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The alchemical work of Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya (d. c. 85/704)

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Abstract: This article provides a study and a descriptive list of alchemical works attributed to Prince Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, both in prose and poetry, which are found in Arabic manuscripts. This list is compared to medieval biographers' accounts. A first appendix describes all the manuscripts containing works of Khālid that have been identified so far. A second appendix provides a catalogue of the first verses of all alchemical poems attributed to Khālid, as well as the manuscripts that transmit them.

Keywords: alchemical poetry, Arabic alchemy, Arabic manuscripts, Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya

1 Introduction

Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya (c. 48–85/668–704) was one of the sons of the second Umayyad Caliph, Yazid I. (d. 64/683). The Arabic tradition says that once ousted from the order of succession of the caliphate, the prince would have concentrated on the study of alchemy as a consolation. He would have been the first for whom scientific works have been translated from the Greek and Coptic languages into Arabic. The Arabic alchemical tradition even considers him the first Arab alchemist. He is said to have learned his art from a Byzantine monk named Maryānus. Several treatises on alchemy are associated with his name, both in Arabic and Latin. However, the authenticity of this alchemical activity has been questioned.

In the present study, I focus on the corpus of works attributed to him, regardless of the question of their authenticity. I present one by one the works attributed to him, both prose and poetry, mentioning the manuscripts that transmit them. For more details on the biography of the prince, I refer the reader to the works of my predecessors.¹

1 Ruska 1924; Ullmann 1978a; Ullmann 1978b; Forster 2021.

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2 Attributions by medieval scholars

A series of alchemical texts has been attributed to Khālid b. Yazīd. This fact is attested to by reports of medieval biographers on the one hand, and by the presence of writings bearing his name in Arabic and Latin manuscripts on the other. The manuscripts, although a more concrete evidence of these works than biographers' testimonies, are for the most part very recent,² while evidence such as that of Ibn al-Nadīm, who claims to have seen a number of works with his own eyes, dates back to the 4th/10th century.

The bookseller Ibn al-Nadīm is the first to give a list of Khālidian books that he has seen himself. In 377/978, he wrote in his *Fihrist*:

“About [the art] he wrote a number of books and epistles.”³

He then goes on to quote the works he claims to have seen:⁴

- about 500 pages of poetry
- *Kitāb al-Harārāt* (“Book of Heats”)
- *Kitāb al-Ṣahīfa al-kabīr* (“Large Book of the Ṣahīfa”)
- *Kitāb al-Ṣahīfa al-ṣaghīr* (“Small Book of the Ṣahīfa”)
- *Kitāb Waṣīyyatihī ilā bnihi fī l-ṣan‘a* (“Testament to his Son on the Art”)

Three centuries after Ibn al-Nadīm, Ibn al-Khallikān (d. 681/1282) is the first to mention Maryānus as the master and source of alchemical knowledge of Khālid. He also gives a short bibliography of the prince:

He took the art from one of the monks whose name was Maryānus the Byzantine monk, and Khālid has [written] three epistles about it one of which contains his story with that monk Maryānus.⁵

Again nearly four centuries later, Ḥājjī Khalīfa (1017–1067/1609–1657) goes even further, mentioning some of Khālid's works in various passages of *Kashf al-Zunūn*, his most famous work:

The *Admirable Secret on the Comprehension of the Inaccessible Symbol*, in the knowledge of *Kāf*, by Khālid b. Yazīd, which begins as follows: ‘Know, my brother’ etc.⁶

² The oldest witness, the Rampur manuscript, was written in the 7th/13th century, but most of them do not go back beyond the 10th/16th century.

³ Ibn al-Nadīm 2009. 2: 449. Transl. Dodge 1970: vol. 2, 851.

⁴ رأيت منه نحو خمسة ورقة، ورأيت من كتبه: كتاب الحرارات، كتاب الصحيفة الكبير، كتاب الصحيفة الصغير، كتاب وصيته إلى ابنه في الصنعة.

⁵ [...] وأخذ الصناعة عن رجل من الرهبان يقال له مريانس الراهب الرومي، وله فيها ثلاث رسائل تضمنت إحداث ما جرى له مع مريانس الراهب Ibn Khallikān 1977: vol. 2, 224.

⁶ السر البديع في فك الرمز المنبع في علم الكاف لخالد بن يزيد أوله اعلم أنها الاخ الخ This incipit does not correspond to any of those I know in the manuscripts. Ḥājjī Khalīfa 1845. 3:592.

Khālid b. Yazīd has also written a *Book of Mercy*. It contains four sections: the first on the knowledge of the stone; the second on weights; the third on the operation; and the fourth on specific properties.⁷

Two treatises by the monk Maryānus to Khālid b. Yazīd on the art also, and they are two immense epistles on this subject.⁸

The *Paradise of Wisdom in alchemy* [...], a collection of poems with various rimes; two thousand three hundred and ten verses.⁹

Unlike Ibn al-Nadīm, who said he had seen a series of books with his own eyes, these last two biographers do not cite their sources. Other authors¹⁰ mention works by Prince Khālid, but they obviously derive their data from the three authors I have mentioned, so I limit myself to the oldest source for each information.

3 List of manuscripts containing works of Khālid by Fuad Sezgin

Let us now turn to the works attributed to Khālid b. Yazīd in the Arabic alchemical manuscripts.

In 1971, in his summa on Arabic literature, Fuat Sezgin made a first list of the works of Khālid based on the titles of the manuscripts.¹¹ They are as follows:

- *Dīwān al-Nujūm wa-Firdaws al-hikma* ("Dīwān of the Stars and Paradise of Wisdom")
- *Risāla fī l-Šan'a al-sharīfa wa-khawāṣṣihā* ("Epistle on Art and its Peculiarities")
- A number of *qaṣā'id* ("poems")
- *Manzūma fī l-kīmiyā'* ("Didactic Poem on the Art")
- *al-Qawl al-Mufid fī l-šan'a al-ilāhiyya* ("Useful Discourse on the Divine Art")
- *Kitāb al-Uṣṭuquṣ* ("Book of the Element")¹²
- Persian translation of a *Risāla*

ولخالد بن يزيد كتاب الرحمة أيضاً مشتمل على أربعة فصول الأول في معرفة الحجر الثاني في الأوزان الثالث في التدبیر الرابع في 7 هـ حاجي Khalifa 1845. 5: 87. Note that an important treatise in the Jābirian corpus bears this title, cf. Kraus 1943: 5.

8 مقالة مقالتنا مريانس الراهب لخالد بن يزيد في الكيمياء أيضاً وهما رسالتان ظهيرتان في هذا الشأن هـ فردوس الحكمـة في علم الكيميـا لخالد بن يزيد بن معاوـية الأمـير الحـكيم منظـومة في قـوافـ مختـفـة وـعـدـ أبياتـها ألفـانـ وـثـلـثـانـة وـخـمـسـة عـشـرـ هـ حاجـي Khalifa 1845. 4: 413.

9 For instance Khalil b. Aybak al-Šafadī (696–764/1297–1363), copying Ibn al-Khallikān, and Ismā'il Bāshā al-Baghdādī (1254–1338/1839–1920), copying Ibn al-Nadīm.

10 Sezgin 1971: 125–126.

11 A work attributed to the alchemist Jābir b. Ḥayyān has the title *Kitāb Uṣṭuquṣ al-Uss*, cf. Kraus 1943: 12–15.

- *Masā'il*, “Questions” from Prince Khālid to the monk Maryānus
- Other treatises

Unfortunately, Sezgin’s list is a draft, made on the basis of the titles present in the manuscript catalogues alone – which is quite understandable given the scope of his work – and a simple glance at the manuscripts shows that very frequently two manuscripts have the same title but do not have the same content, and conversely, that the same treatise is indexed under several different titles.

Therefore I have undertaken to classify the works on the basis of their actual content in the manuscripts. I present here the result of this research by specifying, for each treatise, the different manuscripts witnesses and editions, if any, as well as the different titles under which they appear. I briefly explain their content and their particularities.¹³

It is not always easy to precisely associate the works presented here with those mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm, Ibn al-Khallikān and Ḥājjī Khalifa. For the moment, I will simply say that the manuscripts do indeed contain prose and an abundance of poetry, and I will deal with possible comparisons on a case-by-case basis.

4 Revised list of manuscripts containing works of Khālid

4.1 Arabic works in prose

4.1.1 Waṣiyya li-Waladihi (“Testament to his Son”, c. 2,200 words)

This is an epistle dedicated to his son. It begins with an account of Adam’s creation. Khālid explains to his son that his maternal uncle, Asmās,¹⁴ was one of the chosen ones and that he transmitted the art to him. We then find many recipes, *a priori* more magical than alchemical; here are two examples:

If Jupiter and the sun are placed in an iron statue and it is buried in the military camp of a nation, no enemy will ever defeat them.¹⁵

¹³ It should also be remembered that I have seen only a part of the manuscripts that I know existing, and that I do not. That means that this is a work in-progress. For a list of the manuscripts, see APPENDIX 1.

¹⁴ The manuscripts are far from unanimous on this name: one finds the variants “your maternal uncle Maryānus”, “your maternal uncle Ostanes”, or simply “the man who conveyed to me [this art]...” (*al-rajul alladhi awṣalani ilayhā*).

¹⁵ وَانْ وَضَعَ الْمُشْتَرِيْ وَالشَّمْسَ فِي صَنْمَ حَدِيدٍ وَدُفِنَ فِي مَعْسَرٍ قَوْمٌ لَمْ يَغْلِبُهُمْ عَدُوُّ ابْدَا: Rampur, Raza Library, *Kīmiyā'* 12, f. 9v;

And if Jupiter and Saturn are painted in a golden sphere and a fire is lit inside it, it will never be extinguished as long as it is in a room with a closed door, and the air will not be able to extinguish it.¹⁶

This treatise does not include quotations from other alchemists, however, there are several quotations or allusions to the Koran.¹⁷

It is very likely that this is the treatise that Ibn al-Nadīm saw when he speaks of *Kitāb Waṣīyyatihī ilā bnīhi fī l-ṣan‘ā* (“Testament to his Son on the Art”).¹⁸ This work was described in Stapleton’s 1905 study of the Rampur manuscript.¹⁹

Manuscripts:²⁰

- Abu Dhabi, Markaz Zā’id li-l-Turāth wa-l-Tārīkh, 362, ff. 152v–158v: no title²¹
قال خالد لولده:
- Cairo, al-Khānjī, 2, pp. 195–198 (*non vidi*):
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Majāmi‘ 140 (5210), ff. 1v–6v:
وصيحة خالد بن يزيد في الكيمياء
- Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 4121, ff. 167v–169v:
باب الصحيفة لخالد بن يزيد بن معاوية بن أبي سفيان على التمام والكمال²²
رسالة خالد بن يزيد
- Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri, Arabi 2825, ff. 1r–3v:
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Nuruosmaniye 3633 (University of Utah, Levey microfilm collection, no shelf mark):
كتاب الصحيفة
- Madrid, Escorial, Ar. 946, ff. 215r–217v:
رسالة خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية بن أبي سفيان صاحب الفردوس
- Paul Kraus, personal collection 2, ff. 51 and sq. (*non vidi*):
ولقد أوضح خالد رحمة الله إذ قال في وصيحة إلى ابنه
رسالة خالد إلى ولده
- Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 1025, ff. 266v and sq.:
(يا بنى أنار الله قلبك: no title (*incipit*:
رسالة خالد بن يزيد الأموي
- Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 429, pp. 1–11:
رسالة لخالد بن يزيد بن معاوية في الصنعة الشريفة وخواصها

¹⁶ Rampur, Raza Library, Kīmiyā’ 12, f. 9v:

وان طلي من المشترى وزحل كره ذهب وأشعل فيها نار لم تطف ابداً ما دامت في بيت مسدود الباب لا يصل اليها الهواء فيطفيها.

¹⁷ Q 2:69, 23:20, 24:35. The Rampur manuscript has two additional Koranic quotations: Q 2:30, 2:33.

¹⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 328. It should be noted, however, that in one of the manuscripts the treatise is entitled *Kitāb al-Ṣahīfa*.

¹⁹ Stapleton 1914: 60–61.

²⁰ A complete list and description of all the manuscripts containing works from Khālid can be found in APPENDIX 1, p. 347.

²¹ In this manuscript, the text begins abruptly, following another text, *Risāla 1* (cf. *infra*, pp. 332–333).

²² I standardise Arabic spelling.

- Tehran, Khānqāh Ni‘mat Allāh, 145, ff. (225v)–326r, l. 5–228v:²³ no title (incipit: قال خالد أبتدئ به)
- Tehran, Khānqāh Ni‘mat Allāh, 145, ff. 222v–225r: no title (incipit: قال خالد بن يزيد فإن الله تبارك:)
- Tehran, Millī, 1616, pp. 109–126: من كلام خالد في الوصية لولده:
- Tehran, Millī, 1871, ff. 238v–240r: no title (incipit: وقال خالد لولده), but the next treatise is called: رسالة أخرى لخالد:

Incipit:²⁴

يا بني إن الله يوجد الخلق بقدرته وحكمته وإن شاء حركه ما يدبرون
وإنه تبارك وتعالى ألم الصنعة الشريفة قوماً من الحكماء معرفين بالحل والعقد ليكونوا إذا صنعواها وأحكموها
خلق الله تعالى بالتركيب والتأليف

Explicit:

فمن لم يعمل بعمل الكلمة والنار والشمس هو الملح لله شاذري وهو النار وهو المرة الصفراء
يا بني اتق الله تعالى واكتم هذه الأسماء والحكايات فقد علمتك صورة الشجرة المباركة فينبغي أن تكون هذه الرسالة
نصب عينيك ودليل بين يديك والتوقيون بعد من الله

4.1.2 Risāla 1 (“Epistle”, c. 1,900 words)

This epistle begins with a brief introduction on alchemy in general. The author goes on to say that he only came to know the art thanks to the encounter with and the teachings of the master *Istifānus al-rāhib*, “the monk Stephanos”.²⁵

Then there is a list of things of which the work does not consist, and its four signs (‘alāma); these considerations are followed by a number of coded recipes. The last one consists in the preparation of an elixir.

This treatise contains two quotations from a sage (*hakīm*) whose name is not specified; the author also says *qāla ba‘dūhum* (“some of them said”), but, again, without specifying the source of his quotation.

The occurrence of this work in the Rampur manuscript was described by Stapleton in 1905.²⁶ One of the great interests of this epistle is that Sébastien

²³ This manuscript contains “one and a half occurrences” of each of these first two texts: the first is *Waṣiyya* (ff. 222v–225r), then *Risāla 1* with a sudden and unexpected passage into *Waṣiyya*, on ff. 225v–228v (the passage from one text to the other is on f. 326r, l. 5), and finally *Risāla 1*, complete this time, ff. 228v–231r.

²⁴ By incipit I mean the first passage common to all manuscripts; I do not take into account the preliminary prayers and formulas. I sometimes note a secondary *incipit*, when a group of witnesses have an earlier common passage. I proceed in the same way for the *explicit*.

²⁵ It is probably Stephanos of Alexandria. However, again here, the manuscripts are not unanimous about his name, and one finds the variants *Maryānus al-rāhib* and *Uṣṭānas al-rāhib*.

²⁶ Stapleton 1914: 61–62.

Moureau and myself have identified a Latin translation of it. It is a partial medieval translation, undated and anonymous, referenced under the incipit: *Primo necesse est in hac arte*.²⁷ Seven Latin manuscripts have been catalogued, and a bilingual will be published soon.²⁸

Manuscripts:

- Abu Dhabi, Markaz Zā’id li-l-Turāth wa-l-Ta’rīkh, 362, ff. 150v–152v: رسالة خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية في الصنعة الشريفة وقصته مع اسطانس الراهب ووصيته لابنه على التمام والكمال
- Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, 255, ff. 2v–6r: رسالة خالد بن يزيد في الكيمياء
- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, pp. 79–84: كتاب ديوان خالد بن يزيد (؟)
- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭal’at, Ṭabī’a 201, ff. 1v–7r: رسالة أبي هشام وهو الأمير خالد بن يزيد
- Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 3227, ff. 79v–83r: رسالة لأبي هشام الأمير خالد، خالد بن يزيد الأموي
- London, British Library, Or. 13006, ff. 11v–14r: كتاب خالد بن يزيد في الكيمياء
- Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 1–7: رسالة آخر²⁹ لخالد بن يزيد الأموي
- Rampur, Raza Library, Kīmiyā’ 12, ff. 12v–16v: رسالة خالد بن يزيد في الصنعة وقصته مع مريانس الراهب
- Saint-Petersburg, University, 1192, ff. 42r–57v: رسالة خالد بن يزيد في الصنعة وقصته مع مريانس الراهب
- Tehran, Khānqāh Ni‘mat Allāh, 145, ff. 225v–(326r, l. 5)–228v:³⁰ no title, and ff. 228v–231r: no title (incipit: قال خالد بن يزيد ابتدئ به وعليه توكلني وبه نستعين اني رأيت الناس: رسالة أخرى لخالد عليه ما عليه
- Tehran, Majlis, 6792, ff. 106v–108v: رسالة أخرى لخالد عليه ما عليه
- Tehran, Millī, 1871, ff. 240r–241v: رسالة أخرى لخالد عليه ما عليه

Incipit:

إني رأيت الناس طلبوا صنعة الحكمة في كل عصر ورأيت الحكماء قد كرهوها إذا عثروا

Explicit:

هو السواد وأخذن والغبار وهو التكليس ونفاد الروح
فخذ منه النصف ومن الأرض والماء النصف ثم أعقدهما في القرعة تمت

4.1.3 Risālat Maryānus (“Epistle of Maryānus”, c. 4,450 words)

This treatise relates a dialogue during which the monk Maryānus transmits the principles of alchemy to his pupil, Prince Khālid. It is presented as a set of questions and answers on the composition of art, its colour, taste, touch, etc. Before the meeting of the two protagonists it is related that Khālid, passionate about alchemy,

²⁷ Cf. *infra*, p. 346.

