlî 158 as the founder of the Ishâkiyya, one of the four Kaisanite sects.—There is no evidence, however, for his identity with a certain Ishāk who acts in Transoxania as an agitator for Abu Muslim, Fâhr. 344, as is confidently assumed p. 196 ib.
5 Not to be confounded with the Muhammadiyya, as those who believe in the Imamate of Muhammed b. 'Abdallah b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan, Text 43 and 60, are designated by Bagd. 17, 97 and Isfr. 12.
to Ali in matters divine. They are called the 'Ainiyya. [67] There are among them such who believe in the divinity of both but give the preference to Muhammad as regards divinity. They are called the Mimiyya." 'Ain and Mīm are apparently the initials for Ali and Muhammad respectively. The name of Muhammadiyya I find only here and Masudi V, 475, VII, 118 (referring to his Sirr al-Hayât), III, 265. The latter passage has an immediate bearing on our subject and is possibly the source of I. H.'s account. I reproduce the passage in translation: Certain heretics quote a poem by al-'Abbâs in confirmation of their jihâds. "This is mentioned by a number of their writers and their cleverest critics, out of the sects of the Muhammadiyya, the 'Ilbâniyya (see p. 101") and others. One of them, Ishâk b. Muhammad an-Nakha'î, known as al-Ahmar, (did it) in his book entitled 'as-Sîrât.' It is also mentioned by al-Fayyâd b. Ali b. Muhammad b. al-Fayyâd (see Text, p. 67, note 2) in his book known as 'al-Kustâs,' in his refutation of the book 'as-Sîrât.' It is further mentioned by the (man) known under the name of an-Nakhîn (see Text, p. 86, note 9) in his refutation of the book entitled 'as-Sîrât.' These (two men) belong to the Muhammadiyya. They refuted this book (of Ishâk) which was (written) according to the doctrine of the 'Ilbâniyya.'

— L. 6. The name of the Kâāb is Ali b. Muhammad b. al-Fayyâd (note 2). I have found no reference to him elsewhere, as except the superscription to al-Buhturi's poem (see later).— Ishâk b. Kandâj died 279. ['Abdallah Text 67 is oversight.]


The Kasda is headed وَقَالَ يُمَدَّح عَلَى بِنْ مَعْمُودِ بْنِ الْفَقِيقَ (another poem, I, 23 is headed وَقَالَ يُمَدَّح بِنْ الفَقِيقَ). The verse is the beginning of a nasib.

— L. 11. Ouweir is a drinking place of the Kelb between Irâk and Syrîa, Yakut III, 827. Bekri, Geographical Dictionary, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1876/7, p. 703, pronounces the name الغوار.
Abu'l-Husein al-Kasim b. 'Abdallah (or 'Ubeidallah) died during the reign of Muktafi in 291, only over thirty years old. He is described as being very bloodthirsty, IKhall. No. 474. — The fact recorded by I. II. — al-Fayyad's execution at the hands of al-Kasim — is not found in any other source at my disposal.

Adam here apparently stands for the "original man;" the man of the Manicheans, the man of the Cabbala, see Louis Ginzberg in Jew. Encycel., vol. I, s.v. Adam Kadmon. Shahr. 114 ascribes to Bayân (p. 88") the belief that Adam possessed a "Divine particle" which made him worthy of the worship of the angels. A similar conception - the "Divine Element" inherent in Adam as the immediate creation of God, passing through the pious descendants of Adam to Jacob and through him to the Jewish nation — is the basis of Jehuda Halevi's (twelfth century) philosophical system in his Kusari (Book I, § 47, 95). From Adam to Muhammed there were seven prophets (comp. p. 127") . This number of prophets occurs very frequently in connection with Shi'tic sects, see p. 89 f.; p. 79 (the Karimtins); p. 127 (the Nuseiriyya); Blochet 56 (the Isma'iliyu). The origin of this conception goes back to the Pseudo-Clementines, see p. 85" ff.

Isf. 5. It is possible that here, too, the number seven is intended. Ja'far is the seventh prophet, beginning with Muhammed. — Zeid. fol. 104" designates as Rawfif pure and simple those who pass the Imamat down to Ja'far: 

Ja'far as-Sadiq occupies a central position among the Shi'a. He is called the Great Ja'far by the Persian theologians (Blochet 53, note 1) and his name permanently figures in Shi'ite literature as authority for everything that bears on religious doctrine. He was also highly esteemed by the Sunna. Typical of this unique position of Ja'far is the anecdote told by Isfr. fol. 16": 

Ja'far is the anecdote told by Isfr. fol. 16":
The purpose of this Sunnитic invention is plain. It is meant to ridicule the constant references of the Shiites to the authority of Ja'far (see the passages in the Index to this treatise s.v. Ja'far). But it also shows the great esteem in which Ja'far was held even by the orthodox.

The knowledge of mystic lore with which the Shiites credit all their Imams is attributed in even a higher degree to Ja'far. Zaid, 101
defines this belief in the omniscience of the Imams in the following characteristic manner:

It is interesting to note that the more moderate among the Shiites oppose this extravagant belief in Ja'far's omniscience and they quote Ja'far himself as indignantly protesting against it. When Ja'far was told that people believed that he knew...
"hidden things" (الغيب), he passionately exclaimed: "Praise unto Allah! Put thy hand on my head! By Allah, there is not a single hair on my body which does not stand on edge!" (Kashi 196).

An outgrowth of this conception is the peculiar belief in the existence of a mystic book called "Jafr" containing a record of all past and future events "from Creation to Resurrection", the authorship of which was assigned to Ja'far. This mysterious volume with the mysterious name plays an important part in the development of the Shi'a. See on this book, de Goeje, "Carmathes", 115 f., van Vloten, "Chiitisme", 54 f., IKhald. II, 184 f. Bagd.'s remarks on the subject (tol. 990) are worthy of reproduction:

وَمَنْ أَخْبَرَ الْأَشْيَاءَ اَنَّ الْخَلْقَاتِ زَمَةَ أَنْ جَعْفَرَ

الصادق قد أَوْضَعَهُمْ جَلِدًا فِيِّهِ يَلْمُمُ كُلٌّ مَا يَحْتَاجُونَ الْيَدَ مِن

(Ms. علم الغيب) وَسُفِّرَهُمْ سَلِبًا فِي جَعْفَرَ وَزَمَّمَهُمْ أَنَّهُ لا يَقْرَأُ (يَقْرَأُ)

ما غَيْبَ إِلَّا وَمَا كَانَ مِنْهُمْ وَقَدْ ذَكَرَ ذَلِكَ عَارِضٌ يَنْسَبُ الْعَاجِلُ

[الطويل]

أَلَّمْ تَرَ أَنَّ الْوَرَّائِيْنَ تَقَرَّتُ مِنْ جَعْفَرَ قَالَ مَكَّرَ... وَمَنْ أَخْبَرَ مَنْ أَخْبَرَ مَيْلًا جَعْفَرَ مَنْ تَقَرَّبَ إِلَى الْبَرْحَيْنَ مَعْنَىَ مُتَقَرَّبَ..."

1 Comp. Blochet, p. 13. There was a white and a red "Jafr," ib.
2 IKhald. II, 184 maintains that "Jafr" signifies dialectically "small" and that the book was so called because it was written on the hide of a small (young) ox. According to Tūj al-‘Arrās, the word signifies sheep in the first few months of life. Neither explanation is in any way satisfactory. The real meaning of the word was evidently early forgotten. Van Vloten, "Chiitisme", p. 56, note 6 is inclined to regard it as a foreign word and to connect it with Greek γιαφς. I am rather inclined to think that Jafr is merely a variation of Ja'far to whom it is assigned. [I have since noticed that Goldziher, Shi'a, p. 456 n. 5, incidentally gives the same explanation.]
3 See Text, p. 68, 1. 6.
4 Comp. Makr. 3520.
5 The verses are quoted anonymously IKhall. No. 419. The authorship of Hārūn b. Sa'd (Kashi 131, Sa'id) is rather precarious, for it is he who is mentioned IKhall. II, 184 as the Rāwi of this book. (He is designated in the same passage as the head of the Zeidiyya.)
— L. 8 ff. The episode presupposes the allegorical method of Koran interpretation current in Shiitic circles which explains the religious prohibitions as the names of persons and brings all religious commands in relation to the Imam, see Text, p. 35, and Comm. p. 14" ff. It is obvious that the Hajj precept, if for no other than political reasons, had to succumb to the same allegorical transformation and to become a mere "going to the Imam" (Text, p. 35″). Accordingly, the Gullat of Kufa arrange a regular hajj to Ja‘far with all due requisites, including attire and religious exclamations (Labbaika Ja‘far, l. 10).—An interesting parallel to this story is the incident related Agh. XV, 121. The Ja‘fariyya (as is evident from XIX, 58, identical with the Mu‘tiriyya, the adherents of Mu‘tira b. Sa‘id, Comm. p. 80) rebelled against Khalid b. ‘Abdallah al-Ka‘ri, the wali of Kufa (Comm. 79″), “and they came out in short trousers,” shouting: “with thee (‘labbaika’) o Ja‘far! with thee, o Ja‘far!” At first sight one might feel inclined to identify the two stories. But chronological considerations stand in the way of this identification.

For the rebellion of Mu‘tira took place in 119 (Tab. II,

1 How anxious the Shiitic leaders were to abolish the hajj to Mekka, the center of Sunni Islam, can be inferred from the pregnant utterance of Abū Ja‘far at-Tusi (the author of List of Shyra books, died 459/1060), quoted by Mirza, fol. 65:\n
ومن مَعْقِولِيَّتِهِمَّ الْعَلْمَةُ إِنَّ شَيْخِهِمْ

أبَو (أبا) جَعْفَرُ الطُّوِسِيُّ ذَكَرَ فِي كِتَابِ المَطَابِعِ وَقَبَرَهُ فِي أَن

زِيَارَةِ الحَسِينِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ جَعْفَرُ سُلْطَانًا مَّاتِيًا وَدَفَنَهَا

فَأَعْلَمَ عَنْدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ مَاتِيَةِ الْفُضْلِ حَلَّ اللَّهُ تَحْلِيلًا فَمَاتِيَةَ الْفُضْلِ

غَرْبَةً كَانَتِ مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمُ.

ثَبَابِيَّنَوْمِ pl. of تَبَائِيَنَ تُبِيَانَ small breeches "without legs such as to conceal the anterior and posterior pudenda" (Lane). indeed a sort of sans culottes. It was the dress of the Mawali, van Vloten, Chitisme, p. 70, note 2.—Prof. Nöldeke is inclined to take it as the plural of تُبِيَان 1 تَبِيَانَ to translate فِي التَّبَائِيِّنِ فِي سُوقِ التَّبِيَانِ "on the market of the Strawdealers."
[68] 1619 f.), while the story related in our text plays in the beginning of the Abbasside period. Wellhausen, Opp. 97, note 1 is sceptical with reference to the hajj incident told in Agh. But it is not only supported by I. H.'s account. The general character of the Ultra-Shiite tenets makes an incident of this sort quite probable.

— L. 11. Abū Bekr Ibn ʿAyāsh died in 193, I Ath. VII, 153; Dahabi, Hāffāz VI, 26. The words تَأْسِي من نظر البهم يومئذ I take (with a great deal of reserve) to indicate that he remembered the incident so vividly, as if it were before his eyes. Ibn ʿAyāsh probably narrated the incident long after it passed. He died 193, while ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who fought against the sectarians, died in 167.


— L. 19. Al-Ḥasan b. Bahram was the head of the Karaitians of Bahrein. He was killed by his servant in 301, I Khall. No. 186, p. 122; Tab. III, 2291. — The reading الجملي (n. 6) is found elsewhere, see de Goeje, Carmathes 111, note 3.

The name al-Jamāḥī comes from Janabā, a small place on the coast of the Persian Gulf, opposite the island Khārak, Yakut II, 122. I Khall. ibidem and No. 650, p. 40, maintains that Janabā is a place near Bahrein. Yakut, however, brands this assumption as a gross error.

— Note 7. The form فَكَس as given in Codd. does not necessarily represent the consonants KSR. The middle letter may stand for a great many combinations of consonants with diacritical points which it is impossible to make out. The man himself is no doubt identical with "the Isbahanian," de Goeje, Carmathes 129 ff. He managed to pass as a saint in the eyes of Abū Thāhir, the son of Abū Saʿīd (see preceding note), who believed in him and paid him Divine honors. He carried him about in a tent so as to hide him from the gaze of the multi-

† I Ath., who gives the exact pronunciation, has no Tashdīd. Yet, عِبَاش is frequently found, see, e. g., Tab. III, 2508. Goldziher, Zahiriten, p. 3, writes "Ajās," the same ZDMG. 50, 492 "Ajjas."
tude (Arb., p. 162). Ultimately, however, he was found out [68] and then killed by Abū Tāhīr’s sons. I Ath. VIII, 263 f., places these events in 326, de Goeje in 319. — The same man is unquestionably identical with the Iṣbaḥānian,” briefly mentioned by Ibn Adhar, ed. Dozy 1, 232: “Abū ‘Obayd (read Abū 3 Sa‘īd) al-Jannābī ... advocated publicly adultery, unnatural vice, lying, wine drinking and the omission of prayer. Similarly to it acted the Iṣbaḥānian (الإسبهاني).” Masudi, Tanbih, ed. de Goeje, 391” describes him as “the young man (السلام) known as az-Zakari, one of the descendants of the Persian kings of the lands of Iṣbaḥān.” The other sources also give his first name, but in so many forms that it is impossible to make out the correct form; comp. de Goeje, ibidem.

— I., 20 and note 8. The man spoken of here is usually designated as Ibn Haushab; comp. I Khald. II, 185. The other names differ widely in the various sources. The nearest to I, II, is Makh.; Abū 1-Kāsim al-Hasan (or al-Husain) b. Faraj b. Haushab al-Kūfī (de Saey, celv note). I Ath. VIII, 22, Abulfeda and Bibars Mānsūrī (quoted de Saey, ib.) call him Rustem b. Husain b. Haushab b. Zadān (I Ath. 30 Nuweiri again (quoted de Saey, p. ccxxlv) has Abū 1-Hūseyn Rustem b. Karhin b. Haushab b. Dādān an-Najjār. Daștūr al-Munajjin (de Goeje, Carnathes 204*) gives Abū 1-Kāsim al-Faraj b. al-Hasan b. Haushab b. Zadān. — The reason for this vacillation lies in the fact recorded, though, it seems, no more understood, by I, II, that he “was called al-Mansūr.” Al-Mansūr was the title of the Karmatian Missionary-in-chief which approached in significance that of the Māḥī. There was a Mansūr al-Bahrein as well as a Mansūr al-Yemen who is referred to here; see de Goeje ib., p. 170, n. 1, 204* — Ibn Haushab made his public appearance in Yemen in 270, de Goeje ib., 204*. Abū ‘Abdallāh ash-Shirī (p. 75*) was one of the best officers of Ibn Haushab (Blōchet, 70), to whom he had been sent by ‘Obaydilla and Muhammed al-Habīb (I Khald. II, 185, in the name of Ibn ar-Rakik, d. 340/952). On the death of

1 Blōchet 70 erroneously transcribes Abūl Kasem ibn Djonshem (sic).
2 On Mansūr as the title of the Māḥī (Messiah) see Goldziher, ZDMG, 56, 411; van Vloten. Chiiisme, p. 61; de Goeje, ib. p. 73.
Halwani and Abû Sufyan, the Karmatian missionaries in Maghrib, Ibn Haushab dispatched him to that country (Makr. II, 104 ff., Blochet ib.).

Note 8, l. 3–4. 'Ali b. al-Fadl (al-Janad from the province Janad in Yemen, Ed. II, 3812, see Comm. p. 177) was the Janah (a Karmatian technical term designating a sort of aide-de-camp) of Ibn Haushab and accompanied him to Aden La'a, de Goeje ib. 294'. The latter gives his name, similarly to I. H., as Ali. Otherwise he is called Muhammad, e.g., Istakhri 24,

de Saey cccv. Nuweiri (quoted de Saey cccclv) has Abû'l-Kheir Muhammad b. al-Fadl, comp. Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen II, 510, Müller, Islam I, 595. The Banû Ziyâd traced back their origin to Ziyâd, who pretended to be a son of Abû Sufyan and was afterwards acknowledged as brother by Mu'awiyah, IKot. 176. They were settled in Zebid. The Dü-Manâkh lived in the neighborhood of Aden, Yakut IV, 472.

Note 8, l. 5. al-bawarî is most probably identical with the bawarî, mentioned de Saey cccx. I quote this passage, as it is of great significance in connection with L. H.’s text. ‘En année 295 un nouvel imposteur, nommé Abou Khatem, établit une secte particulière parmi certain Karmates du Sawad que l'on nommait Bourahijja, du nom de leur Dal Bourani (البواري). Abou Khatem interdisait à ses disciples l'ail, le poireau et les raves... Cette espèce de Karmates fut nommée Nakailija

Ibn Adhârî I, 292 is probably identical with Ibn Haushab. Read ل. It is possible that who is mentioned Comm. 17 among the Karmatian missionaries immediately before 'Ali b. al-Fadl (see next note), is identical with our man.—Abû 'Abdallah Ibn al-‘Abbas (ib.) is perhaps identical with Abû 'Abdallah ash-Shi.

The variant in note a may be due to the difference in name.

The name Būrānī does not occur elsewhere, but Nakaliyya is found in various forms, Arib (ed. de Goeje) p. 137 (anno 316) speaks of the Karmatians known (sic) بالنقيلية بسواه القرات. As one of their leaders is mentioned a certain مسعود بن حربت حربت, who is no doubt identical with مسعود بن حربت I Ath. VIII, 136 (also anno 316). Interesting is Mas‘ūdī’s remark (Tanbih 391) he had already mentioned in former works (sic, see note) أخبار القرامطة البقيعية الكونية وغلبهم عليها وذلك في سنة 524 والعلة في تسميته البقيعية وهو اسم دينانٍ عندهم وكان رؤساءهم مسعود بن حربت العلّي. comp. de Goeje ib. p. 99. I consider the reading Bakliyya the only correct one, as it is no doubt stands in some relation to the prohibition of certain vegetables (الفَل) recorded by de Saecy. The connection, assumed in the glossary to Mas‘ūdī’s Tanbih (s. v. البقيعية), between this sect and a certain al-Bakli (Agh. XI, 753, see Comm. p. 46) is impossible. Both material and chronological discrepancies (anno 129—anno 316) speak against the identification.

69. I. 1. On ‘Ubeidallah and the rise of the Fatimidés see the detailed accounts by de Goeje, Carmathes, p. 5 ff. (the larger part of the essay bearing on this subject), Biochet, p. 77 ff.

— I. 4. The Khattâbiyya and the numerous factions belonging to it are frequently mentioned by I. H. (see Index). The name of the founder as given by I. H. is found Fihr. 186 ult., Shahr. 136, I Ath. VIII, 21. Kashi, who devotes a very long article to him (pp. 187-199), calls him Muhammad b. Abi

Perhaps حانان بن حمّاد بن حانان المارداني from Būrān, one of the towns of Merv (Yakut I, 462), may be the same man—Lubb al-Lubbāb explains as referring إلى عمّ الدوائي من القصاب البرازي ونحوه. In the Appendix sub hac voce the editor remarks: “In separate articulo agit Ibn al-Thir de arte mordiendi, quae est alia tantum eiusdem nominis forma.” I have not been able to locate the passage in I Ath.
Zeinab, but adds that his name was مَكْلاصِبَهُ بِنِّي أَبِي الْحَطَابَ
بِهَذَا الْإِلْمَعَ الْأَسْبَدِ وَبِكَثُبِّي أَبَا أَسْمَعِيلَ وَبِكَثُبِّي أَيْضاً أَبَا
الْحَلِبِينَ (p. 187). Makr. 3528 gives his name as حَمَدُ بْنُ مَكي، the latter Kunya is declared to be correct
by de Sacy ccxxi, note 2. Zeil. fol. 104a differs from all
other authorities in calling him al-Hattab (in soft ح)
under the line and without Abū). وعَنِّفْ أَخْرَىٰ يَقَالُ لِهِمْ الْحَطَابِيَّةْ
۱۰ The Khattabiyaa occupy a commanding position in heterodox
Islam. Makr. 3528 estimates their subdivisions at no less than
fifty. Abūl-Khattāb is designated as the originator of the
300, on the other hand, confesses to know nothing about him,
except that he permitted perjury against the opponents of his
sect1 as well as murder and adultery. The latter is also attributed
to him by other writers.

The central point of the Khattabiyaa doctrine is the worship
of Ja'far. They claimed to be in possession of his mystic work
۲۰ "Jafr," see p. 106. Fīhr. 186 ult. ascribes to him the belief
in the divinity of Ali. But this appears to be correct only in
so far as he regarded all the Imams as higher Divine beings.
According to Shahr. and Isfr. (56b), he claimed prophecy only
when Ja'far had withdrawn from him. Zeid. (ib.) however
maintains that he asserted his claims only after Ja'far's death,
pretending to have been designated by him as his successor.1

1 On Rā'ya see p. 25 ff.
2 See Makr. 3528.—Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 60. 229.
3 Isfr. 59a and Makr. 3528 assign to the Khattabiyaa the belief in a
"speaking" and "silent" Imam (Naṣīkh and Šamīt), a conception which is
of such inclusive importance in the propaganda of the Bāṭiniyya. One
might feel reluctant to admit the existence of this belief at so early a
period. But Fīhr., too, assumes a connection between the Khattabiyaa
and the Meimûniyya, the party of Meimūn al-Kaddāḥ, the originator of
the Bāṭiniyya movement. Comp. de Sacy, ccxxi.
The orthodox Imamites are anxious to get rid of this unpleasant partnership. Hence the numerous utterances put into the mouth of Ja'far which curse Abūl-Khaṭṭāb (Kashi repeatedly, see esp. p. 195) and declare those who follow him to be worse than "Jews, Christians, Magians and heathens" (p. 192, 194; in the year 138, p. 191 below). They maintain that Abūl-Khaṭṭāb told lies about Ja'far (ib. 195, 146) and that his adherents "to this very day smuggle these traditions into the books of the adherents of Abū 'Abdallah (i.e., Ja'far)" (ib. 146).

Abūl-Khaṭṭāb was crucified in Kufa by 'Isa b. Mūsa (d. 167), Shahr. ib., Isfr. 566.

— L. 7. Comp. Iji 346 (read ابنا لله واحباره, similarly Bagd. 996, Isfr. 566.

— L. 9 f. نسبه آلية is quoted Koran 5, 21 as the pretension of the Jews and Christians. According to Shahr., Abūl-Khaṭṭāb applied this expression to the ancestors of Ja'far, i.e., to the Huseinids only. Makr. (353) states that he believed that "the Imams were like Ali and that his (i.e., Ali's) children were all prophets." More distinctly Iji ib.:

کماعها ونسبان ابناء الله في الخسإ والخسنين وابناء ابناء الله واحباره. Our text accordingly cannot be correct. On the basis of the above statements I have inserted the name of al-Husain. I read either

الخسإ والخسنين or, perhaps more acceptably, خسنين.

— L. 11. This strange belief was widespread in these circles, see p. 73. Thus the Mu'ammarīyya (p. 114) believed that "men do not die but their spirits are lifted up into other (men?)" (Makr. 352). This is evidently the belief in Transmigration. Philosophically tinged is the opinion of the Baznağiyya "that the man who has attained to perfection cannot be said to have died" (p. 96).
Instead of the translation offered in the text, which conveys no proper meaning, I would suggest to punctuate the Arabic phrase Ed. IV, 187 in the following manner:

in the opinion of men regarding this (the claim not to die and to be lifted up to heaven) is the Sheikh whom you see (i.e., Abū 'l-Khattāb)." In other words, if anyone, then it is Abū 'l-Khattāb who has no chance to get to heaven. L Br (note 5) reads. Perhaps in Ed., too, 'Abīd is to be corrected into šu'abī.

The two readings would then coincide.

—L. 14. On the Mu‘ammariyya see Shahr. 137, Makr. 352 (who agrees with him verbatim). This Mu‘ammar is possibly identical with the Mu‘tazilite Makr. 347, Iji 340, who expresses similar opinions, and with Mu‘ammar who advocates the Imamate of ‘Abdallah, the son of Ja‘far as-Sadik, Makr. 351. The latter view is assigned by Shahr. 126 to the Aftahiyya sect, which derives its name from al-Aftah, the by-name of ‘Abdallah b. Ja‘far. The name of the founder is omitted.

—L. 18. Abū Mugith (Tab. III, 2289, Abū Muhammed) al-Husein b. Mansūr al-Hallāj, whose grandfather is said to have been a Magian (Zoroastrian), came from the town Beidā in Fāris. He was executed in 399/922 during the reign of al-Muktadir and his ashes were strewn in the Tigris. His adherents considered this the cause of the rise of the Tigris in that year. Many expected that he would return to life after forty days (comp. p. 231), asserting that it was not Hallāj who was executed but an enemy of his on whom he had pressed his own features, IKhall. 186, see Comm. 30. He exercised a powerful influence not only on his own age but on posterity as well. He had numerous admirers among orthodox Muhammedans (Bagd.

One thinks of Makr.'s words (332) in his account on the Bazīgīyya that Ja‘far was a god that the claim not to die and that she bears testimony to the heaven. But I do not know how to bring this meaning into L. H.'s sentence.


— L. 22. The by-name of this sectarian is usually given as شَمَالَةٌ, from Shalmaân, a town in the neighborhood of Wâsit, I Ath. VIII, 216, Yakut III, 314. It is evident that I. H. took the name Shalmaân to be that of a person (see also note 10). Similarly IKhall. No. 186, p. 129 has Ibn ash-Shalmaân. Interesting in this connection is Yakut’s remark (ib.): “ash-Shalmaân is the name of a man; possibly this town derives its name from him. But it is a mistake.” He admits, however, that elsewhere this word is found as a personal name, as can be confirmed by a verse of al-Buhârî. Aside from شَمَالَةٌ, we also find شَمَالَةٌ, Fihr. 176th, note 13 (this coincides with the reading of A, note 10 of our text) and شَمَالَةٌ Bagd. 102th. — I. H. is the only one who designates him as Kâtib. Perhaps this is due to a confusion with the Kâtib mentioned soon afterwards (Text, p. 70, note 2, l. 5).

The reading الفِرَائِدُ (note 11) is confirmed by the variant فِرَائِدِينَ, IKhall. No. 186, p. 129. The vast majority of writers,

1 I. H. quotes him repeatedly as the type of a miracle worker, e. g., Ed. I, 109th, 110th; he ridicules (V, 117th) the “adherents of Incarnation and the extremists among the Râfida” who believe that people like Hallâj, see Comm. 116 u. 1) and others are Divine beings, while they sit in their company, discharge the lowest human functions and exhibit human desires.

2 See a poem of his transcribed in Hebrew characters published by Hirschfeld, Jewish Quarterly Review, 15 (1903), p. 176, 180 f. I myself found in the Oxford Genizah (Ms. Hebr. d 57) a poem of a similar nature in Hebrew characters with the superscription للخليج (علي الله وaccel.)

(He plainly says there الله انًا.)
however, give him the Kunyan. Bagd. 91, 102 and Isfr. 61 call his adherents the Ahrām. I Ath. VIII, 216 reads
Abu al-ʿArām. Masudi III, 367 has

The cardinal point of ash-Shalmaği's doctrine is the theory of the "Addād" (Contrasts), the simultaneous revelation of God in a good and evil principle. Thus, e.g., he revealed himself first in Adam and Iblis, etc. He called Moses and Muhammed impostors, because they merely were the apostles of Aron and Ali respectively and usurped a dignity to which they were not entitled. I Ath. and Abulfeda II, 382, from whom I have drawn this information, point out the resemblance between this doctrine and that of the Nuseiriyya (p. 126 f.), suggesting that they are identical.

On ash-Shalmaği see also Fähr. 176, 147, 196, de Slane's English translation of Ikallikan I, 439, note 18 (a biography extracted from Dahabi's Taʾrīkh al-Islām), de Saey cœxli, Kremer, Ideen 75 ff.

Worthy of note is the relation of the official Shi'a to this heretic. Tusy allot him some space in his work (p. 305, No. 662), but cautiously adds "كم مستقيم الطريق ثم تغيّر."

Mirza fol. 55 rebukes the Imamites for this ambiguous attitude:

"ومن الطرائف أنهم نقلوا في كتاب إجماعهم عن محمد بن علي الشلبسي الفصايري وأمثاله وأشباهه أحاديث متكررة وذمها في كتاب رجالهم غاية الذم حتى أنه قال الجليل: "

"ابن الفراق.

is, of course, a variant of ابي الغر. If Ed. V 117 stands for ابن ابي الغر, then this would be the original form of the name and the difference between I. H. (note 11) and the other writers could be easily explained. I Ath. VIII, 372 calls him Ibn Abīl-Kurākhīr.

This idea is clearly identical with the Syzygy doctrine taught in the Pseudo-Clementines, Recognitions III, 59, 61: Homilies, II, 15; Recogn. III, 61 assumes ten such opposite pairs.

Died 729, Haji Khalifa II, 194.
He believed that the union in spirit is possible only through the union in flesh, de Sacy II, 572.

Note 2, l. 2-4. Al-Husain b. 'Ubeidallah was Vizier under al-Muktadir. I. H.'s assertion that he was killed conflicts with the statement of all other authorities that he renounced ash-Shalmagani in time and thus saved his life. Bagd. reports that the Shafite and Malekite judges were of different opinion regarding the admissibility of his repentance, the former voting for, the latter against its acceptance.

Note 2, l. 5. Ibrahim b. Ahmad b. Muhammed b. Abi 'Aun (so Yakut III, 314; IKhallikan ib. omits Muhammed; 13 Bagd. ib. has ابراهم بن كحيل بن أحمد بن اليمان which was a writer of note, celebrated for the elegance of his style, Yakut; IKhall. Contrary to the vizier al-Hussein (see preceding note), he refused to renounce ash-Shalmagani and was crucified and then burned in the year 322.

- I. 5. The same man is mentioned by I. H. as a typical sorcerer Milal V, fol. 62a (Ed. I, 109ff. as well as Cod. I leave the name out and differ considerably): ومن هذا النوع كان البصرى والسائر الكاذبين فقط (sic) - See the variants in our text note 3. There is no means to decide which is the correct form. This person seems to be identical with a man merely designated as البصرى and dealt with by IAth. VIII, 372 (anno 340). He pretended that Ibn Abi'l Karikir (see p. 118, 1) had embodied himself in him and he had then become the legitimate head of the Karakiriyya. The so

1 Comp. Brockelmann I, 406.
2 The same form of the name also IKhall. 186, p. 129 (= de Slane's edition 224f.), IAth. VIII, 217, Abulfeda II, 382, Bagd. 102a, Isfr. 61b; only Tab. III, 2162 has Abul Husain.
identification suggests itself the more readily, as in I. H.'s account he also follows immediately after ash-Shalmaqani.—The clause "in our time" is scarcely correct, as I. H. was born 384\(^1\) (died 456). The mistake, however, is excusable when we think of the distance between Cordova and Basra.

—L. 7. Abū Muslim, usually styled Ṣahīb ad-Daula, was born about 100\(^6\) and was assassinated at the command of Mansūr about 140; IKhal. No. 382; I Kot. 191 gives the year 137. The by-name (as-Sirāj "Lamp" or, better, as-Sarrāj "Saddler") I found only in I. H. (Text here, 36\(^{1}\); 45\(^{1}\)). Abū Muslim was dealt with Text 45\(^{6}\). Here I. H. records the additional belief in his divinity. According to Shahar, 114, it was the Rızāmīyya who advocated this belief. The founder of this sect, Rızām b. Sābik,\(^5\) rose in Khurāsān during the lifetime of Abū Muslim. He maintained that Ali transferred the Imamate to Muhammad b. al-Hanafīyya,\(^6\) who passed it over to Abū Hāshim, who, in turn, bequeathed it in writing to the Abbasides. At the same time he believed that Abū Muslim was an associate in the Imamate and an incarnation of the Divinity. Similarly Ili 347. Bagd. 100\(^8\) (and alike Isfr. 59\(^9\)) confine these doctrines to a fraction of the Rızāmīyya:

\[\text{إمامه بعده السقايم صار (صارت)} \text{ إلى ابى مسلم وآتروا مع ذلك يقتات ابى مسلم وموتاه اول رة منهم يقال ليها ابى مسلمية} \text{أموثوا في ابى مسلم غاية الإفراد وزموا أنه صار إلهًا يحمل الروح} \text{الله فيه وزموا أنه ابى مسلم يحمر من حمي، وهمكيد، وسائر} \text{الملاكية وزموا أيضا أنه ابى مسلم حتى لم يمت وهم على} \]

\(^1\) Makr. reads الساقية, see Text ib. note 6.

\(^2\) Instead of ساقية Cureton's edition has a blank. It was apparently missing in his Ms. I have supplied the name from Makr. 358\(^6\). Haarbrücker, p. 173, curiously translates: "Die Anhänger von Rizām, dem Sohne eines unbekannten Vaters".

\(^3\) Hence their classification among the Keisāniyya.

\(^4\) The Beṣāğīyya (p. 95\(^9\)) believed "that some among them were better than Gabriel, Michael and Muhammed," Makr. 359\(^1\).
The Heterodoxies of the Shiites, etc.

[70] 777 They never engaged in fighting, but when they were summoned by the caliph, they went to him in arms. Masudi VI, 186, on the whole, agrees with this presentation: "When the (news of) the assassination of Abū Muslim reached Khorāsān and the other mountainous regions, the Khurramiyya (comp. the variants) became agitated. They are the party called Musliamiyya, which believed in Abū Muslim and in his Imamate... Some among them were of the opinion that he has not died nor would he ever die until he has appeared and filled the earth with justice." Fihrist. 344 ff. similarly describes the Musliamiyya as the sect which believed that Abū Muslim was alive (comp. Comm. 38°). He mentions particularly a certain Ishāq who acted in Transoxania as Abū Muslim's missionary, claiming that the latter was imprisoned in the mountains of ar-Rayy and that he would come forth at a certain time which was known to him only. Makr. 353 is not correct when he describes the Rizāmiyya as the party which passes the Imamate down to as-Saffāh and quite separately enumerates among the Rāwandiyya (p. 121 ff.) the (see footnote below) which transfers the Imamate from as-Saffāh to Abū Muslim. 8

1 See p. 308.

2 Makr. 354. ابي سلمة صاحب دولة بنى العباس، also L. 3, is to be read instead of ابي مسلم - de Sacy: LIX connects the Musliamiyya with Abū Salma, Abū Muslim's general. But then it would be most surprising that Makr. mentions nothing about the worship of Abū Muslim and that the other sources again mention nothing about Abū Salma. Besides, Abū Salma would scarcely be styled "Sāhib ad-Daula." The proposed emendation removes these difficulties. The name of the sect is either to be read المسلمة (as Masudi and Fihrist have) or to be explained as a contracted Nisba for ابتر مسلمية (as Bagd. gives), e.g., عقسي from عبد الشمال, comp. Wright, Grammar of the Arabic Language (3d ed.) I. § 364. Rem. b. True, this contraction does not exactly correspond with the examples given. I. p. 182 A. But one knows that the abstractions of the Arabic grammarians are of little avail, especially in the case of the Nisba endings.
On Abū Muslim and his connection with Mazdaism, see Blochet 43 ff.

— L. 9. See also Text 36. The first name of al-Mukanna is not certain. IKhall, No. 431 gives 'Atā and Hakim respectively. The latter name is recorded Tab. III, 484 and IAth. VI, 25. Hāshim (reading of L. Br., note 6) is also found Makr. 354, while Bagd. 100, perhaps correctly, calls him Hāshim b. Hakim. He was from Merv (note 7), according to Bagd.

He was a fuller by profession, L. II., Bagd. Abulfedā II, 44, IAth. VI, 25 (read instead of قصرا). He belonged to the Rizāmiyya (Shahr. 115, Bagd.) and believed in the divinity of Abū Muslim, regarding himself as his incarnation (IAth.). He committed suicide while besieged in his stronghold in 163. According to one version, he died through poison. Tab. III, 490, IKhall. ib., Abulfedā ib., Dozy, Isl. 245 f. According to another (recorded by Bagd. and Isfr.), he threw himself into a burning furnace so that his adherents were unable to find his body and were therefore induced to believe that he had been lifted up to heaven. IAth. VI, 34 f. gives room to both versions. Bagd. 100 (shorter Isfr. 60) adds the following interesting notice about the adherents of Mukanna at the time of this writer:

أتباعه اليوم في جبال إيلال، أثرة أثيرة ولهم في كل قربة من قبره مسجد لا يصلون فيه ولكن يكترون موقتاً بودن فيه وهم يستسلمون الغيبة وتحوزون روذل واحد منهم يستمتع بㆍأمرة غيرة وإن ظفرنا بuslim لم تغر الموقت الذي في مسجدنا تغدو واحفظة غير أنهم متحورون بعامة المسلمين في دعائهم والحمد لله علي ذلك.

Very important is Bagd's statement (100) concerning his doctrine:
The Heterodoxies of the Shiites, etc.

See on this doctrine p. 86 ff.

— L. 13. Read Rawandiyya (with long ā in the first syllable).

The name Rawandiyya is generally applied to the people who came in 141 or, according to another version, in 136 or 137, to Hāshimiyya, then the capital of the Caliphate, to pay divine homage to the Caliph al-Mansūr, Tab. III, 129—Lath. V, 383; Dozy, Isl. 242; Kremer, Ideen 12; Müller, Islam I, 494; Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen II, 37 ff.; van Vloten, Chilisme 48.

This application, however, is correct only in part. Originally, it seems, the Rawandiyya were but a political party which assigned the Imamate to the Abbasides, just as other parties assigned it to the Omayyads or Alides. Masudi repeatedly describes them as the Shi'ite 'Wālid al-Abbās' who justified the transfer of the Imamate to the Abbasides on the basis of Koran 8, 76 and who hired the corruptible al-Jāhiz (d. 255/869) to write for them to order the book "Kitāb Imāmati walid'l-Abbās." (Masudi VIII, 56.) The latter fact alone, which brings the Rawandiyya down to the third century H., suffices to show that the Rawandiyya, at least, chronologically, extend far beyond the ill-fated "guluww" attempt in 141. It was only at a later time that the Rawandiyya claimed that the Imamate had been transferred to the Abbasides by a written will of Abū Hāshim, the son of Muhammed b. al-Hanafiyya (Masudi VIII, 55), thus appearing as a branch of the Kaisāniyya. Bagd. apparently holds the same view on this matter when, in formulating the orthodox doctrine of the Imamate, he adds

(fol. 133 4)
I. Friedlaender. [1908.

Atmiyya aluli wa’dhkuha min ar‘afiyya wa-hilaf thawr al-watidina (sic).
Comp. also fol. 12a. I. H. expresses himself similarly Ed. IV. 901. "Another party says: the Caliphate is only permissible in the children of al-
‘Abbás b. ‘Abd al-Mu’talib. This is the opinion of the Rawandiyya.""

It was only a small group out of this large party which cherished extravagant ideas and, as the Muhammedan theologians would say, exaggerated concerning the ‘Abbassides. This is still evident from Tab.'s statement III, 418", that it was a certain man called Ablak who arranged the attempt at the deification of Mansur and "called upon the Rawandiyya to join him," in other words, used an already existing party for his special purposes.

The name of the sect is written تاذ al-Rawandiyya in Tab. ibh., I. H. and others; Bagd. and Isf., and Suyuti, Ta’rikh, 263, which the English translator, p. 266 note, unjustifiably, as will presently be seen, regards as incorrect. For it is the latter variant, reflected as well in the reading of Ed. Y, (our text, note 9) and this page, note 2, which gives us the clue to the origin of the sect. As a matter of fact, the Rawandiyya are unanimously connected by the Arabic authors with the province of Khorasan, which was, as is well known, the centre of the Abbasside propaganda (Masudi VI, 54, Tab, III, 82, 129"—Isth. V, 383, comp. Abulfeda II, 13). A locality by the name of Rawand, however, is unknown in that province. A place of that name is mentioned by Yakut II, 741 as being in the vicinity of Isbahân. Accordingly, Dozy, Tar. 242 and Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen II, 38 (the latter quotes

may refer to the Prophet or to Ali. The latter is more probable, for Masudi, too, tells us that they made an exception in the case of Ali.

Cod. L. رومي, see later. Masudi VI, 26 says rather vaguely: "The Rawandiyya (maintain) that the Imamate is permissible in the Kureish only."

The view set forth in the text is in the main anticipated by de Sacy, i. f. who similarly takes Mas'udi’s statement as the point of departure.

It is to be regretted that the editor omitted the variations of this name, which he declares (III, 82, note b) to be numerous.
also other views, note 1) seek the origin of this sect in that [70] region. But this view contradicts the express statements of the Arabic sources. Considering the variations of the name of this sect, I am inclined to place its origin in a region near Nisabur, the capital of Khorasan, Yakut II, 891, comp. Lubb a al-Lubab, s. v., 1. This conjecture is raised to certainty by the fact that IKhall, calls the very same region (No. 34, in the biography of Ahmad bin Yahiya ibn Rabanda). In other words, Ahmad and Ahmad are two various pronunciations of the same name which in Persian sounded Rovedan. 1

Aside from this geographical explanation of the name, another derivation is found which must be discussed here. Isfr. 104, speaking of the succession of the Imamate after Abu Hashim, remarks as follows: 1

I combine this statement with the notice Makr. 351 (in his enumeration of the sects of the Rawafid) which differed in the pilgrimage of the Abode of God, . . . called the Isma-ilite and the Isma-ilite, a sect of the Khoir and the Khirdi, who are the two sects of the Rawafid. I do not hesitate to read and, taking into account their identity in doctrine, to regard them as one.

Examining our material as a whole, we are led to believe that there were two sects of this name: the one, properly so called, from Riwand in Khorasan, appeared in the time of Abu 1 De Saéy LVII recognized in part this relation.
Muslim and professed the extravagant doctrines set forth above; the other, called so after their founder or leader ar-Rawandi, was a political party for which al-Jahiz as late as in the third century composed his treatise in favor of the Abbasside claims to the Imamate.

Finally, attention may be called to another sect which stands in a peculiar relation to the Rawandiyya. It is a remarkable fact that our sect which, as can be inferred from the above, is by no means insignificant, is mentioned neither by Shahr nor Iji nor Makr. In its stead we find the Rizamiyya, credited with exactly the same views, as have been set forth above as those of the Rawandiyya. And what is even more significant, the Baslamiyya (or Muslimiyya, see p. 119 n. 2), which worshipped Abu Muslim as a Divine incarnation and is counted among the Rawandiyya (Makr. 353 ult.,—the only passage in which the name occurs—, Tab. III, 129*—IAth. V, 383; Bagd. 1039):

(وكذلک دفوطي في الرسندية في اي مسلم), figures in the other sources among the Rizamiyya (p. 118 f.). It is clear that the two sects are intimately connected with one another. One feels naturally inclined to take them for one. The difference in the names and their derivations seem to speak against their identity.

— L. 15. See p. 100* ff.

71, 1. 1. A great deal of confusion prevails with regard to the name of this sectarian. The extant forms may be classified as follows: Text 37*; Makr. 3621 (quotation), Shahr. 112, Bagd. 12* (promiscue عضرو and عصر). Isfr. 10*, Kashi 195*; Text 71, note 1 (reading of I. Br), Kashi 188* (parallel to 195*), Makr. quoted by van Vloten, Worgets p. 61, note 8; عبد الله بن عمر بن المحر (or حرب Bagd. 97*, Shahr. 112 ult., Text 37* (reading of Y)), نود عبد الله بن حرب Isfr. 56*, Abu’l-Maali 158; عبد الله بن حرب المرب Text 71, n. 1 (reading of Ed. Y). The name of the sect is written Bagd. 97*, Abu’l-Maali 158, van Vloten in his edition of Mafatih al-Ulam, Leyden 1895, p. 6; المرب: ib. as a variant, Makr., quoted van Vloten, Worgets, p.
61, n. 8; Text 71" (see note 12). Very interesting in this con-

section is Makr. 's notice quoted from a manuscript by van

Vloten, Worgers ib.: " ومنهم الخُربِيَّة أتباع عبد الله بن الحَرَث

واسم الحَرَث سلم بن مياسود بن خالد بن زبيد وهو من بنى

الطميم بن الَّيْب بن معوية بن الحَرَث بن معوية بن يُثْرَ

بُني مرزق. The notice is not quite clear, but this much can be

inferred from it that there is both and among

Abdallah's ancestors who may be responsible for the variations

and that the name of the sect does not, at least in this case,

necessarily conform with the immediate ancestor of the founder." 10

Very peculiar is the notice Shahr. 113 that after "Abdallah

b. Mu'awiya's death (comp. Text 71") his adherents believed

that his spirit was transferred to "Ishāk b. Zeid b. al-Hārith

al-Anṣāri. These are the Hārithiyya who permit forbidden

things and live the life of one who has no duties imposed on

him." (comp. de Saey, II, 593). It would thus seem that the

Hārithiyya are not identical with the Harbiyya and represent

but a later development of the Ḥarbiyya (or Kharbiyya). 4

1 Van Vloten is inclined to pronounce the name al-Kharbiyya to suit

the metre. This is scarcely permissible considering that the word

itself stands in the verse by emendation.

2 The genealogical chain Marta—Thaur—Mu'awiya—al-Hārith—Mu-

'awiya is found Whistman, Tabellen, 4th.

3 Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 61, 75 n. 2.

4 I have no means to ascertain whether the following passages have

any bearing on this sect, although several points seem to suggest it:

Belâqori, Futūh at-Buldān, ed. de Goeje, 295 penui.: 

الخُربِيَّة نُسمى: 

إلى حرب بن عبد الله البخَي

وكان بها (يعني بما ديمة تفليس) حرب بن

عبد الله بن أبي بكر

الذي تُسمى: الده خربية ببغداد

I Khall.

No. 19, p. 30 (Biography of Ahmad b. Hanbal):

وُقَذِن بعقرة باب

حرّب وسبح حرب منصب إلى حرب بن عبد الله أحد امامات

الجعفر المتصور، والحرّب هذا اسم كهالة المعروفة

بالخربية.
According to Bagd. 97, ʻAbdallah adhered to the doctrine of Bayān that God embodies himself in the prophets and the Imams, claiming that the Divine spirit went over from Abū Hashim to him; comp. Shahr. 113 penult.