²⁸ Moureau/Dapsens (forthcoming).

²⁹ Sic.

³⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 332 note 23.

was desperately looking for a master who could instruct him. Informed of the existence of Maryānus by a traveller, he sent for him and made him stay at his court.

This treatise contains an unusually large number of quotations: 10 quotations of *Zūsim* (Zosimus), 5 of *Hiraql* (Heraclius) and *Hirmis*, (Hermes), 4 of Maria; 3 quotations of *Uṣṭānās* (Ostanes), 2 of Āras and *Andriyā*, and one quotation of *Jirjis/Sarḥabil* (Georgios?), *Fīthāghūrus* (Pythagoras) and *Marqūnus*. *Al-ḥakīm* and simply *ghayruhu* “the Sage” or “another one” is quoted 7 times, and in plural, *al-ḥukamā'* or only *qālū* (“they said”), 5 times.

This treatise was translated into Latin, under the title *Liber de Compositione Alchemie* or simply *Morienus*, in 1144 by Robert of Chester, making it the oldest dated treatise on alchemy in Latin as yet identified. It has been widely diffused in the West, as shown by the large number of Latin manuscripts, translations into vernacular languages, and numerous quotations.³¹

The beginning of this text was edited and translated into English by Ahmad al-Hassan,³² and I am currently preparing a complete edition for my doctoral thesis.

Manuscripts:

- Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 3–34: ديوان خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية: مسائل خالد من مريانس الراهب
- Cairo, al-Khanjī, 2, ff. 201 and ss. (*non vidi*): القول المفيد فيما تلقاه عن مريانس الراهب في الصنعة الإلهية: مسائل خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية وما جرى بينه وبين مريانس من الأسئلة العجيبة
- Cairo, University, 26189, pp. 1–14: ديوان خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية وجميع ما جرى بينه وبين مريانس الراهب الرومي أو مقالتنا مريانس الراهب في الكيمياء
- Damascus, al-Asad, Zāhiriyah 7614, ff. 1v–10v: (قال خالد بن يزيد لمريانس) رسالة مريانس الراهب الحكيم للامير خالد بن يزيد
- Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 5002, ff. 55r–56r: no title
- Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 3227, ff. 8v–18v: ديوان الأمير خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية في علم الحكم على التمام والكمال
- Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehit Ali Paşa 1749, ff. 61r–74v: مسائل خالد لمريانس³³ الراهب: سؤال وجواب خالد مع الراهب في الصنعة الإلهية (large quote in Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī, *al-Shawāhid fī l-ḥajar al-wāhid*)
- London, British Library, Add. 23418, ff. 123r–125r: الكيمياء
- Qom, Mar‘ashī, 7516, pp. 318–324 (*non vidi*): رسالة من الرسائل لخالد
- Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 16v–19v: رسالة في الكيمياء
- Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 112v–118r: من رسالة لخالد
- Tehran, Khānqāh Ni‘mat Allāh, 145, ff. 4r–5r and ff. 18v–22v: مسائل خالد بن يزيد: Sic.

³¹ Cf. *infra*, pp. 345–346.

³² Al-Hassan 2004.

³³ Sic.

Incipit:

قال غالب مولى خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية كان سبب وصول خالد إلى الصنعة الكريمة
وقال مريانس انصت إلى علم الحكمة تعرف وتعلم وتفكر في أصول الأشياء تدرك فروعها

Explicit:

ولم أستر عنك شيئاً من الصعوبة وففك الله لما يرضاه
ونكتب اشعاره لأنه لم يسبقه سابق ولا تقدمه متقدم إلا كان مقصراً عنه لأنه سبك أقاويلهم ونظمها وأثنى بأمثالهم
وأخبارهم وفسر أرمادهم وشرح أغذارهم لفظاً وعبادة

4.1.4 *Masā'il Khālid 'an Maryānus al-rāhib* (“Questions from Khālid to the monk Maryānus”, c. 4,200 words)

This treatise, entitled “Questions from Khālid to the monk Maryānus”, has great similarities with the *Risālat Maryānus*. Moreover, some of the manuscripts of the *Risālat Maryānus* bear the title *Masā'il Khālid min Maryānus*. However, they must not be confused, differing greatly as they do, both in form and in subject.

In “Questions from Khālid to the monk Maryānus” there is no account or mention of the meeting between the two protagonists. The dialogue is much less “lively,” and is related in indirect style. The some forty questions and answers take this form:

قال خالد سأله عن ... قال ...

Khālid said: “I asked him about ... and he said: ...”

The questions are much more specific than those asked by the prince in the *Risālat Maryānus*. Here, for example, he asks him about “the fixation of noble water from the iron of the stone” (*sa'altuhu 'an tathbit al-mā' al-karīm min ḥadīd al-hijāra*), while in the homonymous treatise there are questions such as: Does art come from one thing only? What is its colour? Its taste?³⁴ The answers here take the form of highly technical recipes, whereas in the *Risālat Maryānus*, the hermit presents answers that seem much more accessible to the neophyte.

This treatise includes a quotation from Hermes, and another from a sage (*ḥakīm*) whose name is not specified.

According to the *Dīnā* catalogue, this treatise has been translated into Persian.³⁵

It is probably to this or the previous epistle that Ibn al-Khallikān was referring to when he mentioned the “three epistles, one of which contains his story with that monk Maryānus”,³⁶ although, as we have seen, this text is not the only one that

³⁴ Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehit Ali Paşa 1749, f. 64r, l. 16; f. 66r, l. 10–11; f. 68r, l. 9–10.

³⁵ Tehran, University, 1087, cf. Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 9, 480.

³⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 328.

recounts their encounter and interactions. Similarly, when Ḥājjī Khalīfa mentions the “two treatises by the monk Maryānus to Khālid b. Yazīd on art”,³⁷ it could well be this one and the *Risālat Maryānus*.

Manuscripts:

- Tehran, Majlis, 67921, ff. 112v–116r: مسائل خالد عن مريانس الراهب
- Tehran, Millī, 1871, ff. 77v–81v: مسائل خالد عن مريانس الراهب

Incipit:

قال الفاضل بدء مسائل خالد بن يزيد لما سأله مريانس الراهب فهذه أول مسائل التي سأله الخالد عنها قال هرمس يا بنى أجعل مما رتبك حيث تطلع الشمس

Explicit:

والذي هو مثل الصابون جزءاً واحداً ومن الزئبق المعقود بالكريت هو الملحمة ثلاثة أجزاء ومن الثقل الذي بيضته
وصار مثل الملح الذي عملته بالشبكة الشعر والمنخل جزءاً واحداً وأجعل ذلك من قارورة على³⁸

4.1.5 Tarjumat Kutub al-Anbiyā' (“Translation of the Books of the Prophets”, c. 170 words)

This short treatise, sometimes called “Translation of the Books of the Prophets”, is actually an inventory of the prophets, sages and philosophers – including women – who received this art. It consists of three sections:³⁹

- أسماء الأنبياء الذين آتاهم الله تبارك وتعالى هذه الحكمة وخصهم بها: “Names of the prophets to whom God – may he be blessed and exalted – has given this art and whom he has distinguished by it” (9 names).
- من الحكماء الماضيين وال فلاسفة المذكورين: “Sages of the past and ancient philosophers mentioned” (67 names).
- من النساء المشهورات: “Famous women” (8 names).

In this list, the names of Ostanes and Stephanos are quoted, while those of Maryānus and Asmās are not included.

In most manuscripts, this inventory is preceded by a short introduction, saying that this book is in fact a translation:

Khālid b. Yazīd said: I have explained in this my book the translation of the books of the prophets – may God pray for them. – And I have translated it from their language into Arabic,

³⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 329.

³⁸ The text is incomplete in the two available manuscripts, which add the following note: *kānat al-nuskha ilā hunā* (the manuscript was until here).

³⁹ The version in the London manuscript adds a section with the companions of the Prophet.

and likewise the books of the sages and philosophers who spoke about wisdom and explained the art [...].⁴⁰

This treatise has no title. One might even wonder whether it is really a work by itself, or whether it is some sort of appendix or introduction to another treatise. In the Beirut manuscript it serves as an actual treatise, entitled *Min Kitāb Firdaws al-hikma li-Khālid* (“From the Book of the Paradise of Wisdom, by Khālid”), and with a clearly marked end. However, we also know that *Firdaws al-Hikma* is the title of the poetry collection attributed to Khālid. In the London manuscript, it serves as an appendix to two poems and ends with a colophon. In the Tripoli manuscript, it is found between the *Muqaddima fī ‘Ilm al-kīmiyā’*⁴¹ and a collection of poetry. In the four other manuscripts, it is inserted between *Risāla 1* and a series of poems, without any formal distinction in the text.

In 1929 Julius Ruska published a non-critical edition of this treatise, based on the manuscript Chester Beatty, Ar. 3132, accompanied by a German translation and a study of the names of the prophets and named sages.⁴²

Manuscripts:

- Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, 255, ff. 6r–7r
- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 107, pp. 84–85
- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 7v–8r
- Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 3231, ff. 132v–133v
- London, British Library, Or. 13006, ff. 158r–158v
- Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 7–8
- Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 4r–4v

Incipit:

قال خالد بن يزيد وقد فسرت في كاتبي هذا ترجمة كتب الأنبياء
أسماء الأنبياء الذين آتاهم الله تبارك وتعالى هذه الحكمة وخصصهم بها

Explicit:

قال خالد بن يزيد وهذا علم ما تأدي إلينا من معرفة أسمائهم وعلومهم ومن كتبهم على ما فسرت وبيّنت وبذلك التوفيق

قال خالد بن يزيد وقد فسرت في كاتبي هذا ترجمة كتب الأنبياء صلوات الله عليهم ونقلته من لغتهم إلى لغة العربية وكذلك كتب الحكماء. 40 وال فلاسفة الذين تكلموا بالحكمة وبينوا الصنعة [...] .

41 Cf. *infra*, p. 338.

42 Ruska 1929. I am currently preparing a critical edition of it.

4.1.6 *Muqaddima fi 'Ilm al-kīmiyā'* (“Introduction to the Science of Alchemy”, c. 750 words)

This treatise, entitled “Introduction to the Science of Alchemy”, does not deal with alchemy strictly speaking. The only alchemical allusion is the use, twice, of the term *šinā'a*, “art”. The treatise begins with a long enumeration of all that the *tabib 'ālim hādhiq*, “the learned and perceptive physician” must master. Then there is a section on the creation of Adam, parallelled with that of the stone. Finally, there is a second list of the skills of the perfect doctor, especially concerning the balance of the four natures in the body.

There are no quotations from previous authors in this treatise.

Manuscripts:

- Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 99v–101v: منظومة في الكيمياء
- Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 1v–4v: رسالة في مقدمة علم الكيمياء

Incipit:

أقول والله جل اسمه الموفق للصواب إن الطبيب العالم ينبغي له أن يعرف ما يدخل فيه

Explicit:

فإن الخشيت إن يغلب عليه شيء مزاجنا سر التراب ألم زمه جنساً من أجناس الماء وإن خفت من أجناس النار ألم مته
من الروح الطيب جنساً يقومه شعر
فاعلم أن تمام الشيء حياته ويعنيه ومكثه في هذه الدنيا فانتظر هذا وتذبّره وترشد إن شاء الله

4.1.7 *Risāla 2* (“Epistle”, c. 1,100 words)

This short treatise contains recipes. At the beginning, the author says that he asked a *rāhib* (“monk”) about putrefaction (*ta'fīn*). At the very end of the treatise, there is a quote from someone called *Maryūnus*, مريونس: it is probably *Maryānus* or the king *Marqūnus*. This quote is otherwise unknown to us. It is followed by a quote from Aristotle.

Manuscript:

- Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 1025, ff. 363v–367r: رسالة خالد بن يزيد لابن عمه في الصنعة الإلهية غريبة الوجود ما وفعت بيد حكيم الأوحنى فهالما فيها من التحقيق وإيضاح الطريق

Incipit:

أما بعد أعلم أيها الصافي الصريفي وأبى العم السفيق أن الشيء المطلوب واحداً والواحد هو الذي لا يتحمل الغش
ولا يدخل عليه غريب

Explicit:

فلا يمولنـي أيها الطالبـ أن تفعلـ به ذلكـ ثلاثةـ مراتـ أشهرـ هذاـ ماـ وجدـتـ مفـيدـاـ وفـائدـهـ علىـ الصـفةـ والـسلامـ

4.1.8 *Tadbīr al-Hajar al-karīm* (“Operation of the Noble Stone”, c. 6,100 words)

The complete title of this treatise is:

Book on the operation of the noble stone, in the science of art, as composed by our master Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya – may God, may he be exalted, have mercy on him – which Muslims used, and which he obtained from the monk Maryānus orally and with the eyes, fully and completely.⁴³

This treatise caught our attention because it presents an unpublished account of Khālid’s encounter with his master Maryānus:

Know, o seeker, that I spent forty years searching for this noble science – the science of the operation – and I did not see a guide who could quench my thirst, until the Creator allowed me to do so and put the monk Maryānus at my service. He was a very old man, who had reached the age of at least one hundred and seventy years. I served him and I became stupider muter than my mother’s womb, so that he hid nothing from me. He explained the science to me orally and made me see it with my eyes. And he left me nothing that he did not teach me. When the time of departure was near, I wanted to leave this epistle on the principles of [art], as I had attained them.⁴⁴

The author of the treatise announces this:

And, behold, I am entering into the operation, and I will show the operation, God willing, chapter by chapter, until the end, and I will tell you everything relating to every work in its chapter, if God – may he be exalted – wills.⁴⁵

The text contains the following chapters:

- على مادة التدبير “on the matter of the operation”
- في معرفة تركيب الخل الروحاني “on the knowledge of the composition of spiritual vinegar”
- في معرفة الخلط الأول “on the knowledge of the first mixture”
- في بيان إخراج النفس “on the explanation of the extraction of the soul”
- في معرفة بيان غسل الجسد المسود “on the knowledge of the explanation of the washing of the blackened body”
- في تركيب كيفية التصعيد “on the composition of the modality of sublimation”
- طريقة في المشتري “the way through Jupiter”
- إكسير الزهرة “the elixir of Venus”
- في صبغ الإكسير “on the dyeing of the elixir”

كتاب في تدبیر الحجر الکریم في علم الصناعة تأليف سیدنا خالد بن یزید ابن معاوية الأموي رحمه الله تعالى ونفع به المسلمين وهو الذي 43 تلقاه عن الراهب مريانس شفاء فيه عيانا على التمام والكمال. اعلم أيها الطالب أنتي مكثت أربعين عاماً أطلب هذا العلم الشريف وهو علم التدبیر فلم أر مرشدًا يشفى الغليل إلى أن أذن لي البارئ وسخر 44 لي الراهب مريانس وكان شيئاً كبيراً وقد بلغ من العمر ما ينوف عن المائة وسبعين سنة فخدمته وجعلت نفسي آخرس من بطن أمي حتى لا ينكتم شيئاً فلأنني العلم شفاها وأرانيه عياناً ولم يدع منه شيئاً حتى أوقفني عليه فلما أن قرب الرحيل أحبت أن أضع هذه الرسالة على اصولها كما ادركتها.

وها أنا أشرع في التدبیر وآتي به إن شاء الله تعالى التدبیر فصلاً فصلاً إلى آخرها وأذكر لك كل ما يتعلق بكل فعل في فصله إن شاء الله تعالى. 45

The treatise begins with an explanation of the right moment to carry out the work, stressing the importance of *i‘ādh*, taking refuge with God, above all else.