— L. 4. On the number of prayers see the variants here and Text 37, n. 3. 17 is attested by most manuscripts, Makr. 362 (quotation from I. II.), also in the notice quoted by van Vloten, Worgers ib. Is 17 (7+10) a holy number? The "Greatest Name" is said to consist of 17 letters, p. 87.

— L. 6. The ʻUrfriyya (or ʻSifriyya, see Haarbrücker, II, 496) is a very moderate Khārijīte sect.

— L. 8. Makr. quoted van Vloten, Worgers, ib. expresses himself similarly (Haarbrücker 170 "aber der Mann kehrte nicht zum Wissen und zur Religiosität zurück") are impossible, both as regards contents and grammatical form (subject before verb, for a single action). What Shahr. meant to say is most probably, judging by the statements of I. II. and Makr., the exact reverse of it: that ʻAbdallah did return to (true) knowledge and religion, and was consequently deserted by his followers.


— L. 19. The name of this sect alternates between (see the readings note 15). The former is also found Abulfeda II, 388 (IATH. VIII, 220, which is his source, reads the Dictionary of Technical Terms, p. 1385 (quotation from Iji; ed. Sorensen has the citadel Nasariyya and places the origin of the sect in the year 270/891. Nuseiriyya again is interpreted as a term of contempt: "little Christians," ZDMG. III, 368 note. On the other hand, Guayard, "Un grand maître des Assassins," Journal
Asiatique 1877, I, p. 349, derives the name from a man called [71] Muhammed b. Nuseir, an adherent of al-Hasan al-'Askari (died 260), the eleventh Imam of the Imamiyya, Text 58'. The Catechism of the Druzes considers the founder of the Nuseiriyya a man named Nuseiri, Blochet 101.

The cardinal point of the Nuseiriyya doctrine is the deification of Ali. This accounts for the fact that they are considered by I. H. an outgrowth of the Sab'āiyya.—Ali, they believed, existed before the world was created, Shahr. 144. To the question "who has created us?" the modern Nuseiriyya catechism gives the reply: "Ali", ZDMG. III, 302. In other words, Ali is the Demiurge, see p. 91. They believed in the simultaneous incarnation of God in a good and evil being (Shahr. 144, Iji 348), more exactly, in seven such successive incarnations; see the list of the seven incarnations, ZDMG. III, 303; on the number seven see Index s.v. Seven. This theory strikingly resembles ash-Shal马lmani's doctrine of the Addād, p. 110; Muhammed was Ali's apostle and was sent to bring mankind to his recognition, ZDMG. III, 302.

The Nuseiriyya are closely related to the Ishākiyya (p. 102"). They are mentioned together, Shahr. 143, Iji 21, 348. Yakut III, 275, appears to identify them. He says briefly of ash-Shorta, a district near Wāsit, اهلها كُلَّها إخاَمِمْيَة نصْبِية.

72, l. 1. Instead of "army" read "district." جَنْد, pl. [72] أَجْنَاد, originally "army district," became afterwards a purely geographical designation. The Jordan district with Tiberias as capital corresponds to the Roman province Palestina Secunda (Prof. Nöldke in a private communication).—I have found no reference to this occupation of Palestine by the Nuseiriyya outside of I. H.

—L. 2 ff. Yakut probably refers to the same fact when he says, referring to them (II, 338, sub voce أَصْلُهم الإِمَامِيَّة (جَنْص يَسَّابِعُ السَّلَف...—The reason for their hatred of Fātima and her children lies probably in their conception of Ali as Divine being, who, as such, can have neither wife nor children. Abul-Maali 158 enumerates among the Gāliyya a sect Azdāriyya: "They say that he who was the father of Hasan and Husein was
not the (real) Ali. He was rather a man called Ali al-Azhari. But the Ali who is an Imam has no children, as he is the Creator." I. H.'s statement contradicts the assertion of Shahr. 144 (comp. Haarbruck: II. 413), Ili 21, 348, sec de Sacy II, 559, that the Nuseiriyya (and Ishakiyya) worshipped the children of Ali as well. The modern Nuseiriyya catechism (ZDMG. III, 365) also recognizes this relationship of Ali in his capacity as man.

— L. 8. This is a reflex of the belief in Docetism, p. 30.
— L. 13. In his polemic against the Saba'iyya, who believe that a devil was killed in Ali's stead, Isfr. 566 uses the same argument:

وَبِرَاعُونَ أَنَّ الَّذِي قُتِّلَ اَنْ مُكَلِّمٍ كَانَ شَيَاطِينًا وَمَسَّ

قتال شيطانًا كان بهدوء تكيف يلعنوه.

73, note 2. The addition in L. Br is characteristic of I. H.'s Zahirite standpoint.
— L. 4. The words enclosed in quotation marks make the impression of a citation from some Sufi author. Perhaps it would have been more correct to translate as "one": "one of them adds."

— L. 6 f. The name of this Sufi is Abu Sa'id Abu'l-Kheir, as I. H. expressly states, with two kauyus joined together; de Sacy, Journal des Savants 1821, p. 725 gives the same form of the name. Browne, A Literary History of Persia, New York 1906, writes consistently Abu Sa'id b. Abu'l-Kheir (see passages in his index). The same Dozy, Isl. 320, Goldziher, Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie I, 186, note 3 (from Ibn Abi Ussib'a, ed. Muller II, 97).

Abu Sa'id was born December 7, 967 and died January 12, 1049. He was a contemporary of Avicenna (980–1037)—he is said to have been his friend, Goldziher, ibidem1—and consequently of I. H. (Text 73). According to Dozy, however, ib. (= Kremer, Ideen, p. 66), he founded a monastery (Khánkah) in Khorasan as early as in the year 200/815. But the date is no doubt incorrect.

The Sufis regard him as the originator of their doctrine. De Sacy ib., thinks that this is unhistorical.

1 He is buried by his side, in Hamadan. See the picture of their tombs in Jackson, Persia Past and Present (New York 1906), p. 107.
Abū Sa‘īd was a famous Rubā‘i poet, Browne, ib. 261 ff. [73]. Even now his Rubā‘is are believed to have a magical power. They are recited a certain definite number of times as prayers for forgiveness of sins, for rain, etc.


— L. 9. On the prohibition of silk see Hughes, Dictionary of Islam; sub voce Dress.

— L. 21 ff. The belief in a written will (تعمير) of the Prophet bequeathing the Imamate to Ali is the cardinal tenet of the Imamites in contradistinction from the Žeidlites; see Introduction p. 22, Shahrb. 122 ff., Iji 353, Makr. 351, IKhald. I, 356. On the reflex of this struggle in the Hadith, see Goldziher, Muh. Sc. II, 115 ff.

74, l. 4. On the name Rawasid see Appendix A.

— L. 9. On Žeild see Shahrb. 126. He was a pupil of Wāṣil [74] b. ʻAta‘, the founder of the Mu‘tazila.


— L. 15. Ali’s voluntary concession of the Imamate to the three first Caliphs is taught, according to Shahrb. 121*, by the Šālihiyya, the adherents of al-Ḥasan b. Šālih (p. 130 f.), and the Butriyya, the followers of a certain al-Abtar. Bagd. 10* applies the name Butriyya to both sects. They accordingly considered Abū Bekr and ʻOmar legitimate Imams. Suleimān b. Jarir (p. 136* ff.) agreed with them on this point, but differed from them regarding ʻOthman. Suleimān declared him an infidel, while the others reserved their opinion concerning him (Shahrb., Bagd.). — Kushi 152 applies the appellation Butriyya to the adherents of several men who held the same views on the Imamate, Al-Abtar, however, is not mentioned by him.

Kūtīr al-nuwa, al-ṭalāš bin salāḥ bin bū (sic) šī‘ī (sic) waṣalām

1 Zhukovski in the Mémoires (Zapiski) of the Oriental Department of the Russian Archeological Society, XIII (1890), p. 145.
2 See following note.
3 Cf. p. 120**. — Makr. 352** curiously connects the two men with:
— Note 6. The word in the sense required here is not found in the dictionaries. It obviously stands here for "heterodox view or belief, heresy." The word is frequently found in the kindred literature. Thus I, II at the very beginning of his Mītal Ed. I, 1" says: The previous writers on the same subject omitted "many of the strongest objections of the adherents of, makālāt, heterodox views." IV, 188*: "ذكر بعض من جميع مقالات البنجيين إلى الإسلام... It has been mentioned by some (or one) of the compilers of the heterodox views of those who (wrongly) consider themselves Muslims." Comp. also IV, 189*; III, 23* and often. Shahr. uses the word in the same sense: 1; 60 the heresiologists, (Hājī Khalifa VI, 117, 118 اکبات المقالات). Masudi V. 473 similarly refers to the Mafaqīfīs مقالات. His well-known, unfortunately lost, work bore the title الكتب إلى المقالات في أصول الديانات. It appears from this as well as from Ed. I, 1* and Shahr. 3* that مقالات is contrasted with "the religious (and legitimate) views."

— L. 19. See Text 30*, 75*. The name of this theologian 2 is subject to a great many variations. It appears most frequently in the form المحسن بن صالح بن حنى, the latter name also in the form of حبي بن حمى and حمي; see the readings Text 30, note 2; 79 n. 1; I Ath. in the index; Masudi V. 474 and VI, 24 (comp. p. 490; the editors make 3ο of it); Kashi 152* (sic) المحسن بن صالح بن حنى.—I. II.

1 Freytag records a slightly similar significance of the word from Golius:
"opinio, sententia."
calls him *promiscuous* al-Hasan b. Sālih (b. Hayy), Text 30', 74' [74] (note 10), 75 n. 1, and al-Hasan b. Hayy, 74' [74], 75', 79'. This peculiar circumstance is rendered intelligible by the fact that Hayy or, more exactly, Hayyân is identical with Sālih; see Tab. III, 2516', 2517' (and notes), Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* 9'. *Fihr.* 178', however, calls his father Sālih bau Hayy.

Al-Hasan, with the Kunya Abû ‘Abdallâh, was a member of the Thaur Hamdân (Bagd. 10°, comp. Isfr. 9°, l. 8). His daughter was married to ‘Isa, the son of Zeid b. Ali, the founder of the Zeidiyya. Together with his son-in-law, who was pursued by the Caliph Mahdi, he was compelled to hide in Kufa for seven years. He died in the same city; the year of his death is variously given as 167, 168 and 169; see Wüstenfeld, *Register*, sub voce, Tab. ib., *Fihr.* ib., Dahabi, *Huffaz* V, 45. He was famous for his piety, see especially Dahabi. Muslim in his *Sahîh* quotes him as Râwi, while Bukhârî mentions him honorably, Bagd. 10° (comp. Isfr. 9°):

وَقَدْ أَخْرَجَ مَسْلِمُ بْنُ الْمُخْتَجِجِ حَدِيثٌ الْحَمْسِ بْنِ صَالِحِ بْنِ حَيْيَ مُسْتَنِدَهُ إِلَى الْحَمْسِ بْنِ صَالِحِ أَسْمَاعِيْلَ الْبَعْثَيْرِي. حَدَّاَثَهُ فِي الصَّدِيقِ وَلَا كَانَ فَالَّيْنَ كَانَ فِي كِتَابِ التَّأْرِيْخِ الْكَبِيرِ الْحَمْسِ بْنِ صَالِحِ بْنِ حَيْيَ الْكُوِّنِيَّ سِمَعَ سَمَّاَلَ بْنِ حَبِّيْبٍ وَمَاتَ سَنَةً سِبْعَ وَسَتِينَ وَمَائَةً وَجَمْهُرُ مِنْ ذُؤُورِ عُمْادِيْنِ كُتِبَتُهُ أُبُو عُمْرَةَ الْلَّدِّ

I. H.'s account on al-Hasan's views flagrantly contradicts the statements of the other sources. The latter generally count him among the Zeidiyya, who confine the Imamate to the descendants of Ali or, still narrower, to those of Fátima (see later p. 132' ff.), Shahr. 121, Bagd., Isfr.; IKot. 301 counts him, more vaguely, among the Shi'â. *Fihr.* 178", who mentions him among the *Kibar ash-Shi'â al-rida'îyya* registers a book of his entitled "A book on the Imamate of the descendants of Ali by Fátima." 30

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1 The South-Arabic tribe Hamdân in 'Irâk adhered to the Alidae, Kremer, *Culturgeschichte unter den Chalifen*, II, 144.

In contradiction to all these authors, L. H. insists that al-Hasan shared the orthodox view which admits the Imamate in all the descendants of Führ b. Mālik,” i. e., the Kureish (comp. Wāstenfeld, Tabellen O”). One might feel inclined to charge L. H. with the attempt to claim this famous theologian for the Sunna. But it must be remembered that L. H. quotes as his authority an Imamite.—Quite isolated is Masudi’s statement (VI, 25) that he went as far as to admit the Imamate even outside the Kureish.

— L. 22. On Hishām see p. 651 f.
— L. 23. The book is recorded Führ. 175, Tusy p. 355, No. 771.

This is intended to show that al-Hasan considered even these men legitimate Imams. Al-Hasan was also very mild in his opinion about ‘Othman, see p. 12914-15.

— L. 8. I. H. stands quite alone with this assertion. According to all other authorities, including Masudi V, 474, IKhald. I, 357, comp. Kremer, Ideea 375, the Zeidiyya restrict the Imamate to the descendants of Fātimā. The Keisāniyya are thus excluded. See Introduction, p. 23 and Comm. p. 35.

Note 6. Instead of the enigmatic words of Ed. وجب + سل السيف معه I would suggest (although with some hesitation) to read + وجب سل السيف معه “and the love of unsheathing the sword is in him.”


— L. 20–21. Similarly Shahr. 13414: “They (the Imāmiyya) agree as to the transfer of the Imamate down to Ja‘far b. Muhammed as-Sādik. They disagree as to the person he appointed (Imam) by a written will after him.” See Text 76 and Comm. p. 10414 ff.


Ibidem. On Dāwūd b. Kathīr ar-Rakkī, from Rakka in Babylonia, see Kāshi 255 f. Tūsī No. 281, p. 131 designates him as "weak," because the "Gulāt" quote him as authority for their traditions. Kāshi 257 defends him against this charge. He is said to have died about 200°, Tūsī ib., comp. Kāshi ib.

Ibidem. 'Ali b. Mansūr is enumerated Shahr. 145 among the writers of the Shi'a. Masūdī VI, 369 calls him an Imāmīt and a follower of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. He is mentioned in connection with the latter, Kāshi 165 ult. See also below l. 22. 10


L. 25. On Shīrīn at-Tāk see p. 59.

L. 26. Abū Mālik al-Hadramī is mentioned Bagd. 21° in connection with Abī b. Mithām, both being styled 12

المرافعین. Fihri. 177° counts him among the dogmatists of the Shi'a (من متكلّفي السبعة). Despite the above quotation, there is no doubt, and no doubt incorrectly, Masūdī VI, 369 designates him as a radical Khārijī. He took part, together with most of the other men mentioned in our text, in the famous discussion before the Barmaکide, vizier Yahya, Masūdī ib.; comp. on this discussion Kāshi 167 ff.—Abū Mālik is mentioned, together with Abī b. Mansūr (see above l. 7), Kāshi 179 ult. They both belonged to Ja'far's circle. They outlived Ja'far, ib.

76. l. 3 and note 1. According to most authorities (quoted as Comm. p. 19° f.), Ismā'īl died before his father (five years,[76] Blochet 51). The Ismā'iliyya remove this difficulty by the assumption that Ja'far purposely spread the rumor about his death so as to save his life. See the story told Shahr. 146.

L. 4. These are the Karmatians. See on these Comm. 31 p. 19° and p. 79°.

L. 7. These are the Ithnā'ushariyya, see p. 78°

L. 10. See on this passage Text p. 48 and Comm. 52°.
[76] — L. 29. On the contest about the inheritance see the allusive statement Shahr. 129 and a more elaborate account Ibby., Ibbat 41 penult. It is natural that Ja'far gets the worst of it.

77, note 3. I prefer the reading of L. By People sneered at her." See on this expression Goldziher, Muh. St. II, 143 ult. and note 7. The nature of the accusation is not quite clear. Did she become the concubine of al-Hasan b. Ja'far? 10 — L. 3. I have not been able to find any reference to this Kâtib.—The details set forth here are not found elsewhere.

— L. 8. In the time of Abu'l Maali (wrote about 485a) people made pilgrimages to the cellars (sandab) in which he was said to have disappeared, Blochet 155. Even as late as Ibn Khaldun a peculiar ceremony connected with this cellar was still in vogue. Comp. the interesting passage, IKhald. I, 359.

— Ibidem (comp. note 7). The same number of years (180) also Ed. IV, 96.


— L. 13. Muhammad b. Ismâ'il as-Sayyid al-Himyari was born 105/723 and died 173/789, Broekelmann I, 83. To the sources quoted by Broekelmann add the biography in Dahabi's Ta'rikh al-Islam (Ms. of Strassburg University Library, not paginated), which is in part closely related to that given in Fawdat al-Wafayât I, 24.—On as-Sayyid comp. also the index to this treatise.

— L. 14. Kuthayyir 'Azza, so called because of his love to 'Azza, a girl of the Khuzâ'a tribe, died in 105, the year in which as-Sayyid was born, Broekelmann I, 48.

[78] 78, note 2. The drift of this anecdote is probably this, that, as no decent man shared the views of as-Sayyid, he could only point to a cobbler in Ray as his associate in doctrine.

1 The remark in Agb. Tables p. 395 a.v. السّيد الأجمري: "Loué par Kutayyir" is, of course, a misunderstanding. The passage referred to (Agb. VII, 92) merely states that the verses quoted there in the name of Kuthayyir are ascribed by others to as-Sayyid. Comp. Agb. VII, 7.
— L. 4. The accusation of forgery, which is certainly more [78] justified than the reciprocal charge of "tabdil" (see p. 61 f.), is often made against the Shiites, see Goldziher, Muh. St. II, 111, 1Ath. (VIII, 21) puts it forcibly as well as briefly: "When the enemies of Islam gave up the hope to uproot it by force they took to inventing false traditions." The Rawâfîd are on this score brought in comparison with the Jews and this comparison is put into the mouth of ash-Sha'bi (d. 103), Ikd 269 (in a briefer form, also in the name of ash-Sha'bi, Isfr. 15°), see p. 19°. Ash-Sha'bi, of course, is not responsible for this invidious comparison. The Sunnites in protesting against the Shiitic forgeries found no better spokesman than ash-Sha'bi, who was revered by the Sunna and at the same time known as a Shiite. It must be noted, however, that, according to Isfr. 79° penult., the tertium comparationis in the analogy between the Rawâfîd and the Jews is not the forgery of traditions but "tashbih," the anthropomorphistic conception of God. The Shiites incline towards "tashbih" (see, e. g., p. 66°) and the latter is regarded as characteristic of Judaism by the Muhammadan theologians. [Cf. Kauffmann, Attributenlehre 81.]

The Sunnites answer the Shiitic forgeries with forgeries of their own which are directed against their opponents (Goldziher, Muh. St. II, 117 ff. A few instances can be found Isfr. 15° f. Some of them are rather clumsy. Thus the Prophet is reported to have ordered Ali to kill the Rawâfîd. [See p. 143 ult.]

— L. 6. In the expositions following in Ed., I. H. endeavors to refute the Shiitic view that the Imamate is admissible only in the descendants of Ali. His expositions, however, are of a theological nature and do not offer any historical material.

The author very cleverly points out that the hadith أنت ملِّي which is a standing argument of the Shiites—it is at the same time binding for the Sunnites as being recorded in the two Sahîh (Nawawi, Tawfîb 488)—proves nothing in favor of Ali, as Joshua, and not Aron, was the successor of Moses.

[78] — L. 10. ُتَعْمَّدُ ىَتَرَأَى ٜكُفَّارَ ىَتَرَأَى ُبَيِّنَةٍ here and in the passages quoted Comm. p. 77° and 9°* obviously means “Synopsis.” This meaning of the word is not recorded in the dictionaries.
  — L. 17. Read ُكُفَّارَ (misprint).

79, l. 3. Read "who caused" (Noldeke); correct accordingly Text 80°.
  — L. 12. This is the opinion of Suleimán b. Jarir (see l. 21). Comp. Shāhr. 119: “The nation committed . . . a sin which does not reach the degree of impiety.” See Iji 353, Makr. 652° (سلیمان), Masudi V, 474. His party is called Jarriyya; Isfr. 7° calls it Suleimaniyya.
  — L. 18. This is the view of the Jārūdiyya, see p. 22° ff.
  — L. 20. Comp. a similar utterance Ed. I, 41° (directed against the Apostles): “It is not permitted to believe an apostate nor to receive (true) religion from an apostate.”
  — L. 21. On at-Tammār see p. 60° f.

[80] 80, l. 2. On Abū Kāmil see p. 76° f.
  — L. 7. See Text 56° ff.

*Comp. Goldziher, ZDMG. 61, 75 n° 2.

CORRECTIONS.
Introduction, p. 131, 3 from below: Joseph is oversight for Samuel. Comm. p. 13, n. 3, Al-Warrāk is probably identical with Abū 'Isa Muhammed b. Hārūn al-Warrāk, of Bagdadi, quoted by Mas'ūdi, Murāj VII, 296.
— Page 78 l. 15. Comp. also IKot. p. 106: عظم البطل.
APPENDIX A.

The term "Ravafid." 1

The term *Ravafid* which figures so conspicuously in the literature bearing on Shiism as well as in the texts of Ibn Hazm can lay claim to a long and eventful history. The word has undergone numerous changes and modifications which are sometimes of so fluctuating a nature as to defy all exact definitions. In the following an attempt is made—for it cannot be more than an attempt—to trace the principal stages in this development and to classify the various, sometimes contradictory applications of this word.

*Ravafid*, in the collective singular *Rajda* 2 occasionally *Arfa' 3* and *Rajdan* 4 in the singular *Rafid* 5 originally signifies "an army, or a military force... which has deserted its leader" (Lané), in other words "deserters," or "traitors." It is obviously meant as a nickname, more exactly, an abusive nickname, a *nomen odiosum.* 6 Its application, in consequence,

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1 The abbreviations under which the sources are quoted in this appendix are the same as in the body of the article.
2 The form *Rafada* which may only represent a different spelling of *Rajda* is quoted by Goldziher, ZDMG. 36, 281, n. 1, and Shī'ah, p. 511. Another example is recorded by Døzy *ad vocem* from Nuweirī.
3 Comp. Tāj-ul-Arūs (see Lane s.v.). Døzy s.v. and Goldziher, ZDMG. 36, 280, n. 1.
4 See p. 140, n. 3, and Comm. p. 106*, Goldziher, Shī'ah 460*. The first two examples occur in poetry, the third in rhymed prose.
5 Whether the variant *Arfa* (Text 63, n. 2) represents an actual usage or is merely a scribal error is difficult to determine.
6 Mukaddad (p. 36*) counts the *Ravafid* among the sects which are designated by a nickname: فيامة البلقمة والجهرة والمرجنة والشکاك. The abusive nature of the name is evident from the remark immediately following: واما الممتدة فاعل السنة والجماعة واعمل العدل والتوجيه الخ.
largely depends on the mental attitude of the person using it. Hence its preeminently polemical character.

Historically the name is connected with Zeid; the great-grandson of Ali, the originator of the Zeidiyya. Tabari has preserved an elaborate account of the incident to which the word owes its origin.

Zeid b. Ali b. al-Husein b. Ali b. Abi Talib had been encouraged by the people of Kufa to assert his claims to the throne of the Omeyyads. Relying on their promises of assistance, he organizes in the year 1228 an open rebellion which is to take place on a prearranged day in Kufa. The governor Yusa b. 'Omar receives timely information and takes energetic measures to nip the rebellion in the bud by getting hold of its organizer. In this moment of danger the leaders of the rebellious Kufites, who had always been noted for their fickleness of character, gather around Zeid to cross-examine him as to the legitimacy of the first two Caliphs, Abi Bekr and 'Omar. "Zeid" said: "May Allah have mercy on them both and grant them forgiveness! I have never heard anyone of my family repudiating them or speaking of them otherwise than favor-

1 The Shiites never designate themselves as Rawail. According to Mukaddas (p. 145, n. 9), they apply this word to their opponents. As-Sayyid protests against the affront implied in it (p. 140, n. 3). The expression has, it seems, always (see, however, p. 151, n. 5) carried with it a derogatory meaning. The term Mu'tazila, "secessionists" or "schismatics", affords, both as regards origin (see Shahr. 33* and the other sources) and subsequent development, an interesting parallel to Rawail. The Mu'tazila themselves prefer the designation Aqil b. or abl al-qad' wa't-tou-hid (Shahr. 29 bottom, et. preceding note, and Zeid. Mu' taz. p. 2). Bagd. 49*, 147* uses the word polemically: 

القدرتية (what modified) while Zeid, Mu'taz., who is himself a Mu'tazilite, endeavors to find for the name a different and more complimentary derivation.

**II. 1898 ff.

*Tab. II, 1899. We quote the passage verbatim, as it strikingly illustrates the fundamental points of difference between the two most important sections of the Shi'a.

The expression is the technical term in this connection. The opposite attitude is designated as the technical term in this connection. The opposite attitude is designated as. See Goldsith, ZDMG. 36, 290 n. 2, Snouck-Hurgronje, Mekka 1, 33 n. 2, and the references quoted in the course of this appendix.
bly.' They said: 'Why, then, do you seek the blood of this family (the Omeyyads), if they have not (illegally) seized upon your throne and wrenched it from your hands?' He replied to them: 'The most I can admit in the question you are discussing is that we (the family of Ali) were the worthiest among men of the Prophet's throne and that the people appropriated it in preference to us and pushed us away from it. Yet, this, in our opinion, does not constitute apostasy on their part. They were Caliphs, they were just in their dealings with the people and acted in accordance with the Book and Tradition. They said: 'If those did not wrong you, then these (the Omeyyads) have not wronged you either. Why, then, should you call (us) to fight people who are not doing you any wrong?' He answered: 'These here are not the same as those. These here do wrong me and you and themselves. For we only call you to Allah's Book and the Prophet's Tradition (so that) the traditions be revived and the innovations extinguished. If you follow us, you will be blessed. If not,—I am not responsible for you!' Thereupon they withdrew from him, violating their oath of allegiance, and declared: 'the Imam has died!' henceforward maintaining that Abu Ja'far Muhammed b. Ali, the brother of Zeid b. Ali, was the (legitimate) Imam. The latter, however, had died in the meantime, but his son Ja'far b. Muhammed was alive. So they declared: 'Ja'far is now our Imam after his father. He is the worthiest of the Imamate after his father. We will not follow Zeid b. Ali, for he is no Imam.' Zeid thereupon called them Râfîda. At present, however, they maintain that it was al-Mu'âira who called them Râfîda at the time when they had withdrawn from him.'

The last sentence is highly significant. The partisans of Zeid apparently repented their faithless action which resulted

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1 Abu Bekr and 'Omar. It is not clear whether 'Othman is included. The attitude of the Zeidiyya toward the latter is vacillating. See Comm. p. 139.

2 سباق الإمام. On this meaning of سباق see Tabari glossary sub voce and compare the next sentence.

3 اليوم. Codex B omits it. The narrator was a contemporary of Zeid. See later p. 141.
in his pitiful death. They felt the scathing shame of having been branded as "deserters" or "traitors" by so distinguished and pious a descendant of Ali. Shrewd as they were, they pretended that this name was hung on them by al-Mugira b. Sa'id under whom they had risen shortly before and from whom they had betimes withdrawn. To have been thus nicknamed by so rank a heretic constituted, in their opinion, a title of honor.

Tabari's derivation of the word from the unfortunate uprising of Zeid b. Ali in 122 is almost universally confirmed by the Arabic authorities. So all the national lexicographers (see the quotations in Lane sub voce); Bagd. 10th f.; Isfr. 9th; Shahr.

1 The text merely gives al-Mugira. But if this is to have any meaning, it can only be taken as referring to al-Mugira b. Sa'id, Text 59 f., Comm. 79. This identification is also assumed in the index to Tabari. Wallhausen, Opp. 90 n. 1, substitutes, without justification, the name of al-Mugira b. Shu'ba. It is difficult to account for his name in this connection.

2 Cf. Text 50th.

The derogatory character of the word (comp. p. 127 n. 6) is aptly illustrated by a verse of as-Sayyid, Agh. VII, 17. The latter had been accused by the poet Sawwá, in the presence of the Caliph Mansur, of being a fanatical Shiite. As-Sayyid replies to Sawwá in a scathing poem in which he says:

"We, however, are—whether you like it or not—men who 'desert' people of error and ungodly works." This apparently means: You may nickname us "deserters." But we are such only because we "desert" Abú Bekr and 'Omar who disregarded the Prophet's will and usurped the Caliphate rightly belonging to Ali. See later p. 142 f. Barbier de Meynard, Journal Asiatique 1874, p. 210 misunderstood the verse.

3 A few see later p. 142, n. 6) add another explanation which is no doubt secondary.

Comp. also Nawawi en Muslim's Sahih I, 51.

4 Comp. fol. 115:

Fafaroreh ala dakkal khi� تلهم رقاصموئي
وم شوملب سما راشمة
Bagd. winds up his lengthy account with the interesting observation

Qal al-Abd al-Qaher 'r'ayis al-kufa
mu'assifin bi al-'umr al-akhl wa qad sara al-mulk fihi al-hamda khi� أيبل
man kufiyy wa 'amidir min kufiyy.
17, 116; 'Ikhaide, I, 357; Makr. 351 (= de Saëy xlviii, H, 588), and others. Mukaddasi, who records various applications of our term, distinctly states: "with the Zeidiiyya (it signifies) those who denied the Caliphate of Zeid b. Ali, and, this is the original meaning."

It is well known that historical incidents quoted by Muhammedan authorities for the purposes of philological interpretation cannot always be relied upon, as they are not infrequently manufactured for the occasion. But no such scepticism is justified in our case. Tabari's report is derived from Abú Mikhnaif, who was a contemporary of Zeid, lived in the same city and is the best authority for the early history of Islam, especially in 'Irak. Besides, the incident has every internal evidence in its favor. Zeid b. Ali was the pupil of Wâsil b. 'Atâ, the founder of the Ma'tazila. Like the latter, he looked at the problem of the Imamate from a rational point of view. To Zeid and his followers the Zeidiiyya the Imamate was essentially a question of personal qualification. They denied the existence of a written will and, while maintaining the superiority of Ali, they justly enough admitted that the first two eminently successful Caliphs were legitimate rulers. To Zeid's opponents the Imamate was exclusively a question of birth. It was hereditary in its very nature and bequeathed to Ali by the Prophet. Accordingly, Abû Bekr and 'Omar were usurpers and, disregarding, as they did, the express will of Allah's Prophet,

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1 Who also quotes the other explanation, p. 142, n. 6.
2 See p. 142, n. 6.
3 See on this historian Wellhausen, Das arabishe Reich, Preface.
4 See Comm. 114.
5 Comp. Iji 297.
6 Comp. Text 15° and Comm.
7 Comp. Introd. p. 22 and Text 74°.

Makr. 352 sums up Zeid's standpoint in the words: (Comp. the quotation in Snouck-Hurgronje, Mekke I, 33, n. 2)

This view is based on the belief in the legitimacy of "the Imamate of the Inferior." See on this important point Shahr. 116 and Ibn Hasm, Ed. IV, 163 ff.
they are to be looked upon as apostates. Thus the "repu-
diation of the two Elders" became the equivalent and complement of the recognition of the claims of the Alids. It was the pro-
pelling force of all Shiitie uprisings and it is but natural that the same question formed the point of issue between the legiti-
mists of Kufa and the rationalistic and fair-minded Zeid at the moment when they were both about to take up arms against the ruling dynasty.

Thus we may consider it certain that the word Rawâfi'd originated in Kufa in the year of the Hijra 122, 8 in connection with the rebellion of Zeid b. Ali. 9

The specific characteristic of the Rawâfi'd, of those who deserted Zeid and were termed by him "deserters," was the negative attitude towards Abû Bekr and ‘Omar, and, in a lesser degree, of ‘Othman and the other Companions,—an attitude which was not a mere theoretic notion but soon grew into vi-
olent hatred and vented itself in the action—believed to be meritorious—of "the public denunciation of the Companions." Hence Râfîd or Tarâffad, i. e. "to act as Râfîda" became the designation for this hostile attitude toward the "two Elders" and the Companions, Rawâfi'd and its parallel forms the name of those who maintain this attitude. 10 Thus

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1 See Introd. 22 and Text 78.
2 Ash-Sha‘bî’s (died 108) reference to the Râfîda (Comm. p. 19) is no doubt apocryphal. This scathing criticism of the Râfîda is attributed to him purposely because he was known to be favorably inclined towards Shiism. The sentence quoted ibidem 196 is attributed Isfr. 15 to the Prophet himself, whilst according to ash-Sha‘bî (see p. 141), the Rawâfi’d were even worse than the Jews. Again, according to Shahr. 9, the Prophet compared the Rawâfi’d with the Christians.
3 Whether Zeid gave his opponents that name or it was given to them by others in connection with that event is quite immaterial to us.
4 Cf. p. 139, n. 1.
5 On "Sabb" see Goldziher, Shāb 455 ff., and ZDMG. 36, 286. For some very characteristic instances see Comm. 28, n. 1 (quotation from Mirzâ, 42 ff., 65 ff., and Goldziher, Shāb 456 middle).
6 This, in our opinion, accounts for the additional explanation of "Rawâfi’d" as رفموا أبا بكر وعم, as those who deserted Abû Bekr and ‘Omar, so Ed (cf. p. 148). Makrizi 3512, who defines (ib.) the
Bagd 12* introduces with the words رَقْمَةٌ كَثِيرَةٌ فِي رَفِّيدٍ the following two verses as characteristic of "Rafid":

Rawâfîd as quotes both explanations: 1) those who "deserted the opinion" of Zaid; 2) those who "deserted the opinion" of the Companions in electing Abû Bekr, cf. de Sacy. xl. viii., ii, 388. — Very significant — although not unmistakable — is the remark Mukaddasi's (28):

for which Codex C reads more elaborately:

We are thus presented with three derivations of the name: 1) according to the Shiites, the name applies to those who gave the precedence to someone else over Ali in the Caliphate, i.e., who elected Abû Bekr (and 'Omar) instead of Ali. 2) According to the Zaidiyya, it applies to those who rejected Zaid's Caliphate (in 122). 3) According to the others (i.e., the Sunnites), Rawâfîd are those who rejected the Caliphate of Abû Bekr and 'Omar. Historically, the first and third explanation are identical: they both assign an earlier origin to the name, deriving it from the events following Muhammad's death. They are substantially identical with the second explanation quoted by Maqrizi. The second derivation of Mukaddasi assigns the name to the year 122. This explanation is, according to Mukaddasi, the original one, while the third, although the ordinary one, is apocryphal. From the expositions in the text it will have become obvious why the latter explanation had become so favorite. From the remark above quoted we also learn the fact — otherwise unknown — that the Shi'a, in this case the Imâmiyya, see later p. 158, — applied the same nickname to their adversaries. This apparently means that the Rawâfîd, smarting under the offence implied in that term (comp. p. 140), endeavor to explain it differently; i.e., as those who deserted Ali, the opposition to Ali being objectionable even in the eyes of many Sunnites. — Another example of a polemical explanation of Rawâfîd is found in a hadith (apocryphal, of course) quoted Isbr. 15th penult: (sic)

وردت عن ابن رضي الله عنه ان النبي صلى الله عليه قال: سيعين في
In a dictum quoted Isfr. 15 in the name of ash-Sha'î (d. 103) the Rawâfiḍ are characterized thus: the two factions of the Jews and the Christians were so divided among their followers that a caliph Mu'awiyah, governor of the Umayyads, and his followers were content with the kharajites, but the common people were not. The same hadith with a different statement and a few variations is quoted Goldziher, Shi'a 444.

Thus, according to 'al-Aṣma'î (died 215, quoted Liṣān sub voce Zaid) says instead of the Shi'a.  

1. "Arwa was 'Othman's mother. 
2. Ms. "; corrected according to Agh. VII, 24 (see n. 6). 
3. i.e. Abu Bekr. 
4. "was proclaimed." 
5. Agh. VII, 24 ascribes these two verses to as-Sayyid, who is said to have uttered them with his last breath. The second verse appears here in a considerably different form: 

The elimination of Abu Bekr's and 'Omar's name is certainly not accidental. See on Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī's attitude towards Shi'ism, and especially towards as-Sayyid, Goldziher, Shi'a 441 f.

6. See p. 142, n. 2. Although apocryphal, the utterance illustrates the meaning attached to "Rawâfiḍ" by those who invented it.
Rāfīda denounce them” (Dozy sub voce رفيدة from Nuweiri).

Characteristic is the anecdote Agh. XVIII, 59*: the poet Di‘bil (died 2465), who is an enthusiastic Shiite,1 denounces a descendant of Zubeir, the son of Safiyya bint ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet’s aunt. The Kādi ‘Amr b. Humeid interposes on the plea that this is equal to insulting a close relative of the Prophet. Di‘bil retorts: “I have never seen anyone more stupid than thyself, except the one who hath appointed thee . . . . Thy mind can conceive that I am a Rāfīḍ because of calumniating Safiyya the daughter of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib . . . . Is calumniating Safiyya a religious tenet of the Rāfīda?” Di‘bil shrewdly implies that other personalities, far more important than Safiyya, are the target of the Rawāḥid’s hatred.

Because of this “denunciation of the Companions” the Rawāḥid are nicknamed “Sabbābūn,” “denouncers.”* To realize the full significance of this usage, we must bear in mind the fact so lucidly expounded by Goldziher,2 that the Shi’a

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1 Cf. Agh. XVIII, 30.
2 ZDMG. 36, 380, n. 1.—This general aspect of our term is to be thought of, whenever it is found difficult to assign it to any of the more definitely circumscribed categories to be mentioned in the course of this article.—Muḥaddas affords us two interesting examples derived from his personal experience. While travelling in ‘Irāq, where there are “Gāliya, exaggerating their love for Mu‘āwiya” (p. 126, l. 14 and note m.; cf. Comm. 12*), our author hears in the principal mosque of Wāṣīl a man reciting a hadīth (forged, of course) in favor of Mu‘āwiya. He demonstrates. The man shouts خذوا هذا الرافضī and the mob advances to attack him (p. 125). Similarly, in Isfahan, which is equally distinguished by its “Guluww for Mu‘āwiya” (cf. also Goldziher, Shi‘a 495, n. 3) the author protests against a man who denounces Ali and is angrily pointed at as عدا رجل رافضī (p. 399*). This does not necessarily imply that “orthodoxi fanatici vocant quoque orthodoxos moderatos” (Glossary to Muḥaddasī s.v. رافضī), but simply means that the people seeing that he objects to Mu‘āwiya or that he defends Ali, think that he is a “repudiator” of the Companions. In point of fact, Muḥaddasī is very favorably inclined toward the Zeitiyyy (see p. 158).

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but slowly and gradually developed into an independent religious organism and at first represented rather a different current within Islam than a separate sect. Shiism (Tahayya) in itself, i. e. attachment to Ali and the Alidie family, is, from the Sunni point of view, by no means objectionable, nay, is even commendable; the word Shi'a in itself does not imply any heresy. It does become objectionable when the attachment to Ali is coupled with the denunciation of the Companions, in the first place of Abu Bekr and 'Omar. Hence, even in later times, Rwa'id is frequently used side by side with and at the same time as distinguished from Shi'a, the former denoting the radical and improper expression of Alidie sympathy, the latter the moderate and permissible one. Thus Ibn Hajar al-'Askalani (died 852/1449) characteristically says: متشبعاً من غير صحب ولا علمي نفشاً ولدنه غالبًا في الرقاص.

This differentiation has even found expression in a hadith, quoted Isfr. 16:

وَرَوَىْ بِنْ (sic) عَمْرُ يَنْصِرُ النَّاسَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ قَالَ إِنَّ نُصْرَةَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وُلَدَتْ لِلْأَرْضِ وَالْجَهَّالَ. يَدْعَوْنَ الْفِتْرَاتِ فَتَأْتُوهُمْ فَلَسْتُمْ مَثَّكِنَا فَمَا عَلَمَتَهُمْ إِنْ وُجِدُوا فَلَسْتُمْ جَمِيعَةً فَلَأَكْفَرْنَ بِهِمْ وَلَا جَمِيعَةٍ ويُشْتَهِى أَبا بَكْرِ وعَمَّر.

Thus even the partisans (Shi'a) of Ali

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1 Shi'a 443, n. 3. Cf. Snoeck-Hugonje ib. 32, n. 1.
2 Comp. the characteristic utterance Daudri's (quoted Shi'a ib.) يَتَشْبَعُ تَشْبَعًا حَسَنًا يَقُولُ بِتَفْضِيلِ أَعْلَمُ الْبِيْتِ مِنْ غَيْرِ تَنْقِيَةٍ لَأَحَدٌ مِنْ الْجَمِيعَة. See other examples quoted ib.
3 ZDMG. 36, 380 n. 2.
4 Similarly the well-known Shiite Zurrara b. A'yun is said to have been

أَحَدُ الْعَلَاءَةِ فِي الرَّقَاصَ (Makr. 355).
5 Μα. وَالْمِلْكِ.
6 Comp. the hadith quoted at the end of p. 142, n. 6.
7 Μα. وَالْمِلْكِ. Comp. the hadith quoted Goldziher, Shi'a 447: في كُرْهِجِبِ مِنِّ المُجَمَّعَاتِ وَيَتَرُكُونَ المُجَمَّعَات. 
are sent to Paradise, while those partisans who cannot refrain from denouncing Abu Bekr and 'Omar\(^1\) deserve extermination.\(^2\) In consequence, the moderate and radical wing of Alidic sympathizers is an expression often to be met with. Several examples can be gleaned from the abundant polemical material collected by Goldziher in his *Shi'a* : 453 ult., 486 I. 6, 511 L. 6,\(^3\) 512 L. 17 and penult. A further instance may be added from IKhald, III, 74. Speaking of the later Sufis, Ibn

\(^1\) The hadith is shrewdly enough transmitted through the son of 'Omar.

\(^2\) Goldziher, *Shi'a* 444, quotes a hadith which is obviously identical with ours. But it is undoubtedly expurgated and almost entirely shorn of its pro-Alidic—one might almost say, Zeidite—tendency. The words

\[\text{نَكُونُ أَنْثَىٰ فِي الْجَنَّةِ وَشِيَعُونَ يُكُونُونَ فِي الْجَنَّةِ}
\]

are left out and the Prophet's reply is more in keeping with strict orthodoxy: \[\text{يُعَلِّمُونَكُمُ الْقُرْآنَ وَيُعَلِّمُونَ عَلَى الْسُنُّـٰتِ}\]. In the latter form the Prophet also protests against those who, like the Zeidiyya, enumerate Abu Bekr and 'Omar but reject the other Companions.

\(^3\) In this passage the author (a Persian Shiite of the eleventh century of the Hijra) incidentally explains the origin of the word رافضة (or, as he spells it, رفضة) in a manner different from the explanations previously quoted. He says, *Shi'a* 511\(^a\) ff.: \[\text{وَلَسْ رَبِّي} مَا لَا يَكُونُ عِلْمَاء، وَلَهُمَا عِلْمَ الْعِلْمِ عِلْمًا يَقِيمُهَا فَقُطُّعَتْ} بِمَنْ افْتَرَىَ الزُّرْقَوَى
\]

and the students of the doctrine of the Prophet's family were nearer to the latter (cf. Goldziher ib. 508, n. 6) and better acquainted with their fundamental and derivative principles. For the Prophet's family is best aware of what is in the Family. It was for this reason that they (apparently referring to the people mentioned at the beginning of the quotation) were called Shi'a and Rāfiḍa. *Shi'a*—partisans of Ali. Rāfiḍa seems to convey to the author's mind an essentially positive meaning: intense devotion to the Alidic family, while originally this meaning was merely the complement of the negative idea: the repudiation of the Companions.
Khalidun says: They exalt Ali above all other Companions in accordance with the beliefs of Shiism, shortly afterwards remarking: This (the system of the Shafs) is merely borrowed from the religious philosophy of the Shi'a and Rafida and their doctrines in their writings. All these examples are of rather late origin. For an earlier instance see the curious quotation from an ancient poet, Makkari 1, 799: Thou sayest: 'Shiism consists in the love of the Bald one of Hashim.' Be then, I pray, a Rafidi, if thou wishest it, or become thou a Shiite! As clearly differentiated the two terms appear in the definition Ikd 267: 'They were called Rafida, because they deserted Abû Bekr and 'Omar' (cf. p. 142, n. 6) . . . the Shi'a, however, are outside of them (the Rafida). They are those who prefer Ali to Othman but follow Abû Bekr and 'Omar.' Compare also above, Comm., p. 191. In this connection may also be mentioned the title of Jähiz' treatise (Masudi VI, 57). With the consolidation of the Shi'a the "deserters" of Zeid b. Ali in 322 developed into the Imamíyya sect which out of the belief in the hereditary nature of the Imamate and the repudi-
tion of the Prophet's Companions evolved an independent system of religious doctrine and practice. Their antipodes within the Shi'a were the Zeidiyya, the followers of Zeid b. Ali. Hence Rawâfid very aptly became the equivalent for Imâmîyya. In this application our term is consistently used by Zeidite and very frequently by Sunnite writers. Thus a Zeidite writes:

كتاب

الردة على الرافضة

The early Zeidite al-Kâsim b. Ibrâhîm (died 246h) applies the word in the same manner, e. g., Comm. 104, similarly Zeid. Mutaw., p. 48. The Zeidite Suleîmân b. Jarîr (see Comm. p. 72) طعن في الرافضة "criticized the Râfîda," i. e. the Imâmîyya (Shahr. 119). Jâhiz begins his "Epistle on the Doctrines of the Shi'a" (Majma'at ar-Rasâîl, Cairo 1324, p. 178) with the characteristic words: "Know... that the Shi'a of Ali is Zeidite and Râfîdite (رئيسي). The rest of them are isolated and not classified. The description of these two (Zeidites and Râfîdites) makes (the description of) those outside of them unnecessary," Masudi VI, 23 designates as the sects of Islam: رافضة والنصة والرستبة والرائحة والرذيلة والنشوية; the same meaning apparently attaches to the word ibidem, V, 442.

So, also, Tab. III, 1684.

In the same sense our word is constantly applied by Ibn Hazm. He consciously defines it as contradictory to Zeidiyya Text 74 f. and very often applies it in this meaning in his Milat. Thus Ed. IV, 176: أخزاز والرذيلة والرائحة وجميع المعتزلة: المجمع الرافضة من الشيعة... وجميع الرذيلة من الشيعة similarly IV, 171:

Famous Imâmîtes are designated as


2. Fihrist 183 ult. For another example see Brockelmann I, 186. — "Die imâmîtische Sekte der Zaiditen." Ibidem, p. 185, is a contradictio in adfecto.

3. Elsewhere (V, 473) he allusively refers to the origin of the name of the Zeidiyya, for which he claims to have several explanations.

4. In this passage L. H. exactly defines the position of the Imâmîyya in the question of the "Imâmate of the Inferior" (cf. p. 144, n. 8).
Râfidîs, e. g., Ali b. Mîtâm (Comm. 60\textsuperscript{th}),\textsuperscript{1} Text 51,\textsuperscript{2} Hishâm b. al-Hakam (Comm. 65\textsuperscript{th}), Text 63, 74\textsuperscript{th}, Ed. II, 121\textsuperscript{t},\textsuperscript{3} Muhammed b. Ja'far (Sheîtân ât-\Tâk, Comm. 59\textsuperscript{th}), Text 50\textsuperscript{t}. As synonymous with Imâmiyya the word also appears Text 62\textsuperscript{t}; Comm. 14\textsuperscript{th}, 15\textsuperscript{th}; Ed. IV, 100 f. and elsewhere.

It is only a slight variation of this usage when J. H. employs Rawâfid as an opposition of Imâmiyya. Thus Text 44\textsuperscript{t} (= Ed. IV, 179 penulti.)

وَقَالَ بَعْضُ الْإِلَامَيَّةِ الرَّافِضَةِ وَالْفَرَقةِ الَّتِي

وَقَالَتْ الْفَطِيقَةُ مِنْهُ (î Ed. IV, 181\textsuperscript{th}) تَدَعُّى الْمَطْرَةُ

الإِلَامَيَّةِ الرَّافِضَةِ كُلَّهُمْ وَهُمْ جَهَّيرُ الْشَِّيْعَةُ,

or Text 31\textsuperscript{t} (= Ed. I, 112 ult.), where several Imâmîtes are characterized as كُلَّهُمْ شَيْعَةٌ رَافِضَةٌ, for which Br. and V. (see ib. n. 4) read شَيْعَةٌ رَافِضَةٌ.

On the other hand, the original meaning of Rawâfid as "repudiators," without the restriction of an organized sect, seems to be unconsciously present in Ibn Hazm's mind when he speaks of الإسلامیة من الرافضة, see this page, note 5 and Text 42\textsuperscript{t}—Ed. IV, 179\textsuperscript{t}.

As an equivalent of Imâmiyya our word shares in all the modifications of that term, embracing all those who believe in the hereditary nature of the Imamate and in a written will of the Prophet (comp. Text 74). Thus the Zeidite al-Kâsim consciously defines Rawâfd as those who carry the Imamate

\textsuperscript{1} Bagd., too, counts him among the شَيْعَةٌ الرَّافِضَةِ (ib.).

\textsuperscript{2} In the Arabic text (Ed. IV, 181 penulti.) وكان is to be read instead of

\textsuperscript{3} Comp. Masudi VII, 391.

\textsuperscript{4} L. and Br. merely read (ib. note 8)

وَقَالَتْ شَيْعَةٌ مِنْ الرَّافِضَةِ.

\textsuperscript{5} L. Br. instead (ib. n. 13) وَقَالَتْ الْفَطِيقَةُ كُلَّهُمْ وَهُمْ مِنْ الاِلَامَيَّةِ رَافِضَةٍ, see later.

\textsuperscript{6} Comp. Burton, Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Medinah and Meecah (ed. 1898), I, 206: "The Maghrabiya, too, hearing that the Persians were Rafija (heretics) crowded fiercely round to do a little \textit{Nihad}, or Fighting for the Faith." The Persians were no doubt \"Twelvers.\"
down to Ja'far. In the same sense probably, IKhald. counts (II. 165, III. 72, 74) the Ismā‘iliyya, who transfer the Imamate from Ja'far to his son Ismā‘il, and for a similar reason the Fatimides (III. 8) among the Rawāfīd. Ja'far's son Mūsā is termed "Imām ar-Rāfidā," and so is al-Hasan al-Askari, the Mahdi's father. With the spread of the Ithnā‘ash-ariyya, Rawāfīd just as Ismā‘iyya became a designation of the "Twelvers." Thus Mirza 49° unmistakably says

The treatise entitled رسالة النواص في رد الروافض is directed against the same sect. I. II. applies the word similarly, Ed. I, 139° and Text 76°, 77°.

The further development of our term seems to have been influenced by the relation of the Sunnites to the Imāmiyya. However bitterly the former resented the Imāmiyya's attitude towards the Companions, they still regarded them as being within the fold of Islam. Excluded from the Muḥammadian community were only the Gulāt or Gāliya, who were considered

1 See Comm. p. 194°.
2 Another explanation is possible, see p. 192, n. 4.
3 One must, however, bear in mind that under the Fatimides the "reputation" of the first Caliphs became obligatory as a state law, cf. Goldziher, Shi‘a 456.
4 IBah., Rhabat 38.
5 Ib. 41. It is worthy of notice that al-Hasan is so designated by one of his admirers (although not a Shiite). This would indicate that, in Shī‘ite countries at least, our appellation lost much of its derogatory character.

8 Comp. IKhald. 1, 382 وَأَمَّا الأَئْدِي عَشْرِيَةٌ وَرَبَّتْهَا خَصْصَوا بَنْاسَمَ الْإِمَامِيَةِ عَنْدَ الْبَصَارِخِينَ مِنْهُمَّ.

7 See following note.
8 Comp. Bagd. 6 وَجَمِيعٌ فِي عَلَةِ عَلَامَةِ مِنْهُمْ (أَيْ مِنَ الشِّيْعَةِ) خَارِجُونَ عَنْ فِرْقَةٍ إِلاَّ مَا فَرَقَ الْرَّيْبَةَ وَالْإِمَامِيَةَ مُبَعَدُونِ فِي فِرْقَةٍ الْأَمْمَةَ, see ib. 99° and Makr. 345. Comp. also Introduction, p. 21.
an outgrowth of the Imāmiyya, but not identified with them. The nature of our term as a *nomen odiosum* sufficiently accounts for its occasional application as Gulāt *in distinction from* the Imāmiyya. Thus IKhald. II, 164, in speaking of the Sufis who believe in the Divine nature of the Imams, observes: "they share this belief with the Imāmiyya and Rāfida (i.e. Gulāt'), because they maintain the divinity of the Imam or the incarnation of the Deity in them." *Ibidem* I. 1: "the tenets of the Imāmiyya and Rāfida of the Shi'a as to the recognition of Ali's superiority and the belief in his Imamate, owing to a written will of the Prophet, as well as the repudiation of the two Elders." As Gulāt our word is probably to be explained Masudi VI, 26: "ذهب أبو حنيفة وأكثر الموجمة وأكثر الرؤية من الجاهودية وغيرها وسائر فرق الشيعة والرافضة والراوندية أن الإمام لا تتعيز إلا في قريش فقط."

Abū Hanīfa (*Comm. 8*), the majority of the Murjī'ī'a, the majority of the Zaidīyya, such as the Jārūdiyya (*Comm."

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1 IKhald. I. 339 speaks of غلالة الإمامية, see the following note.
2 Comp. the sharp distinction drawn by Ibn Hazn, Text 551 f. The Imāmītes themselves energetically deny any connection with the Gulāt, comp. Goldziher, Shi'a 466, n. 2 and *Comm.* 91f.
3 Comp. IKhald. I. 338: "The Gulāt have transgressed the limits of Reason and Faith by believing in the divinity of these Imams." See Ibn Hazn, *Text* 55f.
4 Outside the Imāmiyya, it is only the Gulāt who hold these beliefs. The Zaidīyya reject them. On the other hand, if we take Imāmī in its restricted sense as Ithnā'ashariyya (comp. p. 151 n. 6), Rāfīḍa here might possibly stand for the Ismā'iliyya. Again, in the expression الإسمنايليّة من الراوندية (p. 151) the latter might designate Gulāt, as the Ismā'iliyya hold *gulaww* doctrines. *ib. III, 74* IKhald., alongside of the expression just quoted, says الإسمنايليّة من الشيعة.
5 I take من البیدان as من.
and other sects and the remaining sects of the Shi’a and the Râfida as well as the Râwendiyya (Comm. p. 121 f.) hold that the Imamite is permissible only in the Kurish tribe." A clear case of this usage is found Iâthir VII, 341 l. 4, where instead of where instead of (read three codices read . A curious as well as instructive example is afforded by the anecdote told Kâmil, ed. Wright 547 and Agh. III, 24. Wâsîl b. ʿAtâ, the founder of the Muʿtazila (Comm. p. 113"), was suffering from a linguistic defect and was consequently unable to pronounce the letter ʿRâ. He bears a deadly hatred towards the ultra-Shi’i poet Bashshâr b. Burd, who had derogated him in one of his poems. Wâsîl bitingly retorts: he would hire assassins to dispose of him لولا أن العيلة .

were not assassination a specific quality of the Gâliya." Here the narrator remarks: Wâsîl said . (Kâmil, ib.) but he did not say al-Mansâriyya nor al-Mugirîyya,"—two ultra-Shi’i sects known for their terrorist practices—because of the ʿRâ contained in their names. This remark of the narrator is reproduced Agh. with a significant variant: . Wâsîl said Gâliya, but not Râfida. To the narrator in Agh. then the two expressions seemed synonymous.4


Text 421. Tab. III, 1617 says: the latter, taking the former as an independent sect.

1 Probably referring to the various sections of the Jadîmiyya.

3 It is not clear whether or is to be read.

2 To whom Bashshâr (Comm. 244) belonged.

4 See Comm. 932 ff.

5 It is possible that this meaning of the word is unconsciously present in I. H.'s mind when he declares (Comm. 62 = Ed. II, 784): "the Râwâfi do not belong to the Muslims." For the Imamites are not excluded by I. H. from the community of Islam (cf. p. 152, n. 2). On the other hand, the belief in "Tabdl" with which the Râwâfi are charged in the above-mentioned passage is characteristic of the Imamites (cf. Text 5118
This application, however, cannot be said to be more than incidental. Often enough it is impossible to distinguish it from the usages enumerated before, the "Exaggerators" being at the same time "Repudiators." Besides, the Gâliya never became an independent organism as did the Imâmiyya. The constituency of the Gâliya is as fluctuating as is the name, which only later and even then not uncontestedly became the technical term for Ultra Shiites. At any rate, the cases in which Rawâfîd appears as a synonym of Gâliya are counterbalanced by the examples in which they are distinctly kept asunder. Thus Jâhiz (van Vloten, Worgers, p. 58 ult.) expressly says تتمًا المقالية ثُمًا المقالية. "I. H. draws a similar line of distinction. Cf. Text 42" (= Ed. IV, 179") الماردية من السريدة ثم الإمامية من الرافضة. In other passages he uses the expression "، applying the word in the general sense البالغة من الروافض، of "Repudiators"; Text 30" (= Ed. I, 112")، Ed. IV, 206"، or البالغة الرافصية غلالتة Ed. V, 117"،

Vastly different from the applications recorded till now is the use of Rawâfîd as a synonym of Shi'a, embracing all Shiite sects, the Zeidiyya included. This generalization is probably

and Comm. 61"، Strange is the meaning implied in our word in the anecdote Aggh. XII, 23": A company of poets is sitting at the wine table. The poet Mânsûr an-Nâmâr refuses to partake of the forbidden liquor. He is thus accosted by the company: "You only refrain from wine drinking because you are a Râfîdah... not from piety." I have found no reference testifying to a particular scrupulousness of the Shiites as regards wine drinking. On the contrary, certain Shiite sects and individuals are accused of transgressing this prohibition (cf. Text 62. Comm. 14"، 28")، not to mention the modern Shiites, at least, as far as they are represented by the Persians.

Thus Comm. 43"، it is difficult to say whether the Râfïda are designated as such because of the extravagant belief referred to there or because of their exclusive adherence to Ali, which implies the repudiation of the other Companions.

Mukaddam still uses the term in an entirely different sense (cf. p. 145، n. 2). See also Comm. 12"، ff.

Comp. p. 150 n. 5.

الغرلة من الروافض.
the outcome of a more hostile attitude toward the Shiites, particularly towards the Zeidiyya, on the part of the Sunnites, who now indiscriminately brand by this derogatory term all those who swerve from the Sunna. Thus the Dictionary of Technical Terms, ed. Sprenger, bluntly declares:

الروايات من كبر الفرق الإسلامية وتُسُمي بالشيعة أيضًا. Baghd. and Isf., who elaborately derive the origin of the word from Zeid b. Ali, consistently apply Rawafid to all the sects of the Shi'a without exception. To quote a few examples out of many: Baghd. 68

ثم افترضت الرائفة أربعة أصناف زيدية وإمامية ككسادية في ثلاثة مقالات تُضرب الرهبة (cf. ibidem 228), 95 فقد ذكرنا من قبل هذا أن الزيدية منهم وهم رأة من 112. يُضع الرائفة الزيدية والرائفة الإمامية الرائفة زيدياً أو إمامياً ماثلاً إلى الطغى في أخبار الحكمة.

As the Zeidiyya and Imamiyya, so are the Gulat and their various sections counted among the Rawafid: fol. 1038

الروائية الغالبة 1038

السباحية الغالبة من الرائفة 147

الروائيات من الرائفة.

1 Isf.'s use of the word is identical

1 This again may be explained by the change in the attitude of the Zeidiyya themselves— for it is only with reference to the Zeidiyya that this usage of our word differs from the one preceding it. Thus Shahrastani, having narrated the incident with Zeid b. Ali anno 1229, observes (p. 118):

ومالت أكثر الزيدية بعد ذلك عن القول بإمامية المفصل وطعنات في الحكمة طعن الإمامية.

For a characteristic example of this changed attitude see Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka 1, 33 n. 2.—Misbah's remark (quoted by Lane s.v. رواضة) probably refers to the same fact: "Afterwards (i.e., after Zeid b. Ali) this appellation became applied to all persons... speaking against the Companions."

6 Cf. preceding note.


1 Wellhausen's statement (Opp. 98, n. 1): "Sabailja ist ein älterer, Rāfiqja ein späterer Name für dieselbe Sache." is not in accordance with the facts set forth above.
with that of Bagd.: Isfr. 8°. Makrizi in his account on Mohammedan sects employs the word in the same general sense, including among the Rawâfi'd the Imâmîyya as well as the Zeidiyya. This usage is also found much earlier. Ikot. 300 presupposes it when he remarks: The same meaning is apparently assumed Tab. III, 1465 (anno 247): a man recites before Mutawakkil a poem against the Râfi'da in which it is argued that a daughter has no hereditary claims, and receives from the overjoyed Caliph 10,000 Dirhems and the governorship of Bahrein and Yamama. This argument, which is directed against the descendents of Fatîma, affects the Zeidiyya as well as the Imâmîyya.

Ibn Hazm seems to refrain from this unrestricted use of the word. The only exception—and this perhaps a deceptive one—is found Text 40 (Ed. IV, 178), where, instead of the

1 The Gullât are excluded from Islam. Baghdâdi, who counts four sections (p. 153), is inconsistent, cf. p. 151, n. 8.

2 Makrizi's statement (Comm. 12°) may apply to the Shi'a in general or to the Imâmîyya of whom he speaks in the quoted passage. On the relation of the Mu'tazila to the Imâmîyya, see also Goldziher, Shi'a, p. 484.

3 This is apparently the source for Ibîl 269. and the râf'a of the râf'a.


5 For the author speaks of the "depravities" of these sects, cf. Introduction, p. 22.
superscription of Ed. and Y. لغة المعتولة والخوارج والمرجئة والشيعَة، L. and Br. read بيدع الرافضة والخوارج والمرجئة والشيعَة.

Those who have perused the material presented in this appendix with some measure of attention will have observed that the word Shī′a—not unlike Rawāfiḍ—is not a sharply and definitely circumscribed term but is subject to not inconsiderable modifications. In distinction from Rawāfiḍ, the term Shī′a has nothing objectionable or derogatory about it: the Shiites themselves unhesitatingly assume this appellation. To the Sunnites as well, owing to the ever increasing prevalence of pro-Alidic sentiments among the masses, Shī′a even in the sense of “Shi′at ‘Ali” conveys no objectionable meaning.—this, as it were, respectable character of the word being, in our opinion, the main reason for the gradual spread of Rawāfiḍ at its expense. The application of Shī′a by the Sunnites, just as that of Rawāfiḍ, is largely conditioned by their attitude towards the Zeidiyya. The disagreement between the Sunna and Zeidiyya is not one of deep-seated antagonism. In point of fact, the whole difference reduces itself to the question as to the candidacy for the Imamate. According to the Zeidiyya, the Imamate is confined to the descendants of Fāṭima; the Sunnites extend it to the whole of Kureish. Since, however, the Sunnites for the most part agree with the Zeidiyya as to the excellence of

1 Cf. also Comm. 314.
2 The former superscription however is the original one; see the reference quoted Text 49, n. 3.
3 Cf. p. 146, n. 1.
4 Cf. Shahr. 143′ (in a quotation from Ibn an-Nu‘mān, Comm. 56′), also Goldziher, Shī′a 470, n. 2.
5 Cf. ZDMG. 50, 111.
6 I. e., Hasanides as well as Huseinides,—provided, of course, their personal fitness (cf. Text 75′ ff. and Comm.).—Wellhausen’s assumption (Opp. 99): “Sie (die Zeidijja) unterscheiden sich von der Rāfiḍa durch ihr Eintreten für das Haus Husains” contradicts one of the fundamental tenets of the Zeidiyya. That Zeid b. Ali was a descendant of Husein was mere chance and wholly indifferent to the Zeidiyya or to Zeid himself. Cf. Comm. 221′ ff.
Ali and his family, and the Zeidiyya, on the other hand, agree with the Sunnites as to the legitimacy of the two Elders, the gap between them seems practically to close. "The Zeidiyya," says Makr. 354, "are the best among the Shi'ā, for they admit the Imamate of Abū Bakr and deny the existence of a written will concerning the Imamate of Ali." This stands to reason why Mukaddasi, e. g., places the Zeidiyya outside the Shi'ā, applying the latter term to the Imāmiyya and other radical sections of the Shi'ā. Thus p. 38 n. 6 (see above p. 142 n. 6): "عند الوكالة على الزيدية ... عند الزيدية ... "the Shi'ā prevailed upon the Zeidiyya," or p. 128: "والأنصارون المسننن الإريدة وقد علمت ما يقول فيهم الخوارج وجوه لšíل الشيعة.

The "stupid Shiites" can only refer to the Imāmiyya and other radical sections, as the Zeidiyya, on the whole, refrain from attacking the four Caliphs.

It is nothing but a different consequence of the same attitude of mind when, on the contrary, we find that the term Shi'ā, without any objectionable by-meaning, is applied to the Zeidiyya, to the exclusion of the Imāmiyya who are designated as Rawāfi'd. This is clearly the case with the utterance of Ikd; p. 148, and the hadith p. 146 (cf. p. 147 n. 2). It may also be applicable in the phrase "الشيعة والرافضة, of which several examples were quoted p. 147 f., notably so in the case of IKhald, p. 148."

With the rise within the Zeidiyya of sections which, unfaithful to their founder, did not refrain from the "deprecation of the Companions," the attitude of the Sunna became one of hostility and the term Shi'ā, gradually assuming a distinct...

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4 This is clearly shown by the variant (note 4) "ما يقول فيهم الخوارج والرافضة من المشاكل وما يقول العقولاء من المحسن.

5 As different from Zeidiyya, Shi'ā is also applied by Masaudi, see p. 152.

6 Cf. p. 146, n. 1.

7 This is in contradiction with Ikd, p. 156, n. 3. But the latter passage is borrowed from Ibn Koteiba, see ib.

8 Ibn Khaldûn speaks of their writings, which would point to a dogmatically consolidated sect.

9 Cf. p. 155, n. 1. The sect mentioned Comm. 75 limits the Imamate to the Hasanides, yet indulges in the denunciation of the Companions.
heterodox character, was now applied to all sects of Shiism, from the Zeidiyya to its farthest ramifications, the Gulât.¹

Lastly, mention must be made of a term used by the Shiites for the same polemical purposes as was ṭawāfīd by the Sunnites. We refer to the expression Naqāṣih, which seems to have been patterned after ṭawāfīd.² Ample information about the meaning and history of this designation can be drawn from Goldziher’s writings.³ Originally Naqāṣih stood for the exact reverse of ṭawāfīd: the “enemies” or “haters” (of Ali),⁴ and was confined to the extreme Khārijites. Gradually its meaning expanded so that it finally embraced all Sunnites, however far they were from hating Ali.

In addition we may remark that the Imāmiyya polemically apply the same term even to the Zeidiyya, with whom the superiority of Ali is a cardinal doctrine. Kashi 149 quotes Jaʿfar as-Sadik as saying:⁵ 

Further utterances of a similar tendency can be found in the same passage.

¹ So nearly all writers.—On the relation of the Gulât to the Shi'a comp. Introduction, p. 21 and Index s. v. Shi'a.

² Cf. Mukaddasi 38:⁶ 

³ ibidem 37⁷

⁴ Thus the Hashwiyya correspond with the Murjia and the Nawāṣih with the Rawāfīd.

⁵ Shi'a 491 ff., ZDMG. 36, 281, Muh. St. II, 129.

⁶ The form Nāṣih, which occurs several times in Kashi, is not recorded in the dictionaries.
APPENDIX B.

by Khulna al-Hanafiyya
Muhammad (II, 38 n. 3)  2. al-Hasan (d. 49)
Abu Hashim 'Abdallah (d. 70)  al-Husayn

by Fātimah

3. al-Husayn (k. 61)
4. Ali (Zain al-'Abidin, d. 94)

Omar  Zeid (k. 122)

Ali  Isa al-Husayn

al-Kāsim  Yahya

Mūsā

Yahya

7. Ismā'il (II, 183ab)

6. Ja'far (as-Sādiq, d. 140)

Zakariyya (?)

8. Ali (ar-Ridā, d. ca. 203)

Muhammad al-Bākir, d. 117)

Muhammad (at-Tamīm)

Muhammad (at-Taklī, k. (?), 220)

Mūsā

Yahya

Mūsā

Muhammad (at-Habīb)

Muhammad (al-Mahdi)

Mūsā

Ja'far

al-Husayn (al-Akārī, d. 260)

al-Husayn

al-Hasan

al-Husayn (al-Murtadā, d. 436)

1. Ali (k. 40)

This list is primarily based on Gen. Leyd. For the twelve Imāms the data of IKot. 108 ff. and Divārbehdr (cf. Comm. 780) have been utilized. The persons whose names appear in italics are mentioned in this treatise and are registered in the Index; the others are mere links in the genealogical chain. The dates of death differ considerably in the various sources. I have frequently followed IKot. = d. = died; k. = killed. According to the Imāmiyya, all Imāms, except the twelfth (the Mahdi), were killed (see Comm. 301 ff. and the list quoted 780). I merely followed the historical data. The Imams of the Ithna'ashariyya and Shi'iyya have been marked by figures. The titles of the Imams are numerous. Only one has been given in each case. The children of a single man are arranged according to age, as they are given in Gen. Leyd. Wüstenfeld, Tabellen (list Y and Z) frequently differs in this respect.

1 Gen. Leyd. (cf. IKhadh, I, 360) omits this name, but mentions Yahya as a brother of Idris and son of 'Abdallah. Hence perhaps the mistake of Ibn Hazm (L. 54 penult.). Cf. Wüstenfeld, Tabellen list Z, and the entirely different genealogy of al-Bekrī, Comm. 755.

2 Comm. 87 n. 3. Not found in Gen. Leyd. nor in any other source. IKot. 110 registers 'Abdallah as the only brother of Ja'far.

3 L. 51 omitted through oversight. Cf. II, 69.
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The authorities quoted as such throughout the treatise have been excluded from this index. On account of lack of space only the most important items have been specified. Unless otherwise stated, the names are those of persons. The words ending in -iya designate sects. The latter appear under the heading of the person to which they belong, a cross-reference always indicating that person. The words printed in italics will be found as special items. The quotations refer to line and page. Where the line is left out, the whole page or most of it deals with that item. I. refers to the first part of this treatise (vol. xxvili. of this Journal); II. to the second (vol. xxix). In the alphabetical arrangement the article in its various forms and b. (= bani) have not been counted. a. r. refers to the preceding item in italics; ib. to the preceding figure. Fathā is rendered by a, occasionally by e, jamma by a and o; the diphthong fathā + yd by ai and ei. A list of Arabic words is appended to this index.
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" 1 Kāsim 'Abbāl-Muradābādī, I. 51\textsuperscript{a}, II. 63.

" 2 an-Najjār, see Ibn Ḥaushab.

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1 Quotations exclusively refer to the second part of this treatise.
شيعة ورافضة

طريق (ابن) حمَّام

غلُور

غير بها

قطع كافرون بات

مزاق

مشاركة

مقالة

منصور

نصب

ف القاط

واسط

(توقف) وقف
A Hymn to Bêl (Tablet 29644, CT. XV, Plates 11 and 12). — By Frederick A. Vanderburgh, Ph.D., Columbia University, New York City.

One more very difficult hymn is herewith added to the hymns to Bêl already translated. Jastrow's Die Religion Babylonien und Assyrien gives translations of several hymns to Bêl. My doctor's thesis (Columbia University, 1908) contains, besides hymns to Sin, Adad and Tammuz, a transliteration and translation of a hymn to Bêl from CT. XV never before published. There are still two more hymns to Bêl in CT. XV never yet translated, as far as I can learn, one of which is very difficult. Professor John Dyneley Prince of Columbia University intends before long to publish the whole collection of hymns in CT. XV, Plates 7 to 30. Indeed, it would be a valuable service to Assyriology to gather together in one collection all the hymns to Bêl that can be found, just as the Rev. Dr. E. Guthrie Perry has done with reference to Sin in his little work entitled Hymnen und Gebete an Sin, 1907.

Text and Translation.

1. en zu sâ(DI)-mar-mar mu-la-ta zu mu-un-zu
   Lord of wisdom, counsellor, who teacheth wisdom to man!
2. da-imina-ma â-mu-un-e ê-kur-ra
   In Erech, lord of E-kur!
3. â-tu-ud-da har-sug-gâ(MAL) â-mu-un-e ê-ninnû
   Begetter of light; mountain, lord of E-ninnu!
4. ud-da nun gâl (IG) a-a duâr en-lil-lâ
   Light that is lordly, father Bêl!
5. dûg(III)-gâ(MAL) dim-me-ir maš-a ag-êd(KU) ti na-gub (DU)-bu
   Unto him that doeth good to the exalted gods, thou orderest life.

1 The following abbreviations have been used in this article: Br.= Brünnow's Classified List; CT.=Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum; MSL.=J. D. Prince, Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon,
6. kur tug(KU)-gim peš-peš-e še-gim kin(KI) a-su-ub-bu
   Creator of the inhabited lands, creator of broad grainfields, perfecter of government.

7. sag zal(NI)-mar ki bal-a-a-zu-šu(KU)
   O chief that art glorious, against the land that is hostile to thee;

8. mu-e-te har-sag gul-la-zu-šu(KU)
   against him that approacheth thy mountain for destruction;

9. kur ėrin(NE-RU)-šu(KU) gi dīl(ĂŠ) dū(KAK)-a-gim-
   ka-ni šu-šu
   against the land of the enemy thou turnest, as a burning
   one who turneth his face.

10. kur-kur ur-a ne-Ib(TUM)-aḫg(ŠA)-aḫg(ŠA)-gi
    The hostile land thou destroyest.

11. kur-kur-bad-gal ga-ğāl(MAL)-ṣi āḫg(ŠA)-ga me-en
    The great walled lands which are endowed with plenty
    thou subdust.

12. sag an-ta-ne ne-Ib(TUM)-ra-ra-ra
    In the top of heaven thou dwellest (well established).

13. eqaḫ gāl(IG) an-na-ge(KIT) ne-Ib(TUM)-gub(DU)-gub
    (DU)-bi
    In the door of heaven thou standest.

14. eqaḫ šu-di-eš an-na-ge(KIT) ne-Ib(TUM)-gar(ŠA)-gar(ŠA)-
    ri-ne.
    On the threshold of heaven thou art stationed.

15. eqaḫ sag-kul an-na-ge(KIT) in-ni-il-ili-en
    In the vestibule of heaven thou art exalted.

16. eqaḫ si-gar(ŠA) an-na-ge(KIT) in-bu-en
    At the bar of the gate of heaven thou appearest.

17. kur nu-šê-ga zar-ri-eš pi(?)-pi(?)-e-en
    Of the land which heareth not, which listeneth(?), obsti-
    nately(?),

18. ki-bal nu-šê-ga ki gub mu-ši-gi
    of the hostile land which heareth not, of the opposing land
    that turneth not,

19. en me-en gû(KA) ur-a āḫg(ŠA)-ga-zu li iz-nu-be-ne-en
    lord thou art. To him that maketh hostile cry against
    thee thou, thou wilt give no rest(?).

I-IV, Leipzig, 1905-1906; OBL.—Old Babylonian Inscriptions chiefly
from Nippur, H. V. Hilprecht.
20. ša(LIB)-ib(TUM)-ba-zu a-ba ib(TUM)-ri(?)-sá(DI)-ne
   The heart of thy wrath, who can rival it!
21. ka-ta š(UD-DU)-a-zu sig(PA) šen-umu-di-ni(NIN)
   What goeth out of thy mouth, may no sceptre condemn it(?)!
22. za-da a-ba-a in-na-bal-e
   Unto thee who can break entrance!
23. en me-en nē(GIR) an azag-ga-me-en kā-gāl(IG) un-e(?)
       me (?)-en(?)
   Lord thou art; the power of the shining heavens thou art;
   the gate of the land thou art.
24. ḫa ab má(SAR) ag-a-mu lu an(?)-nu-ni-ri(?)
   Of the fish of the deep that swarm in shoals, of the birds
   of heaven that fly about(?),
25. uru ... lu ê(BIT) uru šub(RU) ḫagib en-lil-[lā-me]-en
   of the cities ... of the dedicated temple of the city,
   thou art Bēl.
26. a-mu-un kuskal-gū(MAL) ur-sag-gāl(MAL) ... me-[en
   Lord of campaigns, hero ... thou art.
27. a-im zi-da-zu muḫ ne ...
   The elevation of thy right hand, which ...

**Reverse,**

28. ... ...
29. ...
30. ... zu ki ga nu ...
31. ... ba e kud(TAR)-da-zu muḫ muḫ ...
       thy judgment (?); which ...
32. ... di ne ṫagib mu-ul-lī-lā ...
       Bēl ...
33. ... ṫ-kur-ru da sud-sud ...
       from E-kur far away ...
34. ... ṫagib-ri-e-ne-me-en ...
       of the gods thou art.
35. ... ṫagib a-nun-go(KIT)-e-ne me-en ...
       of the Anunnaki thou art.
36. ... ṫagib en-lī-lā me-en ...
       Bēl thou art.
37. ... ṫagib a-nun-go(KIT)-e-ne me-en ...
       of the Anunnaki thou art,
38. en zuk suk(?)-ra-regic en-il-lá me-en
   Lord of . . . Bél thou art.
Colophon. es-usa er(A-SI) lim(LUL)-ma regic en-il-lá-kam
   38 lines. Penitential Psalm of Bél.

COMMENTARY.

1. en zu sá(DI)-mar-mar mu-lu-ta zu mu-un-zu
   Lord of wisdom, counsellor, who teacheth wisdom to man!
mar-mar is ES for theEK gar (ŠA) -gar(ŠA) and equals šakánu, 'establish' (Br. 9552, 5823 and 5829), sá(DI) being equal to milku, 'counsel' (Br. 9531). The verb zu equals lamādu (Br. 131), which in the causative stem means 'teach.'

2. da-imina-ma ù-mu-un-e é-kur-ra
   In Ereh, lord of E-kur!
   da-imina, meaning 'seven sides,' occurs a few times as the ideogram for Uruk (Br. 6956). We know that Ereh was a walled town called in Sumerian bad unug-é-ga (OBI. 26. 5). mu, no doubt, follows da-imina with the significance 'land:' ma = mātu (Br. 6774). é-kur-ra is the name of Bél's temple in Nippur. While Ereh appears at the time of this writing to have been a literary center and was doubtless the seat of royal power, Nippur was looked upon as the religious center, Bél being the chief of the gods.

3. utu-ud-da har-sag-gū(MAL) ù-mu-un-e é-ninnu
   Begetter of light; mountain, lord of E-ninnu!
   utu-ud-da = aldu (Br. 1070); ù is an abstract prefix; tu = 'beget,' ud = 'day,' or 'light,' and da is a phonetic complement. utu-ud-da is sometimes translated in Assyrian by the participle aldu (IV R. 15, Obv., Col. II, lines 21 and 22) = 'begetter.' har-sag = šašú, 'mountain' (Br. 8553); literally, 'circular head,' or 'peak.' gū(MAL) seems to be a phonetic complement.

4. ud-da nun gūl(IG) a-á-regic en-il-lá
   Light that is lordly, father Bél!
   nun = rubú and gūl(IG) = bašú. Bél's name occurs once in the Obverse and twice in the Reverse, as well as once in the Colophon. In line 32, the ES form seems to be given.
5. \(dūg(III)-gā(MAL) \text{ dim-me-ir mah-a ag-šū(KU) ti na-gub (DU)-bu}\)

Unto him that doeth good to the exalted gods, thou order-est life.

\(dūg(III) = šābu\) (Br. 8230); the identity of the sign would seem to be assured by the phonetic complement \(ga\). \(mah = šīru\) (Br. 1047), 'exalted.' \(ag = qēšu\) (Br. 2778). \(šū(KU) = ana\) (Br. 10562). \(gub(DU) = nāzāzu, 'stand.'\) (Br. 4893).

6. \(kur \ tūg(KU)\)-gim peš-peš-e še-gim \(kin(KI)\) a-šu-ub-bu

Creator of the inhabited lands, creator of the broad grain-fields, perfecter of government.

\(tūg(KU) = šabātu, 'take possession of.'\) (Br. 10551). \(še=šeu, 'grain.'\) (Br. 7433), and is apparently a Semitic value, or else \(še\) is a Sumerian loan-word in Semitic. The sign-name is \(Ú-UM\). \(kin(KI) = tērtu, 'government.'\) (Br. 10756); the sign \(KI\) means 'turn,' \(su-ub = šukītu, 'perfect.'\) (Br. 206), and is phonetic for a value for which we seem at present to have no sign.

7. \(sag zāl(NI)-mar ki bal-a-a-zu-šē(KU)\)

O chief that art glorious, against the land that is hostile to thee;

\(zāl(NI) = namāru, 'bright.'\) (Br. 5319); this is a secondary meaning, the primary meaning of \(NI\) being 'oil,' \(bal-a-a-zu: reduplicated \(a\) as a vowel prolongation is unusual.

8. \(mu-e-te ħar-sag gū-la-zu-šō(KU)\)

against him that approacheth thy mountain for destruction;

\(mu-e\) is a verbal prefix (Br., p. 532). \(te, \verb = ṭēṭā, 'attack.'\) (Br. 7688).

9. \(kur ērim(NE-RU)-šō(KU) gi dil(ĀŠ) \(dū(KAK)-a-gim ka-nī ā-ū-gi\)

against the land of the enemy thou turnest, as a burning one who turneth his face.

\(ērim(NE-RU) = ṣaggu, 'bad.'\) (Br. 4607). \(gi = tāru, 'turn.'\) (Br. 2405). \(dil(ĀŠ) = ēdu, 'one.'\) (MSL., pp. 77 and 40). \(dū(KAK)-a = hamātu, 'burn.'\) (Br. 5298). \(ā-ū-gi: \(ū\) is a verbal prefix (MSL., p. xxiv).

10. \(kur-kur ur-a ne-ḥō(TUM)-āg(ŠA)-āg(ŠA)-gi\)

The hostile land thou destroyest.
ur-u: ur=nakru, ‘hostile’ (Br. 11263); the primary value being kalbu, ‘dog.’ ni-ib(TUM) is a verbal infix (MSL., p. xxxiii). ag(SA) = rahṣu, ‘destroy’ (Br. 11973); possibly the value could be nigr or ig.

11. kur-kur-bad-gal ga-gāl(MAL)-e si ʿāg(SA)-ga me-en

The great walled lands which are endowed with plenty thou subduest.

gāl(MAL)-e means ‘established plenty,’ ga being equal primarily to tuḫu, ‘teat,’ and then šīṣbu, ‘milk’ (Br. 6114). e is probably vocalic. si = malu, ‘full’ (Br. 3393). me-en = attu, ‘thou’ (Br. 10402).

12. sags an-ta-ne ne-ib(TUM)-ra-ra-ra

In the top of heaven thou dwellest (well established).
ra = ukšu, ‘dwell’ (Br. 6355). Note the triple reduplication of ra-ra-ra.

13. vis gāl (IG) an-na-ge(KIT) ne-ib(TUM)-gub(DU)-gub(DU)-bī

In the door of heaven thou standest.
vis gāl(IG) = dartu, ‘door’ (Br. 2239).

14. vis šā-dī-eš an-na-ge(KIT) ne-ib(TUM)-gar(SA)-gar(SA)-ri-ne

On the threshold of heaven thou art stationed.
šā-dī-eš is dialectic for šā-diš and vis šā-diš = mēdīlu, ‘threshold’ (Br. 7237 and 7232). gar(SA) = šakānu, ‘station’ (Br. 11978). -me may indicate pl. excellenteiae.

15. vis sag-kul an-na-ge(KIT) in-si-il-li-en

In the vestibule of heaven thou art exalted.
vis sag-kul = nikku, ‘vestibule’ (Br. 3545). si-il = zakāru, ‘exalt’ (Br. 3447). si-il is no doubt phonetic here and different from the value siil(TAR), ‘fashion.’ The suffix en is probably =me-en, ‘thou art.’

16. vis si-gar(SA) an-na-ge(KIT) in-bu-en

At the bar of the gate of heaven thou appearest.
vis si-gar(SA) = sīgaru, ‘bar’ (Br. 3469), evidently the bolt that locked the gate or door. bu = namāru, ‘appear’ (Br. 7525).
17. kur nu-še-ga zur-ri-ê pi(?)-pi(?)-e-en
     Of the land which heareth not, which listeneth (?), obsti-
     nately(?),
   še-ga = šentu, 'hear' (Br. 7477). zur: the sign is the enclo-
     sure-sign containing the sign ŠE, but the meaning of zur seems
     not to be well established; perhaps it means 'opposition' (MSL.
     p. 314, šesi). zur-ri-ê seems to be an adverb qualifying pi(?)-
     pi(?) which means 'listen,' pi(?)-pi(?) the signs here are
     uncertain.
18. ki-bal nu-še-ga ki gab nu-ši-gi
     of the hostile land which heareth not, of the opposing land
     which turneth not,
   gab = šetu, 'breast' (Br. 4477), hence 'opposing'. ši = šuru,
     'turn' (Br. 6331).
19. en me-en ţi(KA) ur-a ţi(ŠA)-ga-zu li iz-nu-be-ne-en
     lord thou art. To him that maketh hostile cry against
     thee thou, thou wilt give no rest (?).
   ţi(KA) = kibû, 'speak' (Br. 531). ţi(ŠA) can equal epēšu,
     'mako' (Br. 11958), as well as vahâšu (see line 10). li can
     equal attu (Br. 1101). be = pašâšu, 'be quiet,' (MSL., p. 56),
     the prefix li being second person (MSL., p. xxviii). The copyist
     seems quite uncertain about the signs of this line.
20. ṣâ(LIB)-ib(TUM)-ba-zu a-ba iḫ(TUM)-ri(?)-sâ(DI)-ne
     The heart of thy wrath, who can rival it!
   iḫ(TUM) = agâšu, 'wrath' (Br. 4954). a-ba = mânûu,
     'who' (Br. 11370). iḫ(TUM) can be a prefix as well as an
     infix. ri(?), if it is ri, can be a directive infix (MSL., p. xxiv).
     sâ(DI) = šandum, 'rival' (Br. 9539).
21. ka-ta e(UD-DU)-a-zu sig(PA) hen-nu-di-ni(IXN)
     What goeth out of thy mouth, may no sceptre condemn
     it (!)?
   e = ašu, 'go out' (Br. 7873). di = damu, 'judge' (Br. 9525).
22. za-da a-ba-a in-na-bal-e
     Unto thee who can break entrance!
   bal = šêru, 'pass over' (Br. 266).
23. en me-en nô(GIR) an azâ-ga me-en kâ-gâl(IG) un-i(?)
     me(?)-en(?)
     Lord thou art, the power of the shining heavens thou art;
     the gate of the land thou art.
mē (GIR): the most common value of the sign is gir, 'foot,' but the sign also, with the value mē = emāku, 'power' (Br. 9184).

24. ha əb mā (SAR) ag-a-mu ḫu an (?) -nu ni-ri (?)

Of the fish of the deep that swarm in shoals, of the birds of heaven that fly about (?),
mā (SAR) = asū, 'go out,' and ag = epēšu, 'make' (see line 5); nu is an indeterminate relative pronoun. mā-ag-a-mu, literally 'which make a going out.' ri (?) = parāšu, 'fly' (Br. 2571). The nu after an is curious and unusual. A correct rendering is obscured by the break in the text.

25. uru . . lu ḫa (BIT) uru əb (RU) ən-šēr ən-līl-[lā-me]-en

of the cities . . ., of the dedicated temple of the city, thou art Bēl.
əb (RU) = naddānu, 'give' (Br. 1435).

26. ū-mu-um kaskal-gā (MAL) ur-sag-gā (MAL) . . . mo-en

Lord of campaigns, hero . . ., thou art,
kaskal = harrānu, 'road.' (Br. 4457).

27. nīm zī-da-zu mēlu ne . .

The elevation of thy right hand, which . . .

nīm = elā, 'be high' (Br. 9013).

ReVERSE.

Colophon. ət-usṣa ḫr (A-ŠI) līm (LUL)-ma ən-šēr ən-līl-lā-kum

38 lines. Penitential Psalm to Bēl.

uṣṣa = 'eight.'  ḫr (A-ŠI) kūlātu and līm (h) = kurā (Br. 7271).
Notes on a Few Inscriptions.—By Charles C. Torrey, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.


Some time ago, in an article published in this Journal (vol. xxiii, pp. 164 f.; cf. xxiv, 215), I expressed the opinion that the three terms שונת יִבְּלָנ "Sidon-by-the-Sea", "High-Heavens", and יָטָר נו "the Resuf (or Resef) District", in the royal inscription found on the stones of the great temple of Eśmūn recently excavated near Sidon, were used to designate respectively the Sidonian promontory (where the city now stands); the hill district on the east, running north as far as the Anwaly river; and the long strip of plain between the two. How far southward the "Resuf land" may have extended, I did not attempt to decide, though expressing a doubt as to whether it included the open district south of the city, where is found at the present day the extensive complex of tomb caverns cut in the rock, called by the natives Maghāret Ablūn, or "Grotto of Apollo"; though why it should have been given his name has always been a riddle.

It has recently occurred to me that this last-mentioned name is really the modern survival of the old Phoenician יֵעֵית. The god Resuf (or Resef) was the Semitic equivalent of the Greek Apollo, both in Phoenicia and in Egypt, as every one knows. The two were commonly identified in ancient times. The district which had been so long called by the name of the Phoenician deity was styled the "Apollo district" during the centuries of Graeco-Roman occupation of the land. At last, when the only distinctive thing left in the region was the necropolis, the name of Apollo still clung to this. An interesting parallel to the survival is found in the name of the ruin Arsuf, on the coast a few hours north of Jaffa. This is the Ἀρσοῦξ of the Greek geographers, as is well known. In this case, as in very many others, the old Semitic name held its place so tenaciously as even to outlast the Greek substitute.
This identification, while it does not enable us to locate definitely the three main districts of ancient Sidon, does at least give us another fixed point. "Sidon-on-the-Sea" was the cape, the site of the oldest settlement and of the citadel. "High-Heavens" extended to the extreme northern limit of the Sidonian territory, for the temple of Ešmûn on the mountain slope above the Awaly river is the same one which is designated in the Ešmunazar inscription, line 17, as situated "in 'Mighty-Heavens' (أمن-Ešmûn), in the mountain," as I have shown elsewhere (ibid., xxiii, 167; xxiv, 314 f.).

The "Resûf-Land" included at least a part of the plain on the south. This suggests the possibility that the principle of division between the two inland districts was simply the geographical one, the territory on the south being given one specific name, and that on the north another.

B. The "Ankh" Symbol on Hebrew Seals.

When I published the old Hebrew seal of Joshua ben Asaiah, in vol. xxiv of this Journal, pp. 205 f., I was unable to explain the origin of the ornamental device which appears between the two lines of the inscription. I see now, however, that it is merely an adaptation of a twofold ank sign, the Egyptian symbol of life.

The magical power of this symbol, as is well known, was in high repute in Asia as well as in Egypt. It appears again and

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1 It is very much to be desired that the seal which I have identified (ibid., xxiii, 167 f.) with the $\text{לֶחַם}$ of the Ešmunazar inscription, situated on the hillside near the temple of Ešmûn, together with the ancient and important aqueduct to whose water it gives access, should be thoroughly investigated. The aqueduct brings the water of the Awaly river to the gardens of Sidon, and is apparently of ancient construction. If the identification just mentioned is correct, it then follows that the aqueduct is at least as old as the Ešmunazar dynasty: and the probability would be strong that the ease with which its water could be reached at this point was one of the two chief considerations which led to the choice of this site for the temple, the other being the fine situation on the hill with the view toward the east. See also the remarks of Macrify-Bey, Le Temple d' Echmann à Sidon (1904), pp. 87 f., cf. p. 16, who believes the aqueduct to be of Phoenician origin.
again on Phoenician and Hittite cylinders, and even on Israelite seals it has not been unknown. The now celebrated seal of Sema', servant of Jeroboam, shows this device on either side of the lion in the center; not, however, carved in the stone, but painted on the surface—apparently by an afterthought on the part of the owner, who wished to give to the seal this added talismanic virtue. See the description by Kautzsch in the ZDPV., 1904, p. 3.

Another example of the same kind is furnished by the seal impressions on the clay contract tablet recently excavated at Gezer. The tablet, which is inscribed in the cuneiform characters, is stamped by the seal of one of the owners of the property, presumably a Hebrew, and on this seal the ankh sign holds a very conspicuous place. See the PEF. Quarterly Statement for July, 1904.