This treatise quotes various texts and authors: there is a Koranic quotation,⁴⁶ as well as alchemical quotations from authors such as Māriya, al-Ṭughrā’ī, al-Rūmī, Hermes, and also Khālid b. Yazīd! He is quoted in the third person twice⁴⁷ and consequently, this treatise cannot really be considered as one explicitly attributed to Khālid. It is rather a compilation. The title, the *incipit*,⁴⁸ as well as the *explicit*⁴⁹ suggest the opposite, but it is clear that Khālid cannot have quoted al-Ṭughrā’ī without an obvious anachronism. I have, however, chosen to leave this treatise in my inventory, given its interest. My future research will hopefully allow me to elucidate its status.

Manuscripts:

- Medina, Jāmi‘at al-Imām b. Su‘ūd, 3171, ff. 1–12

Incipit:

أما بعد فيقول العبد الفقير المعترف بالعجز والتقصير الراجي عفوا ربه القدير الفقير خالد بن يزيد رحمه الله تعالى
اعلم أيها الطالب أنني مكتت أربعين عاماً أطلب هذا العلم الشريف

Explicit:

والإكسير واحداً منه من أي جسد شئت يقيمه شمساً أبريز على الخلاص للحما والتعليق لا يتغير أبداً بعون الله
تعالى وهذا آخر ما نقل من رسالة خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية رحمه الله تعالى أمين

4.2 Arabic works in poetry

Alongside these prose works, a large number of alchemical poems has been attributed to Prince Khālid. These, as we have seen, had already been mentioned by both Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Khallikān. Manfred Ullmann, comparing the alchemical collections attributed to Khālid with the poems, especially love poems, that other older authors⁵⁰ attributed to the prince, showed that they are not in the same poetic vein and that this poetry must also be considered apocryphal.⁵¹

46 Q 2: 269.

47 I have not been able to identify these two quotations.

48 “The poor servant, recognized as week and diminished, full of hope – may his almighty Lord grant him forgiveness – Khālid b. Yazīd – may God – may he be exalted – have mercy on him says: Know”, etc.

49 “This is the end of what has been reported/translated from the epistle of Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya – may God, may he be exalted, have mercy on him.”

50 For instance al-Balādhurī (d. c. 278/892).

51 Ullmann 1978a: 202–211.

The earliest quotation of this alchemical poetry can be found in al-Mas‘ūdi’s *Murūj al-Dhahab* (written in 322/934), although it only partially corresponds to two verses extant in the manuscripts known to us.⁵²

Finally, our author, the prince Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya should not be confused with Khālid b. Yazīd al-Baghdādī (d. 269/883), also nicknamed Khālid al-Kātib (“the scribe”) and also the author of abundant poetry.⁵³

I have consulted about forty manuscripts. Some of them contain real collections of Khālidian poetry and have titles such as *Dīwān Khālid b. Yazīd* (“Collection of Poetry of Khālid b. Yazīd”) or *Firdaws al-Hikma*⁵⁴ (“Paradise of Wisdom⁵⁵”), while others contain only a few poems, quoted between two works or even copied in the margins. In addition, some poems are quoted – in whole or in part – by other authors, mainly in alchemical works.⁵⁶

In the actual exemplars of the *Dīwān*, poems are usually arranged according to the rhymes in alphabetical order. However, Tehran, University, 1205 arranges the poems by theme.⁵⁷ Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613 arranges them according to a logic that I have not been able to understand.

Twelve of the forty manuscripts contain a ‘complete’ version of the *Dīwān*:⁵⁸

- Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 34–225
- Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, 255, ff. 7r–107v
- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, pp. 85–181
- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 10v–94r
- Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 12r–96r
- Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 101v–174v
- Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Vehbi 2254, ff. 17r–27v
- Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 8–70
- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ar. 6281, ff. 1r–89v
- Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 19v–64r
- Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 118r–210v
- Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 1v–84v
- Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 4v–52r

⁵² Al-Mas‘ūdi 1874: 176. Cf. *infra* p. 401, n° 301.

⁵³ Cf. Bencheikh, Jamel Eddine 1974. 4: 962. For example, manuscript Yale, University Library, Landberg 124, mentioned by Sezgin 1971: 125, contains poems by this poet, and not by the author we are interested in here.

⁵⁴ Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) is the first to mention the name *Kitāb al-Firdaws*, cf. Ibrāhīm 1982.

⁵⁵ The word *ḥikma* (“wisdom”) is often used to refer to alchemy. Cf. Moureau 2020: 89.

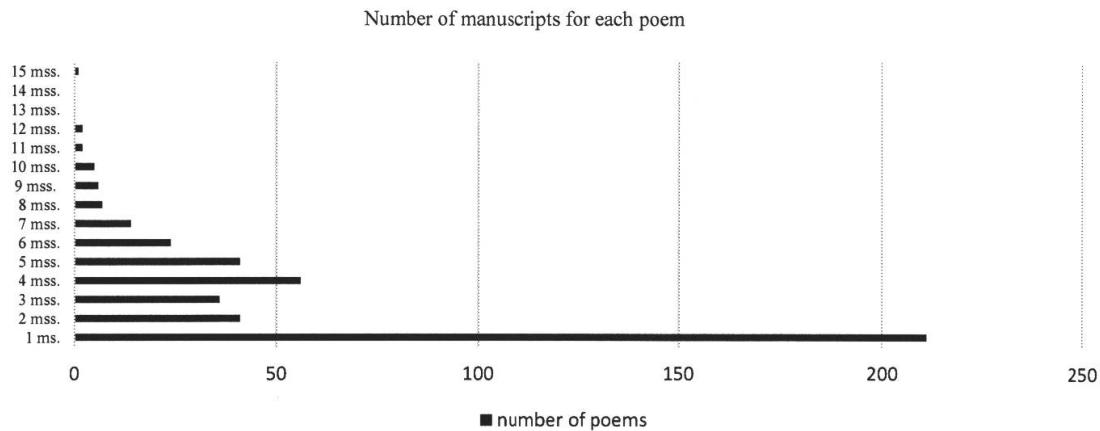
⁵⁶ One quotation is also found in al-Mas‘ūdi, as we mentioned earlier.

⁵⁷ These are the kind of themes we find: *sabikat al-ḥukamā’* (“the ingot of the sages”), *ṣakhrat al-ḥukamā’* (“the rock of the sages”), *al-nuḥās* (“the copper”), *al-bayḍā’* (“the whiteness”), etc.

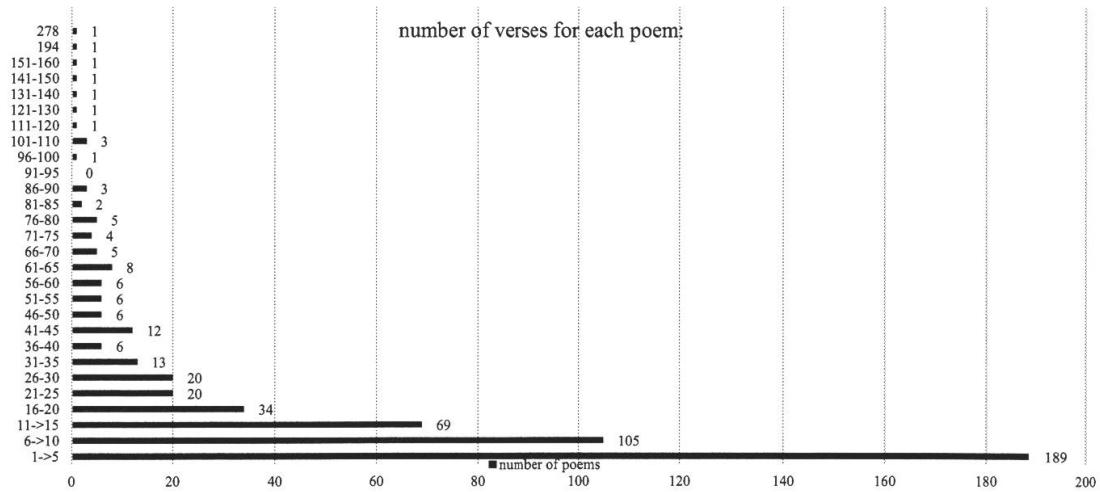
⁵⁸ A complete list of manuscripts can be found in APPENDIX 1, p. 347.

Based on all these manuscripts – both the *dīwān* and smaller quotations – I have identified more than 450 poems, with a total of approximately 8,115 verses.⁵⁹ A list of the poems is provided as appendix 2.⁶⁰

Some of the poems appear in several manuscripts – up to fourteen for the most frequent. On the other hand, I have listed only one occurrence for half of the poems. It should be noted that some of them appear twice in the same manuscript, sometimes even following each other.⁶¹ The following graph shows the number of occurrences, i.e. the number of manuscripts, for each poem:



The length of the poems is also very variable, the longest being 278 verses, while the shortest are only *qīta'* of one or two verses long. Most of these poems, however, are no longer than fifteen lines, as shown in this graph:



⁵⁹ By adding up all the poems in the manuscripts studied here, and choosing the longest version of each poem. This number is therefore absolutely artificial, and no manuscript contains all of these poems.

⁶⁰ Cf. *infra*, APPENDIX 2, p. 353.

⁶¹ This phenomenon is typical for Tehran, Universtiy, 1205.

These poems use different metres. While some of them are in the typical metres of classical Arabic poetry (*tawīl*, *basīt*, etc.), most of them use much less frequent metres. Classifying them by metre would therefore not have simplified the classification, and would exceed the ambition of the present work.

Given the volume of this poetry – more than 8,000 verses – I can only make a few preliminary remarks here. Moreover, it is not yet possible to determine whether these poems belong to a uniform corpus, or whether they form a heterogeneous whole. For the present remarks, I have decided to take the corpus as it is, without distinction, despite the obvious inconsistencies, which I merely point out.

It is, first of all, interesting to note that the style of alchemical poetry is quite close to the prose attributed to Khālid b. Yazīd, and that it is much easier to understand, at least at first glance, than classical Arabic poetry. The same technical vocabulary as that of the treatises is found. It is also characterised by the same turns of phrase and themes. First of all, the formula according to which we must ask God for art and thank Him for it, is recurrent. The last line of many poems even constitutes a direct thanks to God: “Blessed be God who gives life to all the dead”,⁶² “Praise to God, who inspired us to discover the matter”,⁶³ or even “My trust in art is in God, I strive with an intention full of faith”.⁶⁴ Compared to that, the *Risālat Maryānus* says this: “The principle of this is that it is a gift of God which he brings to whomever he will among his creation by his power, even to the point of teaching it to him and revealing it from his veil”.⁶⁵ The idea that knowledge of the art is obtained by a revelation of God is also very important, for example: “Thus his knowledge is certain and true; the power of God is to reveal it by means of the tongue”.⁶⁶

Another recurring theme is that alchemy is destined only for those who are worthy to receive it. Here is an example: “It is by the wisdom of God that people are ignorant of His art”.⁶⁷

In several poems, the author explicitly introduces himself as Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya. Two poems begin like this: “I am the son of Yazīd and the noble Mu‘āwiya, and my grandfather is Abū Sufyān”,⁶⁸ or “I am the living son of the sheikh Abū Sufyān from Egypt; get rid of the vicissitudes in difficulty and ease”.⁶⁹

⁶² تبارك الله يحيي كل ميتة (34). The number in brackets refers to my index in APPENDIX 2.

⁶³ أَحْمَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي أَهْمَنَا وَاجْدَنَا لِلأَمْرِ فِيهِ عَنْ هَذَا (151).

⁶⁴ توكل على الله في صنعة بنبيه ذي تقه زاده (118).

⁶⁵ أول ذلك أنه رزق من الله تعالى يسوقه إلى من يشاء من خلقه بالقدرة البالغة حتى يسبب له تعلم ذلك ويكشف له عن مستوره.

⁶⁶ هكذا علمه بقينا صحيحاً قدر الله كشفه باللسان (395). Is there any reference here to the *Emerald Tablet*? This one says in the version of *Kitāb Sirr al-khalīqa* attributed to Balīnūs: حَقًا حَقًا لَا شَكَ بِقِبَنَا صَحِيحًا (“True, true, no doubt, certain and veritable”). Ruska 1926: 158.

⁶⁷ من حكمة الله جهل الناس صنعته (187).

⁶⁸ أنا ابن يزيد والجواب معاوية وجدي أبو سفيان (451).

⁶⁹ أنا ابن سفيان شيخ الحي من مصر – اجلوا التوابن في عسر وفي يسر (207).

One of the poems ends with the words: “Listen to what Khālid says in his poetry when it reports the words of men of the past”.⁷⁰ However, in one of the poems we find the following phrase “what Khālid says and what Abū Mūsā Jābir b. Ḥayyān says”,⁷¹ which obviously poses a problem of coherence within the corpus.

There are also some expressions common to other treatises. The most striking is the idea that the stone and the work are made from a vile material, thrown or trampled on roads and in manure. The expression is found in at least three poems: “It is the stone that is in every place, it is *thrown on the roads* and onto the dunghills”,⁷² “Wisdom is only an operation that is *thrown on the roads*”,⁷³ or “Take what is *thrown on the roads*, and it is the substance of the stone”.⁷⁴ A similar formula was found in *Risālat Maryānus*: “But as the sage says: … and [the thing/stone]⁷⁵ is *thrown on the roads and trampled on the dunghill*”.⁷⁶ This formula is not frequent, to my knowledge, in other treatises on alchemy, which raises the question of the coherence between certain works attributed to Khālid: are they written by the same author, or rather by an author well acquainted with the writings circulating under the name Khālid?

Like the *Risālat Maryānus*, the poetry of Khālid is based on a large number of ancient authorities, mainly Greek authors, as Archelaos, Aristotle, Āras, Balīnūs, Būṭāṭ, Democritus, Galen, Gregorius, Heraclius, Hermes, certainly the most quoted, Hippocrates, Māriya, Marqūnus, Mihrānīs, Pythagoras, Qusṭus,⁷⁷ Rūlīs, Rūmīs, Safanjā, Sergios, Socrates, Stephanos, Theodoros, Toth, Ūlīs and Zosimus. The name of the Prophet Muḥammad is also mentioned many times; there is also an enumeration of prophets in one of the poems. More often still, the poems simply rely on the authority of a *hakīm*, or *hukamā'*, “sage”, “sages” One poem quotes “the sage Khālid” and even Jābir b. Ḥayyān, which poses a chronological problem, as I have pointed out.

From this perspective, it is to *Risālat Maryānus* that this poetry seems closest. This list of authorities cited also corresponds – more or less – to the list provided by the *Tarjumat Kutub al-Anbiyā'*. One could perhaps imagine that this treatise is in fact a later review of the authors cited in the poetry of Khālid, even though Julius Ruska considered the hypothesis to be quite improbable.⁷⁸

70 (307). اسمع مقالة خالد في شعره – مما رواه عن الرجال السبق.

71 (182). بها قول خالد وقول أبي موسى جابر بن حيان.

72 (322). هو الحجر الموجود في كل فلدة – وفي الطرق مطروح وفوق المزابل.

73 (308). إنما الحكمة تدبر الذي هو مطروح على الطرق.

74 (301). خذ المطروح في الطرق – فذلك جوهر الورق.

75 The expression varies from manuscript to manuscript.

76 [...] بل كما قال الحكيم [...] وفي الطرق مطروح وفي المزابل يوطئ.

77 *Qustus* or *Qusṭus*: according to Ruska, it should refer to *Cassianus* or to *Constans*. Ruska 1929: 296.

78 Ruska 1929.

4.3 Latin works

Latin tradition attributes a number of Latin works to Khālid b. Yazīd, all of which are in prose: there is no poetry.

- *Liber de Compositione Alchemie* or *Morienus* (“Book on the Composition of Alchemy” or “Morienus”): as indicated above,⁷⁹ this is a Latin translation of *Risālat Maryānus*, made in 1144 by Robert of Chester. Unlike the Arabic manuscripts, Latin witnesses attribute the work to *Maryānus/Morienus* rather than to *Khālid/Calid*. Several versions exist, in about fifty manuscripts in total. The oldest version was edited by Lee Stavenhagen,⁸⁰ and the most diffused version has seen several old editions.⁸¹ This version was then translated into several vernacular languages as early as the 16th century.⁸² I am currently preparing an edition of these two versions of the text, as part of my doctoral thesis.
- *Primo necesse est in hac arte*:⁸³ Sébastien Moureau and myself have identified a Latin translation of *Risāla 1* in this short treatise.⁸⁴ We currently know of seven Latin manuscripts, and a critical edition will soon be published.⁸⁵
- *Liber de Secretis Alchemie* (“Book of Secrets of Alchemy”): this treatise claims to have been translated from Hebrew into Latin via Arabic, and is attributed to *Calid filius Iazichi*. However, it cannot be our Khālid, given the chronological problems that would be posed by the quotations from Jābir b. Hayyān which are found there.⁸⁶
- *Liber Trium verborum Kallid acutissimi* (“Book of the Three Words of the Most Perceptive Kallid”): this treatise has in fact been wrongly attributed to Khālid b. Yazīd, by confusion with the name of its author Kallid Rachaidibi.⁸⁷

79 Cf. *supra*, pp. 334–335.

80 Stavenhagen 1974.

81 The oldest one is Morienus Romanus (1559), *quondam eremita Hierosolymitani, De transfiguratione metallorum*. Paris: Guillard.

82 In particular in English (British Library, Sloane 3697, ff. 3–11, 16th century) German (Cod. Guelf. 18. 13. Aug. 4°, ff. 108–125, 16th century) French (Bibliothèque des philosophes chimiques (1678). Paris: Angot. 2:92-143) and Czech (Leiden, Vossianus Chymicus, F.3, 284v-301r, dated 1539).

83 As this treatise does not really have a title, we refer to it by its *incipit*.

84 Cf. *supra*, pp. 332–333.

85 Moureau/Dapsens (forthcoming).

86 Moureau 2020: 112–113.

87 Moureau 2020: 119.

4.4 Persian works

Some manuscripts contain works from Khālid b. Yazid translated into Persian. I limit myself to quoting these manuscripts with their titles in the appendix.⁸⁸

5 The reception of Khālid's works

The study of the reception of Khālid's work is unfortunately limited by the lack of editions of Arabic alchemical texts and, in general, the state of research in this field. Our investigation was therefore limited to the few editions available, to the manuscripts to which we had access, and to certain manuscript catalogues, which provided such information.⁸⁹

I have not yet been able to systematically study the quotations of Khālid's prose by other authors. I have so far been able to observe that almost none of the quotations are known to me elsewhere, at least as they stand. Some of them could be paraphrases of some alchemical *topos*, but no obvious link has been identified thus.

Poetry presents a very different picture: quotations of verses from Khālid can be found in the works of Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī (d. c. 398/1007), Ibn Umayl (4th/10th c.), Abū l-Qāsim al-‘Irāqī (8th/14th c.), and Ismā‘il al-Tinnīsī⁹⁰ among others. To date, I have listed 41 citations, representing 215 verses in total (in lengths ranging from one to twenty–three verses per citation). Among these quotations, only 7 quotations (10 verses in total) were otherwise unknown to me. This difference compared with the prose can largely be explained by the fact that poetry, because of its form, is less prone to modifications or paraphrases than prose. From another point of view, this finding shows that most of the work of reviewing the poems has already been carried out.

At this stage, one will also ask when these attributions were made. The three verses quoted by al-Mas‘ūdī in 322/934 are certainly not identified with those we know in our corpus⁹¹ and do not constitute a reliable *terminus ante quem*. The numerous quotations from Ibn Umayl, on the other hand, show that Khālidian poetry was already circulating in the 10th century, provided of course, that it was not added later.

⁸⁸ Cf. *infra*, p. 353.

⁸⁹ Notably Siggel 1949–1956 for several libraries in Germany and Ullmann 1974–1976 for the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin.

⁹⁰ Not much is known about this alchemist, except that he wrote a *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-tadbīr li-ahl al-tabsīr*. Cf. Ullmann 1972: 235.

⁹¹ Cf. *infra*, APPENDIX 2, poem 301, pp. 401–402.

Future research in this field will certainly give a better idea of the reception of Khālid in Arabic alchemy.

Appendix 1: Description of manuscripts containing Khālid's works⁹²

1 Works in Arabic

***Abu Dhabi, Markaz Zā’id li-l-Turāth wa-l-Tārīkh, 15/362** (partial copy: Dubai, Juma Almajid, 678307) (copied in 1160/1746): 25 lines per page, *naskhī*, headings. – ff. 150v–152v: *Risāla 1*; ff. 152v–158v: *Waṣiyya*. – Online catalogue of the Juma Almajid Center.

Aleppo, ‘Abd Allāh Yūrkī Ḥallāq, p. 180: *Risālat Maryānus* (?). – Al-Hassan 2004: 231.

Baghdad, Maktaba Kāzimiyya, Ḥasan ‘Alī Maḥfūz 251: – Sezgin 1971: 125.

Baghdad, National Museum, 203: – ff. 88–97: *Risāla fī al-Kīmiyā*. – I had the informations from an old URL, but unfortunately that this is no longer available.

***Baghdad, National Museum, 2123** (previously: private collection Karmalī; copy in Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya 52 shīn) (dated 1216/1801): 119 ff., 31 × 21.5 cm, 13 lines per page. – pp. 3–34: *Risālat Maryānus*; 34–225: 122 poems. – Ibrāhīm 1982: 556; Sezgin 1971: 125.

***Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, 255** (9th/15th c.): 242 ff., paper, 16 × 23 cm, 15 to 22 lines per page, *naskhī*, many marginal notes. – ff. 2v–6r: *Risāla 1*; ff. 6r–7r: *Tarjuma*; ff. 7r–107v: 50 poems. – Cheikho 1913–1929. 30: 392–393.

***Bethesda, National Library of Medicine, A-70** (copied in the 11th–12th/17th–18th c.): 67 ff., 21.3 × 16.8 cm, 20 lines per page, *naskhī*. – ff. 53v–54v: *Risālat Maryānus* (quotation only). –<https://www.nlm.nih.gov/hmd/arabic/alchemy8.html> (accessed 18 June 2020).

***Birmingham, Cadbury Library, Mingana Collection, IV 1919** (undated): 3 poems. – Sezgin 1971: 126.

Cairo, al-Khanjī, 2 (copied in 1130/1718 by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm in Isfahan): 480 ff., in–8°, 25–27 lines per page, beautiful *naskhī*, many marginal notes. – p. 201: *Masā’il min Maryānus al-rāhib*; p. 147: *qāla Khālid b. Yazīd fī bayān mā stafādahu min Maryānus al-rāhib*; p. 195: *qāla Khālid li-waladihi*; ff. 132–133:

⁹² I indicate with an asterisk the manuscripts that I have been able to consult or of which I have obtained copies.

poetry. – Kraus 1943: 181–182. Sezgin 1971: 126 claims this to be identical with Tehran, Millī, 1616, but this is not the case.

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 10884 wāw and 10885 wāw (undated): –33 ff., 21 × 15 cm. – *Firdaws al-Hikma*. – Online database: [https://k-tb.com/manuscrit/daralkutob25087-%D9%81%D8%AF%D9%88%D8%B3](https://k-tb.com/manuscrit/daralkutob25087-%D9%81%D8%B1%D8%AF%D9%88%D8%B3-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D9%83%D9%85%D9%87-%D9%81%D9%89-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D9%8A%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%A7) (accessed 18 June 2020) and <https://k-tb.com/manuscrit/daralkutob25088-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D8%AF%D9%88%D8%B3> (accessed 18 June 2020)

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 7016 (undated): *Dīwān*. – Online database: <http://k-tb.com/manuscripts>

***Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107**, (Dubai, Juma Almajid Center, 369055) (copied in 1312/1894 by M. Muṣṭafā): 248 ff., 23 lines per page, *naskhī*. – pp. 79–84: *Risāla 1*; pp. 84–85: *Tarjuma*; pp. 85–181: 66 poems. – Online catalogue of Juma Almajid Center.

***Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Majāmī' 140 (5210)**⁹³ (undated): 56 ff., 13 × 21 cm, 13 lines per page, *naskhī*. – ff. 1v–6v: *Waṣīyya*. – Online database “al-Furqān”: https://digitallibrary.al-furqan.com/our_is_item/manid/781508/groupid/63408 (accessed 18 June 2020)

***Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabī'a 201** (partial copy Dubai, Juma Almajid Center, 303912) (copied in 1269/1853): 99 ff., 16 × 22.6 cm, 13 (sometimes 15) lines per page, *naskhī*. – ff. 1v–7v: *Risāla 1*; ff. 7v–8r: *Tarjuma*; ff. 10v–94r: 59 poems. – Online catalogue of Juma Almajid Center.

***Cairo, University, 26189** (partial copy Alexandria, Maktabat al-Iskandariyya)⁹⁴ (copied in 1316/1898): 50 pp. in my copy. – pp. 1–14: *Risālat Maryānus*; p. 3: one poem. – Online catalogue of the Library of Alexandria: <http://balis.bibalex.org/en/OPAC/Home/RecordDetails?bibid=417915> (accessed 18 June 2020). Sezgin 1971: 126.

***Damascus, al-Asad, Zāhiriyya 5560** (partial copy Dubai, Juma Almajid Center, 227010) (undated): 6 ff. in my copy, 22 × 15.5 cm, 19 lines per page. – ff. 63r and sq.: one poem. – Online catalogue of Juma Almajid Center.

***Damascus, al-Asad, Zāhiriyya 7614** (partial copy Dubai, Juma Almajid Center, 241011) (undated, most likely copied from Damascus, al-Asad, Zāhiriyya 9654): 13 × 18 cm, 19 lines per page, *naskhī*. – ff. 1v–10v: *Risālat Maryānus*; poetry – Online catalogue of Juma Almajid Center.

⁹³ I thank Mrs. Flora Vafea, who helped me to get its copy and provided other information about Cairo manuscripts.

⁹⁴ I thank Mr. Sherif Masry, without whom I could not have obtained this manuscript.

***Damascus, al-Asad, Zāhiriyya 9654** (I have a partial copy of Juma Almajid Center, 241010) (copied in 1347/1928, by M. Wajīh b. M. Shafiq al-Suyūfi): 13.5 × 19.5 cm, 20 lines per page, *naskhī*. – ff. 24r–35v: *Risālat Maryānus*; ff. 35v et 36r: 2 poems.

Damascus, al-Asad, 898 (dated 849/1445): *Firdaws al-hikma*. – Online database: <https://k-tb.com/manuscrit/asad25622-%D9%81%D8%B1%D8%AF%D9%88%D8%B3-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D9%83%D9%85%D8%A9> (accessed 18 June 2020)

***Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 3231** (copied in 907/1501–2 by Ahmad b. 'Alī): 204 ff., paper, 21.4 × 16.6 cm, variable number of lines per page, *naskhī*. – ff. 132v–133v: *Tarjuma*. – Ullmann 1974–1976. 1: 4–34.

***Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 5002** (copied in 830/1427): 142 ff., 17.5 × 13.7 cm, 20 lines per page, *naskhī*. – ff. 55r–56r: *Risālat Maryānus*; ff. 91r–91v and 118v: two poems quoted in another work. – Ullmann 1974–1976. 1: 181.

Hyderabad, Asafiya, no call number (undated): two treatises; *muntakhab fī 'ilm al-kīmiyā'*. – Stapleton 1932: 59.

Isfahan, Dānishgāh, 155 (copied in the 12th/17th–18th c.): *nasta 'līq*. – *Firdaws al-Hikma*. – Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 4, 724.

***Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Carullah 1641** (copied in the 8th/14th c.): 268 ff., 22 × 13.2 cm, 18 lines per page, large *naskhī*. – ff. 216r–217r: 2 poems. – Ritter 1950: 96–99.

***Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 3227** (copied after 900/1494): 16–17 lines per page, *naskhī*, red titles. – ff. 8v–18v: *Risālat Maryānus*; ff. 79v–83r: *Risāla 1*; f. 26v, 28r, 28v: 3 poems quoted in another treatise. – Ritter 1950: 100–102.

***Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924** (copied 1037/1628 by M. al-Miqānī): 96 ff, 19 (sometimes 15) lines per page, *naskhī*. – ff. 2r–12r: *Risālat Maryānus*; ff. 12r–96r: 145 poems. – Sezgin 1971: 125.

***Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613** (copied in 851/1447): 175 ff., 17 lignes par page, *naskhī*. – ff. 99v–101v: *Muqaddima*; ff. 101v–174v: 191 poems. – Sezgin 1971: 125.

***Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Nuruosmaniye 3633** (partial copy: University of Utah Institute, Levey microfilm collection, no shelf mark) (undated): 2 ff., 25 lines per page, *naskhī*. – *Waṣīyya*. – Online database: https://utah-primoprod.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/dtufc4/UUU_ALMA21223219520002001 (accessed 18 June 2020).

***Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehit Ali Paşa 1749** (copied in 900/1494 by M. b. 'Alī b. M. b.?): 99 ff. (lacking ff. at the end), 17.7 × 10 cm, 17 lines per page, *nasta 'līq*, red titles. – ff. 61r–74v: *Risālat Maryānus*; ff. 14v–23r: 8 poems quoted in another work. – Ritter 1950: 99–100.

***Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Vehbi 2254** (copied in the 10th/16th c.): ff. 17r–27v: 7 poems. – Sezgin 1971: 126.

Kraus, Paul, personal collection, 2 (copied in the 11th or 12th/18th or 19th c.): 73 ff., small in–8°, 19 lines per page, *naskhī*, red headlines – ff. 51 and sq.: *wa-laqad awdaha Khālid rahimahu Allāh idh qāla fī waṣiyatihī ilā bnihi*. – Kraus 1943: 188.

***London, British Library, Or. 13006** (first part copied in 919/1513 by Qudrat Allāh al-Marandī al-Ādhari, and second part by M. b. Sulaymān al-Mawṣili in 1177/1764): 158 ff., 21.5 × 15 cm, 19/29 lines per page, *naskhī*, red, green and yellow headings. – ff. 11v–14r: *Risāla 1*; ff. 158r–158v: *Tarjuma*. – Information and copies available online: https://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/vdc_100023512370.0x000002 (accessed 18 June 2020).

***London, British Library, Or. Add. 23418** (copied in the 13th or 14th/19th or 20th century): 27–29 lines per page, *naskhī*, titles and headings in red. – ff. 123r–125r: *Risālat Maryānus* (long quotation in Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī, *al-Shawāhid fī l-hajar al-wāhid*). – Ullmann 1972: 192.

***Madrid, Escorial, Ar. 946** (undated): 25–26 lignes par page. – ff. 215r–217v: *Waṣiyya*; ff. 217v–218v: 4 poèmes. – Cano Ledesma n. d.: vol. 1, 97.

***Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237** (partial copy: Dubai, Juma Almajid Center, 254344) (undated): 70 pp. – pp. 1–7: *Risāla 1*; pp. 7–8: *Tarjuma*; pp. 8–70: 33 poems. – Catalogue and excerpts available online: <https://www.alukah.net/library/0/63403/> and Online catalogue of Juma Almajid Center.

***Medina, Jāmi‘at al-Imām b. Su‘ūd, 3171** (undated): 12 ff. in my copy, 14.5 × 19.2 cm, 23 lines per page. – ff. 1–12: *Tadbīr*. – I had the informations and copy from an old URL (on the website <http://www.wqf.me>), but unfortunately that this is no longer available.

München, Gotthelf Bergsträsser, personal collection (undated): *Kitāb al-Uṣṭuquṣ*. – Ruska 1925; Sezgin 1971: 126.⁹⁵

***Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ar. 6281** (copied in the 12th–13th/18th–19th c.): 206 ff., 22.5 × 15.5 cm, 16/21 lines per page, *maghribī*, two hands. – ff. 1r–89v: 121 poems. – Online catalogue of the BnF: <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc33283k> (accessed 18 June 2020).

Qom, Mar‘ashi, 7516 (copied in 1270/1854 by Ḥasan Jīlānī Khurāsānī in Tehran): 253 ff., 18 × 11 cm, *nasta’līq* and *naskhī*. – ff. 318–324: *al-Kīmiyā*. – Online catalogue: <http://www.aghabozorg.ir/search.aspx> (accessed 18 June 2020).

Qom, Markaz Muṭāla‘at, 614 (copied in 1276/1859): beautiful *nasta’līq*. – Two *Risālas*. – *Firdaws al-Hikma*. – Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 5, 779.

95 All traces of this manuscript are obviously lost at the present time.

***Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 1025** (copied in the 13th or 14th/19th or 20th century): 18–19 lines per page, *maghribī*, red, blue and green titles. – ff. 266v and sq.: *Waṣiyya*; ff. 363v–367r: *Risāla* 2; ff. 219r–357v, *passim*: 11 poems quoted in other works. – ‘Ammūr/Chouqui 2007: 195.

***Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077** (copied in the 13th or 14th/19th or 20th century): *naskhī*. – ff. 16v–19v: *Risālat Maryānus*; ff. 19v–64r: 108 poems. – ‘Ammūr/Chouqui 2007: 209.

***Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268** (copied in the 13th or 14th/19th or 20th century, most probably from the previous one): 18 lines per page, *maghribī*, red and blue headings. – ff. 113–119: *Risālat Maryānus*; ff. 118r–210v: 117 poems. – ‘Ammūr/Chouqui 2007: 209.

***Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 1185** (undated): – ff. 9–22: *Waṣiyya*. – ‘Ammūr/Chouqui 2007: 195.

***Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 429** (copied in 1302/1884): pp. 1–11: *Waṣiyya*. – ‘Ammūr/Chouqui 2007: 478.

***Rampur, Raza Library, Kīmiyā’ 12** (copied in the 7th/13th c.): 133 ff., 22.8 × 15.2 cm, 19 lines per page, *naskhī* and *nasta’līq*. – ff. 7v–12v: *Waṣiyya*; ff. 12v–16v: *Risāla* 1. – Stapleton 1914.