C. On Some Palmyrene Inscriptions.

I have recently received from Dr. Hans Spoer, of Jerusalem, photographs and squeezes of those much discussed Palmyrene inscriptions from Damascus which were originally published by Janssen in the Revue Biblique, 1897, pp. 592 ff.; then by D. H. Müller in the Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien, vol. xlvi (1898); then by Chabot in the Journal Asiatique, 1900, pp. 257 ff.; and which have been treated to some extent by several other scholars, see Lidzbarski's Ephemeris, 1, 81, 212 ff. It might seem hardly worth while to attempt to comment further on any of these inscriptions; however, some justification for these few added notes may be found in the fact that the former editors were obliged to rely solely upon squeezes, without the supplementary aid which photographs can give. I use, for convenience, the numbering of the inscriptions given in the Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique.

140. It is not a "buste de femme," but that of a bearded man.

143. May not the second name in line 3 be  דין (diminutive of ־) rather than ־. The name would not be a remarkable one, though I do not know that it has been found elsewhere. Both on the squeeze and in the photograph
the penultimate letter looks only like ב, and the last letter might of course be ג. I subjoin a facsimile of the inscription.

151. The name in line 5 is apparently יִלְי. Both squeeze and photograph seem to indicate this rather than ליעל (of which it is very likely the contracted form).

152. There is no doubt as to the reading פִּיתָח. In all probability the ב, at least, owes its origin to the following בָּל.

153. The name is נֶחֶת ב. not נֶחֶת alone. The squeeze makes this quite certain, and even in the photograph a part of the ב can be seen in the first line. The bust is that of a woman. The name in line 3 is of course לִיעל. There seems to be no reason to suppose that any letters are missing in the last line; both squeeze and photograph indicate that the surface of the stone is uninjured here. Probably a proper name, ליעל.

154. On the top of the curved object (band or hem of the robe?) which the woman holds in her hand are carved distinctly—as the squeeze shows—the words נֶחֶת ב. Cf. No. 149, where the same words appear on the wand held by the man. Is there any significance in the choice of this place for the legend?

Müller, No. 14; cf. Ephemeris I, 81, 213. Not in the Répertoire. The name at the beginning of the last line נֶחֶת seems to be not רִעי (Müller), nor רִעי (Chabot), nor רִעי (Lidzbarski), but רִעי. Elsewhere
(three times) in the inscription the ב has very nearly this same form.

Müller, No. 16; not in the Répertoire. In the fourth line, where Müller reads יָלָה, the letters seem to be מִלְּהָ. I give a facsimile of the whole inscription:

The final מ in the fourth line is certain, and the ב hardly to be doubted. The traces of the other letters seem sufficient to establish their identity. Cf. the proper name מִלְּה in Payne-Smith, Thesaurus, col. 2136.

Répertoire, No. 721; Ephemeris II, 316. The inscription published by me in this Journal, xxv (1904), 329. The word מִלְּה in the last line had no final מ, either at the end of the line or elsewhere on the stone. The squeeze, supported by the photograph, seems conclusive on this point. Is it not the most likely supposition that the stone-cutter was interrupted before carving the מ? It seems to me extremely improbable that anything else than מִלְּה should have been intended. The suggestions made by Lidzbarski (Ephemeris, ibid.) are ingenious, but hardly plausible.

Répertoire, No. 743. Inscription published by Porter and Torrey in the AJSL., xxii, No. 8. Clermont-Ganneau is very probably right in conjecturing מִלְּה instead of מִלְּה in line 3. The squeeze does indeed seem to give the upper part of the fifth letter of the name as ב and not י, but the paper contains a tangle of lines here. The final letter of the name
is faint, and might well have been intended for ר. In that case, the original, in Beirut, would probably show traces of the dot above, since in this inscription the letter ר is elsewhere thus pointed. It is likely that Professor Porter will be able to decide the question without difficulty.  

Répertoire, No. 746. Inscription published by Porter and Torrey, ibid., No. 13. Chabot conjectures נְמֵשׁ for the name in line 3. On the contrary, the squeeze, which is perfectly distinct, makes the reading נְמֵשׁ certain.

D. A New Copy of the "High-Place" Inscription in Petra.

Through the kindness of Professor Francis Brown, Director of the American School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, I have received a copy and a squeeze of the Nabatean inscription which was discovered and copied by Mr. George Sverdrup in 1906, and published in Vol. xxviii of this Journal (1907), pp. 349-351. Professor Brown visited Petra in the spring of this year, 1908, remaining there several days. The squeeze was taken on May 8, and the copy was made three days later. Professor Brown's account of the inscription and its surroundings is as follows:

"We found it, after some search, by examining the rocks at the sides of the stairway (Hoskins' No. 1), beginning at the top. Just west of the highest point of the hill a path runs down, northward, leading to the first distinguishable steps. There are, first, about 40 steps down toward the North; then a break; then about 36 steps down in the same direction; then a break; then 10 steps to the East, 7 to the North, 8 to the West. At the end of these last steps, on the left side, stands the rock wall which bears the inscription. The stairway then turns again to the North, with about 80 steps leading to an open rock platform. For one ascending from this platform, the

1 A letter from Professor Porter, received since the above was printed, gives the desired information. He writes (June 20, 1908): "The final letter is clearly ר, as it has a dot above. The other character is doubtful, as the upper part is damaged. It may be a כ, though the downward stroke is straight and like that of a כ connected with the following character." The conjecture of Clermont-Ganneau is therefore correct.

inscription is immediately in front. The face of the rock has been artificially smoothed. At the bottom the smoothed surface is about 5.42 m. long, and near the top about 4.88 m. The height I estimated at about 5 m. A stout cedar tree grows out of the corner at the right (as one faces the inscription), and this, added to the overshadowing rocks, makes photographing difficult. We were not able to get the proper light for this purpose; it might sometimes be possible, in the early afternoon."

"The inscription is about 1.76 m. long. There is no trace of writing before the first K, nor does the rock appear to be worn away. If anything, the surface is slightly higher just at the right of this letter. At the right of the second line, the rock is slightly flaked off, and the flaking extends downward, but is not very marked. A few cracks and natural lines run through the inscription, but these are mostly unimportant. The letters vary a good deal in size, and the first line runs upward toward the left. Each letter is made by a succession of little hollows, which run together and sometimes form quite continuous lines. The bottom of the cut is rounded. A row of these little hollows, quite separate from one another, divides the first line from the second, and there are traces of such a row beneath the second line also. Indications of a third line of writing are too vague to be reproduced."

"A small niche is cut in the face of the rock, .395 m. from the beginning of the first line. It is about .57 m. high and .45 m. wide. Its depth varies from about .18 m. at the right lower corner to about .08 m. at the left upper corner. There is no trace of any relief or other cutting within it. To the right of it the smoothed rock wall runs on about 1.4 m. to the corner. The bottom of the niche is about 1.5 m. from the rock platform below."

"The stairway, both above and below the inscription, is a very fine one. It is four or five meters wide (at one point a step measured 3.98 m., at another point, 4.63 m., etc.). The steps are deep; we measured one, .43 m.; their height varies a good deal; just above the inscription we measured two, .18 m. and .22 m. Below the inscription, in the long straight flight

1 Prof. Brown adds a note here: "There are possibly marks of a tool on the rock at this point, but it is very doubtful."
of about 88 steps, the average must be less, but these steps are badly weathered and many have disappeared."

"The gateway, of which Hoskins gives a photograph, is a fine cutting, 3.80 m. wide. Immediately inside the entrance an oblong recess has been cut out on each side, apparently to receive the doors when opened. Each recess is 1.90 m. wide. The gateway, however, is far from the inscription."

"Dr. Hoskins exaggerates the difficulty of ascending by this stairway. Two of our party did it, and report only one difficult step in the whole ascent."

Thus far Professor Brown's description. His copy of the inscription gives the same letters as Mr. Sverdrup's, excepting that at the beginning of the second line he reads דיה (as I had conjectured) instead of DY. He has been at some pains to show the actual appearance of the whole inscription, with the letters in their relative positions, and with the chief irregularities of the rock's surface indicated. His copy is therefore most helpful, while at the same time it bears witness in general to Mr. Sverdrup's accuracy.

The squeeze taken by Professor Brown he calls a poor one; still, it appears to reproduce the surface of the rock very well for the most part. It is not easy to recognize the remaining traces of the characters in the middle of the inscription, where the rock is presumably more worn away. At the extremities of the lines, on the contrary, the letters are very distinct.

\footnote{See the note above.}
I give here a facsimile of the letters and parts of letters which I can recognize on the sheets of the impression sent me by Professor Brown. Relative distinctness has been indicated to some extent, and I have included those doubtful furrowings or hollowings in the paper which might represent portions of letters. In a few cases I have supplied in outline the missing part of a character, as will appear.

First Line. — The third letter is not ई, as I previously thought it must of necessity be, but is plainly a final ण.

The fourth letter might be either ज or ड. On the basis of Sverdrup's copy, one would choose the former; I have now no doubt, however, after seeing the actual form of the character and its separate ness from the following, that ड is correct.

For the fifth letter, likewise ambiguous, य now seems likely, rather than र.

The traces of the letter just following this are indistinct. It is pretty certainly त (see the copies of Sverdrup and Brown), though I can see no trace of the top stroke.

The seventh letter is not ण, as both Sverdrup and Brown make it; nor न, as I myself formerly conjectured; but ड, as the squeeze appears to me to show with certainty. Whether the line which appears to continue the vertical stroke downward is a ligature connecting it with the preceding य, or the result of an accidental abrasion of the rock, I cannot determine. But the curved bottom of the ड is quite distinct.

I have not been able to make out with certainty any letter of the word न्यङ्क which both copies give here. The indentations of the paper are few and faint. The traces which do appear, however, are well suited to the reading proposed, and the concurrent testimony of those who have seen the inscription itself must therefore be accepted.

Of the four letters next following, the first is ण. The second, as given in the two copies, looks like ड; the squeeze, however, seems to show a well-cut curved line continuing the bottom stroke upward, nearly coinciding with the crack in the rock, but plainly distinct from it. This would make the letter a ड. The character which follows looks like a final ण, but as Brown's copy shows, the lower part of the long vertical stroke is probably not original. What was intended, then, was presumably either ण or ण. This is followed by न.
The remaining letters of the line look like אִיבֶּנְבַּ, but in all probability the true reading is אָּבִּ (see below).

Second Line.—It is possible, as Brown remarks (see above), that one or more letters may be missing at the beginning of this line. The squeeze shows a single vertical furrow in which I cannot see any sure trace of the characteristic borings by which the letters are made. Possibly the relative pronoun יָה stood here, but it is quite as likely that nothing is missing, and that the line originally began with יָבִּ.

The five characters which follow יָה are all more or less indistinct. Sverdrup and Brown both transcribe יָדָלְא, and this reading is supported by the traces which are to be seen on the impression paper. The letter יָה I should hardly have found at all if I had not had the two copies; and the seeming trace of its connection with the following יָה is very doubtful. I have supplied in outline parts of both of these letters; the remaining traces of the יָה, in particular, being quite certain, though far apart.

The third letter from the end of the line is given by the two copies as י, but the squeeze does not show the top stroke.

Third Line.—Professor Brown took no squeeze here, but saw faint traces of letters at the beginning, as well as a row of borings separating this line from the second. His copy suggests the יָדָלְא which Sverdrup had surmised. Probably the line contained mention of others who were to be “remembered.”

I read, therefore:

אָּבִּ יָדָלְא יָדָלְא דִּנְבַּי יָדָלְא יָדָלְא יָדָלְא יָדָלְא

These are the stelae of אָלִילֵי אָזָא and מַרְכֵּי בָּאָזָא, made by וָהָרַבְוּלָה the caravan-master(?)

If this is the correct reading, the reference is probably to the stelae which stood in the sacred precinct at the top; for it is hardly likely that others were placed on the stairway, or on the platform just below this point, mentioned by Brown. We may suppose that there was no place for an inscription at the “high-place” itself, and that therefore the most convenient adjoining spot was chosen.
For the reading נָהוֹר נִרְשָׁר, which of course suggests itself as soon as the letter ב is recognized, see especially the article by Professor Savignac, of Jerusalem, printed in the Revue Biblique for July, 1908. He publishes there a Nabatean inscription (previously published, less accurately, in the CIS., ii, 235) which contains this otherwise unknown divine title, and proposes also (p. 398) to read it in this Petra inscription, of which he had seen Brown’s squeeze and copy. A letter from Professor Clermont-Ganneau, received by me in June, had already made the same suggestion. The only graphic difficulty is in the letter ב, where the copies both read ב, and the squeeze gives exactly what I have reproduced, a character whose blurred upper part might be that of a פ, as may be seen. What god this נָהוֹר נִרְשָׁר might be, has thus far remained an unanswered question. I believe the name to be an appellation of נִרְשָׁר, Dhu’k-Sarà, since this was the tutelary deity of the Nabatean kings generally (hence “Lord of the House”), as well as the god most frequently named in the inscriptions of Petra. The conjunction of נָהוֹר with נִרְשָׁר, the latter being named first, may well remind us of the oft-quoted passage in Epiphanius which says that the god Dusares of Petra was worshipped as the offspring of a virgin goddess (generally identified with Allāt or Al-‘Uzza). See for example Cooke, North Semitic Inscriptions, pp. 218, 222; Dalman, Petra, pp. 49 ff.

As for the difficult word נָהוֹר, I have nothing to add to what was said in my former article. On the squeeze, the second letter looks like ב, no sign of the top stroke of פ being visible.
Two Unpublished Palmyrene Inscriptions.—By Hans H. Spoeck, Ph.D., American School of Archaeology, Jerusalem.

The busts described are in the possession of a gentleman of Damascus, by whose kind permission I was enabled to make squeezes and photographs of the inscriptions.

I.

Two busts side by side, on the same background which is draped and rosetted. Men, bareheaded and bearded, the left figure laureated. The inscriptions are between the two heads, and run perpendicularly.

Maqqai, son of Zebida, [son of]
Moqimu. Woe!

Ber'a, son of Zebida, [son of]
Moqimu. Woe!

II.

Young girl, standing, full length, wearing large earrings. In her left hand, pressed against her bosom, is a dove. The right hand is hanging by her side, holding a bunch of grapes. The figure is draped in a single clinging garment. Inscription over the left shoulder.

Woe! ʿAyaba, daughter of
Taimi, son of Bani.

The name ʿAyaba seems to have been hitherto unknown.
An Aramaic Ostrakon from Nippur and the Greek Obolos.—

By James A. Montgomery, Professor in the P. E. Divinity School, Philadelphia, Pa.

Through the courtesy of Professor Hilprecht I am able to present an ostrakon found by the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur. Its character I ascertained in examining the fragments of incantation bowls in the possession of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.¹ I know of only two other ostraka from Nippur, but these are apparently of a much later period, belonging probably to the age of the incantation bowls. The ostrakon in question is a potsherd of a bowl of large diameter, and forms a rough rectangle of about $7\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ cm; the photographic plate reproduces the size almost exactly. It contains on the convex surface an Aramaic inscription of nine lines. The characters are similar to those found in the Aramaic endorsements on contract tablets from Nippur, of the fifth century B. C., and the postulation of the same age for the ostrakon is corroborated by the character of the names appearing upon it.² The original ostrakon has remained complete. On the lower left hand the enamel had been rubbed off, and in this portion the writing upon the rough clay has become almost illegible.

The inscription is apparently a checklist of payments or liabilities to the debit or credit of the individuals named. We have countless parallels to this kind of document from Babylonia (cf. the temple-pay-rolls from Nippur), but only one Aramaic ostrakon that is exactly similar, which will be cited below. At the beginning of each line, except the fifth which is a continuation of the fourth line, occurs a personal name, in all cases of Babylonian formation. It is interesting to observe

¹ The Museum number of the ostrakon is 2927.
that five of the ten names contain the divine element מִשְׁאָרָה, Enwaṣtu (?), which, as Professor Clay has shown, is the Aramaic transaliteration of the Babylonian cryptogram which had hitherto been pronounced Ninib. The present names corroborate Dr. Clay’s reading of the Aramaic consonants, over which there has been much dispute. A cursory glance at the name lists in the three volumes of the University of Pennsylvania Babylonian Expedition Series, in which Dr. Clay has published documents

Clay, The Origin and Real Name of NIN-IB, in JAOS. xxviii. p. 185. However, Dr. Radau in vol. xvii, part 1, in the Babylonian Expedition Series proposes another interpretation (p. 9).
of the Persian period, shows that NIN-IB predominates over the other gods, at least as the first element of names; and he, with Ellil, NIN-LII, and Nusku, was one of the deities in whose names oaths were sworn. 1

The names are as follows:

Line 1: Enneāštu-balassu-iqbi; cf. Tallquist, Neubabylonisches Namenbuch, p. 329, Bel-b.-i.

Line 2: Enneāštu-ilii; similar names with other divine elements, ib. 270.

Line 3: Lābāšī bar Balāṭu. Lābāšī bar Balāṭu occurs frequently as the name of a scribe in the Muraš documents; see the Series cited, vol. ix, p. 73, and vol. x, p. 67. Dr. Clay, to whose kind assistance I am in general greatly indebted, would read the final obscure character as ăr, and calls my attention to the irregularities which exist in the matter of final vowels between the Aramaic endorsements and the Babylonian spelling; see No. 5 in his Aramaic Indorsements. This does not account for the second stroke, which might stand for ăr, in which case we should read Balāṭiāh. Such a name has been suggested in vol. ix, p. 51.

Line 4: 'B-Nādīn-Enneāštu. The first two letters of the first word are 2N, the third is ăr, ăr, or ăr. The word can hardly be a component of the name, and Dr. Clay suggests that we have here a title, one of a large class which he has listed in vol. xv, p. 51. Cf. the names in Tallquist, op. cit. 324.

Line 6: Enneāštu-upar. For names of like formation see Tallquist, op. cit., p. 325.

Line 7: Ellil-ittanu. The same name is given in vol. ix, p. 54. For Ellil, see Clay, JSL. xxiii, p. 269.

Šue-iddına; i. e., by the well-known softening of the Babylonian ă, Šum-iddına. The same name appears spelt as here in Aramaic Indorsements, No. 46.

Line 8: Bel-šum-iddina. This spelling throws doubt upon the interpretation of the preceding name. Would a scribe have spelt differently in two adjacent lines? Did the two persons in question spell or pronounce their names differ-

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ently, and is the scribe noting the distinction? It is to be observed that the ב and the י are of more archaic character than elsewhere in the ostrakon, the word ציצ also being written more coarsely than elsewhere. May it not be a case of autograph of the person charged? We recall the autograph signatures in the Assouan papyri.

Line 9: Enwaštu-B.N? The second element is obscure; the spacing leads us to expect a word like Enwaštu-bani-ahu; see vol. viii, part 1, p. 59.

Each name is followed by the account which is expressed in one or both of two terms, each being followed by a numeral, the noun being in the singular or plural according as the numeral is one or more. One of the terms is מ, with the plural מ, i.e. ציצ, ציצין. This is the coin or money-value well-known from the Talmud, where it represents the denarius, and so the drachme; the plural has been found on a Palmyrene inscription, and the word has recently been discovered in an Egyptian Aramaic papyrus of the Greek period. Our ostrakon would then give us the earliest instance of the use of the word.

The second word is doubtless to be transliterated מוב with the plural מוב. The word is not known in this technical sense; it is evidently a coin of lesser denomination than the ציצ. An exact analogy to our ostrakon is found in the large Egyptian Aramaic ostrakon published by Lidzbarski in his Ephemeris, ii, p. 243. There likewise we have lines of individual accounts, beginning with the name of the person charged, which is followed by the terms of the account, expressed (1) in shekels (abbreviated ש), (2) in a value represented by the abbreviation ב, and (3) in "farthings" (יעל). Lidzbarski presents a very satisfactory argument for understanding the ב to represent the Talmudic יער, וָא. But it is now in order to offer the word under discussion, מוב, as the explanation of that abbreviation. It may be observed that Lidzbarski is inclined to equate the shekel of his ostrakon with the drachme, in which case the ציצ may have represented the shekel (in one

1 De Vogüé, Syrie Centrale, inscr., 17, i. 8.
2 Sayce and Cowley, An Aramaic Papyrus of the Ptolemaic Age from Egypt, PSBA. 1907, p. 360 ff. ; see papyrus b, i. 9, etc.
of its different values), perhaps as the name of the coin. 1

Whether or not the two ostraka correspond in the equation of the בָּנָא with the shekel and of the abbreviation ב with מִכְלֵי, we have here a new word for a money-value. Its root is בְּל, the same from which is derived the Babylonian בְּלִי, talent, the highest money denomination. 2 In any case, having in mind the fresh discoveries of Aramaic words for coins or money-values, in the Assyrian papyri, etc. (e. g. תִּקְבָּר הָלֵי), we need not be surprised at the novel word presented in this ostrakon.

I venture now a suggestion upon the history of this word, מִכְלֵי, מִכְלֵי, which, if approved, will throw additional light upon the interesting problem of the relations between Greece and the Orient. I would suggest that the word is the origin of the Greek δασόλχ, the small Attic coin, in value one-sixth of the drachme. In consideration of the digamma-like pronunciation of the Babylonian ב, this etymology is perfectly natural, cf. Σαμαμ for Σαμας in Hesychius, and Δαμίκη for Damkina in Damascus. As to a native origin of the word, various etymologies were offered by the Greeks themselves, while modern philologists appear to be very undecided in the matter; says Hultsch: "Die Etymologien der neueren schwanken auffällig." 3 I cannot trace the word δασόλχ further back than the fifth century." 4

1 For the meaning of the word in Babylonian, see Muss-Arnold's Dictionary, i, p. 276. For the equivalence of the Phoenician shekel with the drachme, see Hultsch, Griechische u. römische Metrologie, i, p. 423.

2 In the Talmud occurs דאֵל מִכְלֵי. רָבֵי שֵבֵל, a load.

3 For references and proposed etymologies, see L. Meyer, Handbuch d. griechischen Erymologie, i, p. 518; K. Brugmann, Grundriss d. vergleichenden Grammatik d. indogermanischen Sprachen, i, p. 318; and especially Hultsch, op. cit., p. 133; Müller's Handbuch, i, p. 847 ff.; Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, a. v. For many of my references I am indebted to the kindness of Professor McDaniel of the Greek Department, University of Pennsylvania. For the sake of history, I may recall the Babylonian etymology suggested for дасо él by Oppert, in Journal asiatique, 1874, vol. ii, p. 489: "Il paraît que toute la série des termes statthémiques, en grec, est d'origine babyloniene. Le mot дасо él-même provient de aplûs, poids." He contributes a statement to the like effect in Mommsen-De Blacas, Histoire de la monnaie romaine, Paris, 1865, p. 410.

4 Aristophanes, see Stephanus, Thesaurus, s. v.; and Attic inscriptions, cited by Hultsch, op. cit., p. 207, n. 4.
although Müller's Handbuch (l. c.) says that the coin goes back to the Solonic reform. The word therefore may have been of comparatively late introduction into Greece."

In the metrological field I refer again to Lidzbarski's discussion of the abbreviation ד and its relation to the shekel, on his ostrakon. He argues that the ד is possibly one-sixth of the shekel. If the shekel equal the drachme (which is true of the Phoenician shekel), and ד be the abbreviation for our הָלוֹב, then the latter would bear the same relation to the shekel as the δβαλός to the drachme, and the two would equal each other.

Both etymological and metrological arguments then lend support to the argument advanced. Numismatic terms have always had a romantic history and defied national bounds; compare the history of the "dollar,"—a German word which through Spanish intermediaries has become the name of the American standard coin, and is as well known in China. The word δβαλός may have been introduced into Greece from the Assyrian empire by way of Lydia, or at a later date from Babylonia through the Persians.

I conclude with my translation, as follows:

1. Enwaštu-balassu-iqbi, 2 zûz.
2. Enwaštu-ili, 2 M. (móbal ?).
3. Labāši bar Balāṭi, 1 M.
4. 'B-Nādim-Enwaštu 2 zûz.
5. 2 M.
6. Enwaštu-nsur, 1 M.
7. Eḫil-ittannu bar Šum-iddina, 2 M.
8. Bēl-šum-iddina, 1 zûz.
9. Enwaštu-bāni (?)—, 2 M.

1 The only etymological objection that may be offered is the fact that a Doric form of the word appears as δβαλός.
On the Babylonian Origin of Plato's Nuptial Number.—By
George A. Barton, Professor in Bryn Mawr College,
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

The attention of scholars was recalled to this subject by the
publication in January, 1907 of Hilprecht's Mathematical,
Metrological, and Chronological Tablets, which form vol. xx,
Series A, of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of
Pennsylvania. Hilprecht's reviewers gave him high praise for
discovering the Babylonian origin of Plato's nuptial number.
These reviewers included such scholars as Zimmern, Ungnad,
Hommel, Kittel, Zehnpfund, Sayce, Pinches, Johns, Teloni,
Fossey, Ward, and Rogers. Among these the present writer
was also found. In all these reviews, however, the fact was
overlooked1 that in claiming the Babylonian origin of this
Platonic number, Hilprecht had been twice anticipated, once
by A. Aurès in 1893, and once by James Adam in 1902. Hil-
precht used Adam's book without mentioning this fact!

As this subject is one which lies upon the borderland between
Greek, Assyriology, philosophy and mathematics, it is not
strange that Hilprecht's reviewers were not familiar with the
history of the subject. No one unless he had made a special
study of this borderland would be likely to know its history.
Hilprecht's contribution to the subject was not a discovery of
the Babylonian relationship, but he supplied some fresh Babyl-
onian material, which confirmed the theory of Adam. The
present paper is a sin-offering (ΟΝῈ) by one of the reviewers
for his sin of inadvertence (ΗΕῈ).

The passage in which Plato introduces this mystic number is
said to be the most difficult passage in his writings. As it has
suffered many interpretations at the hands of classical scholars,
it may not be out of place to examine the passage and some of

1 See Philadelphia Public Ledger of February 18, 1907.
2 Professor Johns, I am informed, discovered that Aurès had antici-
pated Hilprecht, but the editor of the Classical Review cut the reference
to it out of his notice of the book.
these interpretations, in order to be able to estimate more justly the value of the arguments for Babylonian influence.

The passage occurs in Book VIII of the Republic, p. 546 C D, and is as follows:

ἐστὶ δὲ θεός μὲν γεννητός περιόδος, ἂν ἀρθρώσεις περιλαμβάνει τόλμοις ἀνθρώπωι δὲ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ αἰζήσεις ἰδανήσει τῷ καὶ ἰδιωτεύμενοι, τρέχον ἀποκάλεσις, τετταράς δὲ ὀροὺς λαβόνυς ἀρμοιότατα τῷ καὶ ἀμοιβαῖς καὶ αἰζήσεις καὶ φυλακότας, πάντα προσήγορα καὶ ρήτα πρὸς Ἀλληλα, ἀπέφηνεν ὅπως ἐπίφανος πολύμορφον πεμπάδι συζυγείς διὰ ἀρμοιότατοι παρέχονται τρεῖς αἰζήσεις, τῷ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ ἶσης, ἵκατοι τυποῦσας, τῷ δὲ ἰδανήσεις μὲν τῷ, προμήχη δὲ, ἵκατοι μὲν ἀρθρώσεις ἀπὸ δωματίων ῥητορικά τουμπάδος, ἀσφαλείᾳ ἐνος ἵκατων, ἀρμοιότατοι δὲ δουλεία, ἵκατοι δὲ κύβον τριάδος. ἐξετάζει δὲ ὅπως, ἀρθρώσεις γεωμετρικῶς, τοιούτως καίρως, ἰδανήσεις καὶ κεφαλῶν γενέσεως, δὲν ἢν κεφαλῆς ἄθροι τοίούτως συνολιαίως σύμφωνας τεράφοις παρὰ καιρῶν, ὧν εἰσφέρει σοὶ εὐτυχεῖς παιδείς ἐπουτίθαι.

Recent interpreters of Plato seem to agree that θεός γεννητός refers to the world, the formation of which is controlled by a large number, and that Plato claims that human births are controlled by a smaller number which bears a certain relation to this larger number. Dupuis understands that the "perfect number" is 6, —a "perfect number" being, according to Euclid and the Greek mathematicians, a number which is equal to the

1 This passage is translated by Jowett (Dialogues of Plato, III, 250 ff.) as follows (Jowett's mathematical parentheses and notes are omitted from this translation but will be given below):— "Now that which is of divine birth has a period which is contained in a perfect number, but the period of human birth is comprehended in a number in which increments by involution and evolution [or squared and cubed] obtaining three intervals and four terms of like and unlike, waxing and waning numbers, make all the terms commensurable and agreeing with one another. The base of these, with a third added, when combined with five and raised to the third power furnishes two harmonies, the first a square which is a hundred times as great, and the third a figure having one side equal to the former, but oblong, consisting of a hundred numbers squared upon rational diameters of a square [i.e. omitting fractions] the side of which is five, each of them being less by one than, or less than two perfect squares of irrational diameters; and a hundred cubes of three. Now this number represents a geometrical figure which has control over good and evil births. For when your guardians are ignorant of the law of births, and unite bride and bridegroom out of season, the children will not be goodly or fortunate."
sum of all its divisors. Thus $6 = 1 + 2 + 3$. Apparently, however, the meaning here is, not that six is the actual number, but that it lies at the basis of that number. Adam, therefore, understands this to be a reference to the number which expresses the gestation of the universe, and which Plato in this phrase leaves shrouded in silence and obscurity, but explains more fully in the last part of the passage.

There seems also to be general agreement that the number which controls human births, which is obtained by "squaring and cubing," by which "three intervals and four terms are produced," is 216 ($= 6^3 = 3^4 + 4^2 + 5^2$). This is the view of Dupuis' (1881), Hultsch" (1882), Jowett" (1891), Campbell" (1894) and Adam" (1902). Some scholars have reached this conclusion by cubing 6, and some (as Adam) by adding the cubes of 3, 4 and 5.

With reference to Plato's meaning in the latter part of the passage quoted there is less agreement, though real progress seems to have been made in recent years in the elucidation of his meaning.

It was understood long ago (cf. Schleiermacher, Platon's Werke, 1888, III, 1, 590 ff.), that πεδων meant in Greek mathematical terminology the lowest number (or in the plural the lowest numbers) which express a given ratio. Thus in the ratios $4:1$, $3:4$, $6:8$, $9:12$, the πεδον are 3 and 4. As εστιηος: πεδων designates, it is agreed, the numbers 3 and 4 which formed two sides of the Pythagorean triangle, but interpreters differ as to whether Plato intended to designate the numbers themselves, or a series of ratios of which they are the lowest terms. But what does πεδων σειγειω mean? Dupuis apparently (his work is inaccessible to me) took this in connection with the preceding expression ον εστιηος πεδων to be another way of referring to the number 216, and, understanding the following expression, εστιηος σειγειω, to mean that this was to be multiplied by 100, obtained 21,600 for the mystic.

1 Le Nombre géométrique de Platun, 1881.
3 The Dialogues of Plato, III, 250.
4 The Republic of Plato, III, 371 ff.
5 The Republic of Plato, II, 206 ff. and Excursus at the end of the work.
number. Hultsch, on the other hand, takes συγγέις to mean "add," and so to $3+4$ adds 5, obtaining 12. Understanding τρίς αιτηθείς to mean simply "multiply by three," he so multiplies, and obtains 36. He then understands the words ἐκατὸν τοιοῦτον, τρίς ἤ ἐκαθήκη μὲν τῇ, to mean that the number in Plato's mind was $(36 \times 100)^3 = 3600^3 = 12,960,000$, though he admits that it is "Ein dunkler und mehrdientiger Ausdruck." Hultsch claims that Plato thought of an elliptical year, and notes that while modern astronomy shows that year to be 25,800 years, there is evidence in Tacitus (Dial. de Orationes, 16) that the ancients thought it to be 12,754 and 12,854, and Cicero (Fragment of Hortensius) that they thought it to be 12,954 years. Hultsch, therefore, supposes Plato thought it to consist of 12,960 years.

Jowett, Monroe, and Campbell, following a suggestion of Otto Weber, interpret differently. Weber understood πεθύμη to suggest a series of ratios, and anticipated Hultsch in interpreting συγγέις to mean "add". He thought that on the whole the last part of Plato's description of the number was best satisfied by the proportion 6400:4800::3600:2700. Adding 6400 and 3600 he obtained 10,000, which he thought represented Plato's square, being the square of 100 (i.e., was 100 times as large as 100). Adding 4800 and 2700 he obtained for the oblong 7,500 (i.e., $100 \times 75$). The sum of these two is 17,500, which Weber thought to represent the number. Jowett, while adopting Weber's suggestion as a possible explanation, presents an alternative explanation, based on the last part of Plato's words (ἐκατὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ διαμέτρων ἑτέρων περιμέτρων, etc.). He takes this language, in the manner explained below, to denote 4900 and 2700 respectively. These he adds, together with 400 which he had obtained from an interpretation of ἐκατὸν τοιοῦτον, making the whole number 8000.

Adam interprets differently, and with much greater philological and mathematical accuracy. His first attempt, The Nuptial Number of Plato, Cambridge, 1891, was severely criticised by Monroe (Classical Review, vol. vi, 152 ff.), and Gow, (Jour.

1 Journal of Philology, viii, 276 ff.
2 De Numero Platonis, Cassel, 1862.
3 Dialogues of Plato, III, p. cxxiv ff.
of Phil., xii, 91 ff.). The weaknesses of his first interpretation have been corrected in his edition of Plato's Republic, 1902. He notes that ἐνεκτήμας, in the language of the Pythagoreans, meant "marry," and that, as applied to numbers, it meant "multiply". He accordingly interprets ἦν ἑτέρως ἄρθρον ἑλεκτήμας to mean $3 \times 4 \times 5 = 60$. He then shows that in Greek mathematical language ἐπί τετάρτη κατα μεγάλη ἐνεκτήμας can only mean "multiplied by itself three times," i.e., "raised to the fourth power," that to make it mean anything else reduces some mathematical passages in Greek writers to an absurdity. This gives him the number 12,960,000. He has reached the same goal as Hultsch, but by a more defensible path.

This result is confirmed by what Hultsch and Adam understand Plato's following words to mean. Plato says that this number produces "two harmonies, the first a square which is a hundred times as great" ($τὸ ρίζιν ἐνομοῖν ἕκακον, τέσσαρα τοιούτα); i.e., 12,960,000 represents the square of 3600. 3600 consists of two factors, 100 and 36, i.e., 3600—the root of the whole number—Plato says is 100 times as great as 36. This number 36 would also produce two harmonies, $6 \times 6$ and $4 \times 9$. In like manner this larger number, when resolved into its factors, produces "two harmonies," one of which, 3600, is a square and is 100 times as great as 36. The other harmony consists of an oblong figure one side of which is obtained by squaring 5, taking its rational diameter (i.e., disregarding the fraction), squaring it, multiplying by 100, and subtracting 100 from the result, or says Plato, if the diameter is irrational (i.e., the fraction is not disregarded) 200 are to be subtracted. Hultsch, Jowett, Campbell and Adam agree that this is Plato's meaning, and represent it in diagram as follows:

$$7^2 \times 100 = 4900 - 100 = 4800,$$

or $50 \times 100 = 5000 - 200 = 4800$.

The second factor Plato says is the cube of three multiplied by 100, i.e., 2700.

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1 So Hultsch, op. cit., p. 45.
Jowett and Campbell would add these two numbers together, but Hultsch and Adam are, I believe, right in claiming that they are to be multiplied. Adam has treated the matter most exhaustively from every point of view, and, until some new material is discovered, seems to me to have said the most convincing, if not the final word on it. He has made out clearly, then, that Plato meant to say that this large number represented two geometrical figures, one a square of 3600, thus:

the other an oblong, thus:

Adam holds that the number 12,960,000 represented to Plato a world year 36,000 years long, expressed in days, 360 days being counted to the year.

Dr. Georg Albert of Vienna, however, who in 1896 had advocated the view that the number represents the precession of the equinoxes, while he admits that a comparison of the Babylonian material gives to the number 12,960,000 advocated by Hultsch and Adam an added argument, still believes that Plato had in mind a number of which 2592 was one factor and 3600 the other, and that 2592 represented to his mind the precession of the equinoxes.

He reaches this result for the factor 2592 by adhering to the idea that περιμετρόν suggests a ratio, with which 3 and 4 have something to do. He gives a long list of these ratios, and then selects $81:36:72:32$ as the ratio contemplated by Plato, apparently because the product of the extremes and means of this proportion is in each case 2592, the ecliptical number without its ciphers—a method which is extremely arbitrary. There is much justice in the remark of Adam (Republic, II, p. 275 n.),

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1 Die Platonische Zahl als Præzessionszahl, Leipzig und Wien, 1907.
"Nothing can be done with them [ratios] without having recourse to arbitrary calculations for which there is no warrant in Plato's language." The reasoning of Albert gives one the feeling that he reached his result and then made his argument afterwards. In comparison with Adam's logical method it does not commend itself.

My own view is that if we approach the matter without presuppositions in favor of any theory and interpret the passage from the point of view of Greek alone, we must be convinced of the soundness of Adam's interpretation, and hold the number to be 12,960,000.

If now we turn to the Babylonian side, the general course of discovery in this direction has been as follows:

Rawlinson, and Oppert, in the early days of Assyrian decipherment, discovered the sexagesimal system and the notation of the saros. Rawlinson, in 1855, suggested that this was carried beyond the saros to 216,000. As early as 1866 Brandis had in his Münz-, Mass- und Gesichtswesen in Vorderasien, p. 7, inferred that the Babylonians carried the sexagesimal progression on to 12,960,000.

In 1875 the mathematical tablet, brought from Senkereh by Loftus in 1850, was published in IV R. In the same year Oppert presented a translation of it in his L'Étalon des mesures Assyriennes, fixé par les textes cunéiformes, pp. 24-27. Here the matter lay until 1893, when the subject was taken up by Aurès. Dupuis had twelve years before published his interpretation of the Platonic number, and had made the number 21,600. The highest number given in the tablet of Senkereh was 21,600. It does not appear that Aurès was aware of the paper of Hultsch, referred to above, although that had been called out by the work of Dupuis. Had he known it, however, probably two reasons would have induced him to follow the work of Dupuis, patriotism (Aurès and Dupuis both being French), and the fact that the tablet of Senkereh seemed to confirm Dupuis' calculation. Aurès believed that the fact that the circle was divided into 360\(^\circ\), and each degree into 60 minutes, making 21,600 minutes in a circle, was proof that this number had

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1 JRAS. xiv, 218, 219.
2 Éléments de la grammaire assyrienne, 2d ed., p. 41.
played an important part in ancient thought. Aurès, so far as I know, deserves, however, the credit of having first suggested the Babylonian origin of this mystic number of Plato.

Again in 1902 Adam, who knew nothing apparently of the work of Aurès, pointed out in his edition of the *Republic* that the number 12,960,000 seemed to be connected with the Babylonian sexagesimal system. He did this on the basis of the work of Brandis referred to above, apparently knowing nothing of the intervening progress of Assyriology.

Before Hilprecht published his work referred to above, then, the Babylonian origin of the Platonic number had been twice suggested, once by Aurès and once by Adam, each working independently of the other.

We are now in a position to estimate justly the value of Hilprecht's contribution to the subject. That the mathematical tablets published by him have been in general correctly interpreted may be readily conceded. That these practice tablets contain fractions and factors of 12,960,000 in such a way as to show that that number played an important role in Babylonian thought, he has also clearly made out. In his table on p. 21 there are, however, two errors. Opposite 25 we should have 518,400 instead of 518,000; and opposite 50 we should have 259,200 instead of 259,000. These corrected numbers are called for by the series and are actually present in the text. The mistakes may be mere typographical errors. The material presented here by Hilprecht tends greatly to strengthen the view that the mystic number of Plato is of Babylonian origin. It strengthens it, because it gives for the first time actual evidence from the Babylonian side that the number 12,960,000 really played an important part in Babylonian thought. It makes it more probable that Pythagoras, whom Plato followed, as Adam and others have so clearly shown, was profoundly influenced by Babylonia. This added material is most welcome.

It must be confessed, however, that Hilprecht's work in this respect deserves far less credit than has been accorded it. Perhaps like his reviewers he was ignorant of the work of Aurès. He did, however, know the work of Adam, and still gave him

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*Vol. ii, pp. 302, 303.*

*See Hilprecht, op. cit., No. 20, col. 1, 16, 25; and col. IV, 16 and 24.*
no credit for having suggested the Babylonian origin of the number.

Albert, at the end of his last discussion of the Platonic number (1907), holds that there are three possibilities as to its origin:

1. Plato had borrowed the magnitude and the idea of his number, probably also its construction, from the Babylonians. This hypothesis, adds Albert, appears to me sufficiently improbable.

2. Plato had learned the fact of the procession of the equinoxes, the determination of their size, and the hypothesis of their period of revolution, from the star-gazers of Attica and explained them in a philosophical manner.

3. Plato had received from the astronomers the idea that 72 years marked a definite step of the advance of the equinoxes, and independently built up from it the full period and made this of service to his ethical-biological reflections. This last idea may have been suggested through primeval oriental myths.

These conclusions of Albert seem to me inadequate and improbable. Here is a number, 12,960,000, which independent investigations in Greek and in Babylonian civilization have, as I think, demonstrated to have played an important part in the thought of these nations respectively. Is it probable that this complicated number was arrived at independently by the two peoples? The traditions of the oriental travels of Pythagoras, even if we discount them considerably as Zeller\(^1\) does, may contain an element of truth. But supposing that he never went to the East himself, Cyrus had conquered Sardis and attached the kingdom of Croesus to the Persian empire in the year 546, and had overthrown Babylon in 538. If Pythagoras lived in Samos in the last half of the sixth century, the channels through which Babylonian thought might filter through to him were all open. Moreover Hesiod (Works and Days, 582) seems to contain a reference to a sexagesimal system of numbers. Herodotus (2\(^{49}\)) says definitely that the division of the day into twelve parts was derived by the Greeks from the Babylonians. In how many ways the sexagesimal system entered into the Babylonian conception of the world, Winckler has shown. In his Himmels-

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\(^1\) Pre-Socratic Philosophy, i, 334.
and Weltenbld der Babylonier, Leipzig, 1901, p. 15 ff. If the Greeks borrowed a part of the Babylonian sexagesimal system, it seems fair to infer that, when other parts of it appear in Greek life, they were also borrowed. We learn, too, from Berossos that the Babylonians had the notion of a 36,000 year period. In spite of Albert’s argument, therefore, it seems to me that the Babylonian origin of Plato’s mystic number is raised to a high degree of probability, if not to practical certainty. This may be said, too, without thereby endorsing the extravagances of the German pan-Babylonians.
On an Old Babylonian Letter addressed “to Lushtamar.”—
By GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor in Bryn Mawr College,
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

In the JDP collection of the University of Pennsylvania there is an Old Babylonian letter addressed “to Lushtamar,” which has in recent years attained an unpleasant notoriety. In the official history of the expedition written by Hilprecht (Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series D, Vol. I, p. 533), he says: “Concerning the character of the business and administrative department of the ‘library,’ where contracts were executed, orders given out, income and expense lists kept, etc., I have to add little to what has been previously stated (p. 524). A number of letters were found intact. The envelopes sealed and addressed more than four thousand years ago, immediately before the city was conquered and looted, were still unbroken. While writing these lines one of those ancient epistles of the time of Amraphel (Gen. 14) lies unopened before me. It is 3 1/4 inches long, 2 1/2 inches wide, and 1 3/4 inches thick. One and the same seal cylinder has been rolled eleven times over the six sides of the clay envelope before it was baked with the document within. It bears the simple address ‘To Lushtamar.’ Though sometimes curious to know the contents of the letter, I do not care to break the fine envelope and to intrude upon Mr. Lushtamar’s personal affairs and secrets, as long as thousands of mutilated literary tablets from the library require all my attention.”

Here, if language means anything, Hilprecht says that this tablet was “found” by the expedition of 1900 in “the library.”

1 See also Transactions of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Pennsylvania, p. 114; also Hilprecht’s Die Ausgrabungen der Universität von Pennsylvania am Bel-Tempel zu Nippur, Leipzig, 1903, p. 61 ff.; and Recent Research in Bible Lands, p. 532. For the implications of these statements and the shifting and contradictory statements which Hilprecht has made as one after another of his assertions about the tablet have been proved untenable, see The So-called
Dr. Peters called attention of this Society three years ago to the fact that the tablet was not excavated at Nippur, but was purchased at Bagdad (see JAOS. xxvi, 158), and it is the purpose of the present article to call attention to evidence which, the writer believes, clearly proves that the tablet was not written at Nippur and was never sent to Nippur. The evidence is as follows:

In the German lecture of Hilprecht already quoted (Die Ausgrabungen, etc.) a half-tone reproduction of the face of this tablet is given, on p. 62, and also in the Transactions, p. 156. The characters on the seal are not very clear in either reproduction, but a part of the seal can, though with difficulty, be read. I have examined these pictures repeatedly in different lights and with a glass, and make out the name of the sender to be Illu-šu-ba-ši apil Ibi-šu-NIN-SAH, i.e., Ilushubani son of Ibininshakh. Now the sender of this letter, Ilushubani, son of Ibininshakh, was a resident of Sippar and not of Nippur. In a tablet of the Kh collection published by Ranke (BE. vi, No. 50, f. 19) Ilushubani son of Ibininshakh appears as a witness. It can be shown that this tablet was written in Sippar. The reasons are: 1. That in the oath-formula the contracting parties mentioned the god Shamash before the god Marduk. This creates a probability that the residence of the parties was Sip-

In examining the references in this last work, it should be noted that none of the material contained in brackets was part of the original statements.