Riyadh, Markaz al-Malik Fayṣal, 6281–1 (undated): *Kitāb fī l-Kīmiyā’*. – Online database: <https://k-tb.com/manuscrit/30708-%D9%83%D8%AA%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D9%8A%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%A1> (accessed 18 June 2020).

***St Petersburg, University, Or. 1192** (partial copy: Dubai, Juma Almajid Center, 258369) (undated): 20 ff., 13 × 20 cm, variable number of lines per page. – ff. 42r–57v: *Risāla* 1. – Romaskevich 1925: vol. 1, 370 (quoted by Sezgin 1971: 126).

Tehran, Asgar Mahdawī, 331 (copied by M. ‘Alī Ākhūnd Malā Ahmād in 1264/1848): *nasta’līq*. – *al-Kīmiyā’* (in Persian); poetry. – Sezgin 1971: 126; Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 5, 146.

Tehran, Asgar Mahdawī, 339 (copied in the 12th/17th–18th c.): *nasta’līq*. – poetry. – Sezgin 1971: 126; Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 5, 146.

Tehran, Asgar Mahdawī, 725 (dated 1293/1876): *nasta’līq*. – ff. 18r–32r: *Waṣiyya*; ff. 1r–17v: poetry. – Sezgin (1971): 4: 126; Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 5, 146.

***Tehran, University, 1205** (partial copy: Dubai, Juma Almajid Center, 239033; there is a possession mark of Yūrkī Ḥallāq in Aleppo) (copied in 846/1443): 84 ff., 18–19 lines per page, *naskhī*. – ff. 1v–84v: 204 poems. – Sezgin 1971: 125; Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 4, 724.

Tehran, Dānishgāh, 9731/3 (copied by M. Karīm al-Dīn Pasar M. Yūsuf Galbar Gīwī in 1328/1910): 238 ff., 32 × 30 cm, *nasta’līq*. – pp. 102–113: *Risālat Khālid b. Yazīd li-waladīhi*. – Afshār/Dānishpazhūh 1973–2014: vol. 17, 467–468; Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 5, 789.

***Tehran, Khānqāh Ni'mat Allāh, 145** (photocopy by Henry Corbin at the BnF) (copied in 1250/1834): 343 ff., 23 lines per page, *nasta'liq*. – ff. 4r–5r and ff. 18v–22v: *Risālat Maryānus* (2 quotes); ff. 222v–225r: *Waṣiyya*; ff. 228v–231r: *Risāla 1*; ff. 326r–228v: composed of *Waṣiyya* and *Risāla 1*. – Online catalogue of the BnF: <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc91075v/ca59931482983604> (accessed 18 June 2020).

Tehran, Majlis, 2325 (copied in the 12th/17th–18th c.): *naskhī*. – *Firdaws al-Hikma*. – Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 4, 724.

***Tehran, Majlis, 4345** (copied in the 12th/17th–18th c.): 21 × 14.5 cm, variable number of lines per page. – ff. 121v–126v: 2 poems. – <http://dl.nlai.ir/ui/forms/index.aspx> (accessed 18 June 2020).

***Tehran, Majlis, 6792** (copied in 1104/1693 in Isfahan): 167 ff., variable number of lines per page, *nasta'liq*, red titles. – ff. 106v–108v: *Risāla 1*; ff. 112v–116r: *Masā'il*. – <http://dl.nlai.ir/ui/forms/index.aspx> (accessed 18 June 2020).

***Tehran, Majlis, 1598** (copied in the 12th/17th–18th c.): 26 × 18 cm, this manuscript seems to be a school notebook, including different science subjects. p. 388: one poem. – <http://dl.nlai.ir/ui/forms/index.aspx> (accessed 18 June 2020).

Tehran, Malik, 1347: *Tadbīr Ḥajar ḥaqqa karīm* – Afshār/Dānishpazhūh 1973–2014: vol. 6, 284.

Tehran, Malik, 1545 (copied in the 9th/15th c.): 59 ff., *naskhī*. – *Firdaws al-Hikma*. – Sezgin 1971: 125; Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 4, 724.

Tehran, Malik, 3187 (5740) (copied by M. 'Alī Dhahabī Tīhrānī in 1303/1886): 112 ff., 20.9 × 13.2 cm, *nasta'liq*. – ff. 153–156: *Firdaws al-Hikma*. – Sezgin 1971: 125; Afshār/Dānishpazhūh 1973–2014: vol. 6, 284–288; Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 4, 725.

Tehran, Malik, 3740: *Risālat Khālid b. Yazīd*. – Afshār/Dānishpazhūh 1973–2014: vol. 6, 355; Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 9, 480.

***Tehran, Millī, 1616** (copied in 1096/1685): 158 ff., 11 (sometimes 16) lines per page, *naskhī*, headinds, two hands. – pp. 109–126: *Waṣiyya*. – Anwar et al. 1968–2018: vol. 10, 467–488.

***Tehran, Millī, 1871** (copied in 1083/1672 by M. Na'im M. Abādī): 277 ff., 25.3 × 16 cm, 25 lines per page, *nasta'liq* and *naskhī*, titles and marks in red ink. – ff. 238v–240r: *Waṣiyya* – ff. 240r–241v: *Risāla 1* – ff. 77v–81v: *Masā'il*. – Anwar et al. 1968–2018: vol. 10, 165–169.

Tehran, Shūrā, 12553 (dated 1302/1885): *Tadbīr Ḥajar ḥaqqa karīm*. – Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 2, 1045.

***Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Libiyīn, 1125** (copied in 1272/1856): 53 ff., 14 × 20 cm, 19 lines per page, *maghribī*. – ff. 4r–4v: *Turjuma*; ff. 1v–4v: *Muqaddima*; ff. 4v–52r: 27 poems. – Sālim Sharīf 2006: vol. 3, 328.

2 Works in Persian

Tehran, Asgar Mahdawī, 280 (copied in the 12th/17th–18th c.): *Risāla* (in Persian). – Sezgin 1971: 126.

Tehran, Asgar Mahdawī, 331 (copied by M. ‘Alī Ākhūnd Malā Aḥmad in 1264/1848): *nasta’līq. – al-Kīmiyā* (in Persian); poetry. – Sezgin 1971: 126; Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 5, 146.

Tehran, Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif, 157: naskhī. – Ṣahīfat Khālid (in Persian). – Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 7, 59.

Tehran, Dānishgāh, 1087 (undated): *Masā’il min Maryānus al-rāhib* (in Persian). – Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 9, 480.

Tehran, Malik, 3280/30: 20.8 × 16.3 cm. – *Tadbīr Ḥajar ḥaqqa karīm* (in Persian). – Afshār/Dānishpazhūh 1973–2014: vol. 6: 355; Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 2, 1045.

Tehran, Millī 7124: *Tadbīr Ḥajar ḥaqqa karīm* (in Persian). – Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 2, 1045.

Appendix 2: Index of alchemical poems attributed to Khālid B. Yazīd

In the following index, I have listed all the poems attributed to Khālid to which my manuscripts gave me access. I have arranged these poems by rhyme (in Arabic alphabetical order) and then alphabetically within each rhyme. The final rhymes often vary from manuscript to manuscript, so I was not always able to determine the final rhyme of the poems with accuracy.

For each poem, I indicate the first verse, the manuscripts in which it appears, with the number of verses on the right. I keep here the spelling used in the manuscripts, and I quote the most common version of each verse. Some verses are in italics: that means that I only found them in a witness, in which they were not explicitly attributed to Khālid.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ For example, manuscript Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255 often quotes poems simply by saying “the sage said” (*qāla al-ḥakīm*), or “poetry” (*shi’r*): for some poems, cross-referencing with other manuscripts confirmed that they were indeed attributed to Khālid, but as the Beirut manuscript is the only testimony, the attribution remains doubtful.

Muzdawija⁹⁷

هذا كتاب حكمة البديع والمنطف المبين للسميع . 1.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 7r–12r	199
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, pp. 86–93	195
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 10v–16v	138
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 95v–96r	12
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 101v–105r	120
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 8–19	194
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 1v–5r	147
Tehran, Majlis, 4345, ff. 121v–126r	194
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 4v–9r	169

In this poem the names Sergios (سرحس), Gregorius? (Gregorius?), Qusṭūş (قسطس), Khālid the sage, Hermes, Hippocrates, Āras, Ḥaytham, Theodoros (درس), Būṭāṭ, Būlus, Andriyā and Māriya are cited.

الحمد لله الجميل فعليه قد شمل الخلق جميع فضله . 2.

Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 48v–54v	156
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سأء

اذا زحل احرقته بعد سبعة وكلسه حتى يعود هباء . 3.

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 18r	4
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, p. 103	4
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 30	4
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 10v	4

سأء

اذا صارت الاحجار كلسا حهيا فليس لهل بعد الهباء عناء . 4.

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 8r	4
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سأء

اعقد نجادا بنيران تجهها وانزع نفوسا من الاجساد بالماء . 5.

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 15r–15v	19
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, pp. 97–98	18

97 Different rhyming letters, the two hemistichs rhyming with each other.

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 20r–21r	19
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 165v–166r	17
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, p. 23	17
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 80v	18
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 23r–23v	19
 النار تحرق زهرة الاشياء بلهبها في اول المبداء . 6.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 18r	8
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 107, pp. 102–103	8
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 160r–162r	77
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 30	8
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 13r–15r	68
Verse 4 is quoted in the <i>Qaṣīda</i> of ‘Abd al-Salām al-Rajrājī. ⁹⁸ In this poem the names Sergios, Hermes, Qusṭūṣ, Yarsiyūs? (برسيوس) and Muḥammad are cited.	
 ان الصناعة قد حكي الحكماء خمس احمرى ما بهن خفاء . 7.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 8r	5
 ایا ملکا لصخور الدرا منير الكمال كثير البهاء . 8.	
(انا ملك بصخور الزو منير الحمال كثير النها)	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 40–42	26
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 14v–15r	29
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 8v–9v	30
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 21v–22r	29
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 120r–121r	29
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 12v–13r	27
 راس الطبائع بالتدبير اشياء لها بتدبیرنا فعل وابناء . 9.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 33v	5
 فلين كتموا سقي المركب انني سايد به الطلاب فاستوعبا لعلماء . 10.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 158r	2
 قل لباغى السبيكة الصعراء هي ارض لذا بمات بماء . 11.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 12v–14v	93
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 107, pp. 94–96	93

98 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 1025, f. 354v.

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 16v–20r	93
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 19–23	90
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 10v–13r	78
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 8r–9v	83
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Libiyīn, 1125, ff. 41v–44r	93

In this poem the names Zosimus (رسيموس), Agathodaimon and Marqūnus are mentioned.

يا طلابا بوريطش الحكماء عي منطقا حقا بغير خفاء. 12.

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 103v	16
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 15v–17r	63
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 34–40	80
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā‘ 107, pp. 98–101	63
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 21r–23v	63
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 12r–14r	80
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Vehbi 2254, ff. 19v–20r	59
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 23–28	63
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 6r–8v	80
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 19v–20v	80
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 118r–120r	80
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 55r–56v	68

يا باحثا عن صنعه البربا ورقيق ما صنعوا من الاشياء. 13.

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 17r–17v	31
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 43–45	28
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā‘ 107, pp. 101–102	31
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 23v– ?	31
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 15r–16r	30
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 28–29	31
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 9v–10v	31
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 22r–22v	30
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 121r–122r	30
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 64v–65r	31

The first 12 verses are quoted by Abū l-Qāsim al-‘Irāqī, *Kitāb al-‘Ilm al-muktaṣab*.⁹⁹

In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

⁹⁹ For instance, in Dubai, Juma Almajid, 305329, pp. 130–131, and Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa, 1749, ff. 17r–17v; edition (non-critical) by Holmyard: al-‘Irāqī 1923: 31.

أية

فان ولد نجلا كريما فالحرى وايته تصريحه بد مایه. 14.
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 73v 2

كى

عليك بشى فى السموات ساكن وبرمى به الشيطان ان رام ان يرق له في الهوى. 15.
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Carullah 1641, f. 216r 9

يقال له الاكليل انه غالب لكل قرين ثم فى النار لا يبسا. 16.
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Carullah 1641, ff. 216v–217r 19

ب

اب

اغسلوا ارضكم بماء السحاب ابيض لونها كلون اللعب. 17.
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 157v 5

اقسموا السم وامزجوها منه نصفا بمياء من السحاب عذاب. 18.
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 150r 2

امزجوها استمكم بماء السحاب تضنوا فرا بقول صواب. 19.
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 84v 9

سبیکتنا قد یتاك من نزاب ومن ماء حکی قطر السحاب. 20.
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 18r–19r 42
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā' 107, pp. 103–105 43
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 26v–27r 43
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 30–32 41
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 5v–6v 56
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 47r–48r 52

علامات الرشاد وكل خير ومعرفة الإصابة والصواب. 21.
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 119r–119v 25

يا حاير الحكم في الطلاب وسالكا اضيق الشعاب. 22.
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. ?¹⁰⁰ –64 ?

100 This folio is lacking in my copy.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 22v–23r	21
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 26v–27r	21
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 127v–128r	21

لابٰبٰ

الخلق تحكم بينهم عملاً وهم والحكم يحوى بنى ست قرائب. 23.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 82r	8
العلم زين من صدوق واهب فاسمع كلام فتى كريم مناصب. 24.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 103r	17
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 22r–22v	33

بيض نحاسك بالسموم الذايب فهو العماد لكل صب طالب. 25.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 24r–? ¹⁰¹	39
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 45–49	50
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, pp. 113–115	54
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 34r–36r	54
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 16r–17v	59
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Vehbi 2254, f. 20v	46
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 42–45	54
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 15r–17r	63
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 22v–23v	59
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 122r–123v	59
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 52r–53r	63
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 26v–28r	63

Six verses are quoted in the *Qaṣīda* of ‘Abd al-Salām al-Rajrājī.¹⁰² Two verses are quoted in the anonymous *Risāla Nāfi‘a fi ghāyat al-naf‘ wa-l-nafāsa*.¹⁰³ In this poem the names Maryās (*Maryānus*)¹⁰⁴ and Zosimus (رسيموس) are cited.

صخر تحله بماء سارب فيمود كاللبن المحيض الرايب. 26.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 21v–24r	89
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, pp. 109–113	88
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 31v–34r	89
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 37–42	89

¹⁰¹ Unnumbered folio between 24 and 25.

¹⁰² Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 1025, f. 354v.

¹⁰³ London, British Library, Or. 13006, f. 5v.

¹⁰⁴ He is described as *al-ḥakīm al-rāhib* as in the *Risālat Maryānus*. Cf. *supra*, pp. 334–335.

Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 17v–19v	90
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 23v–26r	101

In this poem the name of Muḥammad is mentioned.

عليك بملك لا يخاف زواله ولو حمعت طرا عليك الكتايب. 27.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 67	3
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 23r	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 27v	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 129r	3

لأنها بزه ما أقول فاني ناصح في المقال والنصح واجب. 28.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 73v	9

وُب/بِب

الم ترا ايها الرجل الطلب لعلم لسي يرضنه الاديب. 29.	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 84r–84v	22

ان الجماعة ان احكمت بعدل وزن كما قد قال سيفوب. 30.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 154v–155v	21

بالعقل يدرك مرجأ وبحوب ذو التجارب محظى ومحروم. 31.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 153r	15
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 83v–84r	13

بالفکر یقدح فی القلوب هیب والنوم قد ولی وليس ثوب. 32.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 152r–152v	31

خذوا حجرا له طعم ولون وطبعا خمس عجب عجيب. 33.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 84r	5

سدو الاناء على الارواح فاحتفظوا من النفوس فيها السر مطلوب. 34.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 129r	10
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 83v	9

بِبَا/بِبَا

اجعل جسومك خالصات كلها لا تل خلوه على الجسم غريبا. 35.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 47v	7

بـ

قال الذين مضوا من سلف الحقب ان يصنعوا ذهبا من الذهب. 36.
 (اعيا الذين مضوا في سائر الحقب ان يصبغوا ذهبا الا من الذهب)

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 49	2
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 17v (<i>in margine</i>)	2

This poem is quoted by Ibn Umayl in *Kitāb al-Mā' al-waraqī wa-l-ard al-najmiyya*.¹⁰⁵

اقسم ان الامر حقا كما قد قاله من كان لا يكذب. 37.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 65–66	13
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, pp. 117–118	11
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabi'a 201, f. 38r	11
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 23r–23v	11
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 47–48	11
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 27v	11
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 128v–129r	11

امزح رصاصك بالذهب واغمره عن ما السحب. 38.

Dubai, Juma Almajid, 305329, pp. 131–132	19
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 54–59	61
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 19r–21r	75
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 19r–20v	68
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 25r–26r	63
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 125r–127v	63

Seventeen verses are quoted by Abū l-Qāsim al-‘Irāqī, *Kitāb al-‘Ilm al-muktasab*.¹⁰⁶

حل الشديدات مبتدا صفة الذهب والعقد للماء فيه منتهى الارب. 39.