1 I have not been able to obtain access to the tablet itself, but this reading has been confirmed since my paper was presented at the meeting in Cambridge, by Dr. Hugo Radan, who now has the tablet in his possession. In a pamphlet privately printed in Philadelphia, May, 1908, in which Dr. McClellan, a professor of medicine, gives a "Non-Partisan View of Professor Hilprecht's Work," and Dr. Radan treats of "Hilprecht's View Regarding Nippur Tablets," Radan endeavors to forestall the effect upon Hilprecht of the publication of my present article, and in doing so confirms the correctness of my reading, also supplying from the tablet the occupation of the sender and an additional phrase which were so blurred in the photographs that I could not make them out. According to him the seal reads: "Illushubani, the merchant, son of Ibininshakh, the servant of Ninshakh." Dam-qar "merchant," and ašašašk with NIN-SAH, "servant of Ninshakh," are the words which the photographs did not reveal.
par, the city of Shamash. 2. This probability is raised to a certainty by the fact that the names of two other witnesses to this contract (BE. vi, 50), viz: Rish-shamash, son of Ingun-ukkhi, and Abumwaqar, son of Shamashnurmatim (ll. 21, 22), occur as witnesses also on another tablet published by Ranke (BE. vi, 57, ll. 20 and 22)—a tablet which was written in Sippar. This is shown by the fact that in the oath which confirms the contract they swore not only by the gods Shamash and Marduk, but by the city Sippar. Ilushubani was certainly, therefore, a resident of Sippar. Both these contracts were dated in the reign of Shamsuiluna, the son and successor of Hammurabi, the dynasty to which Hilprecht refers this letter, and I may add that he is the only Ilushubani son of Ibi-Ninshakh whose name is known to us. It is clear, therefore, that the letter was written at Sippar and not at Nippur. A catastrophe at Nippur could accordingly not have prevented the despatch of the letter, and so account for the presence of the letter in its envelope.

Why, then, was this letter never opened in ancient times? The answer seems to me very clear. It is well known that all important documents were written in duplicate. Two copies of this letter were undoubtedly made. One was sent to Lushtamar, the other retained by the writer Ilushubani. When Lushtamar received his copy, he broke the clay envelope and read the letter. The envelope of this one has, we are told, never been broken. This is accordingly Ilushubani’s duplicate copy which he retained for his letter file. If he lived at Sippar, this was never sent from Sippar, so that it could not be claimed that this particular tablet was sent from Sippar to Nippur. It is quite impossible to claim, therefore, with any basis of reason that this tablet has ever been at Nippur.¹

¹ Radau, who in these matters always reflects Hilprecht, now admits (pamphlet cited above, p. 29 f.), that this tablet was written at Sippar, but claims that one must prove that Lushtamar lived at Sippar before my conclusion is established. He did not, however, tell the audience of non-Assyriologists, to whom his paper was read, that this letter had never been opened. I submit that it is far more probable that this is the copy made for Ilushubani’s letter file in Sippar, than that it was sent to a Lushtamar at Nippur, that the latter city was destroyed before Lushtamar could open it, that an Assyriologist bought it of an
Arab thief, gave it to that thief for safe keeping until he (the thief) could deliver it in a distant city, that the Assyriologist bought the same tablet again of a Baghdad dealer without knowing it, labeled it in a museum as from the latter purchase, and then in the end knew that it was the same tablet which many years before he had bought of the thief. The series of improbabilities ancient and modern are too great a strain on one's credulity, especially as the statements of the Assyriologist as originally made are now admitted by him to have been wrong in practically all their detail, and as the only other tablet, purchased at the same time as the Lushtamar tablet, which has so far been published, is a contract written at Sippar. (Cf. Banke, BE. vi, No. 17, and the So-called Peters-Hilprecht Controversy, p. 31.)
Assyrian *qana'n u* 'to coil'; and *xarâp u* 'to abound.'—
By Christopher Johnston, Professor in Johns Hopkins
University, Baltimore, Md.

a) *qana'n u.*
This verb is usually explained as a denominative from *qinnu*
'nest,' but while this may perhaps be true as regards Hebrew
and Syriac, it certainly does not hold good for Assyrian—*qana'n u*
means properly 'to coil, wind, wrap.' Thus *qana'n u ša cirī*
(Del. H.W., 588) means 'to coil (said) of a serpent'; and in
the Nimrod Epic (XI, 16) the gods in their fear *kima kalbi*
*qanannu* 'cower (literally 'curl up') like a dog.' The phrase
*kana'n u* (i.e. *qanannu*) ša kalbi 'to curl up (said) of a dog,
though placed in Del. H.W. (p. 339) under the stem [22],
evidently belongs here, and its precise force will be readily under-
stood by any one who has seen a dog in the act of lying down.
*qanannu ša amēti* (Del. H.W. 339) 'to crouch (said) of a man,' is
to be explained in the same way. IV R. 6, 13–14, it is the
malevolent enchanter who *ina šasur niṣī cirā qannīnu* 'coils a
snake in a human womb.' In other cases cited in Delitzsch's
Handwörterbuch and in Meissner's Supplement the context is
mutated or obscure. For the etymology we may compare
Arabic *qanna* 'to observe, scrutinize closely,' properly 'to
encompass,' and *qinnū* 'strand of rope;' i.e. something wound
or twisted.

*Qinnū* 'nest' means properly 'a coil' (of grass, leaves, etc.),
and in the phrase *qinnu qədanu* 'to build a nest,' the noun is
the so-called inner object of the verb. It would seem, there-
fore, that even in Hebrew and Syriac the use of the verb as a
denominative may be not original but secondary. *qinnu* is
fully treated in Del. H.W. (588) and needs no further remark
here. Another derivative, *qanna,* is particularly interesting.
In a number of cases *qanna* occurs in the meaning "border,"
properly 'circumference.' For example, in Amarna (KBv) No.
7, 20; No. 21, rev. 84: *qanni mātī* evidently means 'frontier'
and is so translated by Winckler; and in Harper's Letters, No.
252, 1. 8, we have śa qanni taxăni 'along the frontier.' From 'frontier' to 'district' is an easy step, and in the latter sense qanni occurs quite frequently. Thus, H. 409, 10: **inu pitatu śa qanni **ma[Uk] 'the prefect of the district of U.'; H. 408, rev. 31: qanni **mar**Uruzaina 'the district of (i.e. about) the city of U.'; H. 148, 4: dałēka [ana] qanni **mar**Turušpa šupur 'send your scouts to the district of T';* Winckler's Kollochritexte, ii, p. 9, 1, 11: ina qanni **mar**zarrān 'in the district of Harran.' For further examples, see Johns' Assyrian Domesday Book 1 I, 24, 39; 3 I, 5; 4 VII, r. 9, etc.; Johns' Assyrian Deeds, Nos. 331, 6; 472, 10; Knudtzon, Gebete, Nos. 108, 8; 109, 7.

qanni also means the border or skirt of a garment. In Craig's Religious Texts, p. 64, ll. 17–18, we have: nūzi mārat Sin, riša šubtāki, kurbi Šur-akīn gabiṯ qinnikī 'Rest, daughter of Sin, repose in thine abode; bless Sargon, who grasps thy skirt' (i.e. as a suppliant). Again, ibid., p. 6, ll. 2–3) śa isibatu ina šepā Śarrat Ninua là ḫu'at (d, t.) ina pexur īdāni rabūte, śa ina qanni saUrkittu qāqir là ḫu'at (d, t.) ina pexur zadānātešu 'he who grasps the feet of the Queen of Nineveh does not perish (?) for all the great gods; he who holds fast to the skirt of Urkittu does not perish for all his adversaries.' In King's Magic, No. 18, ll. 9–12, we find ẓubtakū-nu ki teri ina qammu, ki mardāni, Marduk, alāsun urkīku 'I cling fast, like a fringe, to thy skirt; like a foal, o Marduk, I run after thee.' In Harper's Letters, No. 676, rev. 7–8: ṭaṭod ina qanni ṣu artaša 'I bowed down, I held fast to his (the god's) skirt' (i.e. in supplication). Finally, in VR. 15. 50 d: qanni śa erišṭi seems to mean 'skirt, border of a garment,' erišṭu being doubtless a byform of erištā 'outer garment' (Del. H.W., 139). In the following line (51 d.) qanni śa zarišti means, apparently, 'anchor cable,' which was, of course, coiled up or wound around the capstan. zarīštu means 'to moor, or anchor,' a boat; mazrašū, a synonym of timmu and markas šippī (Del. H.W., 293, 622), is the ship's cable; and in IV R. 29, 2b (cited in Meissner's Supple-

1 Here written qa-ni, an orthography which occurs not infrequently, though I have not thought it necessary to note the instances in the following examples. I shall hereafter cite Harper's Letters as H.

* See my remarks on daššu in JAOS. xxii, 33.

* For teri 'fringe, border,' compare Talm. מַלְאַל 'twisted band, border.'
ment, p. 42) we have tāmtim rapaštu șa xarištšu la uridu anu ṣibbi 'the wide sea into which no anchor has descended,' i.e. the unfathomed depths of the ocean.

ganni also means 'outside,' the corresponding term for 'inside' being qapsu. Thus, in H. 354, rev. 2, bābu ša ganni means 'the outer gate'; H. 356, rev. 1-4: lā ina ganni uṣā, lā memēni īna qapsi ekallā ina pān šarru errah 'he shall not go out, nor shall any one come inside the palace into the king's presence.' H. 670, rev. 7: anu ganni lušeri 'they shall carry out (the torches),' and ibid, ll. 9-10: kīna šarru anu ganni īturi 'when the king goes out.' Again, H. 594, 8-9: adu ānu XXII KAM ša araz Ťutsitu anu ganni lā uṣā 'He is not to go out until the 22nd day of Tishri.'

b) zarápu 'to abound.'

This stem may be compared to Heb. עֲרָפָה `autumn,' and Arabic zarafā 'to gather fruit.' Besides the infinitive, cited without translation in HW. 291, the verb occurs in at least two passages. H. 3, 12-13: șm qalīt șa niszārū nīšāqi 'we shall give those men plenty to drink'; and in the fable of the ox and the horse, the ox says (CT. XV, 34, 27): țartpāni akāt kisāti 'I have plenty of fodder to eat,' literally the eating of fodder abounds to me.' The derivative zarpu is given in II R. 47, 25 e f (cf. Del. H.W., 289) as the equivalent of a Sumerian expression which may be rendered eḫaru kātātu 'heavy, bountiful harvest.' Another derivative is zarāpu 'locust' (S 252), properly the 'multitudinous (insect). In Del. H.W., 289, the word is given as zarūba, from עֲרָפָה, as 'the devastating (insect),' but this is hardly possible since the form fa'll must have a passive or intransitive meaning.

zaruptu, and xaruptu (Del. H.W., 291, Meissner, Supplement, 41) also seem to be derivatives of this stem, though it is difficult to infer their meaning from the context in which they occur.

I owe this suggestion to Professor Haupt.
The Tagalog Ligature and Analogies in other Languages.—

By FRANK R. BLAKE, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

In those languages with which we are most familiar, the languages of the Indo-European and Semitic families of speech, words that stand to each other in the relation of modifier and modified, as, for example, noun and adjective, require no exterior element to show this relation. The concord in ending, as in equus candidus, or the position, as in cheval blanc, is quite sufficient for this purpose.

In Tagalog, however, as in the Philippine languages in general, words that stand in the relation of modifier and modified are usually joined together by certain particles, which form a distinct part of speech.¹ For example, a Tagalog, instead of saying for 'good man' mabūti tāwō with immediate juxtaposition of the adjective and noun, says mabūti-ng tāwō or tāwō-ng mabūti with a connective particle, the guttural nasal ng between the two.

For particles like this ng we may employ the term 'ligature,' translating the Spanish term ligazón.

This ligature has in Tagalog a triple form, viz., na, -ng, -n. Na is used regularly after a word ending in a consonant (though it may also be used after one ending in a vowel), e. g., for 'strong man' we have malakás na tāwō where na is used after the consonantal ending of the adjective malakás 'strong.' The particle ng is used after a word ending in a vowel or n, e. g., mabūti-ng tāwō 'good man,' where the guttural nasal is used after the vocalic ending of the adjective mabūti 'good'; and bāyang malakí 'large town,' where the final n of bāyan 'town' coalesces with the guttural nasal of the ligature giving bāyang.² The particle n is sometimes used instead of the


² The statement is usually made in the various Tagalog grammars that g is the ligature in this last case, but this view has of course no phonetic basis, there being no g sound in such endings, the letter g being simply a part of the digraph ng representing the guttural nasal.
particle *ng, e. g., 'Spanish shirt' may be expressed by either *báro-ng kastila or *báro-n kastila. The difference between the forms *ng and *n is perhaps dialectic; it is the same difference as we have in English between the elegant and the colloquial pronunciations of the present participle in *ing, e. g., 'doing' and 'doin'. These connective particles have the greatest variety of uses, but the principle underlying their use is practically always the same, viz., that the two elements joined must stand to each other in the relation of modifier and modified.

The cases in which the ligature is used fall into two general classes, viz. — a) cases in which it is employed to join words and phrases; b) cases in which it is employed to join sentences. I shall not attempt to trace in detail all the complicated uses of the ligature, but will confine myself to some of the most striking cases.

The most important of the words and phrases joined by the ligature are the following, viz. — a) the noun and its adjective, which construction is exemplified in *mabútí-ng távo 'good man'; b) a noun and a following noun modifying the first as a genitive, e. g., *ang báhay na bató 'the house of stone,' the ligature *na standing between báhay 'house' and its modifier bató 'stone'; c) an adjective or adverb and an adverbial modifier, e. g., *tubhá-ng mabútí 'very good,' the adverb *tubhá 'very,' which modifies the adjective mabútí, being followed by the ligature: d) a verb and an adverbial modifier, e. g., *bágo-ng ginásed 'just, newly made,' the ligature being used between the verb ginásed 'was made' and the adverb *bágo 'newly, just': e) the particles that express the idea of 'to have, to possess,' viz., *may and *salô and their object 'the thing possessed,' e. g., *mayroón siyá-ng salôpi 'he has money,' the ligature *ng being used between the word for money salôpi and the word immediately preceding it; (here the ligature seems to have about the force of a partitive article like French

* The popular idea that the people who say 'doin' drop their $g$'s is of course incorrect, the guttural nasal represented by the digraph *ng being in this case simply changed to the dental nasal.

* The circumflex accent is used with an accented final vowel to denote that it is followed by the glottal catch. When a final vowel of this character is followed by the ligature, the glottal catch is lost, and the accent is indicated simply by the acute accent mark.
The ligature is also used to join two sentences together, the sentence after the ligature being usually an adjective or noun clause. For example, ’I received the letter that you sent’ is rendered as follows: tinanggap ko ang silat (‘I received the letter’) na (the ligature = ‘that’) ipinadalâ mo sa ákin (‘you sent me’), the two clauses ‘I received the letter’ and ‘you sent me’ being joined by the ligature na.

The most original of these various functions of the ligature was probably that of joining together a noun and a modifying adjective element, and its use in joining an adjective clause, i.e., as relative pronoun, is perhaps more original than its use in joining single words. From its use between noun and adjective was doubtless developed the idea that the particle was the proper element to show the connection between any two words or elements that stood in the relation of modifier and modified, so that it was used not only between noun and adjective, but also between adjective and adverb, between verb and adverb, etc.

The ligature after the particles indicating possession, viz., may and waldâ, and after the interrogative pronouns, seems to be the simple relative used with the force of the compound relative ang. For example, in the sentence mayroôn akó-ng salapí ‘I have some money,’ the ligature + the noun salapí means practically ‘what is money?’ and in the sentence sino-ng gungmawâ ‘who did it?’ we have seen that the ligature + verb is equivalent to the article ang + the verb (cf. above).

While the use of these connective particles or ligatures appears most prominently in the Philippine Languages, forming one-of

1 The compound relative is regularly expressed by the article ang.
their most salient characteristics, it is interesting to note that
the use of such particles is not confined to these languages, but
is found to some extent in languages of both the Indo-European
and Semitic families of speech. The connective particles are
here, as in the Philippine Languages, either identical with or
closely connected with the relative pronouns. The language
which presents the closest analogy to the Philippine languages
in this respect is Modern Persian, an Indo-European idiom
descended from some sister dialect of the language of the Avesta.
Here a particle is derived from the ancient relative hya' corre-
sponds to the Tagalog guttural nasal; for example, 'pure water'
is not simply ḏā pāk, but ḏā-i pāk; 'male lion' is not simply
ṣīr nār, but ṣīr-i nār. This particle is also regularly used to
indicate the genitive, e. g., tä́̄ y-i nār 'crown of gold.' In
several of the Semitic languages, viz., Assyrian, Aramaic, and
Ethiopic, the relative pronoun is employed in a similar way,
principally as a sign of the genitive, e. g., 'the man's wife' is
in Assyrian ʾāšatu ša ʾamēl, in Syriac ʿalīš ā de gablā, in
Ethiopic ṣaḥār : ṣaḥāl : bēʾēśit za-bēʾēśii, the relatives ša,
de and za being practically equivalent to the English preposition
'of,' and corresponding to the Tagalog ligature in such phrases
as bahāy na hātō 'house of stone.' In Ethiopian, however, za
may also be used before an adjective that modifies a noun, e. g.,
ḥārōlf : ḫuf : za-quādām šer-ātō 'his previous station,' the
relative za being used before the adjective quādām 'previous,
former' which modifies šer-ātō 'his station.'

There are also analogies in Egyptian and Coptic, which
according to the latest researches belong to the Semitic family
of speech. The genitive in both languages is often indicated
by a particle nā, a demonstrative element from which the Old
Egyptian relative is probably derived, and in Coptic this partic-
le nā is often used between noun and adjective just like the

1 Cf. Salemann u. Shukovski, *Persische Grammatik.* Berlin, 1899, § 16,
p. 30 ff.
2 Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik.* Berlin, 1889, § 123, 2; Nöldike
Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik. Leipzig, 1898, § 205, B; Dillmann-
Bezold, *Grammatik der Äthiopischen Sprache.* Leipzig, 1899, § 188.
ligature in Tagalog, e.g., 'a weak man' is either ㅇ-.pojo
n-Doctrine ou-rome 'n-echo or ㅇ-Doctrine n-Doctrine ou-echo 'n-rome,
the particle n in both cases standing between noun and adject-
tive just as the ligature ng stands in Tagalog in taeo-ng mabuti
or mabuti-ng taeo 'good man.'

The use of these connective particles, then, in all these
languages is to be regarded simply as an extension of the use
of the relative pronoun. While it is found in its highest
development in the Philippine languages, certain other lan-
guages, notably Modern Persian and Coptic, have also made con-
siderable advances in the same direction. Generally speaking,
the human mind is the same the world over, and linguistic
phenomena that are found in one family of speech may be
expected to recur in other families. But the fact that, as here,
these phenomena often reach their highest development in
obscure forms of speech, shows the importance of some
knowledge of those languages that stand outside of the beaten
path of linguistic study.


I would suggest that sufficient attention has not been given to the theories of Miklosich and Pischel as to the probable connection between the Dard or "Piśāca" languages of the North-Western Frontier of British India and Rommany. The connection is much closer than that between Rommany and any of the languages of India proper. To show this I append a list of some words in Professor Prince's vocabulary with their Piśāca equivalents. I also take the liberty of suggesting a few corrections on other points. Did time permit, I could largely increase the list of Piśāca-Rommany equations.

The Piśāca languages are the following:

- Baśgali (B.)
- Wai-ală (W.)
- Veron (V.)
- Paśai (P.)
- Gawar-bati (G.)
- Kalăśā (K.)
- Kho-wār (Kh.)
- Șīnā (Ș.)
- Kāșmīrī (Kā.)
- Gārwēl (Gār.)
- Maiyā (M.)

Two important points should be noted in these languages. In their earliest form known to us, that of Piśāci Prakrit, they hardened Indian ĝ, j, d, d, and b, to k, c, t, t, and p, respectively. This is constantly followed by Rommany. In their modern forms they invariably, except in borrowed words, dis-aspirate Indian gh, lh, dh, dh, and bh, to g, j, d, d, and b, respectively. It will be seen that this also is followed with great consistency in Rommany.

With reference to the origin of the word 'Rom', I may mention that the professional singers of these people are known as Dōms, who are not a low caste like the Dōms of India proper.

1 I here follow Professor Prince's spelling of this word. The same remark applies to all words Gypsy quoted below.
These are the people who would have been naturally sent from India to Persia, as is said to have happened at the request of Behram Gaur for 12,000 Indian musicians.

Avenue, out. Kh. biri (Avesta deiar).
Bónder, divide. P. vanvi. G. v' bent (Skr. v'van').
Bicher, send. Rightly compared with H. bhej-nà. I have not met the corresponding word in Písacà, but in Písacà under general phonetic laws bh becomes b, and j may become s. In the oldest form of Písacà (Prakrit) j becomes ch (c).
Bikkin, sell. H. bik-na, to be sold. Písacà equivalent not known.
Bökkal, hungry. M. bûcha, hunger. Again note the dis-
aspiration of the H. bhûkhâ.
Bonga, crooked. Cf. vyahga under bëng, above.
Bôsh, violin. Skr. vadya, Ks. v' badi, to sound.
Chib, jib, tongue. Písacà, jip, jib, or jib. Again see the dis-
aspiration of H. jibh and the hardening of j to ch (i.e., c).
Chong, knee. Skr. jaighâ. Typical Písacà change of j to ch (c) and disaspiration of gh.
Drab, poison. Skr. dravya, Ks. dhrav.
Gry, horse. Cf. Kashmiri gur (base guri). Note again dis-
aspiration from G. ghôrâ.
Hangar, coal. S. hagûr, fire, coal.
Hêfta, seven. Surely < Persian haft.
Jâva, woman. I should be more inclined to compare Skr. yunati. ? cf. also B. ja-gür.
Kair, house. Ks. gara. Note again the disaspiration of H, ghar. In old Písacà Prakrit g may become k.
Kan, ear. Ks. kan. The Hindi word is kàn, not kan.
Kâni, hen, chicken. S. kankoro-co, cock; B. kûr or kûn, chicken. B. kakak, a fowl.
Kâtsi, scissors. Surely this is the Písacà root kàt, H. kät, cut, and has nothing to do with qainchi.
Kōl, play. Not H. kōl, but y khol, to play, sport.
Kā, count. Rightly compared with H. gīn-nā, but note the old Paisāci hardening of y to k.
Kāl, cheese. B. kāl-ār, cheese.
Kālo, tired. Skr. kāna, H. khīn.
Kūr, beat. M. y kūr, kōt.
Lattī, she, Lester, he, lende, they. The l of the third person appears as K. elē-drūs, they, V. es-le, he. Cf. Māwe Bhil., dō, he (connected with Paisāca).
Mācha, fish. B. māto.
Mātto, drunk. Kā. mat.
Mānc, face. M. mā.
Na, name Kā. nav.
Nēyka, now. Kā. nav.
Nēto, own. H. (dialectic) (up)nēka.
Pēn, say = Skr. bhūn. Note disaspiration and change of b to p.
Pēgger, break = Skr. bhagna. Note ditto, ditto.
Pānsi-rān, fishing-rod. Note (if this be a genuine word) hardening of b in H. bānī.
Rik, side, direction. = Skr. dīś, dīk. Change of initial d to r not uncommon.
Rāklo, a boy. Cf. Gujarātī dikrō. Same remarks apply; derivation from larkā is very doubtful.
Shālee, rice. B. shālī. Nothing to do with H. chāwal. It is the Skr. śāli.
Sherro, head. Kā. shēr.
Shētor, four. B. šō. W. Štā. Š. corr. Tocharish, štewar.1

1 See Sieg & Sieglins, Tocharisch, die Sprache der Indoiskyen. In Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, xxxix (1908), 924.
Saster, iron. Kš. shistar.
Suvai, asa'va, to laugh. Kš. ə'us.
Sig, quick. Note the disaspiration of gh.
Trāsh. H. trās.
Tul, hold. Kš. ə'tul, hold up.
Tvā, smoke. If this is H. dhūā, note the disaspiration and hardening of the d. Modern Kš. has dūh.
Harvest Festivals of the Land Dyaks.—By Mrs. Samuel Bryan Scott, Philadelphia, Pa.

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Introduction.

Religious ceremonies, because they are growths and not inventions, gather to themselves elements of deep significance from many sides of life, absorbing a little here, a little there, assimilating the new to the old, converting incongruities into a single unit, with character all its own. The Land Dyak harvest festivals are to the Dyaks themselves customs with a single meaning, handed down, like all good things, from their ancestors. The careful analyst may find them more like a new-world city, whose component elements have come from many sources.

The harvest celebration consists of three parts, or one might better say, of three separate feasts, one held at the gathering of first fruits, one in the middle of harvest, and the last after the season’s crop is stored. These rise in an ascending scale of importance to the final climax. Considered more broadly, they are seen to be only the culmination of a series of similar feasts held at intervals throughout the whole process of farming. So closely connected are all the farming ceremonial that it is impossible to understand the distinctively harvest festivals without considering at the same time the preceding rites.

My purpose is to construct, from comparison of numerous fragmentary notices, a summary of the religious ceremonies of the Land Dyaks directly concerned with care of farms, and to point out some of the elements in these which have an obvious origin in a present or past condition of their life.

I.

Local Factors Determining Agricultural Life.

A necessary preliminary to any such account of the agricultural festivals is a brief description of the Dyak process of cultivation and the causes that gave rise to it. Starting with the
desire to explain religious customs, I have been driven back and
back to an inquiry into the island’s geology. For with the
exception of a few breaks due to the intercurrence of external
influences, the causal series runs much like an old Mother Goose
rhyme. Geological forces made the soil, the soil produced the
crops, the crops determined the method of farming, the method
of farming demanded fixed social conditions and the social con-
ditions shaped the ritual. It would carry me beyond the limits
of this paper to go into a study of these broad primary founda-
tions. But they demand at least a passing comment.

1. Physical conditions. The country of the Land Dyaks is
the northwestern extremity of the Island of Borneo. Here the
mountain range which forms the boundary between Sarawak and
the southern mass of the island belonging to the Dutch
approaches nearer to the sea than it does in its eastern portion,
and runs almost parallel with the Sarawak coast line. The Land
Dyaks live in the foothills of this range and in the valleys of the
four rivers flowing from it through the western corner of Sara-
wak. In the more mountainous part their country consists of
alternate valleys and heights, varying from low rounded hills to
peaks of several thousand feet, the whole covered with dense
jungle. Nearer the sea it spreads out into jungle-covered alluvial plains dotted with isolated mountains and hills, which
rise abruptly out of the flat country. The plains were formed
by centuries of crumbling of the interior sandstone and granite
mountains; the lonely hills were once rocky islets, which in
course of time have been completely surrounded by detritus
deposited by the mountain streams.

Both the mountain valleys and coast plains afford excellent
soil for rice-culture when stripped of their jungle. Well watered

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1 A. C. Haddon, Head Hunters, Black, White, and Brown, pp. 286,
314-315; Sir Hugh Low, Sarawak, its Inhabitants and Productions,
pp. 29, 291-297, 351-352; Mundy, Narrative of Events in Borneo, ii,
p. 385; Sir James Brooke, in Mundy, i, pp. 193-195, 226, 300, 325, 335-
336; ibid. in Keppel, Expedition to Borneo of H. M. S. Dido (American
edition of 1846), pp. 11-29, 90, 144, and 330; Sir Spencer St.John, Life
in the Forests of the Far East, i, pp. 26 and 139.

2 G. A. F. Molegraaf, Borneo Expedition, Geological Explorations
in Central Borneo (English revised edition by G. J. Hinde, 1902),
pp. 444 ff.
by streams and by daily showers, and with tropical suns to bring
the grain to quick maturity, the country can easily yield a rich
harvest every six months.\footnote{Houghton, Memoirs of the Anthropol-
ogical Society, iii, p. 195, quoted by Roth, Native of Sarawak, i, p.
60; St. John, i, p. 29; Low, p. 225; Keppel, p. 331; Hunt, in ibid., p.
388.}

2. The method of cultivation. How the Land Dyaks came into
this region, what experience and traditions they brought with
them, are problems that belong to the nebulous regions of specu-
lative ethnology.\footnote{Even their presence in Borneo is not perfectly
understood. It is supposed by some writers that they are aboriginal,
by others that they came from Java directly, by others from Anam,
by others from Java via the Malay Peninsula. Cf. W. H. Furness, A
Sketch of Folk Lore in Borneo, p. 4; G. W. Earl, The Eastern Seas,
pp. 239–240, 258, 275–276; St. John, ii, p. 334; i, p. 8; Fred
Boyle, Adventures among the Dyaks of Borneo, pp. 28 and 252;
Chalmers in Grant's Tour, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 277; Low, p. 93 ff.; Haddon, p. 322.} Nothing is certain enough to take for
granted; and any discussion of probabilities would carry me
far beyond reasonable limits. I shall therefore, without forget-
ting that at any point of our investigation we may come upon
facts whose explanation lies in a former habitat, consider only
the influences of the present environment and the known contacts
with outside peoples.

The Dyaks' own traditions point to a comparatively recent
migration into the part of the country I have described, from
some region not far distant. The chosen spots for settling would
naturally be along the rivers, for more fertile fields and also
because of the facilities for transportation. This latter is no
slight consideration in a country without beasts of burden,
and where the human carriers must traverse so-called "paths"
consisting merely of single logs placed end to end over swamps
and ravines; and with the extensive method by which farming is
carried on in Borneo, many farms must be at a great distance
from the village. Had the Land Dyaks been left to themselves
in this fertile country, probably those tribes living below the
point where the mountain streams become navigable rivers would
have built longhouses along the banks, as did the Sea Dyaks.
But they had the misfortune to be easy of access to predatory
neighbours and were forced to choose the isolated hill as a village
site, even when this happened to be some seven or eight miles back from a river. From this eminence men, women, and children descend daily during the farming season to work on the farm lands at its base, or paddle up river to the more distant fields.

Land once cleared for planting is quickly overgrown in tropical Borneo. And each season the first farming operation consists of clearing the jungle. This is done by cutting through the largest trees, which in falling tear the smaller ones with them. The fallen forest is then set on fire for the double purpose of clearing away the débris and fertilizing the soil. Planting the carefully cherished seed is the next stage, and then follow trying months of constant weeding and watching to guard against blight and ward off destructive animals, work which falls largely to the share of the women. When the padi is ripe the entire village turns out again for several weeks' strenuous labor of harvesting, and a joyful carrying home and storing of the grain.

II.

The Agricultural Feasts.

1. Their connection with the season. The whole labor of farming is for the Dyaks no mere prosaic routine, but a supernaturally protected process with constant festal interruptions. Before they begin clearing the land, a preliminary rite of taking omens divinely determines the location of the farm, which, owing to their habit of allowing land to lie fallow between crops, is never the same two years in succession. A religious feast is held in the midst of the work of cutting the jungle, preparatory to planting, and another when the fallen forest is set on fire. A third feast blesses the seed. Then follow several uneventful months while the rice is maturing. During this time no general celebrations occur. But individual families perform lesser rites; if any accident happens to the farm, if they have bad dreams, if a tree falls across the field path, in case of sickness or acci-

*Ibid., pp. 223-232, 317; Brooke in Keppel, pp. 144-146; Grant, p. 31, quoted by Roth, i, p. 406; Wallace, i, p. 110, quoted ibid., i, p. 407; Brooke Low. MS. notes, quoted ibid., p. 403.

"Padi" is the general term for the unhusked rice.
dental death, and when the government rice-tax is paid. The next tribal function is the gathering of first fruits when the grain is ripe. It is followed in a couple of weeks by the mid-harvest festival, which interrupts the work of reaping. The final greatest feast of the year celebrates the completion of the whole process. Each tribal ceremony marks a distinct stage in the agricultural work.

2. Common characteristics. There is a curious similarity in these rites. They all consist of a putting aside of ordinary occupations, the inhabitants of a village remaining indoors, eating scantily, and receiving no visitors; of beating of gongs and drums; of erecting an altar on which are placed choice offerings to the spirits; of killing a fowl or pig; and finally of ending the taboo by eating the slain animals, and great merrymaking.

The principal difference is in the length of the taboo and the number of animals killed. From the one day interdict and sacrifice of a single fowl at jungle cutting and jungle burning, as also on the occasion of family offerings, the amount of time and number of victims required increase with the growing importance of the feasts, to two days' and nights' taboo, with several fowls killed, at the gathering of first fruits; four days, with sacrifice of pigs as well as fowls, at mid-harvest; finally, to eight or even sixteen days' taboo, with slaughter of many pigs and fowls, at the end of the season.

III.

Practical Reasons for the Feasts.

If we ask why religious celebrations should be held on the occasions the Dyaks have chosen, the reason for each is not far to seek.

1. Need of propitious weather. At jungle cutting and when the ground is burnt over and the seed planted, the Dyaks feel themselves peculiarly dependent upon the action of unseen

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7 There is also a feast held at some time during the season,—I have been unable to find the exact time,—which secures as a necessary preparation for it, the putting in order of paths around the village, and leading to the farms. Cf. below, note 51.

8 St. John, i, pp. 185, 190-198, 263: Chalmers in Grant's Tour, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 401, 412, 414; Low, pp. 251, 254, 262.
forces. Wet weather at the beginning of this process would indefinitely delay preparing the farms. But as soon as the seed is actually planted plentiful rains are desired. The time has been chosen by the elders of the tribe so as to take advantage of the end of the dry season for burning, the beginning of the wet for planting. But the weather is not entirely calculable; and the evil spirits who take a malicious delight in sending storms at the wrong time must be appeased.

2. Local accidents. The lesser celebrations during the growth of the rice are simply to ward off the attacks of spirits who bring disaster. It seems curious that the government rice-tax should be regarded as one of the disastrous accidents of farming. But under Malay rule it was, to say the least, a misfortune. The custom of Malay officials was to collect revenue by sending boats to take the Dyaks' rice in nominal exchange for goods not worth one tenth its value, and usually things the Dyaks did not want. If any tribe objected to this bargain the women and children were carried off into slavery. Sir Spencer St. John, who describes this religious ceremony, wrote from observations made about 1855, only a few years after the cession of this part of the country to Rajah Brooke; and he is probably referring to a custom instituted during Malay control, and kept alive by dread of traders of that nation who continued to drive their oppressive bargains wherever the Rajah was unable at the time to protect his weakened subjects.º

3. Survival of historic utility. While the planting feast, like the sacrifice at jungle cutting, may be partially accounted for as an offering and prayer for rain, the accompanying rite of blessing the seed, performed by the priestesses, and the solemn planting of a few sacred grains called the "soul of the rice," must be considered in connection with a ceremony at the mid-harvest and final feasts, in which the season before this "soul" has been secured from the crop. On these two occasions there is a wild dance of gaily-dressed priests and priestesses, carrying mystic symbols, and they whirl about the room to the accompaniment of drums and gongs. At last the high priest springs on the altar and shakes the corner-post. Small stones, bunches of hair, and

ºLow, p. 247; Brooke in Mundy, i, p. 188; St. John, i, p. 198; Keppel, p. 339 ff.
grains of rice fall at the feet of the dancers. These grains are the soul, and are carefully kept to be planted with the seed next year. On this, they think, depends the life and health of the crop, for nothing can live without a soul.  

I should like to offer a tentative suggestion as to the possible origin of this custom, from a study of Dyak conditions. It cannot be more than tentative with the meagre historical information available.

Dyak tradition affirms that they have become settled rice-planters only in recent times. At some time before they came to their present habitat, they were wandering jungle folk, like the savages still to be found at the headwaters of most Borneo rivers, living by hunting and trapping and the wild fruits and edible roots of the forest. Then someone, a demigod they say—probably some Malays or Javans—taught them to cut and burn and plant.

Now the first lesson of a people just beginning agriculture is to refrain from eating all the crop, in order to save a little for seed. Long custom and the experienced advantages of prudence are not present to aid their restraint. But religious authority appeals to them. It becomes a duty commanded by the gods to preserve seed-grain and bury it in the fields with prayer and ritual the next year. The duty is taught in the most impressive way, ceremonially. As such people advanced in agricultural

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4 Cf. accounts by St. John and Chalmers noted above, also St. John, i, p. 187; Roth, i, p. 203; Brooke in Keppel, p. 194. Mr. F. B. Jevons (Introduction to the History of Religion, ch. x) says that totemism taught these savages the lesson of abstinence from eating the flesh of cattle and all the wheat, and this made an increase of herds and crops. The principle implied in this statement, that necessary foresight was secured religiously, is exactly the line on which I have conjectured the growth of the Land Dyak ceremony. It will be seen, however, merely from this case of the Land Dyaks, that Mr. Jevons's sweeping generalization on totemism will have to be somewhat modified. There is nothing, so far as I can see, approaching a clan totem in the Dyaks' idea of the rice, nor, indeed, of any of the several deities connected with harvest. It is just such difficulties that call for further intensive studies of the conditions of individual peoples as a basis for general comparative theories.

5 For a discussion of this legend of the origin of rice-culture, cf. article by the present writer in this JOURNAL, vol. xxvi, part one.
experience to the present position of the Land Dyaks, keeping the grain for planting would be a matter of course, no longer needing ritual persuasion. So that in the present transmuted ceremony not all the seed but only a few grains, called the soul of the rice, are religiously preserved and prayerfully planted.

4. **Tribal reasons for the rite of first fruits.** The offering of first fruits to the god of harvest seems almost too commonplace to need any explanation. But perhaps it may not be amiss to point out one or two of its beneficial results to the Land Dyaks.

It serves, in the first place, to emphasize the community ideal. No man may touch his own harvest till the priestesses have gathered bunches of grain from all the fields, and the common feast of the whole village has been held. After this is over they may repair the bamboo platforms on which the rice is trodden out and set about the work of reaping.

The simultaneous harvesting thus secured has also its practical advantages. By this means the men, whose field work is not needed between the time of felling the jungle and reaping, are all left free at the same time to organize jungle expeditions.\(^{32}\)

Timely ripening of all fields has been secured by a simultaneous planting. The laggards and indolent are kept up to this by a strict taboo which forbids a man to eat new rice under any circumstances until his own be ripe. Sir Hugh Low says that this custom "was doubtless intended in its original institution to prevent the prevalence of indolence. . . . Could they eat the new rice, many of them would perhaps, from idleness, delay the preparing of their farms, hoping to borrow, and thus become indebted to their more industrious neighbors; but with this curious but useful practice before them, they all plant at one time . . . . and can only become indebted toward the end of the season."\(^{113}\)

5. **Real and reaction.** The mid-harvest festival, Chalmers aptly suggests, gives an interval of rest in the hard labor of harvesting. The prospect of feasting and drinking and excitement.

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\(^{32}\) For description of hunting, birds' nest and bees' wax gathering cf. Low, pp. 314–316; Grant, quoted by Roth, i, p. 428; St. John, i, pp. 224–229; of the war path—Brooke in Keppel, pp. 190–192; ibid., in Mundy, i, p. 331.

\(^{113}\) Low, p. 302.
gives added zest to their early work; and the religious enthusiasm aroused stirs them to further efforts.

That the greatest of the farming festivals should celebrate the completion of the season seems fitting. It is the normal reaction to merriment and lavishness, when the strain of toil and frugality is suddenly released. This is the end of labor; the other feasts were only intervals.

But the Dyak theory of an occasion is not apt to correspond to its real cause. The interpretation of this "Nyishupen" is connected with their whole conception of the spirit world and its relation to their well-being. Sickness and ill-luck, they think, come to men and crops from the onslaught of evil spirits, and may be warded off by the application of charms, or by religious ceremonies, known from this connection as doctorings. The annual harvest home gave an excellent opportunity for a periodic preventive, and is regarded as a general doctoring to secure supernatural protection to men and fields.

To sum up the occasions for the agricultural feasts—they occur when special requisites of weather or threatening of disaster make the people feel a need of supernatural aid, or when some practical purpose may be served by a temporary suspension of labor and a communal gathering.

IV.

Dyak Feasts in General.

1. Harvest festivals fully understood only in connection with other feasts. The reasons I have given seem to me to account sufficiently for the timing of the agricultural celebrations. For the existence among the Dyaks of religious feasts as such, we must look farther than the exigencies of the farming process. For not only are the three harvest celebrations similar in many respects to the lesser ceremonies that precede them, but in general character all are like numerous other feasts that have nothing to do with planting and reaping.

Ceremonies of supernatural import are coextensive with their jollifications and great social gatherings. Or rather we may say that every assemblage for unusual eating and drinking and pleasurable excitement has been given a religious significance.
2. **Feast and fast—its use.** Dyak economy, in many respects not unlike civilized economy, consists in doing without for a longer or shorter period and then indulging to one's heart's content. It is one way, and for undisciplined people a very effective way, of preserving the food supply. It also serves a more round-about economic purpose, particularly as regards drinking, by keeping them between whiles efficient for labor. They ordinarily refrain altogether from their favorite intoxicant and are compensated for this restraint by plentiful indulgence at feasts. Shall we blame the feasts as cultivating a love for arrack or is it truer to see in them the prospective pleasure which gives the childlike Dyaks sufficient self-control for the intermediate temperance?[14]

3. **Education in ideals.** Given the alternate feasting and fasting, which may or may not in itself have been regarded as a duty to the gods, the spiritual meaning which has become attached to the feasts makes them unconsciously serve a purpose which we are inclined to regard as a product of our most recent activities,—the purpose of general religious education. For not even in the jungle does the individual develop spontaneously the attitude of mind and conduct which has grown out of the community's experience and crystalized in generations of tradition. The various feasts impress upon the Dyak's mind his tribal ideals. Occurring generally as a reaction after a period of strain or distress, every merrymaking is given a religious interpretation according to the occasion.[15]

When the successful warriors return, the celebration takes the character of worship of the trophy heads, and the gods of war; the ritual during the farming season is addressed to the gods of harvest; when a man dies, the feast which ends the mourning taboo emphasises their ideas of life and death, and the necessity

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[15] Sir Hugh Low (p. 253) says that "the Dyaks, excepting on festival occasions, pay but little attention to their divinities," but that they are often in dread of the malignant spirits. The worship of evil spirits is a deep-rooted pre-agricultural cult, which the Land Dyaks have by no means abandoned. If the new and higher gods are forgotten between festivals in their honour, there is so much the more need for periodic celebrations to keep them in mind.
of living well to secure future happiness; the feast for the newborn child, the interrelation of all members of the tribe; and also the influence over their lives of the unseen spirits; the celebration at housebuilding, once more the community life and devotion to the community gods; the feast at inauguration of a chief, the responsibilities of leadership on the one side, of loyal devotion on the other.10

Thus the feasts keep in mind the traditional religious attitude. There is among the Dyaks no literature, no pulpit, no school. Their training in the national faith is by the kindergarten method of festal object lesson.

One can hardly fail to see its result who stops for a moment to consider the emotional power of ritual. Stirring the imagination and the will, it impresses an idea as no amount of rational reiteration could do.

So much for the agricultural feasts in general. They have a direct practical side of economy, and of timing so as to be advantageous to the system of farming; and a moral effect which has an ultimate practical influence. If we analyse more closely the component factors of each ceremony it will not be difficult to find in these, too, besides a mere symbolic picturing of tribal life, an assistance to immediate material utility as well as the more subtle benefit of implanting ideals. I shall attempt to trace these influences in each of the characteristic elements of the agricultural feasts,—the taboo, the animal sacrifice, the invocation to the gods, the personnel of the participants, and the ritual symbolism.

V.

The Festal Taboo.

1. Its association with a general scheme of prohibitions. An inseparable adjunct of every feast is the taboo. It varies little in character on the several occasions, as we have seen, but greatly in extent. This taboo at feast time is one of the most interesting usages with which we have to deal. Its theory and sanction reach

10Boyle, p. 211; St.John, i, pp. 170, 175, 181, 196, 197; Keppel, p. 235; Brooke in Keppel, pp. 189, 191, 194; Brooke in Mundy, i, pp. 199, 201, 204; Low, pp. 254, 263.
out into the entire scheme of Dyak belief. Its consequences involve the whole social order. As the agricultural feasts could not be explained with reference only to the events they marked, but were found to be fundamentally the same as the feasts of birth, death, and war, merely timed and given character by the occasion; so the farming taboos are but part of a complex system of prohibitions covering many spheres of activity.

Under the generic name of taboo, convention has chosen to class all the prohibitions in primitive religion whose transgression brings instant, automatic punishment. So that whatever may have been the original Polynesian meaning of the word, tabooed has come to be in common parlance a strong term for prohibited. The use of the Borneo equivalent, "pamali," or in the Land Dyak speech, "porich," covers a multitude of negative commands, and is therefore fairly well represented by the common sense of the word taboo.

Naturally many sorts of things are religiously interdicted. There is the taboo on certain wild animals, which is in Borneo, as has been shown for many other people, an evident game law; there is the taboo on fruit trees, which sanctions private property by bringing swift disaster on anyone other than the owner who touches them; there is the taboo on warlike dances in time of peace, a wise provision among these excitable people for following the maxim about sleeping dogs; and a taboo on consanguineous marriage, which upholds the social order by threats of immediate disaster. Of wide application is this system of preventives, a simple and efficient means of securing law and order.11

Extremely effective, one would say, if you can get the people to believe in it. It may occur to some to question how this desirable end is secured. Lang meets the question by saying that the results of breaking the taboo accord with fancied experience, not with real. He gives childlike people the credit they deserve for constructive imagination. And this helps to account for the many absurd taboos, unmeaning to us at least, which are gravely given equal weight with progressive, socializing laws. Lang further shows that the supernatural effect of taboo is often actually brought about by suggestion. A man who finds he has

11Brookes in Keppel, p. 146; Denison, pp. 14, 18; quoted by Roth, i, pp. 388, 389; St. John, i, pp. 206, 290, 223; Low, pp. 266, 300; Boyle, p. 211.
committed the awful deed which brings death, succumbs to sheer fright. Instances of this sort are well authenticated.

Accepting all this, I should like to offer a further hint. One does not need to produce hypnotically most of the disasters the Dyaks attribute to the infringement of taboos. Crops fail, houses burn, sickness comes; of course because someone broke the taboo. Let a wise old man of the Dyaks but point out the connection between transgression and penalty, and the evidence of fact is irrefutable.

The taboo in general, then, is a religious means of securing social utility, a warning against doing certain unadvisable things lest dire results follow. The festal taboo is also of this nature, though perhaps less obviously than some others.

2. The taboo at feast time consists, not as the others we have been considering of prohibitions of things always wrong, but of temporary interdict of daily duties. The festal taboo sets apart from one to sixteen days for religious observances, and makes the feast of many times the effectiveness it would have if it were a mere accompaniment of ordinary doings. Indeed this cessation of labor is indispensable if the whole village is to join in the long, elaborate ritual. Change of occupation thus heightens the sacredness of the feast, and also gives leisure for its enjoyment. The closed house, moreover, secures the presence of every member of the tribe, and secures freedom from outside intrusion, a wise provision to keep the wealth of the tribe from being displayed to raiders.

Some of the agricultural taboos have incidentally special advantages, as that which closes the farms for a few days after planting and gives the seed a start before being trampled on. And again, the cessation of labor in the midst of harvesting provides for a needed rest. The Dyaks are reported to be good workers by fits and starts. If we wish to go further in our search for causes, we might find that this characteristic had something to do with all the labor taboos. A single religious fact, analysed to the bottom, often reveals as many causes as a simple action sometimes has reinforcing motives. It is not at all improbable that the Dyak leaders instinctively regulated the inherent tendencies to drop work and celebrate at any moment, by making idleness a periodic religious duty.

*Low, p. 262.*
VI.

Animal Sacrifice at the Harvest Feasts.

1. A normal instance. Associated with every occasion when a taboo is declared is the custom of religiously killing and eating an animal. The sacrificial animals of the Dyaks, in common with all the settled tribes of this part of Borneo, are fowls and domestic pigs. These, as we have seen, are killed and eaten at all the harvest feasts. Each worshipper partakes of some of the flesh, a small portion is placed on the altar as the share of the spirits invoked, and the blood is sprinkled over the participants. In all three respects this is a perfectly normal instance of animal sacrifice. It may be interesting to see how this case, in which we know fairly exactly the conditions and customs of the people, fits into one or two current theories on the subject of animal sacrifice.

2. Dyak sacrifice cannot be explained by totemistic theories or as a survival of a hunting or herding stage. According to Jevons, the sacred animal is killed because blood is regarded as the seat of life, and therefore when the presence of the supernatural totem ally is needed its blood must be shed. Apart from any objections one may have to the logic of this theory, it evidently does not apply to the custom of the Dyaks. For neither their fowls nor their pigs, though they have some supernatural powers, have the characteristic attributes of totem gods. They are neither individual nor tribal tutelary spirits, the tribe is not supposed to be descended from them, or even allied to them in friendly agreement. Nor in this instance is the presence of the victim's spirit secured by shedding its blood. On the contrary, a Kenyah address to the sacrificial animal shows the belief that killing the pig sends its spirit away to take messages to the higher gods.26

26 Jevons, Introduction to the History of Religion, ch. xi.

"It is probable that Balli Penyalong is never addressed without the slaughter of one or more pigs, and also that no domestic pig is ever slaughtered without being charged beforehand with some message of prayer to Balli Penyalong which its spirit may carry up to him." Hose and McDougall, Journal of the Anthropological Institute, 1901, p. 181. Balli Penyalong is the Supremo Being of the Kenyahs, ibid., p. 174; cf. also William Furness, Home Life of the Head Hunters, p. 40.
Jevons asserts (inconsistently, I think, with the examples he has given) that animal sacrifice dates from the pastoral stage and does not go back to the hunting stage. Tiele, however, thinks it characteristic of both these periods. He says that the earliest sacrifice would be animal if "the earliest race of men were hunters and herdsmen, and not tillers of the soil, whose offerings to their gods would consist of the first fruits of their field, flowers, and other produce." 23

Contrary to Tiele's theory, in Borneo it is just the tillers of the soil who do sacrifice animals. None of the tribes have had any experience of herding, an occupation impossible in the jungle. All, it is true, are to some extent hunters at the present time; and there is strong reason for believing that the tribes now settled in agricultural communities were once, like their kinsmen of the inner forests, almost entirely dependent upon spear and blowpipe. It might be surmised that the agriculturists' animal sacrifice was a survival of this hunting stage. In that case we should expect to find it much in evidence among the wild forest people who have not developed further. These people have in their religion much in common with the agricultural tribes. But in no account of them have I been able to find the slightest trace of animal sacrifice. Apparently in Borneo it is not until animals have been domesticated that they are used as sacrificial victims. 24

3. The sacrifice is a means of economizing a limited supply of domestic animals. In discussing the sacrifice of domestic animals, Robertson Smith says that they were the luxury, or famine food, not only of the agricultural Semites, but also among

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23 Jevons, ch. xii; Tiele, Elements of the Science of Religion, ii, p. 144.

24 One of the chief occasions of animal sacrifice among the agricultural tribes is in case of illness, when the waving and killing of a chicken, or slaughter of a pig, is regarded as one of the essential elements of the ceremonial cure. It is noticeable that in Haddon's account of a medicine-man cure among the Pumas, forest people of the interior of the Kayan country, while many symbolic actions are described very similar to parts of the "cures" of more advanced tribes, there is a striking absence of any mention of a slain animal. Haddon would hardly have omitted this had it been part of the rite (pp. 366-367).

The only sacrifice of which I have an account among the wandering tribes is the offering of an ornament to the spirit of a newly-entered river. Furness, Folk-Lore, p. 25.
the earlier nomadic Arabs. And in another place, that the sanctity of domestic animals must generally be referred to the earliest nomadic times. To nomadic, that is herding, times their sanctity cannot be referred in Borneo, where such times never existed. But I believe that the same cause which made the herd sacred to the nomads, (a reason that Dr. Smith implied in the passage I referred to, but has not fully developed,) the social economy which provided for the preservation of the herd by restricting slaughter to solemn and festal occasions, also accounts for the sanctity and sacrifice of Borneo fowls and pigs.

The wild pigs are apparently killed by the Dyaks unrestrictedly whenever they can find them. All over Borneo they are reported to be plentiful, and there is little need of economy in this respect.

The domestic pigs, foreigners declare, can hardly be discriminated from the wild; but the Dyaks value them highly. They keep them under their houses and take pains to feed them. St.John says that they "have a sort of respect" for them, and that an English gentleman was once in disgrace for allowing his dogs to hunt one that was wandering about the fruit groves, one that he took to be a wild pig. At time of harvest they take their pigs out to the farms and pen them under the houses there, "that they may with their owners partake of the plenty of the joyous season." Then at the harvest feasts, as on all important occasions, a pig is killed with great solemnity and ceremony.

The supply of domestic pigs is restricted; and doubtless the high value set upon them in itself gave an impetus to the veneration. Still more effective is the need for frugality which must be religiously supported in a community of thoughtless folk.

The explanation of restricted supply may not seem to apply to the sacrifice of fowls, which are reported to be plentiful everywhere. In fact, perhaps not, but in principle it does. The value of abstinence is not to be measured by numbers alone, but by any effective motive for saving. And in this case it is not fear of extermination that makes it advisable to kill sparingly, but the greater advantages the Dyaks can get by selling their fowls to the Malays than by eating them themselves. According to Sir

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*The Religion of the Semites*, pp. 222-223.

*ibid.*, p. 311.

St.John, ii, p. 250, and i, p. 183; Low, p. 300.
Hugh Low,28 "Fowls are plentiful, but preserved more for sale to the Malays than for the use of the families who rear them." It is because they are sacred, the Dyaks say, that they do not eat them.27 But it is a sort of sacredness that does not prevent their selling them. Indeed, I think it is the result of the selling.

From their restricted killing, the fowls as well as pigs have become indissolubly associated with religious rites. A part of the ritual of sacrifice is to wave them and thus secure some mystic benefit. When a small portion of boiled fowl is given to everyone at the feast, it brings good luck and security from sickness to all the recipients. A chief told Denison that without the distribution of boiled fowl he would not have dared to order the gongs to be beaten, for this was the part of the rite that made all the rest effective.28 They have come to consider fowls as especially created for purposes of sacrifice, as will be seen from the following Sea Dyak address to the victim29; since the Sea Dyaks have the same customs as the Land Dyaks in sacrifice of fowls, this may be fairly regarded as representing the feelings of both peoples:

"The speckled fowl for sacrificial waving and cleansing.
   For docturing, for resisting.

Ye fowls enable us to escape the curse muttered unheard:"

To counteract the omen of the low-voiced deer.
Hence ye fowls are for having and for offering.
But will not the bodies of birds suffice?30

Many may be the birds, and many the minas,
Bodies of hornbills, and bodies of green parrots;
But all are ineffectual for waving, for offering:
They are not worth a fowl as big as the fingers.

26 Low, p. 310.
27 Low, pp. 255-266.
28 Cf. account of a feast at Aup, by Denison, quoted by Roth, i, p. 245; also St.John, i, p. 179.
29 Translation of a Sea Dyak invocation by Archdeacon Perham, Jour. Straits Asiatic Soc., No. 19, 1887, quoted by Roth, i, p. 276.
28 Whenever a bad omen is heard a fowl must be killed, and this sacrifice is supposed to avert the predicted evil.
30 Here follows a long list of the sacred birds of the jungle, whose omen cries are supposed to be messages of encouragement or warning from the great spirit.
That is the thing for waving and for offering.

"Ye fowls were over the seed (for sacrifice)
From our grandfathers and grandmothers,
From ancient times from chiefs of old,
Down to your fathers and mothers,
Because we give you rice, we breed you,
We give you food, give you nourishment,
We hung for you nests, we make for you roasts,
We make you coops, we make you baskets.

"Ye are in debt for sugar-cane as long as a pole,
In debt for plantain, a long bunch, etc."

Hence ye fowls are for waving and for offering.

"Ye fowls scare away sickness, and make it run
To the opening dawn of the morning
To the end of the further heavens.

"So now we have nothing to hurt us, nothing wrong."

While the motive of scarcity can hardly be urged for the sanctity and sacrifice of fowls, the principle, if my conjecture is right, is exactly the same as that which makes for the sparing of the valuable pig. It is a religiously enforced abstinence for the sake of greater benefits. The importance of fowls in Dyak economy, even considering the selling price, is somewhat less than that of pigs. Hence the fowls are used in minor ceremonies, the pigs, or both together, in general rejoicings.

So much for the mere fact of sacrifice,—the killing and eating of the sacred animal. It is somewhat stretching the modern meaning of the word to call it a sacrifice at all, since only a tiny portion of the meat is given up to the gods, and the rest furnishes a merry feast. If we were to conform to strict logic rather than usage in diction, it might be more appropriate to term the period of fasting between occasions the sacrifice. The custom is, however, very much of a sacrifice in the etymological sense of the term, making sacred.

4. Social purpose of the sacrifice the same as among totemists and herdsmen, to secure community spirit. We have noted the importance attached to giving a small portion of the meat to every-

*This stanza is a long description of the various good things fed to domestic fowls.
one present. There is more in this than mere justice of distribution. For the meat is eaten as a sacred morsel, and this, together with the touching of each person with the blood, constitutes a magical doctoring, eagerly sought by every member of the tribe for the immunity to disease it is supposed to insure. The actual result of this communal character of the feast is to bind the worshippers closely together in a common experience of divine protection. Among a people such as the natives of Borneo, where the custom of blood-brotherhood obtains, the members of the tribe touched with the blood of the same sacred animal would have a strong feeling of fellowship and mutual obligation.

In tracing the origin of the Semitic sacrificial feast, Robertson Smith says that must be considered as having been from the first a public feast of clansmen. This is exactly what the farm sacrifices of the Land Dyaks are, tribal feasts endowed with religious significance. In the case of the Semites, this author points out that the act of eating and drinking with a man was a symbol and a confirmation of mutual obligations, and that in the sacrificial meal the idea was expressed that the god and his worshippers were commensals. The Dyaks of Borneo are only less hospitable than the Semites, and hospitality carries with them the same obligations. It is not permitted to a Dyak to eat with an enemy, unless a reconciliation is desired. And as with the Semites, there is in the Dyak sacrament the same idea of the god as feasting together with the people. A portion for the gods invoked is put on the altar. And it consists not only of a bit of the flesh of the sacred animal, but of all the accompaniments eaten by the Dyaks, rice, fruit, and dainties.

Such feasting together of gods and clansmen when the sacred animal is killed is found not only among herdsmen, like the Arabs, but among many totemistic hunting clans.

Why, we may ask, then, is not this form of animal sacrifice found among non-agricultural hunters of Borneo? In the first place, the jungles are so full of game that periodic restrictions

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88 Pp. 279, 265, 269.
89 Low speaks several times of the hospitality of the Land Dyaks. Cf. pp. 240, 243, 294; for eating together when peace is made with enemies, p. 212. Cf. also Roth, i, p. 72. For the Dyak idea of feasting with the gods, cf. descriptions referred to above, note 8.
on killing are hardly necessary. When occasionally the supply begins to lessen in one place the hunters simply move on to another, for Borneo is not so thickly populated that hostile claimants to hunting grounds restrict one another to any great extent to limited localities. And in the second place, still more important, the small game which they obtain with trap and blow-pipe does not require cooperation; hence they are not organized into clans. And clan spirit or the community spirit is one of the chief causes and products of sacramental feasts.\footnote{Furness, p. 175; St.John, i, p. 50.}

The same need of community spirit that exists among highly organized clans of hunters of big game, if lacking among the wandering tribes of Borneo, is strong in the agricultural communities of the Land Dyaks. Among big game hunters cooperation is necessary for the chase; among the Dyaks the men’s clan must be organized for defence of farms and villages. Thus we have in both cases from different causes, the coherence of the virile clan. The Dyaks have, also, larger than the clan, the cooperative group of the entire tribe, men, women, and children, who work together on the farms, and these all take part in the feasts.

Just in so far as the Dyaks have the same conditions and the same needs as the totemistic hunting clans and nomadic herders, their custom of animal sacrifice is the same. The agricultural Land Dyaks have the same reasons for periodic slaughter of sacred animals and the social sacramental feast as have hunters and herders, viz., the preservation of a limited supply of a certain kind of animal food, and the securing of close fellowship and loyalty in the tribe. As the Dyak sacrifice, however, is connected with farming rites, the conception of the deities in whose honour the feast is held is signally different from that of the animal-worshipping hunters, or herders. With the latter the animal slain is mystically at the same time the god who feasts with them. In the Dyak feast higher gods than the sacred animals, the more abstract deities who preside over farming, are the spiritual guests.

VII.

The Gods Invoked.

A fair impression of the harvest feasts can scarcely be given without a few words about the gods in whose honour they are
held. But I shall say only enough to show their appropriateness to the occasion. For my present purpose is a study of the feasts on the side of ritual and custom rather than of mythology.

The Dyak pantheon is populous. And from the multitudinous spirits a few are singled out to be invited to each feast. Certain omen birds are invoked at house-building, others before taking a journey; at the head-feast following battle the tutelary spirits of war are implored to be present, and these same fierce Komang and Trin are asked for aid when traps are set in the jungle. When the site for the farms is to be chosen, the same birds who help fix the location of a new house are consulted. In the sacrifices that are made at the farms when accidents occur, it is the malignant spirits supposed to have caused the trouble who are propitiated with offerings.

With the exception of the taking of omens for the farms, and the appeasing of malicious demons with small rites, the spirits invoked at all the agricultural festivals belong to a higher class of deities than those who grace less pacific occasions. They are their "more powerful and good spirits," sometimes spoken of as the "rajahs of the spiritual world." The invocation at the three harvest feasts mentions particularly the following: the rajas of the sun, moon and stars, the Sultan of Brunei, the English Rajah of Sarawak, and the great god Tupper. 24

This Tupper is the most powerful of the gods, to whom all lesser spirits are subordinated. He lives far off in the sky, whence he sends rain to make the rice grow, or destructive thunder and lightning in his anger. It is he who sends down the "soul of the rice." He has a pure and beneficent nature, and looks upon war with horror. 25 I have discussed more fully elsewhere the attributes of the god Tupper. 26 It will be enough to note here that he is in general the patron of agriculture.

The other rajas invoked are also deities whose concept has grown out of the farm life: the Sultan of Brunei, dreaded as a supernatural power because of his oppressive absorbing of all

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24 Rev. William Chalmers, quoted by Roth, i, p. 216; Low, p. 251.
25 Chalmers in Grant's Tour, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 165-167; Low, pp. 249, 254.
26 Harvest Gods of the Land Dyaks, JAOS, vol. xxvi (first half), pp. 165-175.
their wealth in grain; the English Rajah, their protector against his demands; and the sun, moon, and stars, reverenced for their benefits in ripening the grain and in determining the seasons. 28

The feasts are by no means logically deduced from the nature of the gods they celebrate. For we have seen that the agricultural festivals differ only in detail from the celebrations of other occasions; while between the gods of agriculture and the gods of the jungle there is a striking contrast. The agricultural feasts have grown out of many sides of Dyak life; but the gods of these feasts from only one,—from the experiences of farm life.

Not only are the agricultural patrons a deification of the powers of man and nature whose action affects the crops for weal or woe; but their character reflects the change in intellectual scope and ethical ideals which resulted from the Dyak’s settled planting. The planning for a harvest long ahead with the adaptation of the forces of growth to their use, led to the idea on the part of the Dyaks of more ethereal divine powers, greater and farther removed than the jungle spirits; while the necessity of cooperation for farming, and of peace for trade, led to ethical standards in which hostility was replaced by benevolence. It is for these reasons that the gods invoked to the harvest feasts are the highest and farthest removed, and are peaceful and beneficent.

Such a radical change in religious ideals is not effected easily. And to this day the Dyaks are on much more intimate terms with their evil spirits than with the great gods to whom they “pay but little reverence” except at the feasts. 29

In this passing remark of Sir Hugh Low’s we have a key to the relation of deities and ritual. It is not the deities which cause the ritual, but the ritual which cultivates the deities. When the sacred feast, which grew, as we have seen, from various needs, both material and mental, marked a stage in the farming season, it was made an occasion for worshipping the new gods of agriculture. The invocation, the sacrifice, the prayers to these beings proclaimed them to the people. Thus the agricultural festivals served to instill the ideals of the new order. Without them the old religious habit of fear and ferocity would be hardly broken up. The attitude of men to the unseen powers would be

28 Chalmers, quoted by Roth, i, p. 216.
29 Low, p. 233.
still tricking malicious spirits or making them prayers and offerings to avert their wrath. The new and benevolent deities not only reflected, but in turn incited an attitude of good will. And while the higher conception of deity had its origin in developing conditions, it was fostered, and the social results of it were fostered, by the ritual observance.

VIII.

The Human Participants.

1. Formation of the Land Dyak tribe. In treating of the social influence of the festival sacrifice, we have noted that all present must partake of the flesh. And at the great tribal celebrations, foremost among which are the harvest festivals with which we are here concerned, those present include every man, woman and child in the village. The feasts are in the truest sense of the word communal. And thus they reflect the nature of the village group. If we examine more closely the personal assignment of various parts of the ritual, this also is found to be determined by the tribal organization.

The nature of the primitive tribe is at present a much mooted question. Without going into a discussion of general theories, or stopping to bring together comparisons with similar peoples, I shall try to give a brief statement of the actual composition of the Land Dyak tribe and the patent reasons for its form.

The word tribe, though used in several senses by writers on Borneo, usually denotes the village, that is a group of from fifty to two hundred families living together in the same longhouse, or in several houses close together.41

41 Cf. discussion by the present writer, JAOS., vol. xxv, 1904, p. 233, note.

The tribal unit among the Land Dyaks almost corresponds with the village, though not exactly. There are 21 tribes, living in 29 villages. (Chief Resident F. R. O. Maxwell gives 22 tribes; quoted by Roth, i. pp. 3-7.) If we ask more closely just what the tribal unit is, I think we shall find it to be the mountain. The Serambo tribe, for instance, consists of three villages on the same mountain. This mountain is unusually favorable to village sites, is well watered, and has abundance of fruit trees. As a rule there is only one village on each mountain.

The location of one or two tribes might seem at first to disprove the theory that the mountain is the tribal unit, for their villages are
These groups are found only among the settled peoples. The wild trappers of the interior have nothing that could fairly be called a tribe, though often several families make a camp together for mutual protection. But not until rice-planting demanded continual residence in one place do we find any real tribal organization.\(^6\)

There are several reasons why farming brought about the village community. In the first place, the river which affords easy access to distant fields was a good location for many families; in the second place, the preparatory clearing could be better done cooperatively; in the third place, the grain while standing would need to be defended against marauders, and for this defence the workers must be near to help one another.\(^8\)

scattered in widely separated sites. Where they retain the tribal name (e.g., the Sow tribe) this is found to be the name of the mountain which was the original tribal habitat, from which they have either been driven by hostile attack, or by poverty and desire for better farm land. When the tribe is thus broken up, unless the new villages are near enough together to cooperate, before long the tribal organization lapes, and each village becomes a new political unit, which will eventually take the name of its new locality (as the Lundu emigrants from the Serambo mountain have done), though for a while the settlers retain the name, affection, and customs of the old tribe. Such scattering has, I suppose, given rise to the idea prevalent among explorers that the tribe is based not upon locality, but upon consanguinity. What we really have here is a process of tribal disintegration and reformation.

The ethnographic division of Land Dyaks is coextensive with the characteristic environment, and the political unit, the tribe, corresponds to the geographic unit of the isolated hill.

Cf. Keppel, p. 341; Denison, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 4-5; Brooke in Mundy, i, pp. 296, 236; Low, p. 294; Brooke in Keppel, p. 288; Boyle, p. 62; St. John, i, pp. 10, 20.

*Purness, p. 172; Crocker, Sarawak Gazette, No. 132, p. 8, quoted by Roth, i, p. 16; Brooke Low, manuscript notes, quoted by Roth, ii, p. 108.

As we have seen, the peculiarity of the Land Dyak country which distinguishes it from parts of Sarawak occupied by other peoples, is the isolated defensible hill rising abruptly out of fertile farm land. The Land Dyaks not only grouped in villages for mutual defence, but when hard pressed they finally resorted to building their villages on these hills. The hills were at the same time the strength and the weakness of the country strategically. While their inaccessible protected the village itself, the cultivated fruit trees around it, and the stored grain, it left at the mercy of enemies the standing crops at the base, and effectually isolated the villages, so that two tribes could not cooperate
These needs led to local grouping of a number of families. And the groups thus formed laid claim to the district they cultivated, defending their rights aggressively against new-comers. Dyak land tenure is traditionally based on the felling of primeval jungle, the tribe which first cultivated a tract of land being considered as owner of it thereafter.

Only a small part of the claim is in actual cultivation each season, on account of the custom of allowing land to lie fallow for several years between crops. The farm site each year is chosen by the "elders," the old and experienced men of the tribe, who are good judges of the readiness of land for use. These men, too, are the only ones who know the exact extent of their district, a knowledge which requires keen observation and good memory in the swift-growing, mark-obliterating jungle. From their important functions the elders have gained respect, and have become the rulers and regulators of internal affairs.44

They would be all-sufficient were there no external difficulties to cope with. But as old jungle is greatly preferred to the newer growths on recently cleared lands, ambitious groups are constantly migrating in search of fresh farming land, coming in contact with other tribes, and thus starting long feuds. The clash of tribes has instituted the military clan within the agricultural community. It is naturally composed of the strong young men, and is led by a fighting chief, distinct from the paternal head of the village.45

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44 For mutual protection. It is to this weakness of separation, I believe, as contrasted with the advantages for alliance of the position of the various Sea Dyak tribes on their great navigable streams, that we must attribute the constant reverses of the Land Dyaks, and the military dominance of their well-organized neighbours.

45 Grant, p. 28, quoted by Roth, i, p. 397; St. John, i, p. 203; Brooke in: Mundy, i, p. 211; Houghton, Memoirs of the Anthropological Society, iii, p. 200. "Every old man of a tribe knows the exact extent of its district." Low, p. 319.

46 Sir Charles Brooke, Ten Years in Sarawak, i, p. 48, quoted by Roth, i, p. 2. The village chief is said by Brooke to hold his power by wealth and talents, Keppel, p. 188; by Low, pp. 288-9, to be elected by the people "on account of the wisdom and ability he displays in the councils of the tribe." Besides the village chiefs are Panglimas, fighting chiefs, "raised to their position on account of courage and ability in war."
When the men are called upon to go off on the war-path, the farm work is left more and more to the women, and they receive the consideration and homage due to the chief providers of subsistence. The proud warrior never scorns the commissariat. And this is why the Dyak wife is a much more influential person than the squaw who must look to her hunting brave for buffalo meat.

The method of farming and the need of defence have thus brought about a dual organization of the Land Dyak tribe. There is the whole community, men, women, and children, forming a cooperative farming alliance presided over by elders, and the fighting men, who are at times subservient members of the agricultural group, at times form a free, dominant warrior-clan.46

Of comparatively recent date, I believe, is the introduction of private property in land, with the consequent isolation of families and inequalities of rank and condition. Originally as there was more land than they could cultivate, there was no reason for private monopolization. Private property first grew up in some places with a natural advantage of situation. In tribes that had been driven to hills at some distance from a river, or that lived on mountain streams too swift for canoes, the labor of carrying rice home from a distant farm was tremendous. As the supply of rice was limited only by the limit of labor, the families who worked on the nearer farms would have a great advantage over the others. In such tribes property near the village came to be divided into small plots owned separately.47

Were the Dyaks isolated, there would be little need of monopoly of the best land, or desire for many children to increase the family labor force. For in this very fertile country enough rice for

46 Low, pp. 304, 327, 329, 230; Brooks Low, quoted by Roth, i, p. 402; Grant, p. 31, quoted by Roth, i, p. 409; Houghton, MAS., quoted by Roth, i, p. 48; Wallace, Malay Archipelago, i, p. 144, quoted by Roth, i, p. 106; St. John, i, p. 176.
47 Low, pp. 319-20. I have not been able to find any definite information about the apportionment of distant lands, nor certainly whether any Land Dyak tribe has changed all the communal claim into private property. The more complete system of private property in land which has grown up among the Sea Dyaks is due to the fact that their output is not limited by their own labor force, because of the introduction of slave labor through piracy. Hence we have among these coast dwellers a more advanced land monopolization and the beginning of rent.
their own consumption would be easily grown. But the Malay trade offers a market for all they can produce. Hence the family who by greater command of land and labor can accumulate a large store of grain, can gain by exchange many luxuries, ornaments, and foreign objects which will make them honoured and envied by all their neighbours.

With this opportunity of increasing wealth by trade, and the consequent motive for monopolizing land, the family has been emphasized as the unit in producing rice. The family rather than the individual is the unit because it takes all the members, men, women and children, to do the farm work, and land ownership has not yet brought about such inequalities that one man can command the labor of a number of others on his farm. There is thus an economic family group for agricultural production within the communal group. Communal cooperation still obtains to this extent,—in that the decision as to which of the several farms belonging to a family shall be used each season is made by the village chief and his council of elders, in order that the same paths may lead to all the fields in use; and in that every man of the village joins in the work of making the common paths, and clearing the jungle from the whole district to be planted. After this has been done, agriculture becomes strictly a family affair. The families work on their farms, bring home their own harvests, and live on their own crops, or the proceeds of their sale.

The family group, which is emphasized by the growing system of land tenure, is the more easily brought out because as an

*The Land Dyaks do not practice piracy, and hence do not have slaves as do the Sea Dyaks. But for a while there grew up to a slight extent a system of slave-debtors. Families whose supply of rice had given out, because of a scarce season, or because of imprudent sales to the Malays, borrowed from those who had larger stores. And if they were unable to pay the debt, they would live for a while in the house of their creditors and work on their farms. But in the mean time they were not ill-used and enjoyed full personal liberty. Even this mild form of slavery, however, has died out in consequence of European influence. Low, pp. 247, 301, 302, 303.

*Low, pp. 225, 232, 296, 303; Wallace, i, p. 144; quoted by Roth, i, p. 105; Grant, p. 31, quoted by Roth, i, p. 397. The chief is the only person who ordinarily receives assistance from others than members of his own family in preparing his farms. Each family of the village contributes a small amount of work to the chief's farm, and this is one of his most valuable perquisites. St.John, i, p. 167; Low, p. 289.
economic unit it goes back to pre-communal times, when the ancestors of the Land Dyaks roamed about in groups of parents and children, living from hand to mouth; and as a social unit the family necessarily persisted all through the communism. Its present form, which holds together the members of several generations, is undoubtedly due to the necessity of having so many laborers on each farm. 30

The Land Dyak tribe has thus finally come to be composed of three groups, the membership of which overlaps. There is first the inclusive village, the agricultural community, living together for convenience and cooperation; next the men’s clan, organized primarily for defence and conquest, but also working together in their corporate capacity upon public tasks that demand strength, such as house-building, path-building, 44 and clearing the jungle; and finally the family, consisting of several generations, the members of which live together, hold property in common, and cooperate in producing to supply the family needs.

3. The religious organization. It is a recognition of the ancient communism and the still existing need for coherence of the tribe that the whole village participates in each harvest feast. For this same reason, at the mid-harvest “Man Sawa,” and at the final celebration, the “soul of the rice” is secured first in the longroom, or on the common verandah of the village. Afterwards, as we have seen, recognizing the lesser agricultural group, the same ceremony is repeated in each family apartment. There is, naturally, at these peaceful feasts, no particular recognition of the warrior clan as such.

30 I have not stopped to go into a thorough analysis of the “family,” and the reckoning of descent, inheritance, etc. But it may add to clearness to note in passing that the group who work on the farm, and live together in the family apartment, consists generally of three generations with all the “in-laws.” A married man usually lives with his wife’s family, but the reverse is often the case. Cf. St. John, i, pp. 173-6, 143, 172, 82; Chalmers, quoted by Roth, i, p. 348; Houghton, MAS., iii, p. 290.

44 The work of path-building is sufficiently important to occasion a particular feast, called the Makau Tuau, which according to Low somewhat resembles the harvest home. Before it can be held all the men of the tribe must assist in putting the paths around the village in order. Low, p. 288.
The village chief, as head of the rice-growing community, is honoured at all harvest feasts by having the altar placed just outside his door. The elders, skilled in farm lore, and the women, the chief workers, have, as one would expect, important functions in the celebrations. The young warriors take no conspicuous part in these peaceful affairs, but content themselves with performing a continuous accompaniment to the dances on drums and gongs, instruments ordinarily kept in the bachelors' sleeping apartment and used to warn the tribe of an enemy's approach. Though they share in the agricultural festivities, as they lend a hand to the heavy farm work, their duties in it are still in the line of their warlike specialties.32

As is appropriate, the ritual is conducted by the elders and priests (of which latter I shall have more to say shortly) and by the priestesses. The details of the parts taken by each of these are significant enough to merit further attention.

At the harvest feasts, in the continuous dancing and chanting, the performers are the elders and priestesses. They dance together, or they dance in turn, some winding in silent procession or absorbed in chanting while the others are in wild measure. It all no doubt has some particular meaning if one could but get a copious account of it. The meaning of the participants is clear. If there is a supernatural value in the dance, to bring blessings to the farm, who better fitted to obtain this than the women who plant, the elders whose counsel guides the work?

3. The origin of the order of priestesses in the women's agriculture. Not all the women of a tribe are full-fledged priestesses and take part in the dance. The larger part of them sit and admire while their superior sisters act. That the caste is closely connected with the feminine prerogative is shown by the fact that, according to one writer, nearly all, according to another, more than half of the women of the tribe, are enrolled in this sisterhood. It is a sort of freemasonry of farmers, with mystic initiation rites supposed to preserve the members from personal disaster, and with secret spells that make for the growth of the rice. Many are initiated, but few reach the proficiency in hereditary lore and incantations to permit them to hold the position of

32 St. John, i, p. 179.
accomplished "barich," skilled to cure sickness, to "doctor" the padi, to take part in the dances and to perform the ceremonies of initiation into their number which take place at the harvest home. 8

Stories of the supernatural origin of the sacred order of "barich" differ slightly in detail among the tribes. But they agree in this;—that it was Tuppa-Jang, or Jang (a distinctly agricultural deity) who in affectionate kindness founded the order, gave them their insignia of office, and taught them the miraculous incantations, handed down through many generations, which make the padi grow and flourish.

Chalmers has given two versions of the story as he heard it among the Sentahs, and among the Peninjuahs, Land Dyak tribes of different river basins. Historically speaking, there is undoubtedly much more fiction than fact in them. But they are important as showing how historical tradition is reasoned back from contemporary fact. 9

The Sentah story runs as follows: Once two female children were very ill, and not being expected to live, they were put into a pig trough and floated down the river to the sea. But Jang, who lives on Mount Santubong, the great hill that stands at the westerly mouth where their river flows into the sea, took pity on the little girls and carried them up to his dwelling as they floated by. He made them well, and taught them the art of medicine. "Their knowledge being complete, he gave them the name of 'barich,' and sent them back to their village to become the benefactors of their race. Of these two girls the present women doctors are the lineal descendants." 10

According to the Peninjuah tale, it used to be the custom to burn the sick on funeral pyres. Tuppa once took pity on an old woman who was to undergo this hard fate, and miraculously lifted her from the pyre to his dwelling. There he taught her medicine and sent her home. She returned at first invisible and

8 St. John, i, p. 210; Chalmers, in Grant's Tour, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 260, 414; S. Mueller, quoted by Roth, i, p. 263; Houghton, MAS., iii, p. 107.
9 Chalmers in Grant's Tour, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 310-311; cf. also the version of Chalmers's companion, Sir Spencer St. John, as given in Forests of the Far East, i, p. 211.
helped her husband, who was working in the field. "He was making the seed-holes, preparatory to planting the rice which was lying near, and his wife (still invisible) began to do the work which is usually done by Dyak women, viz., to follow the movements of the hole-maker and put the seed-corn into the holes which he has prepared for it. Her husband, thinking himself alone, returned to do this part of the work himself. What was his surprise to find it already completed for him! But he went away again to the process of hole-making, his wife following him and putting in the seed as before. When he returned to do it himself, and found the holes planted and filled, he could no longer restrain his amazement; and half angry, half frightened, he cried, 'Whoever has done this let him appear!' No sooner were these words uttered than his wife was manifested to his astonished gaze, clad in all the paraphernalia of a 'barich'. . . . Before she died she instructed many in the mysteries and songs she had learned from Tuppa-Jing; her disciples in turn instructed others, and thus they have come down to the present time—and to refuse to make use of them would be death and destruction to mankind and the paddy."

Both these stories point to a change at some past time in the treatment of the sick. With developing prosperity it became possible to care for them. And it began to be believed that they might return to health and become once more useful members of the community.

Probably they were first cared for by the women. It is an interesting point in these stories that in both cases it was women who learned the divine art of healing, and thus rescued sufferers from the death penalty. As far as it goes, this is corroborative of the somewhat inconclusive evidence which points to the fact that among several peoples of Borneo the doctor-priesthood was originally made up of women only.25

If this is a true inference from the tales, times have changed among the Land Dyaks. For now the men skilled in incantations are supposed to have greater power over the malignant spirits of illness than the women, and receive larger fees from the patient; while the women, who are more exclusively devoted to agricul-

tural pursuits, have come to be regarded as specially powerful in doctoring the padi.\footnote{Cf. authorities cited above, note 53.}

The men's doctoring and the women's doctoring are two absolutely distinct arts handed down in different lines. So that these stories are still true to fact in stating that the magic formulae of the "barich" are passed from the older to the younger women.

The points in common in the stories,—the original doctorship of women, the supernatural origin of a really skillful and important caste, and the patronage of this order, whose chief function is care of the padi, by the harvest god—all these common elements are the natural reflection in fable of conditions that belong alike to all Land Dyak tribes. The differences are strikingly local.

The Peninjuahs, who live in the very center of what was once the Hindu-Javan empire in Borneo, burn the dead of all classes.\footnote{Low, pp. 93, 174, 265, 268; St. John, i, p. 173; Denison, pp. 14, 87, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 135-136; Brooke in Mundy, i, pp. 204, 295.} It is not at all improbable that, as the story relates, they once treated their desperately ill as if they were dead and burned them also. When Mr. Chalmers told the Peninjuah version to a Sentah "historian," he was shocked and utterly denied that they had ever had such a cruel custom as that of burning the sick. He said they used to expose them in the jungle and leave them to their fate. Now this is exactly the way the Sentahs dispose of their dead of the poorer and lower classes. They simply wrap the body in a mat and throw it out into the jungle. Their district was once the outlying fringe of Hindu-Javan dominion. And the foreign custom of burning the dead has been retained only among the higher classes. Some peoples who live beyond the Sentahs, farther up the coast, place the body of the deceased in a canoe and let it drift out to sea.\footnote{Milianaus. Cf. Mrs. McDougall, p. 163, quoted by Roth, i, p. 145.} This custom of using a canoe as a coffin is by no means unknown among the Land Dyaks.\footnote{Grant, p. 66, quoted by Roth, i, p. 149.} I have no definite proof that the Sentahs ever embarked their dead for the journey seaward, as the sick children in the story were sent off; but at least we have in their varied methods of disposing of the dead a reason why the funeral pyre,
universal among Peninjuahs, did not necessarily appear in the
Sentah version.

If we should follow the branch stream on which the landing
place of the Sentahs is located, through its many windings as
the current would drift a canoe, we enter some miles down the
main water of the Sarawak, and before we reach the sea must
pass close to the foot of Mount Santubong at the river’s mouth.
It is an abrupt, impressive, isolated hill, fit residence for the
great god Jang. From this eminence he could not fail to see the
two little girls being carried out by the inexorable current. In
the Peninjah story the god is not so definitely located. We are
told simply that he takes the woman “up” to his dwelling, which
is like a large, well-equipped Dynak house."

It may be over-literal, and an attempt to push detailed explana-
tions too far, to ask why the first Peninjah “barich” was a
mature woman, and the Sentah heroines were two little girls.
But it is suggestive to my mind that in the accounts of division
of agricultural labor among the Sentahs there are distinct tasks
assigned to the children. They have to work all day on the farm
with their elders, except when they are sent off into the jungle
to gather fruit on the way home. Child-labor is not said to be
peculiar to the Sentahs, but they are the only tribe of whom so
definite an account of children’s work is given. And as the
Sentahs’ labor force was tremendously reduced by ravages of
Arab chiefs in their neighborhood, which diminished this tribe
to about one fifth its original numbers, the Sentahs would have
more need than more populous tribes to call upon the children’s
assistance. Thus naturally the children would have a noticeable
and intimate part in the tribal life, and it would not be out of
place for them to figure conspicuously in legendary lore. The
Peninjah old woman is quite the natural founder of the order

*The Sentahs, or Suntahs, are sometimes called Quop, from the name
of the river which flows near their mountain, and on which they have
their landing place. This river flows into the Sarawak about eight
miles below the town. The Peninjuahs live near the west branch of
the Sarawak, but very much farther from the mouth of the main river,
though the peak of Santubong is visible in the distance from their
mountain (Sarambo), which is 1,700 feet high. Low, p. 299; Maxwell,
quoted by Roth, i, pp. 4-6; Chalmers in Grant’s Tour, pp. 133 ff.,
quoted by Roth, i, p. 311; St.John, i, pp. 163-165.
of "barich." The deification of two little girls seems to demand some special explanation in a country where age is given all reverence.21

With the differences I have noted, the two tales are really very much alike. It may be that at some time in the distant past the Land Dyaks lived all together and told a common legend, which, when they separated, has been modified by each in accordance with local conditions. Or it is quite possible, since the common elements in the stories are coincident with the similarity of life of the two tribes, that they have grown up quite separately. In either case, they show a mingling of reasonings from present needs, vague memories of the past, and local colour; all welded together and accepted as true history.

What is the actual history of the order may long be in doubt. It evidently is most closely connected with agriculture. The magic power over the crops, the fact that the sisterhood includes nearly all women, who are the chief farm workers, and the patronage of the harvest god, point strongly to this conclusion. And it is the priestesses who bless the seed before it is planted, and who file in solemn procession to cut the first fruits, before the harvest may be gathered.22

Among many primitive peoples agriculture was originated by the women and was for a long while their peculiar province. I do not think that this was its history in Borneo. Agriculture that begins in that way is more apt to be the cultivation of yams and various tubers, which the women have been accustomed to dig while the men hunt. Rice seems to have been an importation into Borneo, and probably the methods of cultivating it, with the seed, were introduced by some people of higher attainments than the Dyaks. Nor could the women alone have first acquired this foreign knowledge, for in the massive jungle there is much heavy work necessary to farming which can only be done by men.

If not the originators of agriculture, nor even at first sole devotees of the pursuit, the Dyak women have done the greatest part of it. While the men work hard at certain times on the

22 St. John, i, pp. 190-194.
farms, the women labor steadily throughout the season. And no doubt in their own portion of the labor, in which planting, weeding, and reaping are important, they have acquired a special skill and instinctive knowledge, which is handed down from one generation to another. This I believe to be the solid foundation of the order of "harich," upon which is built up much mystical superstition.

4. The elders ritual part comes by virtue of their farm lore. As the priestesses have, besides the general weird dances and incantations, their peculiar duties in the agricultural ritual, so the elders have their special province, the privilege of supernatural wisdom. It is not to be supposed that when the old men of the tribe were given authority to choose the farming sites for all, that this was a deliberate acknowledgment of their superior judgment and memory. The elders claimed, and believed, that they were guided by special revelation vouchsafed in omens which they alone could interpret. The claim being granted by the people to the extent of acting according to the elders' instructions, was corroborated by success. The appropriate part now taken by the elders at all the farming feasts is consulting the omen birds.

They perform this rite first before felling the jungle, when the site of the farms is chosen. A small shed is erected in the forest. Offerings of food are taken to the hut. An elder invokes the spiritual powers and casts yellow rice in all directions. If a bird twitters in front and then flies toward the village, good. If a bird alights near the hut and then twitters, "evil and sickness await those who build or farm near, for many spirits have made their dwelling place." I notice that the elder goes out alone, and that he alone reports what he has seen; that the jungle is full of birds; that the experience of travelers with Dyak guides is that authoritative omens and dreams are constantly corroborating their pre-formed judgment; and I have a sceptical suspicion that the elder's own good sense has more to do with fixing the site of the farm than the actions of friendly birds.

Since the elders can interpret the omens for farming, it is only reasonable that they should be credited with insight into the meaning of other portents. Thus at the Nyishupen, in the

44 St. John, i, p. 203.
general doctoring of the harvest home it is the elders who are given cocoanuts to cut, that the gushing out of the liquid may foretell the owners' fortune for the coming year.\textsuperscript{44}

The third festival prerogative of the elders also follows naturally from taking the farm omens. Those who interpret the omen message from above are appropriately chosen for the important duty of repeating the invocation to Tuppy, the harvest god.\textsuperscript{69}

5. The priests a special class. The "priests" alluded to by several authors I at first took to be identical with the elders. But they are evidently not the same, as one description tells of securing the "soul of the rice" in a ceremony performed by "priests, elders, and priestesses."\textsuperscript{68}

The elders have a political position as members of the tribal council; the priests belong to a distinct profession. As a rule, there is little specialized skill among the Dyaks. Each man is his own farmer, hunter, carpenter, weapon-maker, etc. But with development three specialties have grown up. In every village there is a blacksmith who does nothing but forge iron weapons for the whole community, a sexton, who is supported by fees for burying or burying the dead, and about six "doctors" or "priests," who live by the rice and pigs they receive from their patients in return for magical cures, and from each family, at harvest time, for securing the "soul of the rice." As we have seen, the priestesses are also called in for curing but they receive lesser fees, and this is only an incidental interruption of their daily labor, while to the "priests" or "Daya Berari" it is their livelihood. The priesthood is frequently hereditary. But like the other specialties it must have supernatural sanction. No one dares to become a doctor or a blacksmith until he has been specially "called" to it in a dream, while the office of sexton, most dangerous of all, requires all sorts of supernatural protection.\textsuperscript{67}

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\textsuperscript{44} St. John, i, p. 105; Chalmers in Grant's Tour, pp. 106-125, quoted by Roth, i, p. 414.
\textsuperscript{45} Chalmers in Grant, p. 128, quoted by Roth, i, p. 216.
\textsuperscript{46} St. John, i, p. 194.
\textsuperscript{47} St. John, i, pp. 174, 192, 200, 210-212; Chalmers in Grant's Tour, pp. 106-125, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 413 and 260; Denison, p. 87, quoted by Roth, i, p. 136.
One can readily see how spiritual sanction might be necessary to overcome timidity which would hinder a man from giving up visible produce of the farm and traditional means of support to trust to the uncertainty of fees. There is also to be taken into consideration the vague terror of a spirit world to which all mysterious misfortune is attributed, and which is too closely approached by the magic doctor and the handler of corpses, to make these professions possible without some guarantee of safety. Yet why should the blacksmith feel this? I imagine that in all the basic fear comes from cutting loose from the common toil. The needs of the tribe evidently led to establishing the offices of blacksmith and sexton. Less apparent, however, are the services of the doctors.

The Dyak theory of sickness is that it is caused by the absence of the soul from the body, or by the invasion of malignant demons. And the function of the priest consists in performing magical ceremonies to persuade the soul to return, or to drive out the intruders. According to descriptions given, the treatment is enough to kill a European sufferer, but doubtless the patients who believe in it derive some benefit.

The priests' duty at the last two agricultural feasts is to secure the "soul of the rice" (which Tuppa sends down) in much the same way as they secure the soul of a sick man. And for this service they receive three cups full of rice from each family. Whether this is merely an extension of their doctoral functions, due to the theory that plants as well as men have souls and need to be treated in the same way, or whether it points to some historical connection on the part of the priests with the art of rice-culture, is hard to tell from the fragmentary information available.

We know the supposed powers of the medicine men, for which they receive compensation. May it not be that like the sexton and the blacksmith their profession has a real utility? They may, like the medicine men of the American Indians, be the thinkers and directors, set apart from active life to preserve and augment useful traditions. Or they may have an economic position unfamiliar, and peculiarly Dyak. But unfortunately the
only really definite conclusion we can come to on this subject is that we need more information.**

6. Sanction of the social order. Setting aside then, the part of the doctor-priests in the harvest festivities, to await more knowledge of facts, we may sum up the significance of the rest of the personnel. The entire agricultural community, as we have seen, being the complete unit of production, takes an active part in the celebration; the lesser economic unit within this, the family, is also asserted; the community chief is honoured by the position of the center of the ritual, the altar; while the main producers of rice, the women, and the most skilled in agricultural lore, the elders, are conspicuous in the pageantry. Throughout, the organization of the feast reflects and fosters the social order best adapted to the Dyak local conditions and method of cultivation.

It is interesting and important to note in the harvest ritual, as in nearly all Dyak custom, the exaltation of age. The only occasions which put a premium on youth and strength are the warriors’ head-feasts. Wisdom and white hairs find reverence at the rest. And this is undoubtedly because of the weight of tradition, which seeking no advantage of progressive methods, finds most profitable skill in memory and experience. Without written records, the profit of the past is all in the storehouse of the elder mind. And so great is the respect for this handing down of memories that a new custom which some new condition calls for has little adherence until it is referred to the past and seems to acquire ancestral sanction.

**Chalmers in Grant’s Tour, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 260-261; ibid., p. 9, quoted by Roth, i, p. 263; St. John, i, p. 190.

Mr. La Flesche of the Indian Bureau deprecates the popular idea of the medicine-man as mere magic healer, which he says has originated in the white man’s observation of the “quacks” of the tribe. The official medicine-man was more than this. He must not be a warrior, but it was he who called the war-council; he watched the sky and directed the tribal doings according to season; he taught his successor, usually choosing his own son, but only if worthy. In all things useful the medicine-men preserved oral traditions, and handed-down knowledge from one generation to another.
IX.