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, pp. 115–117	43
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabi'a 201, ff. 36r–37v	43
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 45–47	43
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 23r–24v	49

حللت رصاص فازوجته بماء شبيه بلون الذهب. 40.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 61–? ¹⁰⁷	?
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 21r	14

¹⁰⁵ Stapleton et al. 1933: 48.

¹⁰⁶ For instance, in Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa, 1749, f. 24v. Edition (non-critical) by Holmyard: Al-‘Irāqī 1923: 49–50.

¹⁰⁷ This folio is lacking in my copy.

Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 21r–21v	10
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 26v	14
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 127r–127v	14
 سبيكة القوم ان ظفرت بها تفوز بمنظر عجب. 41.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 18r–19r	33
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, pp. 105–106	33
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, ff. 27r–28v	33
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 32–34	33
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 11v–12v	30
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 82v–83r	32
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 39r–40r	40
 عجب ایما عجب مرؤء وعلى النصب. 42.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 59–61	29
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 21r–22r	30
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 20v–21r	29
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 26r–26v	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 127v	3
 لا تطلبن نحاسك کي تدبره ولا رصاصا ففيه اعظم العطب. 43.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 82r	13
 من كان همته في اللهو واللعب او كان مذهبة في الهزل والطرب. 44.	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 25v–26r	34
 واعلم بان شعيرا انت زارعه فما الى حصد بر منه من سبب. 45.	
London, British Library, Or. 13006, f. 8r	8
In this poem the name Adam is mentioned.	
 يا صاح خد بحين کفى الطلب ودبر الحق تدبیرا بلا لعب. 46.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Vehbi 2254, ff. 17r–18r	49
 يا من يسألنى فحتلب عن صفة الفضة البيضا والذهب. 47.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 49–54	60
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 18v–19r	61
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 17r–19r	60
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 23v–25r	61

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 123v–125r 61

In this poem the names Pythagoras and Archelaos (ارشلايس) are mentioned.

يا ايها الطالب اصل الذهب ومتل الماء ومعنى النسب. 48

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 167r 3

بٌ

ثلاثة الوان وخمسة طبائع مركبة من واحد صنعة رب. 49.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 132v 3

In this poem the name of Hermes is mentioned.

بٌ

ان الطبائع سبعة غير ما كذب بالنعت معروفة في العلم والكتب. 50.

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 34v 7

تدبرت اقوالى الاولى وعلومهم صوما وصفوا بالرمز والغز في الكتب. 51.

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 68v 6

يا من يخدعني فما يسايني لا بد يعاملني باللين والغضب. 52.

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 107v 5

بٌ/بوا

جميع الطبائع في واحد هو الاصل لا غيره يطلب. 53.

Birmingham, Cadbury Library, Mingana Collection, IV 1919, f. 1r 3

Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 21v–23r 53

Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 33v–34v 36

Fifteen verses are quoted in *Risāla fī Uṣūl al-ṣan‘a wa-l-ikṣir* by ‘Umar b. ‘Isā b. ‘Abd Allāh.¹⁰⁸

ما يتم قلبي غير هو علم حملته لنا الكتب. 54.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 68–73 68

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 24r–26r 70

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 28r–29v 70

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 129v–131v 70

In a passage of this poem the names Balīnūs, Hermes, Pythagoras, Hippocrates, Socrates, Democritus, and someone called اكرياس are mentioned.

بـ

هـ الـ اـ لـ يـ شـ رـ بـ وـ لـ كـ نـ هـ صـ بـ مـ نـ الصـ بـ مـ ذـ هـ 55.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 162r–162v	9
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 66r–66v	12
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 74r–74v	14

وـ لـ بـ فـ وـ اـ رـ اـ طـ رـ بـ اـ هـ يـ هـ مـ لـ حـ جـ كـ النـ جـ 56.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 67–69	15
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 23v–24r	15
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 27v–28r	15
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 129r–129v	15

بـ/بـوا

مـ نـ قـ نـ هـ حـ جـ رـ طـ بـ سـ مـ مـ لـ حـ اـ وـ هـ وـ العـ نـ 57.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 23r	14
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 24v–25r	14
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 27r–27v	14
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 128r–128v	14

بـ/بـوا

بـالـ نـارـ تـدـبـيـرـ الطـبـاـيـعـ كـلـهاـ فـالـنـارـ يـظـهـرـ جـوـهـرـ مـتـغـيـبـ 58.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 147r–147v	9
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بـا

الـ عـلـمـ زـينـ وـسـرـافـ لـطـالـبـ فـاطـلـبـ هـدـيـتـ الـيـكـ الـعـلـمـ وـالـادـبـ 59.

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 102v–103r	8
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 71v–72r	4 + 7
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 73r	4 + 3
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 73v–74r	5 + 6
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 20r–22r	75
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 78v–80r	78
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 20v–22v	87

بـهـ

انـ الصـخـورـ مـنـ الطـبـاـيـعـ خـلـقـهـ هـكـذـاـ لـلـطـبـاـيـعـ الصـخـورـ مـرـكـبـهـ 60.

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 76v	4
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بِهَا

سبيكة الحكمة التي ذكرت طبائع خمسة تركيبها. 61.

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 69v	11
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 20r–21v	58
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā' 107, pp. 107–109	56
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, ff. 28v–31v	56
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 34–37	56
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 88r–89v	54
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 10r–11v	60
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād 1125, ff. 45r–48r	61

ت

عَاتِ

اذا اسود الطبائع عدن بيضأ وبعد بياضهن سودات. 62.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 76–77	3
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 27r	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 30r	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 132v	3

اسحق جسومك بالمواه في لطف النار يوما الى وقت العشيات. 63.

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 49v	6
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اطلب العلم من معادن صدق واسمع العلم من رجال ثقافت. 64.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 123r–123v	24
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الجسم بالقيد يدعى في رسائلهم فاعمد اليه وحلله بحمات. 65.

Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 47r–47v	7
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الفكر مشغلة القلوب وانتي بالفكر مشتغل عن الذات. 66.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 133v–134r	5
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النار تمحو أصناف السوادات من الجسوم وعلام الخفيات. 67.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 132v	3
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ان السبيكة ان فكرت جمعهم للطرب واليبي حقا في الصلايات. 68.

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. ?	?
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā' 107, p. 118	7
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, ff. 38r–38v	7
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 48	7

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 83v	6
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, f. 38v	6
 بها يبيض مسود يصبغه حتى يعود بالوان بدعات. 69.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 151r	18
 جسم اذا اعنہ اخرجت الرهانات بخمسة كره فيه كالقرابات. 70.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 137r–139r	72
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 25v–27v	62
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 44r–45v	70
 حل الحديد مع الرصاص وشبهه والزيبق الغراد في الاوقات. 71.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 142v	2
 دبر فدينك هذا الاستقصاء طبائع في قوارير مصونات. 72.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 74–76	25
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, unnumbered folio between 24 and 25	24
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 107, pp. 118–119	24
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 38v–39v	24
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 26v–27r	25
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 48–49	24
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 29v–30r	25
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 132r–132v	25
 سرنا الاعظم الذي كتموه وهو كيواننا على الطرقات. 73.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 77	2
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 27r	2
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 30v	2
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 132v	2
 طبائع الحق مجموعات في حجر يحوي ثلاثة الوان صبيات. 74.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 135v–137v	41
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 34v–35v	38
 طرد الظلام تتبع الفلان في كل واحدة من الجماعات. 75.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 73–74	13
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. ?v (note: Unnumbered folio between 24 and 25)	10
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 107, pp. 119–120	10
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 39v–40r	10

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 26r–26v	13
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 50	10
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 25r–25v	13
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 29v	13
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 131v	13

ليس الاذابة الا بالقرابات خلط الرصاص باجسام الخاسات. 76.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 142v	12
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و اذا سمعت لهم بقلب الطبائع فالقلب وبك اذابة الادوات. 77.

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 42r	6
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In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

ساخت/ياتي

ان الخمير من الرماد هو الذى سموه بالاكيل العات. 78.

Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 73r–73v	12
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بوت

الروح يحيى النفس بعد مماتها والنفس تحيى الجسم حين تموت. 79.

Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 25v	3
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نَّه

ان السواد هو العماد لكل ماتر حوا ونا مله اذا احكمته. 80.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 173r–174r	42
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بَشْ

القوم خل نقيف يعلمون به وملحة بديق الفكر قد عرفت. 81.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 77	3
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 27r	3
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 25v	4
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 30v	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 131v	3

بَيْه

وبيض الجسم بالتناثيث فحرمه والسحق والدفن تنفي عند ظلمته. 82.

Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 90r	3
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ش

ش

اطرح الحيرة يا حارث في صنعة انت لها باحث. 83.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 77–78	15
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 27v	15
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 28r	15
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 30v	15
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 133r	15

ج

اج

سراج ذا العلم وهاج اليه كل الناس يحتاج. 84.

(ركب الافيق يا ناج انا لداك الفعل يحتاج)

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 79	7
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 27v–28r	7
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 29v–30r	8
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 30v–31r	7
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 133r–133v	7

سراج هذا العلم في الافق هاج اليه طرّا جميع الخلق يحتاج. 85.

Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 28v	16
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 29v–30r	14

اج

خذ الحجر الممئي بالاجاج ومكسر ضعيف كالزجاج. 86.

Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 29v	9
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تابع

ان السبيكة خلطنا بعد المراج اذا تزاوج. 87.

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 25r	5
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, p. 120	5
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, f. 40v	5
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 83r–83v	3
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, f. 38v	4

مع

سماوية لم تعص سو مكانها ولم تائف للابناد مع الثلوج. 88.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 80	2
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 28v	2

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 31r	2
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 134r	2

يا ايها المكتن الا سفار فى الدلخ افهم انحوى ترد الحر كالثلج. 89.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 79–80	15
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 28r–28v	15
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 29r	15
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 31r	15
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 133v–134r	15

سجا

ما زالت سد طريف العلم اقرعه لفرح ياجوج ذاك الباب فانفرجا. 90.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 24r–25r	14
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, p. 120	14
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, ff. 40r–40v	14
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 50	8

تجه

يا ايها الطالب السامي بهمته الى سراير ما ييري لو اعجه. 91.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 219–220	11
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 93r–93v	11

In Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 5002, f. 118v, two verses of this poem are inserted after the end of *Muṣḥaf al-ḥayāt*, attributed to Āras.

ح**ساح**

ان الجسم اذا سمعت بذكها فهي الكهوف مراقل الارواح. 92.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 48r	8

عاني التكاليس بالارواح ارواح و العقد و انحل الاكلاس اشباح. 93.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 30r–30v	14

ساح

ان الدواء اذا تحف فاعلموا ان الصياغ ناي وليس بناجح. 94.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 25r–25v	7
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, p. 121	7
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, f. 41r	7
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 80r–80v	6
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 22v–23r	7

In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

وحٰجٰ

النار تهلكه وتُفْنِي روحه هذا الذي المقال سيخٰ.	95.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 81		3
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 28v in margine		3? ¹⁰⁹
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 31v		3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 134r		3
في الحل والعقد تاه الناس كلهم والسر فيك لوا فكرت مشروخٰ.	96.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 47v		2
لا شيء احسن من ماء الجسم اذا القى مخالبه في النفس والسرورٰ.	97.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 30r		5
ليس ينقى السواد الا بنفس لونها ابضم رفيع مليحٰ.	98.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 147v–148r		22

وحٰجٰ

نفس تميز من طبائع اربع ماء ونار والتراب وريحٰ.	99.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 81–82 ¹¹⁰		4
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 28v, in margine		4?
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 159r		5

In this poem the name of Muhammad is mentioned.

بحٰ

اسد الصناعة جوفه طير تراه ليس بيرحٰ.	100.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 25v		7
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 107, p. 121		5
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, ff. 41r–41v		5
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 81v		5

ان الطبيعة بالطبيعة تفرح علم به فقل السراير يفتحٰ.	101.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 28v, partim in margine		8
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 31v, partim in margine		7
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 134v		7

¹⁰⁹ In this manuscript, there is a confusion between poems 95, 99, 101 and 102, all added in the margin.

¹¹⁰ This manuscript links this poem to No. 102, while the rhymes clearly show that they are two different poems.

نحاسنا قبله يدبره كل حكيم وفيه يفلاح. 102.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 82	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 28v, in margine	?
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 31v	2
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 134r	2

مالحا

رأس الطبائع اصحت ويط املحاً يعد في النار احساماً وارواحاً. 103. (رئيس الطبائع ويحيط املحاً يعرّف في النار اجساداً وارواحاً)	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 81	4
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 28v	4
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 30r	4
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 31v	4
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 134r	4
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 41v	5

This poem is quoted in full in *Risāla fī Uṣūl al-ṣan‘a wa-l-iksīr* by ‘Umar b. ‘Isā b. ‘Abd Allāh.¹¹¹ In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

باد

باد

اذا الجسم المسود زال عنه سواد مظلم كالحليل باد. 104.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 104	3
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 36v	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 37v	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 143r ¹¹²	3

اقتل السبع بالحرارة والييس سبوعاً ومثله في العدد. 105.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 25v	6
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, p. 121	6
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, f. 41v	6
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 81v	6

In this poem a speech from Hermes to Būṭāṭ is quoted.

ايها الطالبون للحجر الفرد الخفي الكثير بين العباد. 106.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 94–95	8

¹¹¹ Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 1025, f. 310r.

¹¹² In these last two manuscripts, the rhymes are in -ādh.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 33r	8
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 35v	8
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 35r	8
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 139r–139v	8
 فارجعوا بعد ذلك الى الجسم وهو شديد السواد كالقربان . 107.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 71r	6
In this poem, the name Hippocrates is cited.	
 كم عزيز نله هرب النفس وكم طالب وكم مرتد . 108.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 71r	5
 لن تنف ظلمة ويخرج دنهه الا يخلط مذهب الاجساد . 109.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 133r–133v	20
 لن تنف ادها ها الا بانفسها فاسمع مقال نصيحة غير حساد . 110.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 159r	2
 من كان ذا بصير بتسويدى الذى فيه البها وفيه كل مراد . 111.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 93–94	8
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 32v–33r	8
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 35r–35v	8
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 34v–35r	8
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 139r	8
 نسعوا الكيميا ليست بحق كذبوا هي معيشة العباد . 112.	
Birmingham, Cadbury Library, Mingana Collection, IV 1919, f. 1r	2
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 69r	8
 ويالك من هي ينطف جسمه على اخذ حل كالمدامه حاد . 113.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 77r	2
 عاد/عادي	
 انق لون الجسد بالسحق والطيخ وما بالقيوم كم كل واد . 114.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 162v–165r	72
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 45v–47r	80
 لادا	
 اعلموا فكركم هي الشمس والفلى بها محرق ينالوا رشادا . 115.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 147r	5

ساید

اشانك علم له ناقد هو التابت الطارف الثالث. 116.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 96–98	22
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 33v–34v	23
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 36r–36v	23
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 35v–36r	23
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 140r–140v	23
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 65v–66r	23

ساید

الا يباغى طالب علماً مقال فتى شاكرأ حامد. 117.

(الا سيلقى طالبى عالماً مقال فتى شاكرأ حامد)

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 99	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 36v	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 141r	3
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 141r	13

الاقل لدى الطالب الـهادى مقال امر في ليس بالحاسد. 118.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 101–102	11
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 35r–35v	12
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 37r	12
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 141v–142r	12

ان الطبائع خمسة من خمسة خرجت يعود جميعها في واحد. 119.

(ان الطبائع اربع في واحد خرجت بقوى جمعها في واحد)

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 35v	17
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The first two verses are quoted in *Mir'āt al-'Ajā'ib* by Ibn al-Mukhtār.¹¹³

كالارض يخرج ماوها من قعرها ويعود سكباً في التراب الـهامد. 120.

فتُرىك زهرأ معجباً في لونه ويعود أثماراً بقدرة ماجد

Two verses are quoted in *Rutbat al-Hakīm* of Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī.¹¹⁴

وحكمة ليست نجر هولة آخر جتها من حكمة الخالد. 121.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 102	7
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 35v	7
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 37r	7
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 142r	7

¹¹³ Ms. Hs. Karachi, University, 19987, p. 18.

¹¹⁴ Al-Qurṭubī 2016: 153.