The Ritual Symbolism.

1. How far we can understand it. Can we trace, also, in every detail of the ritual as in the broad outlines of the ceremonies, the influence of local conditions? It might be possible, did we know each shade of varying circumstance through which the Dyaks have passed in the last millennium; and could we make our minds like theirs and interpret accurately the occult language of chants, the emotions conveyed by each rhythmic movement, and the intricate symbolism of colours and flowers. Could we do all this our knowledge would be more than human. And far from omniscience there is only available a fragment of fact. We have a fair survey of the surroundings in which the Dyaks were placed at one period of their career, and what they made of them, with a hint of their former history; on the ritual side, we have, to compare with this, incomplete accounts of the ceremony by men of an alien race, not thoroughly at home with the language or mode of thought of these children of the forest. From such sources we shall be chary of accepting uncritically interpretations that may be coloured by the spectator's prejudice; and shall reject entirely as inadmissible evidence any second-hand information. What is left may seem small material indeed. But it is something. While we may hesitate to place implicit faith in an Englishman's interpretation of Dyak meanings, we can at least rely upon the word of a scientist when he says that at this feast he saw them use a white fowl; at that a dark one; that the altar was put in such a position, and was constructed of such and such materials. Putting undoubted details of the feast side by side with known economic facts, inferences appear as striking as they are inevitable. They are enough to hint that were our information more complete, still closer intimacy of religious symbolism with the desires of men would be revealed.

To give a fair estimate within the prescribed limits is no easy matter. Our task is to scrutinize factors and at the same time keep the whole poetry. For the mood of ritual is never that of prose. Our enquiry demands the sympathetic attitude, such sympathy as cannot persist between bare scientific analysis and the elusive suggestions of mystic symbolism.
2. The advantage of symbols to communicate religious ideas. By the picturesque suggestion of symbols, subtle emotions are transferred from one being to another. The purpose of all dances, pageants, and arts, according to a recent writer on human relationships, is in the desire of man to escape from the isolation of individuality, to set forth his state of mind to his fellows. Words, mere words, are to the savage even more than to us inadequate. As the mental processes become more complex and the language richer, persuasion may partially replace pageant. But the early religionists used largely object language.

They created in their ceremonials an atmosphere of intense excitement, in which their minds were sensitive to every impression of ritual detail. They worked themselves up to a fine frenzy by the rhythmic beat of drums and gongs; subdued and mysterious for a while, then faster and faster, growing deafening and frantic. And if this were not enough, monotonous chants were sounded in the vague cadences of an unfamiliar tongue. Long, solemn processions of sacred men and women winding slowly in and out appealed to the eye as the sounds to the ear. With the quickening of drums and chants, the grave movement became a dance. Faster and faster, wilder and wilder, the gaily-dressed throng whirled about the apartment, till the priestesses, distracted and exhausted, fell senseless into the arms of their sisters. All through the day, at the great feasts, this continued at intervals; and at night the weird effect was heightened by the flash of tapers.

3. Objects and colours. The dances in themselves all had a meaning. There were mimic shows appropriate to each occasion. By the character of dance a religious purpose was served, as well

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8 Nathaniel Shaler, The Neighbour, p. 206.
9 Foreigners who have attended the feasts agree that the language of the incantations is not the ordinary speech of the Dyaks, and is not generally understood. But they differ as to the origin of the sacred language. Low says that its apparent difference from the ordinary speech is "to be accounted for by the peculiar intonation they give to the syllables when using them in their prayers" (p. 252). St. John thinks it may be some Indian speech (I, p. 139). Others have reported the language to be Malay.
10 Cf. descriptions of the feasts referred to above, note 8.
as by the general sensitiveness it aroused to accompanying symbolism.  

Colour, at the feasts of peace and plenty, celebrating the farming year, is arranged to be in harmony with the spirit of the time. Only white fowls may then be victims; white cloths hang about the altar; in a white cloth only is it possible to secure the soul of the rice. White is throughout Borneo the symbol of peace and good will, a recognized flag of truce, where red is the challenge of war.  

Objects used symbolically at these times are things on which they put great value. There is an association with them all of joyousness and prosperity. Gold dust, the most valuable thing they know, is secured for the feast with the white cloth. This planted in the fields secures plentiful harvest, especially if it has been blessed by the wealth-bringing English. Yellow, the colour of gold, and of the ripe heads of grain, is second only in importance to white. Rice that is scattered to the gods is first coloured yellow, and yellow bamboos are planted about the outdoor altar. Bamboo plays an important part in this object language. It is essential that the altar be made of it; at the mid-harvest feast a feathery head of this loved plant is hung up outside each family apartment.

The bamboo is justly an object for regard, for it gives the Dyaks no small service. It grows luxuriantly, in height often exceeding sixty feet. Of it their houses are largely built, their paths, aqueducts and bridges made, as well as the railings that keep destructive animals away from the farms. It also furnishes them with water-jars, and various domestic utensils.

Two other trees of local importance have a ceremonial use. They are the betel-nut and the cocoanut. Of betel-nut wood are made the wands of which are the insignia alike of priests and priestesses. Cocoanuts as we have seen are used in the special doctoring of the harvest home; and cocoanut water is one of the valuable ingredients of the mixture used in the general tribal

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12 St. John, i, pp. 155, 193; Brooke in Mundy, ii, pp. 42-43; Brooke in Keppel, pp. 193-4.
13 St. John, i, p. 146; Low, p. 263; Grant, p. 12, quoted by Roth, i, p. 215.
doctoring. In this same fluid is dipped the fertilizing gold dust to be planted in the fields, as also the heads of corn placed over the altar. Both the coconut and the betel-nut are, like the bamboo, highly valued trees. They are planted and carefully cultivated on the hill-top near the villages. The coconut is a favorite food. The betel-nut affords the daily indispensable stimulant.75

Further symbols of plenty are branches of the waving corn itself placed over the altar at the gathering of first fruits, and the salads of rice carried by priests and priestesses in the mid-harvest feast.76

Thus for the joyous feasts of agriculture, the prescribed symbolic objects and colours are those suggestive of peace and plenty:—of peace, as the peaceful gods were invoked, because no thought of war must rasp their minds: when the harvest calls for laborers and they must learn the hard lesson of quiet toil; of plenty and all valuable things to foster faith in the happy outcome, and because of the association of ideas by mood, which has made them ascribe to all good things an efficiency for welfare beyond the particular wants they satisfy.

Things of general value, not especially connected with farming, are carried in the harvest dances by the priests. They are the tusk of wild boars, the teeth of bears (rare animals whose fur is valued in some tribes for war-coats), and beads, the universal desideratum. Beads also fill an important place in the gay official dress of the priestesses. Their caps are beaded, and they wear necklaces of black and white beads.77

75 Low, p. 294; Grant, p. 56, quoted by Roth, i, p. 359; Chalmers in Grant, pp. 106-125, quoted by Roth, i, p. 414; cf. also accounts of ceremonies referred to above, note 8.

76 Two sacred flowers are indissolubly associated with the process of farming. If we knew more about them some interesting significance might appear. They are the area-palm blossom, which decorates the altar at the gathering of first fruits, and is waved over the planted seed by the priestesses; and the Bekedlp, a flower which they say was given by Tuppa with the rice seed, and which is always planted with the crop and then dug up again at harvest time to be carefully treasured until the next season. Cf. Denison, p. 88, quoted by Roth, i, p. 417.

77 St. John, i, p. 192; Chalmers in Grant, quoted by Roth, i, p. 310.

78 Denison, ch. v and viii; St. John, i, p. 192; Chalmers, quoted by Roth, i, pp. 269, 310.
The further symbolism of the priestesses' dress is most curious. For it consists of the men's insignia of war. Their mantle is of red cloth; the gay petticoat, hung with hundreds of tinkling hawkbells, is ornamented with the men's tokens of victory, feathers of sacred birds, and human hair. This is like the Kayan custom, when at their harvest feasts the women wear men's clothes and go through a war-dance with swords and shields. Does it signify that the women's work of planting now takes the place of the warrior's prerogative?  

4. Position of the altar. Emblematic meaning is more easily perceived by the uninitiated outsider in some parts of the ritual than in others. The position of the altar, for instance, has a reason patent at a glance. At offerings made for the farm by single families, while the grain is growing, the bamboo structure is placed on the roadside leading to the cultivated plot, or for more dire need, in the midst of the field itself. Toward the end of the season the whole countryside becomes dotted with these altars. Should a tree fall across the farm path, or a dead animal be found on the field, or any other terrible portent occur, the averted sacrifice must be held on the unlucky spot. And naturally, when taking the omens to determine the part of the jungle to fell for planting, the altar is erected in the proposed position, which the birds then condemn or approve.

From such local exactness the altar is removed in communal feasts to a place of larger significance, as when at the sacrifice to avert the sad results of paying the government rice-tax, the altar is placed at the entrance of the village, where as a tribe they communicate with the outside world; or when in the first part of the Man Sawn it is placed by the common road that leads to all the farms, or on the hill-top under the village fruit trees, and later, as in the other harvest feasts, is erected in the public hall of the village outside the door of the village chief.

Its position always tells a tale. It stands as if it said "I am here to show why this feast is occasioned, to teach you children and unlearned of the people what is the meaning of the rite."


— Cf. descriptions of feasts referred to above, note 8.
Conclusion. When freedom from ordinary cares has been secured by the taboo, and gongs, drums, and dances have aroused the minds to a pitch of excited receptivity, each symbolic detail of the ritual stamps its idea. The nature and habits of the gods that preside over farming, and the attitude that man must take toward them, are taught in object language. If the mere desire to impart moods was efficient to create pageants and arts, the importance of those is immeasurably increased when they become the vehicle for preserving the religious sentiments necessary for the coherence and welfare of the tribe.

All parts of the feast work together to foster the tribal faith, but all have not a common origin. To explain the agricultural series of festivities we have had to advert to almost every phase of Dyak life. Into the shaping of the ritual have entered the seasons and the weather; the necessity for settled life and monotonous toil; deep-rooted habits of periodic idleness and debauchery; the limitation of the supply of certain animals; the need for communal spirit in the farm life, and for subservience to those fitted to lead; dread of the oppression of the Malays, gratitude to the friendly power of Rajah Brooke; the advantages of greater frugality and industry introduced by the opportunities of foreign trade; and, finally, the development of intellect and character produced by the change from the wild jungle life to settled farming, which has placed above the old malignant spirits of the wood a group of higher beneficent gods, to whose honour all these feasts are accredited.
Notes on the Making of Palm-Leaf Manuscripts in Siam.—

By Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., American Embassy, St. Petersburg, Russia.

There is no more common sight in any of the temples or "wats" in Bangkok, or indeed in any part of Siam, than that of one or more Buddhist students or priests squatting on the floor of the balcony of their houses and engaged more or less busily in preparing palm-leaf manuscripts of some of the sacred books of Siam.

Printing has of late years made a little headway in displacing hand work for the reproduction of the sacred books of the priests, but it is still looked upon with some disfavor by the more conservative members of the priesthood, and is moreover much more expensive than the writing on palm leaves, which costs nothing at all unless it be a great deal of time. Of that, however, Siamese, like other Buddhist priests, have a great deal to spare.

A few words on the method and materials employed in the manufacture of palm-leaf manuscripts among the Siamese may not be without interest to those who have never been in a Buddhist land.

The process is about as follows: The leaves of the palm tree are brought in from the country in large bundles, each leaf being about eighteen inches long and doubled in the middle. These leaves are given to the priests by the peasants as a means of "making merit." The first operation in converting the leaves into the finished manuscript is to divide them by cutting out the midrib, thus making two leaves of each leaf of the tree. These leaves are then made up into bundles of some hundred pieces each and are then placed between boards tightly tied up and wedged in a press. While still there the edges of the

*Sometimes the preliminary operations just described are done by persons outside the wats and then the products sold or given to the priests. It was from such outside persons that I used to obtain the leaves which my scribe needed in his copying of manuscripts.*
leaves are trimmed smoothly with a semi-circular knife which is in a handle some two feet long. After sanding the leaves to give them a smooth surface for writing or rather inscribing, the bundles are then ready for the next stage in the book-making process.

After the surface of the leaves has been sanded and made in good condition for receiving the strokes of the scribe's stylus, the actual copying of the books can begin. Each copyist has in front of him, as he squats on the floor of the temple, a frame about eighteen inches in height, somewhat resembling an artist's easel, on one ledge of which rests the manuscript to be copied and on the other ledge the blank leaves for the new volume. The pen or rather stylus is a needle point like the needle of a sewing machine, inserted in a wooden handle like an enormous cigar about eight inches in length. Before doing any writing the scribe marks lines, usually five in number, on each leaf by means of strings which are placed in a frame with the ends tied and the rest loose. These strings are then blackened with soot from the bottom of a rice pot and the strings are placed in position over the palm leaf and then snapped. The result is a series of lightly marked black lines on the leaf which serves the writer as a guide for his stylus. The copyist then holds the blank leaf in his hand and with the needle point scratches the letters of the text on the prepared surface of the leaf. It is remarkable how the writer holds the leaf in his hand and does not rest it upon any surface for steadiness. The letters when scratched are of course almost invisible unless carefully examined, as no coloring matter is put on the pen point. In order to render the writing clearer the entire surface of the leaf is smeared with soot and then wiped off and scoured with clean sand. The black adheres to the scratches and is removed from the rest of the surface by the sand. When a sufficient number of pages are ready they are placed in a press and the edges trimmed off and sometimes gilded. The leaves are formed into volumes by being tied together by a string running through holes in the middle of the leaf. Each leaf is usually written on both sides, so that there are two pages of five lines each on every palm leaf.

A book almost always consists of twelve, and a double book of twenty-four leaves.
During my stay in Siam I nearly always had a scribe working at copying Siamese Pāli manuscripts of the chief works of the modern Buddhism of Siam. The manuscripts in the possession of the priests or temples in Siam are considered so holy that it is only with the greatest difficulty that the priests can be induced to part with them. The result is that it is necessary to copy nearly everything that is desired for purposes of study and research.

I was particularly favored in obtaining, through the kind offices of H.R.H. Prince Damrong, himself a very keen student of the antiquities of Siam, the loan of a number of rare and beautiful manuscripts of Buddhist works. I was also fortunate in receiving from several missionary friends copies of old and valuable Shan and Laos manuscripts and one fragment of a Peguan text. The script employed in these is very similar to that used in the Siamese manuscripts proper, but varies from them to the degree to be expected in a writing which has suffered such vicissitudes of fortune as the Shan and Peguan scripts.

It is to be hoped that the project of establishing a national library at Bangkok for the purpose of preserving the ancient manuscripts, which was taken up just before my departure from Siam in the early part of 1906, will not be allowed to drop. If the library is established, it will be a worthy complement to the Wang Nah Museum in Bangkok, where through Prince Damrong's influence a most creditable collection of inscriptions, cylinders, and other archeological specimens of ancient Siam are gathered together and suitably exhibited.

A systematic search through the temples scattered so plentifully over Siam would doubtless reveal the presence of many manuscripts of great value for the scientific study of Siamese Buddhism and might even bring to light some works altogether unknown to scholars. This search should be made by properly accredited agents of the Ministry of the Interior, and the manuscripts when found should be loaned by the priests to the national library in Bangkok, where they would be accessible to all students. If necessary, copies could be made and left with the temples whence the originals had been taken.
Additions to Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance.—By Truman Michelson, Ph.D., Ridgefield, Conn.

The general interest in the Purūravas-Urvāṣī saga prompts me to make a few additions to Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance from the Bhāgavata and Vāyu Purāṇas. Strictly speaking, these should be called 'supplements' rather than 'additions,' for the Concordance does not claim to include any Purānic material, and indeed the author would not have been justified in wading through the bulky Purāṇas to excerpt the little that smacked of 'Vedic flavor.'

The Purūravas-Urvāṣī saga occurs in BhP. ix. 14 and VP. xc. What I desire to point out is that a few lines of RV. x. 95 are reflected in them. Naturally in our Purāṇas the tristubhas are converted into ślokas. It is particularly to be observed that in BhP. ix. 14. 34d the Vedic kṛṇavāhāt survives; the unusual mā sma construed with the optative (ibidem ix. 14. 36b) is also noteworthy.7

With so much of an introduction, I give below, first, the Vedic lines with their correspondents in BhP., and secondly the half-Śloka of VP. that recalls RV. x. 95. 1ab:

hayē jāye mānasā tiṣṭha ghore, RV. x. 95. 1a
also jāye tiṣṭha tiṣṭha ghore ............... , BhP. ix. 14. 34ab;

vacānāmi niśrā kramavāhāt mā, RV. x. 95. 1b
vacānāi kramavāhāi, BhP. ix. 14. 34d;

sudhara adyā prapātēt ānāvṛt, RV. x. 95. 14a
sudhara ‘yam papatya utra, BhP. ix. 14. 35a;

ādhānāmi vṛkā rābhāvād adyāh, RV. x. 95. 14d
kīdanty evam vṛkā grīhavas, BhP. ix. 14. 35c;

pūrūravo mā mṛthāḥ mā prā pāpta, RV. x. 95. 15a
mā mṛthāḥ puruṣo ‘śi teva, BhP. ix. 14. 36a;

1 BhP. is cited according to the Bombay ed. of 1898; VP. according to the text of the Ānandāśrama Series; I have silently corrected a slight error in the numbering of the former.

7 Is adyā due to adyāh of RV. x. 95. 14d?
mā tvā vyása dāśasa u kṣaṇ, RV, x. 95. 15b
mā mu tvā 'dyur vyása ime, BhP. ix. 14. 36b;
no vāi strāniṣa nakhyāni santi, RV, x. 95. 15c
keṇiṣa nakhyā na vāi strāniṣam, BhP. ix. 14. 36c;
salāvykānām hṛdayaṇī nda, RV, x. 95. 15d
vykānām hṛdayaṇī yathā, BhP. ix. 14. 36d;
āyāhā tiṣṭha manasa
ghore vacasi tiṣṭha he, VP, xe. 35ed.

Doubtless too amīrtyna of BhP. ix. 14. 34c is a reminiscence of ānāṣṭ, RV, x. 95. 14a.

It is instructive to note that nearly all the Vedic peculiarities have been altered to Classical Sanskrit, and how unusual words have been replaced by more common ones. The corruption of āryaṇa to puruṣa is due to the fact that the initial sounds of the two words are identical. The change of metre is responsible for some of the more violent discrepancies between the versions, but not all; and indeed we may say that the change in metre itself is due to faulty tradition.
On Certain Work in continuance of the Vedic Concordance—By Maurice Bloomfield, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

In the preface to my Vedic Concordance I had occasion more than once to refer to certain future work, likely in the natural course of events to grow out of that performance, work for which the Concordance itself furnishes the background or basis. There will be a long time hence the inevitable supplement. Some few texts have already appeared, entirely or in part; others are known to exist in manuscripts which will doubtless in due time find their editors. Very anomalous is the position of the Pāippalānī text of the Atharva-Veda, the so-called Kashmirian Atharva-Veda. A few simile reproduction of the unique manuscript of this text, belonging to the library of the University of Tübingen, was edited by Professor Garbe and myself (Baltimore, 1901). Since then Dr. L. C. Barrett has published a critical edition of the first book in JAOS. xxvi. 197 ff.; the same scholar has now in hand a similar elaboration of the second book. This enables us to estimate more precisely the condition and value of the Kashmir manuscript. The text as a whole is even more corrupt than has been supposed. Especially those hymns and stanzas which lack parallels in the Čāṇakya version of the AV. or in the rest of Vedic literature are frequently in the condition of vox et præterea nihil: entire stanzas and even longer passages are a meaningless jumble of senseless sounds. The effect of an attempt to divide this material into pādas, and to superimpose upon these an alphabetic arrangement, would be in the end nothing less than shocking. I have never quit endeavoring to obtain another manuscript of this ill-fated text, and I still hope, against hope, that some out-of-the-way library in Kashmir may hide away the precious document. In any case it seemed to me, and it seems to me now, wise to defer such an analysis of the text as would fit for a concordance its metrical units, whether they be dealt with as pādas, hemistichs, or entire stanzas, for a later time, the time of the supple-
ment. There can be no regret for the absence of this indigestible matter from the pages of the foundation work of the Concordance, as long as there is hope that the Pāippalāda may, for one reason or another, assume a more decent aspect in the future.

So much then for the supplement. On the other hand, the Concordance contains within its covers certain materials of the kind that chemists call by-products; materials which call for more or less immediate attention. These the author of the Concordance should deal with himself, because he understands best their value and knows best how to bring them to market. Three of these by-products are particularly important, though in varying degrees, and involving very different kinds and degrees of activity.

First, I have spoken in the preface of the imitative and mechanical character of Vedic literary production. At no stage of Vedic literature have we before us anything that resembles beginnings. Even the Rig-Veda is pretty nearly the final expression of its own type of composition; it presupposes a long period of antecedent activity, obviously going back to the common Indo-Persian or Aryan time. Paradoxical as this may sound, the hymn of the Rig-Veda as a body are largely epigonal, or born after a long period of hymn-production which must have, once upon a time, been much freer from conventional thought and machine-made utterance. The Concordance shows that of the forty thousand lines of the Rig-Veda about five thousand lines are repeated lines. The average of repetition is about three times, so that we have the provisional and rough result, that not far from 2000 verse-lines occur two, or three, or more times. This tendency to repetition prevails not only in the first, eighth, ninth, and tenth books, but it asserts itself also to an astonishing degree where it is much less expected, namely, in the so-called family-books of the Rig-Veda (books ii-viii), those books which tradition connects very persistently with the oldest eponyms of Hindu priestly families (Rishi families), such as the Vasiṣṭhas, Viśvāmitras, Bharadvājas, etc. They seem to be all alike good borrowers: Peter from Paul, Paul from Peter, and both from Simon. A preliminary survey of the facts shows that there is none of these books that does not borrow from the other. The exact nature of these borrowings the future may possibly disclose; to some extent at least, they represent, exactly
as in later Vedic times, adoption of floating verses which had become common property, rather than literary pilfering. But of one thing I am quite certain now. Attempts have been made more than once to arrange these books according to relative chronology. These arrangements have ever been shaky for all sorts of reasons, but the repeated pādas show pretty clearly that the whole structure, as far as the inner kernel of the Rig-Veda is concerned, is a house of cards. This collection as a whole is the last precipitate, with a long and tangled past behind it, of a literary activity of great and indefinite length. Its every part seems to be conscious of and assimilated to every other part, so that the only thing we do know about relative Vedic chronology is, that, at a time later than the redaction of the family books, it was still possible for imitators to excite themselves to the manufacture of quasi-pākas in a more popular language, and of a yet more obviously epigonal character. The assortment and the critique of these repeated materials is the first task which falls into the bulging lap of the author of the Concordance: the materials are in my hands, and I hope in due time to present them, along with such deductions as seem to me to be derivable from them.

The second task, namely the elaboration of a reverse concordance, is suggested on page x and xiv of the introductory pages of the main work. It means an index of the items of the Concordance arranged alphabetically from the end. The use of such an index will be in the main two-fold. First, it will reveal a large number of additional verse lines and formulas which are identical or similar, except that they differ in their opening word or words. In the foundation work I endeavored to gather in all such correspondences as far as was permitted by the instrument in my hands, namely, alphabetic arrangement from the beginning, and thorough comparison of all the pādas of a given stanza, or all the phrases which form the units of a lengthy prose mantra. No amount of diligence could possibly exhaust such correspondences, but the reverse index will reveal them pretty nearly in their entirety, and at the same time throw valuable light on the technical structure of the final cadences. Secondly, just as the opening words of the items of the main work supply to some extent the place of a word for word index of the mantras, so the reverse index will supply additional material of
the same sort. Between the two there will be, incidentally, in the hands of Sanskrit scholars nearly one half of complete word concordance of the mantras—a not mean instrument to tide over to the time when a complete word concordance of the mantras may yet be composed by some courageous scholar of another generation. The reverse index, I may state, is also well under way, and there is good prospect that it may see the light of day within a reasonable time.

The third task which imposes itself, and which any scholar might gladly welcome, is the elaboration of the Vedic variants. Their number reaches, perhaps, the astonishing total of 50,000, if we count each and every variation as a separate item. During the past year or two I have prepared a preliminary rough assortment of these variants; needless to say they promise to become a very valuable instrument for the study of the Vedic language and literary tradition. They throw, in the first place, strong light on the affiliations of the Vedic schools. Traditional native Hindu reports of the inter-relations of the Vedic schools (Carapavyūhas, Commentators, etc.) are interesting documents whose statements are by no means negligible. But, like almost all native treatments of Vedic matters, they make up in fable and exaggeration what they lack in reliable information and sound judgment. Aside from this very imperfect Hindu tradition, and some slender indications concerning the geographical distribution of the Vedic schools, we have only the texts themselves to guide us in any attempt to establish the affiliations of these schools: the harmonics and discrepancies of the texts of these schools, shown most incisively in the variations of one and the same passage, are the chief and truest index. Upon a critical sifting of the variants, therefore, our knowledge of the Vedic schools will ultimately depend, unless some new and unforeseen source of information should spring up.

The Vedic variants, however, seem to me even more valuable for what they teach about this oldest language of the Brahmans. Conventional and scholastic though it be, limited, at least as far as we have it, by the monotone qualities of religious use and constant attitude of eulogy and prayer, it nevertheless is full of bouncing vitality, and a degree of freedom that borders on license. Anything like the notion that this ancient speech of the Rishis is dead, will, if I am not mistaken, pass out of the
mind of any one who has occasion to survey these variants. A language which is still resourceful enough to indulge itself in something like 10,000 synonimic variations, sometimes varying intelligently one word six times,1 is, to say the least, a very lively corpse. Every phase of speech history is illumined: consonantal and vocalic phonetics; laws of euphony between successive words; formation of noun-stems, and case endings; formation of verb-stems, and every modality of voice, time, mood, and personal endings; syntax of parts of speech and syntax of sentences; order of words; synonymy; and stylistic expression.

For the study of language in general these variants are of very great interest, because they contain, as it were, the speakers' declaration of independence. They show on an enormous scale that a thing expressed in one way may, without apparent effort, be expressed in one or more other ways. But they show also how repeated tradition may put in the place of correct speech inferior or blundering substitutes.

The study of these variants, if I should be skilful enough to carry it on aright, and lucky enough to carry it to a finish, will pump red blood into every paragraph of Sanskrit grammar.

There are over a hundred cases of interchange between sonants and surds, beginning with a suspicious double reading in RV.; one of which only, presumably 9. 12. 6v, is likely to be original:

RV. 9. 12. 6v, pra vacam indur isyati;
RV. 9. 35. 4v, pra vajam indur isyati.

As another illustration of this interchange, a certain item contains the name of an unknown wild animal (according to TS., a tiger) in a triple variant involving this kind of change, namely as pitaça, pideça, and bidéca:

pitaça (VS. MS. pideça) nyanakha kakkata (MS. kakuthas; TS. kaça); te 'numatāi VS. 24. 33; TS. 5. 5. 17. 1; MS. 3. 14. 13. 175. 4; bidéca nyanakha kaça te 'numatāi KSA. 7. 7.

The interchange between m and v which runs as a red thread though the entire history of the Hindu dialects is illustrated by about fifty variants beginning in the Sanshitās themselves, e. g.:

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1 See, e. g. the item of the Concordance, prāgaṇābhāyaḥ balam avraṇantī (aharanti; āduhānā; āsāhantī; ādharanti; ābhajantī).
RV. 8. 69. 1, mandadvirāyendave;
SV. 1. 360, vandadvirāyendave.
ue chvañcasva (TA. chvañcasva) prthivi māni bādhathāḥ
(TA. mā vi bādhithāḥ) RV. 10. 18. 11ś; AV. 18. 3. 50ś;
TA. 6. 7. 1ś.
nama ēreyāya (MS. ārmyāya) ca sūreyāya (TS. MS.
śārmyāya) ca VS. 16. 45; TS. 4. 5. 9. 2; MS. 2. 9. 8;
127. 1: namas sūrmyāya cormyāya ca KS. 17. 15.

The interchange between r and l, phonetically easy, but in
Sanskrit well forward in discussions as to the relative chronology
of Vedic texts, is again illustrated by about 50 variants: rabh
and labh; pru and plu; sriś and slis; pāraya and pālaya;
ciraya and vilaya; achula and acharā; viliṣṭa and viriṣṭa;
pruṣatiśā and pulitiśā; sthālo and sthūra; acersa and akerśa;
apapacada and napapacada; cālaḥ and cāraḥ; yukta and
yukra; rohita and rohita; and, with double change, sarira and
salita, sarāta and latāta; aṣṭiva and aṣṭśita.

The order of words in sentences and clauses of the Indo-
European languages has been a matter of interest since the early
days of these studies. There are just about one thousand cases
of change of order in one and the same pāda or prose passage.
So, e. g., the following pāda and sentence is varied fourfold: 1

ā garbhō yonim etu te;
ā yonim garbha etu te;
ā te garbha yonim etu;
ā te yoniś garbha etu:

Two more cases of multiple variation are:

divam tṛtyāṁ devāṁ yajñō 'gāt;
divam dečāṁ tṛtyāṁ yajñō 'gāt;
devāṁ divam tṛtyāṁ yajñō 'gāt;
devāṁ divam agan yajñāḥ.

And again,

team agne puriyāḥ;
agne team puriyāḥ;
puriyās team agne.

1 Henceforward I shall omit such citations as are readily supplied by
the Concordance.
There will be found a considerable degree of instability in the position of the predicate, whether finite verb or otherwise; in the position of the subject; in the position of the vocative; in the relation of the preposition to its verb (tmesis); in the order of nouns and their attributes; in the position of the relative pronoun in the sentence; in the order of principal and dependent clauses; and in almost any other imaginable adjustment of words and clauses to one another. An illustration or two of each of the kinds mentioned may suffice for the present:

Position of the verb.

\[
\text{asmā etāḥ pitaro lokam akrama;}
\text{akrama imām pitaro lokam asmai;}
\text{ādityās tvā jagatena chandasa saumṛjantu;}
\text{ādityās tvā saumṛjantu jagatena chandasa;}
\text{pryakṣi rodasi ubhe;}
\text{ubhe pryakṣi rodasi.}
\]

Position of the predicate, not finite verb.

\[
\text{dāivyā advaryava upahotah;}
\text{upahotā dāivyā advaryavaḥ.}
\]

Position of the subject, or object.

\[
\text{ahāṅ tebhya karaṇi namaḥ;}
\text{tebhya 'ham akaraṇi namaḥ;}
\text{retas ten me pitā vṛṅktām;}
\text{ten me retah pitā vṛṅktām.}
\]

Position of the vocative.

\[
\text{esa te rudra bhūgah;}
\text{rudrā śo te bhūgah;}
\text{tābhyaḥ rājān pari dehy enam;}
\text{tābhyaṁ enam pari dehi rājan.}
\]

Tmesis.

\[
\text{vanaspātir adhi tvā sthāvyati;}
\text{vanaspatis te dhīshāḥśeṣyati.}
\text{imāṃ bhaja grāme akeṣu gosu;}
\text{enam bhaja grāme akeṣu gosu.}
\]
Order of nouns and their attributes.

upa man mátá prthívī hravyátm:
apa man prthívī mátá hravyatám.
tan citranī bhágam imahe:
tan bhágam citram imahe.

Position of the relative pronoun.

akośāh kośinīvy ca yāk:
akośā yāk ca kośinīh.

īṣe yo aṣya drīpadaḥ catuspadaḥ:
yo īṣe aṣya drīpadaḥ catuspadaḥ.

Order of principal and dependent clauses.

yam dvīsmaś tain te cug rehatu:
amuḥ te cug rehatu yam dvīsmaḥ.

yam vayam dvārāma tain dhvora:
tan dhārva yam vayam dhūrāmaḥ.

There are, as stated above, masses of variants that concern verbal inflexion. The Concordance shows about 200 cases of interchange between active and middle voice, both in finite forms and in participles. For the most part the interchange of voice takes place with the same verbal stem; occasionally the verbal stem varies also in other respects, as when we have,

prātaḥ somaṁ uta rudram huñeva (hanāmahe);
or, isam urjām aham ita ādām (āduδe).

Other examples of the interchange of voices are:

visno havyanī rakṣava (rakṣu).
sakhāya śīśāmahi (śīśāmahe).
cīva me saṭpārām (saṭpa ṛṣīn) upa tisthasva (tistaḥa).
ev acēna (acēnahī) devahitaṁ yad āyuḥ.
yunakta sirā vi yugā tamaḥvam (tanota).
ugrāvam cettāram adhirājam akram (akratu).
sa yathā tuṁ bhrājata bhrājośy evāhaṁ bhrājata
bhrājyāvam (tuṁ bhrājāya bhrājasa evam ahaṁ
bhrājya bhrājīśya).
antar evosmāṇaṁ vārayatāt (vārayadhvāt).
avhibhi (adhibha) bhoh.
prannācamāno (prannācanto) bhūvanasya retaḥ.
apalāyīṣyamāno (palāyīṣyate) svākā,
viṣvā āgā didyāno (didyao) vi bhāhi.

Let me dwell more particularly upon one of the broader aspects of the variants that concern verbal inflexion, namely, interchange of moods. In a body of texts dealing almost entirely with the praise of fictitious gods, with efforts to coax them into good humor and liberality, and with all sorts of magic hocus-pocus that is supposed to fulfil wishes, the indicative is in reality the prevailing mode of uncertainty. This is so because the indicative states categorically what, in the nature of the case, is not certain, but is merely wished for, hoped for, requested, or importunately insisted upon. So, for instance, a poet priest states serenely in the present indicative that a certain god in his wisdom has the power of making even the stingy man give gifts to the priests:

adītsantān dāpayati prajānam VS. 9. 24; KS. 14. 2:
CB. 5. 2. 2. 6.

What is really meant is, that the poet hopes, wishes, or requests, and so on, that the god may, should, or shall do so. Accordingly, three other texts show the imperative dāpayatu, 'shall make give,' as variant of the indicative dāpayati, 'makes give,' to wit:

adītsantān (AV. utadītsantān) dāpayatu prajānam AV.
3. 20. 8; TS. 1. 7. 10. 1; MS. 1. 11. 4; 165. 6.

I see no reason why we should deny such an indicative the name hortative indicative, even if we remember that this use of the indicative contains also a touch of piety and faith. Be this as it may, the poets express their desires along the same line in even more certain tone: they employ preterite indicatives, more particularly, the aorist, that perfective aorist which is the equivalent of the Greek perfect. So, for instance, some texts say: 'I have speedily attained unto truth,'

aṇjasā satyaṁ upāgam MS. 1. 2. 7. 16. 15; KS. 2. 8.
while the majority, nine in number, say, using the aorist injunctive, 'May I speedily attain unto truth,'
Or, one text says: 'The moon and the constellations have helped thee along.'

\textit{candramā naksatrāīr ann tevāvit} KS. 37. 9a,

whereas another says, using the imperative, 'May the moon and the constellations help thee along,'

\textit{candramā naksatrāīr ann tevāvatu}.

This aorist, especially frequent in the literature of magic and conjuration, has been named prophetic aorist; it obviously has a touch of slyness, cocksureness, and even bluster, underneath which lurks, however, the modal element of desire and doubt which the hot-headed statement does not disguise.

There are about two hundred cases in which these indicatives vary with some one or more of the grammatical modal forms: imperative, optative, injunctive, and thematic subjunctive. Now it is interesting to observe that the mild and pious present indicative varies mostly with the imperative, rather than with any of the other modes:

\textit{somo viram karmāyam dādāti} (TB. \textit{dadātu}) RV. 1. 31. 20a; VS. 34. 21a; MS. 4. 14. 1a; 214. 2; TB. 2. 8. 3. 1b;

'Soma bestows (and, may bestow) upon us a pious son.'

Or,
\textit{ā devo yātū} (MS. MG. \textit{yātī}) \textit{sa vai dharatvah} RV. 7. 45. 1a; MS. 4. 14. 6a; 223. 13; KS. 17. 19a; AB. 5. 5. 7; KB. 22. 9; ČB. 13. 4. 2. 7; TB. 3. 8. 6. 1a; AČ. 3. 7. 14; 10. 6. 9; ČÇ. 10. 5. 23; 16. 1. 21,

'God Savitar comes (and, may come) hither with precious treasure.'

This calls to mind the fact that throughout Sanskrit literature the imperative is, to a large extent, a mode of wish as well as of command, as when in contrast with Lat. \textit{vivat crescat floreat}, or \textit{vivat rex}, Sanskrit uses the imperative, \textit{jayatu rājā}. 
And it seemed to me well to note this in the several persons of the imperative, not only the third person, which is most frequent. It fits these as well. For instance:

\[\text{ksatrapānāṁ ksatrapatīr na} \text{ TS. 1. 8. 14. 2; TB. 1. 7. 8. 5; ApC 18. 6. 6,}\]

'Thou art sovereign lord of sovereignties,' varies with,

\[\text{ksatrapānāṁ ksatrapatīr evah VS. 10. 17; CB. 5. 4. 2. 2; KC. 15. 5. 32,}\]

'Be thou sovereign lord of sovereignties?' In brief, the imperative seems to me, on the evidence of the variants, to encroach upon the more timid wish-modes to a larger extent than which is to be expected in a mode of command.'

As stated above, the present and preterite indicatives vary not only with the imperative, but also with every other modal category. I shall reserve counts for a later time and merely cite an example or two of other kinds of variation.

**Aorist and Optative.**

\[\text{grāvāvādit (grāvā vade) abhi somasyānṣum (cunda).}\]

**Aorist and Thematic Subjunctive.**

\[\text{aṁyāvāksīd (aṁyā vaksad) eva vāryāt.}\]

\[\text{visnus tevā kramatām (tevākraṣṭa).}\]

**Aorist and Injunctive.**

\[\text{aṁjasā satyaṁ upe geṣam (upāgām).}\]

**Imperfect and Thematic Subjunctive.**

\[\text{ā vo rohito aṣṭro abhidyavah;}\]
\[\text{ā vo rohitah sguvant squatānavah.}\]

**Perfect and Thematic Subjunctive.**

\[\text{sa viṣṇu prati cākile; sa viṣṇau prati cākile.}\]

**Present Indicative and Thematic Subjunctive.**

\[\text{indro jayāti (jayati) na para jayātā (jayate).}\]

**Present Indicative and Optative.**

\[\text{grābhauṁ ṣṛbhūḍa (ṣṛbhūḍi) sānaṁ.}\]

Present Indicative and Injunctive.

pra te dice na stanayanti cruismah (stanayantau cruismahi).

Next, the imperative varies with every other mode, most frequently with the subjunctive, but also with injunctive, optative, preceptive, future, and infinitive:

**Imperative and Thematic Subjunctive.**

*te no raja sarvaviram ni yachan (yachantu).*
*tapto van gharo nakasti (nakatu) svahotah.*
*uva trata cine bhavah (bhavo) varathyah.*
*gurhapatyah un no nesat; gurhapatyah un ninetu.*

**Imperative and Injunctive.**

aditya rudra casavo jusauna (jusanatam).
*tasya no vasva tasya no idlehi (dalhi).*
*pra-pra yajnapatiim tira (tirah).*

**Imperative and Injunctive with ma Prohibitive.**

ma savyena dukshanium atikrama (atikrami).

**Imperative and Optative.**

araksasmanas taj juseta (jusethah; jusasva).

**Imperative and Preceptive.**

darmitras (‘mitryas; ‘mitriyas) tasmai santu (bhyaya- sur) yo’smam(asman) deesi yaui ca vayaiu deismah.
yo no deesi adharaah sas padaata (sa padyata).

**Imperative and Future.**

vag arteiyaya karisyati (karoatu).

**Imperative and Infinitive.**

brahmanah tarpayata (tarpayitaavai).

Again, the subjunctive which we have already met in interchange with indicative and imperative, in its turn, alternates also with the rest of the modes:

**Thematic Subjunctive and Injunctive.**

tasmai deva adhi brawan (brawan).
*sa (sah) naah samma trivarutham vi yasnath (trivarutham ni yachath).*

---

¹ Contrary to Deibruck, *Althindische Syntax*, p. 361.
Thematic Subjunctive and Optative.

Thematic Subjunctive and Prepositive.

Thematic Subjunctive and Future.

tesāṁ mātā bhavisyati; bhavēṣi putrānāṁ mātā.

And so also most of the remaining possible permutations occur freely:

Injunctive and Optative.

Injunctive with mā (Prohibitive) and Optative.

Optative and Prepositive.

Optative and Prepositive.

tvayāyam uprāya vadhyāt (badhyāt; badhet).

Praceptive and Future.

Preceptive and Future.

There are also a number of cases in which there are more than two variations, as e. g.,

Indicative, Imperative and Thematic Subjunctive.

Indicative, Imperative, and Prepositive.

surya bhrājīśtha bhrājīśthas (bhrājaśvin bhrājavo; bhrājaścan bhrājaścāna; bhrājaskāra bhrājaśvāna) tvām (tvām varcaveān) deveṣu asi (devēṣa edhi; deveṣu bhāyāh).

3 Cf. Delbrück, l. c. p. 338.

On his journey to Persia in 1903 Professor A. V. Williams Jackson visited the Fire Temple at Bâku on the Caspian Sea. He kindly forwarded to me for deciphering a photograph of one of the fifteen inscriptions he noticed on the walls of the temple and its precincts.

Professor Jackson has since called my attention to three other undeciphered inscriptions, published in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1897, by Colonel C. E. Stewart, Consul General at Odessa, accompanied with a description of the Fire Temple as it appeared on his first visit in 1866, and again in 1881. So far as I am aware, none of these fifteen inscriptions have hitherto been deciphered and I have been entirely successful only with one, Inscr. A. (see below), the photographic reproduction of which is very distinct.

Inscription A. The letters of this inscription are clearly cut and well preserved. The language is Panjabi, and the alphabet is that of the ordinary Panjabi of the present day. It is inscribed in seven lines.

The first four lines of the text are the opening lines of the "Japji," one of the sections of the Adi Granth, the great religious book of the Sikhs. This special verse of the Japji is one well known and is daily repeated by all faithful Sikhs. The remaining lines of the text contain the names of Bâbâ Jagushâh and his disciples, builder or builders of the "sacred place," Dharamkhi jagah.

1 See "Notes on a Journey to Persia" in the JAOS., Vol. xxv, p. 177.
2 W. St. Clair Tisdall in his Panjabi Grammar calls the language of the Japji "a mixture of Braj Bhâshâ and old Panjabi."
Om sati nāma karatā purākhu nirabhānu
niravairu akāla mārati ajūni saibham
 guru prasādi japa ādi saevu jugādi sa
 eun hai bhī saevu Nānaka hosi bhī saevu sati gurapra
 sādī Bābā Jagūsāh Subā jisakā celā
 Bāvā Tagūsāh ji(sa) kā celā Bāvā Bakasāh jisakā ce
 lā Chatasāh dharamkī jagah bani
TRANSLATION.

Om. Whose name is Existence, Creator, The Male, Without fear,
Without enmity, Timeless, Unborn, Self-existent,
Favor of the Guru. Repeat this. He is true in the begin-
ning;
He is true from eternity; He is true now; Nanak (says) he
will be true in the future. The favour of the true Guru.
Bābā Jagūshāh Subā, whose disciple is Bābā Tagūshāh, whose
disciple is Bāvā Bakashāh, whose disciple is Chatashāh, built
this religious place.

The Sanskrit equivalents for the Panjābī appellations used
above are Sat, Nāman, Karatā, Purusha, Nirbhaya, Nirvāra, Akālamūrti, Ajanma Svayambhu.

A word may be added regarding the age of this inscription.
It contains no date. As it, however, mentions Nānak (1469–
1539), and quotes from the Adi Granth, a work ascribed to Bābā
Nānak, and as considerable time must be allowed for the coming
into existence of a feeling of reverence for the Adi Granth,
such as to account for an insertion of a quotation in this inscrip-
tion, it is probable that its age is the same as that of the Nāgari
inscription (see Inscr. C. below) Samvat 1802, A.D. 1645.

Inscription B. This inscription may be found reproduced
in the Royal Asiatic Society’s Journal for 1897, page 311.

Like Inscription A above, it is in the Panjābī alphabet and
language. It consists of eight lines, with as a rule 15 syllables
in each line. It also begins with the same quotation from the
Japji as Inscr. A above.

1. Om sati nāma karatā purakhu nicabha
2. u nirvairu akāla mūrati ajūnī
3. saibham guraprasādī vāhu gurujī sarāī
4. Bābā . . . . . . . . . . .
5. . . . . . . . . . . . . .
6. . . . . . . . . . . . .
7. . . dharamaki jaga banāī . .
8. . . . . . . . . . . . .
I feel too uncertain of the text to attempt to give it entire. After the quotation from the Japji appears the words "vāhu Guruji sarāī" "offer to the Guru the sarāī," resthouse, or dharmāśāla.

In the fourth line the title Bāhā is plain, and in the seventh line "dharamki jaga banāī" "built this sacred place." The name of the builder or builders appear different from those in the inscription above, but the purpose of the inscription appears to be the same, that of recording the names of those who erected perhaps that particular portion of the Dharamsāla, or who had part in the whole sacred edifice.

**Inscription C.** Reproduced in JRAS, for 1897, page 311. This inscription is in the Nāgari alphabet. It is in five lines and is placed directly over the inscription in the Persian alphabet (Inscr. D below). Both are inserted into the wall over a doorway in the temple enclosure.

I have succeeded in deciphering only a portion of this inscription, but as this portion contains the date Samvat 1802, I have thereby settled the era of the date 1158 in the inscription in the Persian alphabet. It is evident that 1158 belongs to the Hijri era, since Samvat 1802 and Hijri 1158 correspond exactly to A.D. 1745.

I give below only such part of the text as I have satisfactorily deciphered.

1. Shri Ganeshāyanama: Shri Rāmaji sati shri

2. . . . Sāhab Samvat 1802 . . .

3. . . . . . . . .

4. . . . . . . . .

5. . . . saphar dhāma . . . banāyā . . .

By Saphar dhāma I understand a travellers resting place, saphar journey, and dhāma, house; banāyā, built.