يا ايها الباحث عن سرنا ذو فكه في نسق واحد. 122. Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 36r	3
يَدُّ بُودْ	
بالعلم يخرج القلب معمود والجهول فيه ملام وتفيد. 123. Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 23v–24v	50
ثلاث تراكيب بها تم كلها يحت محب او مرید. 124.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 25v–26r	22
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 107, pp. 121–122	23
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 41v–42v	24
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 51	11
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 70r–70v	23
زعموا من تلق بالحكمة لا عاقل ولا رشيد. 125. Tehran, University, 1205, f. 69r	
طباع القوم اربعة تفید جسوم خالدات ما یفید. 126. (صباح القوم ان فکرت فيه جسوم خالدات لا یبتد)	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 82–84	67
Dubai, Juma Almajid, 305329, pp. 135–136	7
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 28v30r	68
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 31v–33r	70
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 31v–33r	68.
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 134v–136v	68
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 58v–59v	58
Eight verses are quoted by Abū l-Qāsim al-‘Irāqī in <i>Kitāb al-‘Ilm al-muktasab</i> , ¹¹⁵ and two verses are quoted in <i>Mir’āt al-‘Ajā’ib</i> by Ibn al-Mukhtār. ¹¹⁶	
طبایع القوم فی حجر فرید مصی اللون مشرقه وحید. 127. (صباح القوم من حجر فرید نصی اللون ابیض كالجلید)	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 87–92	69
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 26r–27v	54
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 107, pp. 122–125	54
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 42v–44v	54
Dubai, Juma Almajid, 305329, pp. 132–135	30

¹¹⁵ Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa, 1749, f. 22v. Edition (non-critical) by Holmyard: Al-‘Irāqī 1923: 48.

¹¹⁶ Ms. Hs. Karachi, University, 19987, p. 8.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 30v–32v	71
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 51–54	54
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 33r–35r	70
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 33r–34v	71
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 136v–138v	71

Two excerpts from this poem are quoted by Abū l-Qāsim al-‘Irāqī, *Kitāb al-‘Ilm al-muktasab*.¹¹⁷ In this poem the names Moses, Democritus, Māriya and Mihrārīs are mentioned.

٢٠١ / ٢٠٢

اسق المركب نفسه فيعود كالليل سود لي يدك مشهود 128.
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 158r 3

ان المعادن فى الوماء معنود مصورات على تلك الجلاميد. 129
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 68v 3

سُوَدُوا تَنْجُوا فَقْد نَال مِنْ نَالِ رَجَاه بِحُكْمَةِ التَّسْوِيدِ. 130
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 153v 4

شکر تک مولای وانت حمید لک الحمد ربی مبدی و معید. 131
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 144v–145v 30

علانى بالزېق المعقود ودعانى من كثرة التصعيد. 132.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 98–99	3
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 34r	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 36r	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 140v	3

پیدا/ودا

قد كان هرمس الحكيم مقدماً بالعلم فيه مطعماً محموداً 133.
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 123v-125r 48

In this poem the name of Hermes is mentioned.

¹¹⁷ For instance, in Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa 1749 (ff. 17v–18r and ff. 20r–20v). Edition (non-critical) by Holmyard: Al-‘Irāqī 1923: 39–40 (19 verses) and 43 (12 verses).

٦١/٦٢

ما اخر جوه بالقشر من ذكر فقيل اكبر هم من بعضهم وآذ.

134.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 103	11
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 36r	11
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 37r–37v	11
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 142r–142v	11

٦٣

حجر الحكمة من غير فسد مكن يدركه كل احذ.

135.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 99–100	9
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 34v–35r	9
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 36r–36v	9
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 141r	9

خذا الأمر من قرب وتكتب عن البعد ففي القرب أشياء تدل على الرشد.

136.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 98	7
Damascus, al-Asad, Zāhiriyah 9654, f. 35v	7
Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 3231, f. 112r, in margine	7
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 34r–34v	7
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 31r–31v	8
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 36r	7
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 140v	7

ليس للاحراق يا هذا ابتدأ غير ان الحرق احراق الجسد.

137.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 104	5
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 36v–37r	5
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 159v	5
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 37v	5
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 142v–143r	5

٦٤

بيض جسمك يافتي في فارس فيها البياض لكل جسم اسود.

138.

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 47v	7
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This poem has similarities with the next one, but they are two different poems.

بالنفس يكسي كل ابيض حمرة وبها البياض لكل جسم اسود.

139.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 149r	4
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حل صخورك بالزوابق ستة؟! فيها مديتها نا؟.

140.

Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 76v–77r	5
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فیاسائی فاقبل کلاما محبرا حبک به محض الردة مرشد. 141. Tehran, University, 1205, f. 84v	5
ما التار کات عراضها والسامیات الى الرصد. 142. Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 100–101 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 35r Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 36v Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 141r–141v	14 15 15 15
 دی/دی	
بثاقب نور العلم یعلم ذو الفصل وبالجهل یوذی الجاهل المانق المردى. 143. Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 26r–27r	48
خذوا الفضه البياض کل معدن مطهرة کالب على خير محتد. 144. Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 84v–85r	6
علیک تبقوی الله یا صاح تهدی ولا تتبع امرء غیر مرشد. 145. Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 95–96 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 33r–33v Madrid, Escorial, Ar. 924, ff. 217v–218r Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 35v–36r Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 35r–35v Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 139v Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 67v–68r	15 16 16 16 16 16 10
In this poem the name of Hermes is mentioned.	
من یهده الرحمن فهو المهتدی ومن یضلله ليس بمرشد. 146. (من یهده الله فذاک المهتدی وما لمن یضلله من مسد)	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 149v–150r Tehran, University, 1205, f. 68r	19 18
In this poem the name of Moses is mentioned.	
یا طالب الرزو خدها رده بیدی اصنع لقولی ولا تتلہ للجھدی. 147. Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 187r–188r	39

دُعَا

ان الطبائع اربع قد توجد في واحدٍ فرد تراه اوحد . 148.	
(ان الطبائع كلها مجموعة في واحدٍ فرد تراه اوحد)	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 166v–167r	30
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 30v–31r	19
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 35v–37r	30

دُعا

جسم اذا ماراته العين افرغها وايست ان تراه ابيضا ابدا . 149.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 134r	8
حَيْرُوا الْقَالِمِينَ عَمَّا ادْمَرُوا عَلَيْهِمُ الْطَرِقَ سَدًا . 150.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 68r	2

صَبَرَ السَّمْ غَبِيطًا فِي الصَّدَا هَكُذا التَّدِبِيرُ فِيهِ ابْدَا . 151.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 103–104	4
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 36r	4
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 37v	4
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 142v ¹¹⁸	4

وَقَالَ أَبُونَا هَرْمَسُ فِي لَفْوزِ رَمُوزِ لَفْوزِ الْبَحْرِ مَذْكَانَ وَارْدَا . 152.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 28r	5
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 107, p. 126	5
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, f. 45v	5
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 55	5

In this poem the name of Hermes is mentioned.

دُعا

بِالنَّفْسِ تَكْسِيرُ كُلِّ أَبْيَضٍ حَرْمَةٌ وَبِهَا الْبَيْاضُ بِكُلِّ جَسْمٍ امْرَدٌ . 153.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 36v	2

لَكَ الْحَمْدُ وَالنَّعْمَ وَالظُّولُ رَبُّنَا لَكَ الْحَمْدُ رَبِّي مَا جَدَ وَمَجَدٌ . 154.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 27v–28r	18
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 107, pp. 125–126	20
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, ff. 45r–45v	20
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 170r–170v	40

¹¹⁸ In these last two manuscripts, the rhymes are in -ādh.

Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 54–55 20

In this poem the name of Hermes is mentioned.

ج

ان الاتالیه التي اعلیتها فيها نطقت وحق الله ربی ومقصد . 155. (ن الاتالیه التي اغلقتها فيها نطقت برأي المحمد)	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 92–93	13
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 32v	13
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 35r	13
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 34v	13
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 138v–139r	13

د

لا تجزعن من السواد فانه ماء الشوب يزيله عن حده . 156.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 132v	5

ر

ساز

القلم سر والاسرار اسرار وفي التدبیر انباء واخبار . 157.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 45r–45v	27
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 27v–28v	38

ساز

اجعلوا السقى للجسم ملیا قبل سيق الاحجار بالاحجار . 158.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 115	4
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 50v	4
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 139r	5
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 48v	4
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 48r	4
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 157v	4
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 80v	4

اياك ان تحرك الاجساد بالنار وحرّك الكل في ليل واسفار . 159.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 157v, in margine	12

ادم الطبخ للجسوم ترى الانفس كالشمس في انتصاف النهار . 160.		
İstanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 131v–132r		12
الحلق مجتمع طوراً ومفترق والصابغات فنون ذات اطوار . 161.		
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 115	5	
İstanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 50v	5	
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 48r	5	
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 157v	5	
ان سبيكة عقد الماء والنار مع الهواء بالأرض فهي كالفار . 162.		
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 12r	7	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 38v–39r	6	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 82r–82v	5	
تدبيرنا بالزهرة بالنار والروح في اربعة احجار . 163.		
İstanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 49v	6	
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 47v	6	
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 156v–157r ¹¹⁹	6	
تعود النار في التدبير ماء كذلك الماء فيه يعود نار . 164.		
İstanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 49r	4	
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 47r	4	
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 156r	4	
حبس الدخان من الايات في النار فاحتل لنقيده في موضع حار . 165.		
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 114	6	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 74v–75r	5	
İstanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 50r–50v	6	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 48v–49r	14	
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 48r	6	
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 157r	6	
حر مشرقة بالرفق تفصلها وبالتصاعيد تجلوا كل قدار . 166.		
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 76r	5	

¹¹⁹ These two Rabat manuscripts link this poem to No. 183, while the rhymes clearly show that they are two different poems.

In this poem the name Gregorios (?) is mentioned.

زوج المسد باديا بالابار والهوا اللطيف مع ضوء نار . 167.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 42v–44r ¹²⁰	85
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 40v–42v	83
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 42v–43r	40
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 149v–150v	40
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11656, ff. 221v–222r	65
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 57r–58r	62
سبكه الحكمة من اطيار صريخها يمنع بالاسحار . 168.	
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, p. 127	6
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī'a 201, f. 47v	6
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 57	6
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 11v	6
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 83r	6
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Libiyīn, 1125, f. 38r	6
لا علم افضل من تدابير الاحجار ان انت درتها بالماء والنار . 169.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 45r–45v	27
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 28v–29r	15
لا علم انفع من تدبير احجار سود تبييض بالكبريت والنار . 170.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 28v	17
ليس بنف السواد والله ربى مالك الملك عالم الاسرار . 171.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 134v–135r	4
ويحل الجسوم اذا عنها السواد رلته بماء وكبريت وحر من النار . 172.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 134v	6
يا ايها السائل عن صنعة النار وعن تشا كل الحار بالحار . 173.	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 61r–61v	35
عارٍ / عاري	
اترك الباكي على الدور وسكن الديار وذر القايل فيها باصطبار واختبار . 174.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 112–113	7
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 59v	30

120 This manuscript splits it into two separate poems of 77 and 8 verses respectively.

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 46v–47r	25
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 155v–156r	25
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 48v–49r	25
 اغسل بلطفك اقداراً بانوار واحل بعقالك احجار باحجار. 175.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 67v	7
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 74r	19
 الشمس البدر مقرونات في قرن مقداران بامر الخالق الباري. 176.	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 70r–70v	34
 كباريت أجسام خمسين تذوب على اذا سقيت في ظلمة بالذى الجاري. 177.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 129r–121v	21
 النفس فافهم علامات باسرار من قبل عقد كها في الجسم بالنار. 178.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 76r	10
 عَزَّا	
صخرة الشيطان فافهم تجعل الاجساد قلرا. 179.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 77r	4
 لا تتقد في الحل الا انه ترطيب مبسم بعقد الفرار. 180.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 116	7
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 48v	7
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 46v	7
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 155r–155v	7
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 64v	6
 تَابِر	
إلى الله اشكر ما تدور الدواير وآوقات هم وقعها متواير. 181.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 117–118	10
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 51r–50v	10
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 48v–49r	10
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 158r–158v	10
 لا ايها السايل المتداكر بغاوض سر السالفين الاخير. 182.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 121–124	35
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 52v–53v	36

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 50r–20v	36
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 159v–160v	36

Surprisingly, Khālid and Jābir b. Ḥayyān are mentioned in this poem. In all three manuscripts, however, the poem is integrated into the corpus of Khālid's poetry without distinction from the other poems.

ان الاخير كاول في المبتدأ وكذا البدى كاخر في الناظر. 183.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 50r	6
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 47v	6
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 156v–157r	6

لا تجز عن من السواد بدية وافرح فديتك بالسواد الاخر. 184.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 170v–171v	27

تاجر

اطرد عن الجسم سواد اليه من الدهانات تكون ظافرا. 185.	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 48r–48v	6

بيز/بور

العلم علمان علم الدين مشهور وعلم صنعتنا في الكتب مستور. 186.	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 27r–27v	28

بيز/بور

ابلغ ابا يزيد سفيان ما تور مقال ذى فطنة بارفي تحرير. 187.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 110–112	17
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 48r–48v	16
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 47v–48r	15
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 46r–46v	16
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 155r	16

In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

اسد الصناعة جوفه طير تراه كالطيور. 188.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 81v	4

الجسوم ذو لونين يقبل بعضه بعضا وتلك عبارة التسفير. 189.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 49r	13

النفس في الذهن علواها ومسكناها والروح في الماء قوله لا لبس بالزور.	
190.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 134v–135r	5
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 75r	5
In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.	
ان الجسم اذا دخلن امالها فقد نقضى نصف من التدبير.	
191.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 48v	5
ان الطبائع اربع معروفة وتمامها الخامس المحقق.	
192.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 36v	8
ان الطبائع خمسة معروفة ارضين مع ماءين في التدبير.	
193.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 72v–73r	6
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 49r–49v	10
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 154v	5
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 51r–51v	10
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 47r	10
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 156r	10
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 37r–37v	38
The first two verses are quoted in <i>Kitāb Tuḥfat al-tadbīr li-ahl al-tabṣīr</i> by Ismā‘il al-Tinnīsī. ¹²¹ In this poem the name of Hermes is mentioned.	
جميع طبائع الحكما خمس يزاوجها القليل مع الكثير.	
194.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 116–117	12
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 51r	12
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 48r–48v	14
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 44v	12
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 157v–158r	12
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 85r–85v	12
حل الصخر بالزوابق ستا ل تمام الميقات في التحمير.	
195.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 20r	5
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 77r	2
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, f. 34r	5
In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.	
خلط العاقير في بدو التدبير مفتاح ما ترجون من كل مستور.	
196.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 125r–125v	20

¹²¹ Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 4496, f. 5r. Cf. Ullmann 1972: 235.

علمنا علم خطير غامض بالامر يسير.	197.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 30r ¹²²		12
علمنا علم كبير غامض بالامر يسير.	198.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 118–119		7
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 51v		7
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 49r		7
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 158v		7
كل علم سوى الصناعة زور علم ما لو علمته خطير.	199.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 124–156		23
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 28r–28v		25
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, pp. 126–127		25
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, ff. 46r–47v		25
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 53v–54v		25
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 56–57		25
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 50v–51r		25
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 160v–161v		25
ليس يبقي السواد الا بشيء منضج حرة عظيم حقير.	200.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 134v		6
ما علم فرفره البياض صغيرة لكنه علم يعد كبير.	201.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 156v		2
نزلت بصور طلوع الشروق وعند الفيب فلم اقل صور.	202.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 120–121		20
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 52r–52v		20
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 49v		20
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 159r–159v		20
واحرق الليث سبعا فترى لونه كمثل الجير.	203.	
Two verses quoted in the <i>Qaṣīda</i> by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Salām al-Rajrājī, with the indication: <i>min Kitāb Firdaws al-hikma</i> . ¹²³		
بِيرَا		
اجعل جسومك حالكا في لونها عند البدى وكن براك بصيرا.	204.	

¹²² The first verse of this poem is quite similar to No. 198, but the rest of the poem is very different.

¹²³ Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 1025, f. 334v.

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 49r

3

عِزْمَةٌ

افضل نفوسك من ارض مسوّدة سبعاً تتنظرها كالما في النظر. 205

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 66v	4
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 74v	4

In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

النفس تصعيدها سبعاً لتخسلها لز فره الدهن والاوذار والقذر. 206

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 158r	4
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 75r	4

The name Hermes is cited in this poem.

(انا ابن صخر زعيم الناس كلهم لحدى التواب فـي عدو فـي يسر. 207)

(انا ابن سفيان شيخ الحـى من رصر اجلوا التواب فـي عدو فـي يسر)

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 31r–32v	73
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 107, pp. 131–134	71
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, ff. 50r–52v	73
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 39r–41r	78
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 61–65	71
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 36v–39r	89
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 39v–41r	78
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 145v–147v	78
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 28r–30v	87

In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

خلفت يميناً برة غير كاذبة برب مني والبيت والركن والحجر. 208

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 140v–152r	52
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 72r–72v	11

In this poem the names Hermes, Helenos (ايلينوس)/Jālīnūs, Qustūs (قسطس), Safanjā, Abū Bakr, Muḥammad and Heraclius are mentioned.