**Inscription D.** This inscription is directly under Inscription C (see above). It is in the Persian alphabet. I am unable to decipher it. It, however, contains a date, 1158, already noticed by others (see JRAS, 1897, page 311). The fact that this date corresponds with Samvat 1802, which I discovered in the Nāgari inscription directly above it, may be assumed as also giving the date of the building of the temple enclosure.
General Remarks. This Fire Temple is situated on the Caspian sea in the Trans-Caucasus Province of Russia, at Surukhanieh, a few miles from Baku. Surukhanieh is the site of a petroleum refinery which uses the natural petroleum gas for its operations. Whether this phenomenon of burning gas has had at this place any religious significance in ancient times is a question that yet remains to be settled. Some travellers have assumed that the temple has existed from ancient times, but so far as the evidence of the inscriptions at present available goes, the Fire Temple is of Indian origin, and the date of its erection A. D. 1745.

A possible difference of date for that of the center shrine and that for the enclosing precincts has been suggested. Over one of the archways of the center shrine there is an inscription which if it were available would doubtless definitely settle the question whether the shrine in the center was of the same date or older. Visitors to the temple have found the inscription too high up for a satisfactory photograph. In the photo-zinc reproduction of the center shrine illustrating the description by Colonel Stewart (JRAS. 1897, p. 311) this inscription can be seen above the archway, but the letters are too minute and indistinct to yield any result. For the present the only conclusion that can be drawn from the inscriptions is that the temple, including the present center shrine, is quite modern, dating A. D. 1745.

It is of course possible that the present temple may be on the site of an older structure. The accounts of travellers before A. D. 1745 who may have visited this region might possibly settle this question. I have, however, had access to only a few accounts of such travellers, and these have been silent as regards the existence of any temple there.

As a matter of interest Prof. Jackson has called my attention to several modern travellers who have visited Baku, and mention the temple.

Morier's reference to the temple (in his Second Journey Through Persia, 1800-16, Vol. 2, p. 243) is scant, but he mentions meeting with a Hindu pilgrim returning from Baku to Benares.

John Ussher (Journey from London to Persepolis, London, 1865) appears to have visited Baku in Sept. 1863. The book
contains a coloured frontispiece representing the center shrine lighted up by the natural gas, both within in the center of the floor and without at the upper four corners.

Baron Thielmann is referred to in Col. Stewart's article as mentioning the Fire Temple, but I have not had access to his description.⁴

When Colonel Stewart visited the temple in 1866 one Hindu priest alone remained to minister to the sacred fire. In 1881, when he made his second visit, he found the priest gone, the fire extinguished and the keys of the temple in the hands of the engineer of the refinery.

[¹ The reference is to Thielmann, Journey in the Caucasus, Persia, etc., 2, 9-12, London, 1875.—There is a brief anonymous paragraph, with a photograph of the temple precinct, in Men and Women of India, 1, 695, Bombay, 1903. Moreover, under date Sept. 21, 1904, the Parsi Priest Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, of Bombay, wrote me a letter saying that he had a copy of the inscription on the gate of the temple, given him by the noted traveler, Sven Hedin, and adds that the copy "clearly shows that the inscription is Hindu. We read therein Shri Ganesh and Viram, etc. Unfortunately the very portion of the date is not clear.” —In Henry, Baku, an Eventful History, pp. 25-28, London, 1907, will be found some general references to the natural fire at Baku and also a picture of the shrine.

A. V. W. J.]
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,

AT ITS

MEETING IN CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

1908.

The annual meeting of the Society was held in Cambridge, Mass., on Thursday and Friday of Easter week, April 23rd and 24th, in the Phillips Brooks House and in the Semitic Museum.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Abbott, Higginson, Michelson, Sanders,
Arnold, W. R. Hock, Moore, G. F. Scott, C. P. G.
Atkinson, Hopkins, Moore, J. H. Scott, Mrs. M. M.
Barton, Howland, Moore, Mrs. G. F. Sherman,
Bloomfield, Hussey, Miss Morse.
Bolling, Jackson, Müller,
Carus, Jewett, Mass-Arnolt,
Channing, Miss Joseph, Nies, J. B. Toy,
Chester, Kellner, Oertel,
Colton, Miss Kendrick, Miss Ogden, C. J. Ward, W. H.
Crane, Lanman, Ogden, Miss E. S. Warren, W. F
Haas, Lilley, Price,
Harper, Madsen, Ropes,
Haupt, Magoun.

Total, 53.

The first session began on Thursday morning at eleven o'clock, with Professor Lanman in the chair.

The reading of the minutes of the meeting in Philadelphia, Pa., April 4th and 5th, 1908, which had been already printed in the Journal (Volume xxviii, p. 407 ff.), was dispensed with.

The Committee of Arrangements, through Professor G. F. Moore, presented its report in the form of a printed programme.

The succeeding sessions of the Society were appointed for Thursday afternoon at half-past two, Friday morning at half-
past nine, and Friday afternoon at half-past two. It was announced that a luncheon would be given to the Society by the President and Fellows of Harvard College at the Harvard Union on Friday at one o’clock, and that arrangements had been made for a subscription dinner at the same place on Thursday evening at seven o’clock. The Colonial Club and the Harvard Union extended their courtesies to the members of the Society during its sessions.

The annual report of the Corresponding Secretary was presented by Professor E. W. Hopkins.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Through the friendly agency of our member, Dr. Asakawa, and the kindness of Count Okuma, ex-Prime Minister of Japan, the Society has been enriched by a gift of types, of which the need has been apparent for some time. Dr. Asakawa writes, under date of Oct. 2, 1907: “Count Okuma (ex-Premier) accepted my suggestion to present to the American Oriental Society a complete font of Japanese and Chinese movable type, No. 5, and I trust that it will come here within a few months.” Your Secretary would urge that Dr. Asakawa be thanked by the Society for his thoughtfulness in suggesting this gift and that a suitable letter of thanks be sent to Count Okuma for his generous present, which in the meantime has arrived.

Among the letters accepting election to membership only those of the new Honorary Members need to be referred to.

One of these, from Professor Derenbourg, is of melancholy interest today, as the announcement of his death follows so closely upon the letter of acceptance of membership in this Society. The other, from Prof. Raiys Davids, explains a long delay in replying to your Secretary’s notification as due to an almost fatal illness, from which he is now fortunately recovered.

Official notification of the death of three distinguished scholars has been received by the Secretary: Prof. Auffrecht, Prof. Gebaner, and Baron Victor Rosen. They were not members of this Society.

The Committee in charge of the arrangements for the next triennial Oriental Congress has sent the Secretary the various circulars announcing progress in completing their plans and has asked that this Society appoint official delegates to the Congress. The Commissioner of Education at Washington also desires the Society to name national delegates to this Congress for appointment by the Secretary of State.

Your Secretary in presenting this report completes the twelfth year of his service and has thought it proper to ask that you now relieve him of a task which, for the sake of the Society, he has been glad to perform, but for the sake of the Society, that it may enjoy the benefit of others’ zeal, as well as for his own sake, that he may have a little more leisure, he is also glad to resign. It is a coincidence, discovered by the Secre-
tary himself only after he had formed the resolution of resigning, that the length of his term of office will almost exactly duplicate that of his predecessor in office, though alike in no other particular! Yet the long period has, he trusts, somewhat dimmed the recollection of the first realization of deterioration in service, inevitable on changing from an officer so efficient to one so inexpert. But your Secretary, though conscious of many lapses, has done what he could as well as he could and only hopes the good will with which he has served may help to obliterate the deficiencies of his service.

DEATHS.

The Secretary has to announce the death of the following members of the Society:

HONORARY MEMBERS.
Professor Franz Kielhorn.
Professor Hartwig Derenbourg.

CORPORATE MEMBERS.
Mr. J. B. Sargent.
Professor Edward H. Strobel.
Rev. Theodore F. O. Wright.

In closing I should like to put on record the following note in regard to the exact meaning of the phrase "To nominate officers for the ensuing year" in the business of the Nominating Committee soon about to report. At the last meeting of the Society, question arose in regard to the time at which the tenure of office in this Society expired. It was said by the retiring President that his term expired immediately on the election of his successor. The question has been and is likely to be one of no practical importance, but on the other hand it is liable to be one of importance at any time, and obviously such a point should not be left in doubt. To explain the point it is necessary to remember that till the meeting of 1905 there was never any such question. Before this and including this meeting, election was held on the last session of the meeting and the new officers took office the next year. This was the "ensuing year" of the formula which has never been changed. At that meeting, in 1905, the nominating Committee recommended that "a committee on nominations for the next annual meeting be appointed at this meeting." This was done merely in order to give the nominating Committee more time to consider. For a like practical reason, at the next meeting the time when the report was presented was set on the first session instead of the last by myself as Secretary and arranger of the programme mainly because the election at the last session, usually on Saturday morning, had led at times to the election being held when there was a bare quorum present. I fear I am somewhat to blame in this substitution of one hour for another, without authority, but no objection was made to this change at the time and it was generally admitted to be a more suitable hour than the last hurried hour of the meeting. But the expression
"ensuing year" was not changed, and it was not intended that the officers thus elected should begin to hold office till the meeting at which they were elected should, on the Friday or Saturday following, terminate. That this was the sense of the Society is clear from the fact that the president elected for the first time in this manner retained the chair through the meeting, except when he asked some one else to take it for him, and himself appointed the Committee on Nominations and delivered the annual presidential address after the election of his successor. I, therefore, move that it be recorded as the sense of this Society that the tenure of office in this Society shall terminate at the close of the last session of each annual meeting.

Upon recommendation of the Corresponding Secretary it was voted that the tenure of the officers elected at the last meeting extends till the close of the present meeting, and so in future.

The report of the Treasurer was presented by the Acting Treasurer, Professor E. W. Hopkins, as follows:

**REPORT OF THE TREASURER.**

**Receipts and Disbursements of the American Oriental Society for the Year Ending December 31, 1907.**

**Receipts.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1906</td>
<td>$320.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dues for 1907</td>
<td>$657.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; for other years</td>
<td>170.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; for Section H. S. R.</td>
<td>34.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$1,161.12</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales of Journal</td>
<td>865.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Membership</td>
<td>73.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Nat. Bank Dividends</td>
<td>83.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Interest from Savings Banks</td>
<td>42.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,727.05</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Expenditures.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T., M. &amp; T. Co., printing vol. 37, second half</td>
<td>$1,123.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; vol. 38, first half, pt. paym't</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binding</td>
<td>50.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Librarian, express, postage</td>
<td>39.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary, editors, acting treasurer (for postage)</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honoraria for 1906 to editors</td>
<td>200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; for 1907</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$1,988.04</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Balance to general account                       | 59.19   |

**Total**                                          | **$2,047.66** |
STATEMENT TO DECEMBER 31, 1907.

Bradley Type Fund ........................................ $2,481.93
Coheal Fund ............................................. 1,107.38
State National Bank ..................................... 1,956.00
Connecticut Savings Bank ................................ 6.06
National Savings Bank .................................... 11.07
Interest (Coheal Fund) ................................... 41.89
Interest, Savings Banks .................................. 55
Cash on hand ............................................. 102.95

Total .................................................. $5,702.38

Owing to lack of funds, due in part to increased cost of printing, the Honorary to the editors for 1907 have been compounded in terms of life-membership, equivalent to $75.00 to each editor, leaving $25.00 to each paid in cash (as above entered).

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS,
(Acting) Treasurer.

The report of the Auditing Committee, Professors Torrey and Oertel, was presented by Professor C. C. Torrey, as follows:

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

We hereby certify that we have examined the account book of the Acting Treasurer of this Society, and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries in the cash book with the vouchers and bank and pass-books and have found all correct.

CHARLES C. TORREY, { Auditors.
HANNS OERTEL,

NEW HAVEN, April 8, 1908.

The Librarian, Professor Hanns Oertel, presented his report as follows:

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The Librarian's report presented at the last meeting of the Society, at Philadelphia, contained a detailed statement of the present needs of our library, and ended with a plea for a regular yearly appropriation of $400 to defray the necessary expenses of administration. This plea being unheeded, and in view of the condition of the treasury of the Society, no work whatsoever involving an outlay of money could be undertaken during the past year. Your librarian feels it his duty to repeat that he considers such a policy (which makes even the binding of current acquisitions impossible) extremely detrimental to the best interests of the
society. It is due only to the self-sacrifice and continued interest of Miss Margaret Whittney that work in the library has been kept up. As in the past two years, she has continued to give her time and services to the library, and the thanks of the Society are due her for whatever progress has been made in the arrangement of the library.

The letter sent out last year to various learned societies, requesting them to fill up lacunae in the sets of their publications, has met with most gratifying replies. A list of the periodicals now in the possession of our library will be appended to the next report.

Thanks are due to Mr. J. C. Schwab, Librarian of Yale University, for many favors, and to Mr. Gruener of the Yale Library for help in mailing, etc.

The report of the Editors of this Journal, Professors Hopkins and Torrey, was presented by Professor Hopkins, as follows:

REPORT OF THE EDITORS.

Ordinarily this report has been presented by Prof. Torrey, but this year the Aryan editor wishes to present it, since he fears that Prof. Torrey will not do justice to the occasion. The material facts of publication scarcely vary from those of previous years. In September and February, respectively, were issued the two parts of volume twenty-eight, containing 436 pages in all, the first half having 197 pages. The annual announcement of an annual deficit is unavoidable if the Journal is to be continued in its present form and the Society is to depend on members dues for payment of its bills.

At the last meeting of the Society, Prof. Torrey resigned from the office of editor and another editor was appointed by the directors to fill his place. Too late it was discovered to be impossible for this newly appointed editor to take up the work. At great inconvenience and only from a spirit which led him to sacrifice himself for the good of the Society, Prof. Torrey nobly reassumed the burden he had laid down and did all the work for the year in his department, although he had taken up for the same period of time extra collegiate duties which he could not renounce. This is the point which Prof. Torrey's grateful co-editor feared would be inadequately treated. If Prof. Torrey presented the editor's report. Both editors have now resigned, after eight years of service, and the care of the Journal will henceforth be entirely in other hands.

Professors Moore and Jackson were appointed to prepare a minute expressing the gratitude of the Society to the retiring Editors of the Journal.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society:
HONORARY MEMBERS.

Professor Eduard Meyer, M. Émile Senart.

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Mr. D. W. Amram, Mr. I. Ishya Joseph,
Mr. H. H. Buck, Mr. A. B. Keith,
Professor Renward Brandstetter, Rev. Ferdinand Lugschneider,
Professor H. C. Butler, Mrs. A. H. Munsell,
Mr. A. S. Cochran, Rev. W. E. Nies,
Mr. W. B. Christie, Professor P. M. Rhinelander,
Mr. W. R. P. Davey, Ph.D. Rev. J. L. Scully,
Mr. H. S. Davidson, Ph.D. Rev. F. A. Vanderburgh, Ph.D.
Rev. A. E. Whatham.

As a partial recognition of the services freely rendered by Miss Margaret Whitney in cataloguing the library of the Society, she was elected a life member, without fee.

The committee appointed at Philadelphia to nominate officers for the ensuing year (Messrs. Jewett, Gray, and Barton—see Journal, Vol. xxviii, p. 417) reported through Professor Jewett, as follows:

President—Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, of New Haven, Conn.
Vice-Presidents—Dr. Wm. Hayes Ward, of New York; Professor Maurice Blossfield, of Baltimore; Professor Paul Haupt, of Baltimore.
Corresponding Secretary—Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York.
Recording Secretary—Professor George F. Moore, of Cambridge, Mass.
Secretary of the Section for Religions—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.
Treasurer—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.
Librarian—Professor Henry Oertel, of New Haven.
Directors—The officers above named; and President Daniel Coit Gilman, of Washington; Professors Crawford H. Toy and C. R. Lummis, of Cambridge; Professor Robert F. Harper, of Chicago; Professor Richard Gotthall, of New York; Professor Henry Hyvernat, of Washington; Professor Charles Torrey, of New Haven.

The officers thus nominated were unanimously elected.

The President appointed the following Committee to nominate officers at the first session of the next annual meeting: Professors Francis Brown, Torrey, Oertel.

On motion of Professor Barton the appointment of delegates to the Oriental Congress to be held in Copenhagen was referred to the Directors, with power.

On motion of Professor Toy, Professors R. F. Harper, G. A. Reisner, and J. H. Breasted were appointed to represent the
Society at the International Congress of Archeologists to meet in Cairo in April, 1909.

At twelve o'clock President Lanman delivered his annual address, on "The Aims, the Work, and the Needs of the American Oriental Society."

At half-past twelve the Society proceeded to the reading of a communication by Dr. J. E. Abbott, of Bombay,—Indian inscriptions on the fire-temple at Baku,—Remarks by Professors Jackson and Lanman.

At one o'clock the Society took a recess till half-past two.

At half-past two the Society met for its second session, at which the reading of papers was continued.

The following communications were presented:

Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, On an Old Babylonian letter addressed "to Lushtamar."

Professor Maurice Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University, On some disguised forms of Sanskrit pāsā 'cattle.' —On the suppositional value of the root raps.—Remarks by Professors Hopkins and Lanman.

Doctor G. A. Grierson, of Camberley, England, Note on Professor Prince's article on English-Kommya Jargon in JAOS. xxviii. 2, presented by Professor Hopkins, in summary.

Professor Paul Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, A Macalbean Talisman.

Professor E. W. Hopkins, of Yale University, Vedic Discordance.—Remarks by Professor Bloomfield.

Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia University, Indo-Iranian Notes.

Professor Christopher Johnston, of Johns Hopkins University, Assyrian qandus 'to coil'; and varāju 'to abound'; presented in abstract by Professor Haupt.

Doctor Michelson, of Ridgefield, Conn., Some additions to the Vedic Concordance, and A Linguistic study of the Vāyu Purāṇa, with some notes on the Padma and Bhāgavata Purāṇas,—Remarks by Professor Hopkins.

Mr. Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., St. Petersburg, Notes on the making of palm-leaf manuscripts in Siam; presented by the Secretary, by title.

Rev. Mr. Watson, of West New York, The Date of the Nablus Abishun Pentateuch Roll; presented by the Secretary, by title.

Professor Bolling, of the Catholic University of America, The Parisistas of the Atharva Veda, edited with a critical commentary by G. M. Bolling and J. v. Negelein.—Remarks by Professor Bloomfield and Professor Bolling.

Professor Paul Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, The Biblical phrase "Upon whom my name was called."
Professor Lanman exhibited some of the publications of
Nirmaya Sagara Press, which may be got from Harrassowitz-
Leipzig.

At five o'clock the Society adjourned till Friday morning at
half-past nine.

The Society met on Friday morning at a quarter of ten
o'clock, in the Lecture Room of the Semitic Museum. The
following communications were presented:

Professor E. W. Hopkins, of Yale University, Yahva
(Yahu) as Epithet of Fire; Fire as mediator and avenger.—
Remarks by Professors Toy, Moore, Hopkins and Lanman.

Doctor Koenig, of Columbia University, Life of the Holy
Xenophon; read by the Corresponding Secretary, by title.

Professor C. R. Lanman, of Harvard University, The
Division of Words in Sanskrit.—Remarks by Dr. Michelson,
Professors Bloomfield and Hopkins.

Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, The Baby-
lonian Ideogram GUG (Brünnow, No. 1309).—Remarks by
Professor Haupt.

Professor M. Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University, On
certain work in continuance of the Vedic Concordance.—
Remarks by Professors Hopkins and Lanman.

Dr. Blake, of Johns Hopkins University, The so-called
half-opened syllable in Hebrew; read by the Corresponding
Secretary, by title.

Professor Paul Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, Some
Assyrian Etymologies.

Professor A. V. W. Jackson, of Columbia University,
Nishapur, the home of Omar Khayyam.

At twelve the Society took recess till half-past two o'clock.

The Society resumed its session at 3 o'clock. Professor Hop-
kins reported for the Directors that the next annual meeting of
the Society will be held in New York, N. Y., beginning on
April 15, 1909.

The Directors further reported that they had appointed Pro-
fessor Hanns Oertel and Professor James R. Jewett editors of
the Journal for the ensuing year.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its thanks
to the President and Fellows of Harvard University, to the
Colonial Club, and to the Harvard Union, for the courtesies
which they have extended to the Society during this meeting;
and to the Committee of Arrangements for the provisions they
have made for its entertainment.
The President appointed Professors Richard Gottheil and A. V. Williams Jackson a Committee on Arrangements for the next meeting; also Professors Torrey and Oertel to audit the accounts of the Treasurer.

On motion of Professor Jackson the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

The Society desires to express to Professor Hopkins and Professor Torrey its sincere thanks for their admirable services as Editors of the Journal for a number of years, and to record its thanks in a formal manner.

On motion of Doctor William H. Ward, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we most gratefully recognize the faithful and assiduous labors of Professor E. Washburn Hopkins as Corresponding Secretary of the American Oriental Society for the last twelve years. The thanks of the Society are hereby presented to Professor Hopkins for his many acceptable services in our behalf.

At ten minutes after three the reading of communications was resumed. The following papers were presented:

Professor D. G. Lyon, of Harvard University, The Harvard Expedition to Samaria.

Professor W. Max Müller, of Philadelphia, Some manners and costumes of Western Asia according to new Egyptian sources (illustrated).

Mrs. S. B. Scott, of Philadelphia, The Harvest Festivals of the Land Dyaks.—Remarks by Professors Toy and Bloomfield.

Dr. W. H. Ward, of New York, The Origin of the Yahweh Worship.

Professor C. C. Torrey, of Yale University, Concerning "Huram-abi," the Phoenician craftsman.

Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, On the Babylonian Origin of Plato's Mystic Number.

At half-past five the Society adjourned to meet in New York, April 15, 1909.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

REVISED, FEBRUARY, 1909.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

M. AUGUSTE BARTH, Membre de l’Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garan-çière, 10.) 1898.

Dr. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, C.I.E., Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.

JAMES BUMFREY, LL.D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.


Prof. BERTHOLD DEIBRUECK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.

Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.

Prof. ADOLPH EMAN, Steglitz, Friedrich Str. 10/11, Berlin, Germany. 1903.

Prof. RICHARD GÄRKE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Bisosingr Str. 14.) 1902.

Prof. KARL F. GELENER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.

Prof. M. J. DE GOEZE, University of Leyden, Netherlands. (Vliet 13.) 1898.

Prof. IGNACI GOBLER, VII Holló-Uteza 4, Budapest, Hungary. 1906.


Prof. IGNOZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure, 24.) 1893.

Prof. HENDRIK KENN, 54 Willem Barentz-Straat, Utrecht, Netherlands. 1893.

Prof. ALFRED LUDWIG, University of Prague, Bohemia. (Königliche Weinbirge, Kramerius-gasse 40.) 1898.

Prof. GASTON MASPERO, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de l’Observatoire, 24.) 1898.

Prof. EUGÉNE MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany, Gross-Lichterfelde, Monnment Str.) 1908.

Prof. THEODOR NEURSKE, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kalbes gasse 16.) 1876.

Prof. EUGÈNE SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormser Str. 12, W.) 1887.

EMILE SENART, Membre de l’Institut de France, 18 Rue François, Paris, France. 1908.
Prof. Julius Wellhausen, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Weber Str. 18a.) 1902.
Prof. Ernst Windsich, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitätsstr. 15.) 1890.

II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with * are those of Life members.

Rev. Dr. Justin Edwards Abbott, Tardeo, Bombay, India. 1900.
Dr. Cyrus Adler, 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
Miss May Alice Allen, Williamstown, Mass. 1906.
Dr. Kanichi Asakawa (Yale Univ.), 870 Elm St., New Haven, Conn. 1904.
Miss Alice M. Bacon, 351 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.
Hon. Simon E. Baldwin, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Prof. LeRoy Carr Barrett, Princeton, N. J. 1903.
Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
Prof. L. W. Batten, 232 East 11th St., New York, 1894.
Prof. H. L. B. Beach (Yale Univ.), 346 Willow St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Prof. Willis J. Beecher, D.D., Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y. 1900.

Harold H. Bedell, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1906.
Prof. George R. Berry, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.
Prof. Julius A. Bestor (Union Theological Sem.), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1907.
Dr. William Stedman Bigelow, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
Prof. John Binney, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.
George F. Black, Ph.D., Lenox Library, Fifth Ave. and 70th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
Dr. Frank Rindgold Blake (Johns Hopkins Univ.), Dixon Park, Mt. Washington, Md. 1909.
Rev. Philip Blunt, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1907.
Dr. Frederick J. Blunt, Protestant Syrian College, Beirut, Syria.
Francis H. Blochet, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1900.
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Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.

Dr. Alfred Boissier, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Switzerland. 1897.

Dr. George M. Bolling, (Catholic Univ. of America), 1410 M St., Washington, D. C. 1896.

Prof. Reward Brandstetter, Villenstr. 14, Lucerne, Switzerland. 1908.

Prof. James Henry Breasted, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.

Prof. Chas. A. Briggs (Union Theological Sem.), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1879.

Prof. C. A. Brodie Brockwell, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. 1906.

Dr. Paul Brönnle, 73 Burdett Ave., Westcliff-on-Sea, England. 1908.


Prof. Carl Darling-Buck, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1882.

Hammond H. Buck, Division Sup't. Schools, Alfonso, Cavite Province, Philippine Islands. 1908.

Prof. Howard Crosby Butler, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1908.


Dr. Paul Carus, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.


Miss Eva Channing, Hemenway Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.

Dr. F. D. Chester, Trinity Church, Boston, Mass. 1891.

Walter E. Clark, 37 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass.

Prof. Albert T. Clay (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 415 South 44th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.


*Alexander Smith Cochran, Youkens, N. Y. 1908.

*George Wetmore Colles, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.

Prof. Hermann Collitz, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1887.

Miss Elizabeth S. Colton, 23 Park St., Easthampton, Mass. 1896.

C. Everett Conant, care of W. W. Price, Dalton Station, Ill. 1905.

William Mehriam Crane, 16 East 37th St., New York, N. Y. 1902.


Dr. William R. P. Davet (Harvard Univ.), 21 Mellen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1908.

Dr. Harold S. Davidson, Semitic Department, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1908.

Lee Maltrier Dean, Westbrook, Maine. 1897.

Prof. Alfred L. P. Dennis, Madison, Wis. 1900.

James T. Dennis, University Club, Baltimore, Md., 1900.


David J. Doherty, M.D., 458 Lasalle Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1905.

Dr. Harry Westbrook Dunning, 5 Kilsyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.


Mrs. William M. Elicott, 106 Ridgewood Road, Roland Park, Md. 1897.

Prof. Levi H. Elwell, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.

Dr. Aaron Eimer, Johns Hopkins University. 1902.


Rev. Prof. C. P. Fagnani, 772 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1901.

Prof. Erwin Whielfield Fay (Univ. of Texas), 200 West 24th St., Austin, Texas. 1888.

Prof. Henry Ferguson, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1876.

Dr. John C. Ferguson, 16 Love Lane, Shanghai, China. 1900.

Prof. Ralph Hale Forshee (Theological Seminary), 45 Wartell Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1905.


*Lady Caroline de Filippi Fitz Gerald, 107 Via Urbana, Rome, Italy. 1880.


Rev. Theodore C. Foote, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1900.

Prof. Hughell E. W. Forbroke, Nashotah House, Nashotah, Wis. 1907.

Marquis Antoine Frabasile, 1017 East 187th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.

Leo J. Frachtenberg, Hartley Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1907.

Rev. Prof. Jas. Everett Frame (Union Theological Sem.), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1892.

Prof. Israel Friedlaender (Jewish Theological Sem.), 61 Hamilton Place, New York, N. Y. 1904.


Prof. J. B. Game, State Normal School, Cape Girardeau, Mo. 1907.

Dr. Fletcher Gardner, 202 East Kirkwood Ave., Bloomington, Ind. 1908.

Robert Garrett, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.

Prof. Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1888.

Prof. William Watson Goodwin (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.
List of Members.

Prof. Richard J. H. Grotthuis, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.

Miss Florence A. Grace, 29 Maple Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1908.

Prof. Eliahu Grant (Smith College), Northampton, Mass. 1907.

Mrs. Ethel Watts Mumford Grant, 31 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1904.

Dr. Louis H. Gray, 354 Summer Ave., Newark, N. J. 1897.

Mrs. Louis H. Gray, 354 Summer Ave., Newark, N. J. 1907.

Miss Lucia C. Graeme Grieve, 402 West 151st St., New York, N. Y. 1894.

Prof. Louis Grossmann (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1890.

Rev. Dr. W. M. Groton, Dean of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, 5000 Woodlawn Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1897.

Chas. F. Gunther, 212 State St., Chicago, Ill. 1889.


Dr. Carl C. Hansen, Lakawn Lampang, Laos, Siam (via Brindisi, Moulmain, and Raheang). 1902.

Paul V. Harper, 59th St. and Lexington Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1906.

Prof. Robert Francis Harper, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.

Prof. Samuel Hart, D.D., Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1879.

Prof. Paul Hauff (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2511 Madison Ave., Baltimore. 1883.

Dr. Henry Harrison Haynes, 6 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.

Edward A. Henry, 70 Middle Divinity, University of Chicago, Ill. 1906.


Prof. Hermann V. Hilprecht (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 807 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.

Rev. Dr. William J. Hinke, 28 Court St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.

Prof. Friedrich Hirsh (Columbia Univ.), 501 West 113th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.

Prof. Charles T. Rock (Theological Sem.), 220 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1903.

*Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, 8 Northmoor Road, Oxford, England. 1893.


Prof. Franklin W. Hooper, 502 Fulton St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.

*Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins (Yale Univ.), 200 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.

Chas. E. Horne, 3336 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1906.

Henry R. Howard, Natural Science Building, Buffalo, N. Y.

Rev. Dr. Thomas P. Hughes, Kings Park, Long Island, N. Y. 1905.

Rev. Dr. Robert E. Humke, Ahmednagar, India. 1900.

Miss Annie K. Humphreys, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1873.

Henry Minor Huxley, 1550 Monadnock Block, Chicago, Ill. 1902.
Prof. Henry Hyvernat (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
John Day Jackson, 86 Crown St., New Haven, Conn. 1905.
Prof. James Richard Jewett, 3757 Lexington Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1887.
Prof. Christopher Johnston (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 21 West 29th St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.
[Miss Eliza H. Kendrick, 45 Hunnewell Ave., Newton, Mass. 1890.]
Prof. Charles Foster Kent (Yale Univ.), 406 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
Prof. George L. Kittredge (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
Dr. Nicholas A. Koenig, 80 West 12th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
Miss Lucile Kohr, 1138 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1907.
* Prof. Charles Rockwell Lanman (Harvard Univ.), 9 Firth St., Cambridge, Mass. 1870.
Dr. Robert Julius Lau, 650 Leonard St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
Dr. Berthold Lauffer, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
Prof. Charles E. Little (Vanderbilt Univ.), 308 Cowdway St., Nashville, Tenn. 1901.
Prof. Enno Littman, Schweigehauser Str. 249, Strassburg, i/Els., Germany. 1902.
Percyal Lowell, 53 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.
Albert Morton Lithgow, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1890.
Prof. Duncan B. MacDonald, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, 37 Bayview Ave., South Norwalk, Conn. 1898.
William E. W. Mackinlay, 1st Lieut. 11th U. S. Cavalry, Fort Ethan Allen, Vt. 1904.
Dr. Albert A. Maissin (Western Reserve Univ.), 1977 East 116th St., Cleveland, O. 1906.
Prof. Herbert W. Magoun, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
Prof. Winfred Keyter Martin, Hispanic Society of America, West 136th St., New York, N. Y. 1889.
Isaac G. Matthews (McMaster Univ.), 509 Brunswick Ave., Toronto, Canada. 1906.
Martin A. Meyer, 22 St. Francis Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
Dr. Truman Michelson, R. F. D. 48, Ridgefield, Conn. 1899.
Prof. Lucien H. Miller, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1907.
Mrs. Helen L. Million (née Loveel), Hardin College, Mexico, Mo. 1892.
Prof. Lawrence H. Mills (Oxford Univ.), 119 Illey Road, Oxford, England. 1881.
Prof. Edwin Knox Mitchell (Hartford Theol. Sem.), 57 Gillette St., Hartford, Conn. 1898.
Roland H. Monk, 5836 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1906.
Prof. J. A. Montgomery (P. F. Divinity School), 6806 Green St., Germantown, Pa. 1903.
Prof. George F. Moore (Harvard Univ.), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
Dr. Justin Hartley Moore, 8 West 119th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.
* Mrs. Mary H. Moore, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
Mrs. Albert H. Munnsell, 65 Middlesex Road, Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1908.
Dr. William Muss-Arnolt, Public Library, Boston, Mass. 1887.
Prof. Hannes Oertel (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
Dr. Charles J. Oden, 259 West 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
Miss Ellen S. Oden, St. Agnes School, Albany, N. Y. 1898.
Prof. Samuel G. Olyphant, Olivet College, Olivet, Mich. 1906.
Prof. Paul Oultramare (Univ. of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.
Dr. John Orne, 104 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1890.
Rev. Dr. Charles Ray Palmer, 562 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1900.
Prof. Lewis B. Patton, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1884.
Prof. Walter M. Patton, Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, Canada. 1893.
Dr. Charles Peabody, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
Prof. Ismar J. Peritz, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. Edward Delavan Perry (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
Rev. Dr. John P. Peters, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
Prof. David Philipson (Hebrew Union College), 3947 Beechwood Ave., Ross Hill, Cincinnati, O. 1889.
Dr. William Popper, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.
Prof. Ira M. Price, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
Prof. John Dykes Prince (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.
George Payn Quackenbos, 331 West 28th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.
Prof. F. P. Ramsay (S. W. Presbyterian Univ.), Clarksville, Tenn. 1889.
Dr. George Andrew Reisner, The Pyramids, Cairo, Egypt. 1891.
Prof. Philip M. Rinkelmann (Episcopal Theological Sem.), 26 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1908.
J. Nelson Robertson, 294 Avenue Road, Toronto, Ont. 1902.
Rev. Dr. George Livingston Robinson (McCormick Theol. Sem.), 4 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
Hon. William Woodville Rockhill, Peking, China. 1889.
Prof. James Hardy Ropes (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
Dr. William Rosenau, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Miss Adelaide Rudolph, 3637 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, O. 1894.
Mrs. Janet E. Rutze-Rees, Rosemary Cottage, Greenwich, Conn. 1897.
Miss Catharine B. Runkle, 15 Everett St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
Prof. Arthur W. Ryder (Univ. of California), 2357 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1902.
Mrs. Edw. E. Salisbury, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1906.
Pres. Frank K. Sanders, Washburn College, Topeka, Kansas. 1897.
Dr. H. Ernest Schmie, White Plains, N. Y. 1866.
Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., First Secretary of the American Embassy, St. Petersburg, Russia. 1899.
GILBERT CAMPBELL, Scoggan, 609 Hitt St., Columbia, Mo. 1906.
Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, 1 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 1890.
*Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (nee Morris), 124 Highland Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
Rev. JOHN L. SCULLY, Church of the Holy Trinity, 312-332 East 88th St., New York, N.Y. 1908.
Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SIBLE, 78 Higashi Sambancho, Sendoa, Japan. 1902.
J. HENRICK SENTER, 7 West 43d St., New York, N.Y. 1870.
Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theological Sem.), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N.Y. 1907.
CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 65 Irving Place, New York, N.Y. 1904.
*The Very Rev. JOHN E. SLATTEN, 261 Central Park West, New York, N.Y. 1903.
Captain C. C. SMITH, Presidio of San Francisco, Cal. 1907.
Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, Theological School, Meadville, Pa. 1877.
Prof. JOHN M. P. SMITH, University of Chicago, Ill. 1906.
Prof. EDWARD H. SPIEKE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
Prof. HANS H. SPOER, Jerusalem, Syria. 1899.
Prof. CHARLES A. STEARNS, Pomona College, Claremont, Cal. 1899.
Rev. JAMES D. STEELE, 15 Grove Terrace, Passaic, N.J. 1892.
*Mrs. SARA YORKE STEVENSON, 237 South 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.
Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, Jr., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1900.
Prof. GEORGE SVEDSHOF, Jr., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.
Prof. WILLIAM C. THAYER, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. 1907.
EREN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.
Rev. Dr. J. J. TIERNEY, Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md. 1901.
Prof. HENRY A. Toms (Columbia Univ.), 824 West 86 Ave., New York, N.Y. 1885.
OLAF A. TOFTEN, 1113 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 1906.
*Prof. CHARLES C. TURNEY (Yale Univ.), 67 Mansfield St., New Haven, Conn. 1891.
Prof. CRAWFORD H. TOT (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.
Rev. JOSEPH VINCENT TRACY, 20 Holton St., Alton, Boston, Mass. 1892.
Dr. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS VANDERBURG, 53 Washington Sq., New York, N.Y. 1908.
ADDITION VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.
Miss SUSAN HAYES WARD, The Stone House, Abington Ave., Newark, N.J. 1874.
Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward, 130 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.
Miss Cornelia Warren, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.
Prof. William F. Warren (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.
Pres. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
Prof. John Williams White (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1877.
* Miss Margaret Dwight Whitney, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.
Miss Maria Whitney, 2 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1897.
Mrs. William Dwight Whitney, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
Rev. E. T. Williams, American Consulate General, Tientsin, China. 1901.
Prof. Frederick Wells Williams (Yale Univ.), 135 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
Dr. Talcott Williams ("The Press"), 616 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
Rev. Dr. William Copley Winslow, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
Rev. Dr. Stephen S. Wine, 46 East 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
Dr. Louis B. Wolfenson, 1938 Mound St., Madison, Wis. 1904.
James H. Woods (Harvard Univ.), 2 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1900.
Rev. Dr. Abraham Yohannan, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.

[Total, 378]

III. MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Bishop, 500 West 122nd St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
Rev. John L. Chandler, Madura, Southern India. 1899.
Samuel Dickson, 901 Clinton St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1899.
Prof. Patterson Du Bois, 401 South 40th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.
Prof. Franklin Giddings, Columbia Univ., New York, N. Y. 1900.
Prof. Arthur L. Gillett, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1898.
List of Members.

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Prof. Charles R. Gulick (Harvard University), 18 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.

Prof. George T. Ladd (Yale Univ.), 204 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.

M. A. Lane, 451 Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 1907.


Prof. William G. Sumner (Yale Univ.), 240 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.

Prof. Charles Mellen Telzer, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1904.

Prof. R. M. Wenley, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1898.

Rev. G. E. White, Anatolia College, Marsovan, Turkey [papers to German Consulate (White), Samsoun, Turkey.] 1906.


Number of Members of all Classes, 319.

Societies, Libraries, to which the Publications of the American Oriental Society are sent by way of Gift, Exchange or Purchase.

1. AMERICA.

Boston, Mass.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Chicago, Ill.: Field Museum of Natural History.


Free Museum of Science and Art, Univ. of Penna.


Bureau of American Ethnology.


II. EUROPE.

Austria, Vienna: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Anthropologische Gesellschaft.

Prague: Königlich Böhmische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

Denmark, Iceland, Reykjavik: University Library.


Musée Guimet. (Avenue du Trocadéro.)

Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille, 2.)

Germany, Berlin: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Königliche Bibliothek.

Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen. (Am Zeughaus 1.)
Göttingen: Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
Halle: Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. (Friedrichstr. 58.)
Leipzig: Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
Leipziger Semitistische Studien. (J. C. Hinrichs.)
Munich: Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Königliche Hof- und Staatbibliothek.
Tübingen: Library of the University.
Great Britain, London: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. (22 Albemarle St., W.)
Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, SW.)
Society of Biblical Archeology. (37 Great Russell St., Bloomsbury, W.C.)
Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnival, 3 St. George’s Square, Primrose Hill, NW.)
Italy, Florence: Società Asiatica Italiana.
Rome: Reale Accademia dei Lincei.
Netherlands, Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië.
Leiden: Curatorium of the University.
Russia, Helsingford: Société Finno-Ougrienne.
St. Petersburg: Imperatorijska Akademiija Nauk.
Archeologii Institut.
Sweden, Upsala: Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.

III. Asia

Calcutta, Govt. of India: Home Department.
Ceylon, Colombo: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
China, Shanghai: China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Tonkin: l’École Française d’extrême Orient (Rue de Coton), Hanoi.

India, Bombay: Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Anthropological Society. (Town Hall.)
Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal. (57 Park St.)
The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jau Bazar St.)
Lahore: Library of the Oriental College.
Simla: Office of the Director General of Archaeology. (Bermore, Simla, Punjab.)

Java, Batavia: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
Korea: Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Seoul, Korea.
New Zealand: The Polynesian Society, New Plymouth.
Philippine Islands: The Ethnological Survey, Manila.
Syria: The American School (care U. S. Consul, Jerusalem).

Revue Biblique, care of M. J. Lagrange, Jerusalem.
Al-Machriq, Université St. Joseph, Beirut, Syria.
IV. AFRICA.

EGYPT, CAIRO: The Khedivial Library.

V. EDITORS OF THE FOLLOWING PERIODICALS.

The Indian Antiquary (Education Society's Press, Bombay, India).

Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunst des Morgenlandes (care of Alfred Hölder, Rothenhurm-str. 15, Vienna, Austria).

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn, 3 Hess Str., Munich, Bavaria).


Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. D. Karl Marti, Marienstr. 25, Bern, Switzerland).

Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany).

Orientalische Bibliographie (care of Prof. Lucian Scherman, 18 Ungerer Str., Munich, Bavaria).

The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, 438 East 57th St., Chicago, Ill.

American Journal of Archaeology, 65 Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass.

Transactions of the American Philological Association (care of Prof. F. G. Moore, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.).

Le Monde Oriental (care of Prof. K. F. Johansson, Upsala, Sweden).

VI. LIBRARIES.

The Editors request the Librarians of any Institution or Libraries, not mentioned above, to which this Journal may regularly come, to notify them of the fact. It is the intention of the Editors to print a list, as complete as may be, of regular subscribers for the Journal or of recipients thereof. The following is the beginning of such a list.

Andover Theological Seminary.

Boston Public Library.

Brown University Library.

Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, Library Building, Buffalo, N. Y.

Chicago University Library.

Columbia University Library.

Cornell University Library.

Harvard Sanskrit Class-Room Library.

Harvard Semitic Class-Room Library.

Harvard University Library.

Nebraska University Library.

New York Public Library.

Yale University Library.

RECIPIENTS: 319 (Members) + 71 (Gifts and Exchanges) + 13 (Libraries) = 403.
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

With Amendments of April, 1867.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the American Oriental Society.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be:

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate and honorary.

ARTICLE IV. All candidates for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Secretary of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and seven Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be ex-officio members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be ex-officio members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three
years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. There shall be a special Section of the Society, devoted to the historical study of religions, to which section others than members of the American Oriental Society may be elected in the same manner as is prescribed in Article IV.

ARTICLE XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

BY-LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. a. The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. b. After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. c. At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer’s book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.
VII. Corporate and Honorary members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and shall also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

VIII. Candidates for membership who have been elected by the Society shall qualify as members by payment of the first annual assessment within one month from the time when notice of such election is mailed to them. A failure so to qualify shall be construed as a refusal to become a member. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Members of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of two dollars; and they shall be entitled to a copy of all printed papers which fall within the scope of the Section.

X. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAWS.

I. FOR THE LIBRARY.

1. The Library shall be accessible for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

2. Any member shall be allowed to draw books from the Library upon the following conditions: he shall give his receipt for them to the Librarian, pledging himself to make good any detriment the Library may suffer from their loss or injury, the amount of said detriment to be determined by the Librarian, with the assistance of the President, or of a Vice President; and he shall return them within a time not exceeding three months from that of their reception, unless by special agreement with the Librarian this term shall be extended.

3. Persons not members may also, on special grounds, and at the discretion of the Librarian, be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall be duly returned in good condition, or their loss or damage fully compensated.
Until further notice the:

Publications of the American Oriental Society

will be sold as follows:

1. Members of the Society receive the current number of the Society's Journal free of charge.
2. To those who are not members of the Society the price of the current volume is six dollars, carriage to be paid by the purchaser.
3. The back volumes of the Journal will be sold separately as follows:

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Vol. XXI (1900) 6
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Vol. XXIII (1902) 6
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Vol. XXV (1904) 6
Vol. XXVI (1905) 6
Vol. XXVII (1906) 6
Vol. XXVIII (1907) 6
Vol. XXIX (1908-1909) 5

*Only a very limited number of volumes I and VI can be sold separately.

4. To members back numbers of the Journal will be sold at a discount of 25 per cent. A discount of 20 per cent. will be allowed to public libraries and to the libraries of educational institutions.

5. A limited number of complete sets (vol. I—vol. XXIX) will be sold at the price of $175, carriage to be paid by the purchaser.

6. The following separate prints are for sale:

H. G. O. Dwight, Catalogue of works in the Armenian language prior to the seventeenth century .................................................. $5.00
N. Khanikoff, Book of the Balance of Wisdom ................................ 5.00
Burgess, Sūrya-Siddhanta ............................................................ 8.00
Paspāti, Memoir on the language of the Gypsies in the Turkish Empire .......................................................... 5.00
L. H. Gulick, Panape Dialect ......................................................... 2.50
Whitney's Tāltinlva-prātićakhyā ..................................................... 6.00
Avery's Sanskrit Verb-Inflection ................................................... 3.00
Whitney's Index Verborum to the Atharva-Veda ................................ 6.00
The same on large paper .............................................................. 8.00
Hopkins's Position of the Ruling Caste ......................................... 5.00
Oertel's Jāminiya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa .......................................... 2.50
Arnold's Historical Vedic Grammar .............................................. 2.50
Bloomfield's Kāñcika-Sūtra of the Atharva-Veda ............................. 3.00
The Whitney Memorial volume ...................................................... 3.00

All communications concerning the Library should be addressed to HANNS OERTEL, 2 Phelps Hall, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
to contributors.

Fifty copies of each article published in this Journal will be forwarded to the author. A larger number will be furnished at cost.

General notices.

1. Members are requested to give immediate notice of changes of address to the Treasurer, Prof. Frederick Wells Williams, 135 Whitney avenue, New Haven, Conn.

2. It is urgently requested that gifts and exchanges intended for the Library of the Society be addressed as follows: The Library of the American Oriental Society, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. America.

3. For information regarding the sale of the Society's publications, see the next foregoing page.

4. Communications for the Journal should be sent to Prof. James Richard Jewett, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., or Prof. Hanns Oertel, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Concerning membership.

It is not necessary for any one to be a professed Orientalist in order to become a member of the Society. All persons—men or women—who are in sympathy with the objects of the Society and willing to further its work are invited to give it their help. This help may be rendered by the payment of the annual assessments, by gifts to its library, or by scientific contributions to its Journal, or in all of these ways. Persons desiring to become members are requested to apply to the Treasurer, whose address is given above. Members receive the Journal free. The annual assessment is $5. The fee for Life-Membership is $75.

Persons interested in the Historical Study of Religions may become members of the Section of the Society organized for this purpose. The annual assessment is $2; members receive copies of all publications of the Society which fall within the scope of the Section.
“A book that is shut is but a block”

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