زوج رصاصك بالحـاس الاحمر واسـيقـهـما سـمـ الحـيـاةـ الـازـهـرـ. 209

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 107–108	17
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 47r	17
Madrid, Escorial, Ar. 924, f. 217v	17
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 51v	17
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 45v	17

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 153v–154r Tehran, University, 1205, f. 85r	17 17
سر النفوس عجيب فى اوائلها والامحان بين بذلك الحق فى النظر . 210. Tehran, University, 1205, f. 75v	13
صعد جسومك في الاتال فانها نمو هنالك مثل حبر في النظر . 211. Tehran, University, 1205, f. 47r	6
علامة التخمير باسائلى شرب العجيب الماء فى الظاهر . 212. Tehran, University, 1205, f. 67r Tehran, University, 1205, f. 73r	5 3
لا تبتغي الدهر ماذا هو ام ما حمدوا من العاقفون من ترب ومن حجر . 213. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 171v–173r	46
لا تكاف بغير شمس والقمر والصلب ل حاجتك الانتى مع الذكر . 214. Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 110 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 47v–48r Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 52r Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 46r Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 154v Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 67r–67v	9 9 9 9 9 9
وضع الحكيم عالمة فى العصر للطلابين مبينها الميسر . 215. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 135r Tehran, University, 1205, f. 73v	13 13
يا طالب النهايات العلوم ولم يحكم مباديهما من قبل الفكر . 216. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Vehbi 2254, ff. 18r–19v	53
بر/برى	
يا ايها السايل فى علمنا عن صنعة اللولو والجوهر . 217. Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 113–114 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 50r Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 48r Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 47v–48r Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 157r Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 29r–29v	7 7 7 7 7 27

مُرْ

نصحت لكم والله رب محمد وما قلت زورا والذى امره الامر . 218.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 64r	19
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 154r–154v	20

In this poem the names of Muḥammad, Māriya, Būṭāṭ and Khālid are mentioned.

طبائع الحكمة معروفة ست لها من فوقها ست . 219.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 119	3
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 52r	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 49v	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 158v–159r	3
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 36v	6

مُرْ

تمام شهر وثلث كامل عددا غسلا ودفنا لكي ينقى من الضرر . 220.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 73v	4

ثلاث طبائع في جرف ضرف يسمى الظرف بل يدعى بقشر . 221.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 145v	8
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 49r	9
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 36v	8

سوادك الأول لو تدرى فيه غنى لذوى الفقر . 222.

One verse quoted in *Kitāb al-Rawḍa* by Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī.¹²⁴ A critical edition is in progress by Vicky Ziegler.¹²⁵

فرد به النم للاعمال نقلمه هو المحل والفالسال لكن . 223.	
(فرد البرية في الاعمال يعرفه هو المحل والفالسال لكن)	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 119	4
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 30v–31r	12
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, pp. 130–131	12
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 49v–50r	12
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 52r	4
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 156r	12
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 61	12
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 44v–45r	4

¹²⁴ Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hacı Beşir Ağa 505, f. 71r.

¹²⁵ See the contribution by Vicky Ziegler in the present volume.

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 49r	4
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 159r	4
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 81v–82r	10

In this poem the names *Adrāmūs* (?) and *Āras* are mentioned.

والارض فيها جوهر كامنا بخرجه منها درى الخبر. 224.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 49v	6
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 47v	6
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 156v	6

يا صنعة اذهلت من كان ذا يقн وجرت كل ذي عقل وفكر. 225.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 131v	13

بِرِّ / بِرِّي

ابار نحاسنا ان كنت تدرى سمام ايض في لون بدر. 226.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 34v–35r	54
Cairo, Vehbi 2254, ff. 26v–27v	56
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 42v–44r	67
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 43v–44v	54
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 151r–152v	54
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 57v–58v	58

Two verses of this poem are quoted in *Mir'āt al-'Ajā'ib* by Ibn al-Mukhtār.¹²⁶

نصحت لا هل العلم نصحا مبينا وان كتموا ناديت لا شك بالجهير. 227.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 103v–104r	28

بَرَا

ابا خالد اجدد لخالقها الشكرا ففكرا بعقل راحج محمد الفكرا. 228.	
(ربا لك حمد ولخالقنا شكرا وفكرا بعقل راحج يحمل الفكر)	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 108–110	17
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 30r–30v	17
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā' 107, pp. 129–130	16
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabi'a 201, ff. 49r–49v	17
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 47v–48r	17

¹²⁶ Ms. Hs. Karachi, University, 19987, p. 17.

Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 60	15
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 47r–47v	17
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 45v–46r	17
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 154r–47v	17

One verse of the poem is quoted in *Rutbat al-ḥakīm*.¹²⁷

الربع يحصل كحلا في تسويده والما يذهب لا عين ولا اثرا. 229.

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 70v	2
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In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

ان في البيضة اسرار وفي الاسرار سرا. 230.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 115–116	5
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 50v	5
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 48v	5
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 157v	5

خذ الحجر الاعلى طريا منطفا وقطره ماء ابيضا ثم اصفرا. 231.

Bethesda, National Library of Medicine, 70 A, f. 51r	13
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This poem has been edited, translated and commented by George Saliba.¹²⁸

فان تاجر في تسويده وجرت فيه فذلك تقصير فقد قصرا. 232.

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 70v	3
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وبعد ذلك فاسقه وعنه في الزبل عشرين يوما بعد ذلك تري. 233.

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 70v	3
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In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

يلقى على الزئبق الفرار يعقد جسما تراه مضيا عسجا زهرا. 234.

جزء على الف من اى الجسم اذا سبكته عاد لوننا يغشى البصر. جزء

Two verses quoted by Ibn Umayl in *Kitāb al-Mā’ al-waraqī wa-l-ard al-najmiyya*.¹²⁹

عن

الى ذقود النار بيد والزهر كمثل اصياغ ملاح حمر. 235.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 132r	6
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¹²⁷ Al-Qurṭubī 2016: 138.

¹²⁸ Saliba 2017.

¹²⁹ Stapleton et al. 1933: 61.

دبر الكبريت فهو الحجر الذي منه الفنا الاكبر.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 118	5
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 51v	5
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 49r	5
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 49r	5
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 158v	5
قايلهم في البيض عنصره والبيض انجع ما راموه لو قدر.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 46r–46v	22

رُوا / رُوا

الايا رايحا اما عشيه او سينتكر الاقل الذين شفوا وانفسهم ليختبر.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 107	3
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 46r–46v	26
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 44r–44v	26
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 45r–45v	26
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 152v–153v	26

تدبرت ما اخفى الانام واجهروا عجائب قد بقى بها التفكير.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 41r–42v	53
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 39r–40r	54
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 41r–42v	53
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 148r–149r)	53

In this poem the names Zosimus, Hermes and Democritus. Four verses are quoted in *Rutbat al-Hakīm* are mentioned,¹³⁰ and tree verse are quoted in *Mir'āt al-'Ajā'ib* by Ibn al-Mukhtār.¹³¹

رسم الفلسفه والاشكال والصور تبدي وتظهر ما خفو وما ستر.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 126–127	11
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 54v	12
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 51r	12
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 161v	12

كم قايل قال لى بالله ما الحجر وما دار قط دار انه حجر.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 46r–46v	22

¹³⁰ Al-Qurṭubī 2016: 138.

¹³¹ Ms. Hs. Karachi, University, 19987, p. 21.

وَخَالَدْ كُمْ لَوْلَا الْخَمِيرَةَ لَمْ يَكُنْ لِيَعْقُدْ مَا حَالَ الْجَبِيجَ وَكَبَرُوا. 242

One verse quoted by Ibn Umayl in *Kitāb al-Mā’ al-waraqī wa-l-ard al-najmiyya*.¹³²

عَزْ

ان السواد هو النصيب الاوفر ان حاز حازك كل شيء يحذرك. 243.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 156v–157r

6

In this poem the name of Muḥammad is mentioned.

اول هذا العمل تكليس الحجر بحر نار حرها حر سقر. 244.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 119–120

4

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 52r

4

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 105r

4

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 49r–49v

4

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 159r

4

The first four verses of this poem are quoted in *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-tadbīr li-ahl al-tabsīr* of Ismā‘il al-Tinnīsī.¹³³ The first verse is quoted in *Ghāyat al-Surūr fi sharḥ al-Shudhūr* by al-Jildakī.¹³⁴

بالملح يصلحاما يخشا تثيره فماء والملح ان حلف بد التير. 245.

Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 45r

10

عَزْ/عَزُّوا

ليس التدابير بالاركان يبلغها مدبر ابدا ما اورق الشجر. 246.

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 32v–33v

18

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 107, pp. 134–135

29

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 53r–54r

29

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 44r–44v

30

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 125v–126r

31

Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 65–67

29

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 43r–43v

27

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 150v–151r

27

¹³² Stapleton et al. 1933: 47.

¹³³ Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 4496, f. 3v. Cf. Ullmann 1972: 235.

¹³⁴ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Orientabteilung, Ms. or. quart. 115 (Ahlw. 4183), f. 95v.

The names Hermes, Stephanus (اسطفانوس), Māriya and Hippocrates are cited in this poem.

حَرَز/سَرَا

الحمد لله جل الله مقتدرًا مدبرًا هاديا فضًا لا لمن كفر.	247
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 105–106	25
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 26v–37	92
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 49v–51r	72
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 37v–39v	92
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 143r–145v	92
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 2v–5v	144
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 16v–20r	149

In this poem the names Hermes, Heraclius and Rūmīs (?) are cited. Nineteen, then twenty-one verses of this poem are quoted in the *Kitāb al-Wāfi fi l-tadbīr al-kāfi* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maṣmūdī.¹³⁵

بِيرَا

هو الحجر المصايب بكل ارض وفي الاسواق تلقاء حَقِيرًا.	248
(يُضْنَ بِهِ الْجَوَادُ عَلَى خَيْهِ إِذَا أَضْحَى يَوْمًا خَبِيرًا)	

Two verses quoted in *Risāla 1* by Khālid.¹³⁶

بِرْهَة

ما حجر امسى كريم جوهره قال الحكيم قوله يفسره.	249
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 213–214	7
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 90r–90v	7

بِرِّه

ان المركب كلما سقيته لاناك نورا فاضلا من نوره.	250
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 151v–152r	3

بِيرُهَة

انف السواد قليله وكثيره ان السواد الى البياض مصيره.	251
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 168v–169r	14

¹³⁵ London, British Library, Or. 13006, ff. 157v–158r.

¹³⁶ Cf. *supra*, pp. 332–333.

سازها

علمت فاحكمت لما فطنت لرمز المعاني واسرارها. 252.
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 90v–91r 16

بیرها

جسوما الاربع ان سودت ندها احد عند نسیرها. 253.
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 49r–49v 6

سبیکة الحکمة خزانها ثلاثة من قبل تدبیرها. 254.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 29r–30r	45
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, pp. 127–129	45
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, ff. 47r–49r	45
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 57–60	45
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 9v–10r	56
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 44r–45r	36

The first five verses are quoted in the *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-tadbīr li-ahl al-taṣbīr* by Ismā‘il al-Tinnīsī.¹³⁷

س

سائیں

غريب به يعذو لك الدهر مشرق من الرض معروف ويرقشه الناس. 255.
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 132v 3

سائیں

الروح مخرجة من الحجر الذي يحوي النجار تراه كالديماس. 256.
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 67r 5
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 74v 5

علم الطبایع محجه عن الناس اذ كان تدبیرها من خمس اجناس. 257.
 Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 86v 15
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 38r–38v 13

¹³⁷ Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 4496, ff. 2r–2v. Cf. Ullmann 1972: 235.

موسٌ

ليس ينقي السواد الانفوس وبخار في جوفها مدسوس. 258.
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 158v–159r

3

موسٍ/يسٍ

اجعل لقرك ارجلا في وقت اصعاد النفوس. 259.
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 33v
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā' 107, p. 135
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, ff. 54r–54v
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 67
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 75v

7
7
7
7
5

In this poem the names Hermes and Agathodaimon are mentioned.

علم الحكمة اسطانيس قد قال قولاً لين بالخسيس. 260.
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 159v

3

مسٍ

الا يا سايلى حقا عن التدبير بالشمس وعن صنعتنا مع السعد ومع النحس. 261.
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 129–130
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 51v
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 161v–162r
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 54v–55r
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 86r

14
11
11
11
11

ذات النور موطنها والروح في القمر العالى على الشمس. 262.
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 67r

6

موسٍه/يسٍه

جسم تدبیره بحر سمومه وتریل عنه سواد بنفسه. 263.
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 158v

5

شٍ

عشٍ/يشٍ
ما حجر شبه بيضة الجبل بينت حقاً بيلادة الحبس. 264.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 130	6
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 55r	6
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 86v–87r	6
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 51v	6
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 162r	6

ص**سَابِقُ**

جعلت طباعينا ثلاثة فافهموا لا زايد فيها وليس بنافق. 265.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 38r	3

In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

سَاصَا

ان الجسوم اذا دخلوها تالها تدعى وملا فاهفمو ورصاصا. 266.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 48r	4

حُصْ

ان الحجارة في الادابة تنقص ادعن فدى وتصورة تتخلص. 267.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 55r, in margine	6
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 78r–78v	7
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 51v–52r	6
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 162v	6

ض**بِضِ**

خذ البيضاء الشقراء من خير معدن تصادفه لا في السماء والارض. 268.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 78v	13

The first four verses are quoted and attributed to Hermes in the *Risāla* of Shaykh Usqūf Dimyāṭ,¹³⁸ and the second verse is quoted in *Mir’āt al-‘Ajā’ib* by Ibn al-

¹³⁸ Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya 1025, f. 319r.

Mukhtār.¹³⁹ One verse is also quoted by Ibn Umayl in *Kitāb al-Mā' al-waraqī wa-l-arḍ al-najmiyya*.¹⁴⁰

بِيَاضٍ

اذا بیضت اجسامها بنفسها و حللت الاجسام بعده بیاض . 269
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 158v

2

ط

بِطِيطٍ

طبائع اربع خلط الخليط هذا تركيب الحجر البسيط.	270
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 131	6
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 33v–34r	7
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā' 107, p. 136	7
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, f. 54v	7
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 55r–55v	8
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 67	7
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 52r	8
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 52r	8
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 162v	8

ع

تَيْغٌ/مُوغٌ

حجر الحكمة الرفيع البديع ذهب سايل وما نفيع .	271
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 150r	10

خ

ابلغ لنا الجاهل ان الذى لم تك فى ادراكه تطبع .	272
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 133–134	22
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 55v–56r	23
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 52r–52v	23
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 163r–163v	23

¹³⁹ Ms. Hs. Karachi, University, 19987, p. 29.

¹⁴⁰ Stapleton et al. 1933: 15.

In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

تروج نيران لماء مطهر وتنقيم انفاس ب النار تششعش . 273.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 79r–79v	13

اذا النفس عنها الدهن زال راتها كبر السما من بعد خمس واربع. 274.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 158v	4

ع

ان السواد به تمام علومنا فاعمل لتسويد الجسم الاربع . 275.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 158r	4

خ

ان الطبائع اسها وما يكها شى نذل له الجسم وتخضع . 276.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 134–135	10
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 56r–56v	10
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 79r	13
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 52v	10
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 163v	10
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 40r–40v	18

جميع الطبائع في واحد وفي واحد كلها ترجع . 277.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 56v	8
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 52v–53r	8
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 52v–53r	8
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 39v–40r	8

موعا/يبيعا

حل جسومك بعد اخذ خميرها كالما يجري في الصعيد شوعا . 278.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 48v	8

ان اجسادنا لعمرك لا تبيض او يذهب الدهان جميما . 279.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 49r	3

ثلاثة اجناس جمعن جميما يعدن اذا بيضتهن بخيما . 280.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 145v–147r	2

عَةٌ

اجعل مناك من الدنيا وبغيتها تدبر شيتين من اجناس اربعة.	281.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 153v		7

يا ايها السايل عن علمنا دونك هو في احرف تسعة.	282.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 135–136		7
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 215–216		7
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 92r		7
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 52v		7
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 164r ¹⁴¹		7

غ**سَابِعًا**

من صير الجسم الکريم بماده روحاً لطيفاً عاد سما صابغاً.	283.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 126–127		5
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 56v		6
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 79v		6
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 53r		6
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 164r–164v		6

ثُغْرَةً/غُوا

السر في حجر فرد ومعدنه في عالم فاز اقوام به بلغوا.	284.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 79v		2

ف**سَافِي/سَافِي**

اسد راكب على البحر طافى فيه تأمون كل الخلاف.	285.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 35r		10
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā' 107, p. 138		10
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, f. 56v		10
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 70		10
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 81r		9

¹⁴¹ In these last two manuscripts, the rhymes are in -agh.

النفس تخرج قبل ذا من جسمها حمرا وترجع كالملها الصافي.	286.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 138	2	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 57r–75v	2	
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 53v	2	
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 165r	2	
 وف/يف		
طباعينا برموزهم فهي الاواني والكهوف.	287.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 38r	9	
 في الصخرة البيضا كل الذي يبغىه صب القلب ملهوف.	288.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 34r–35r	40	
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, pp. 136–138	39	
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 54v–56r	40	
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 67–69	39	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 19v–20r	38	
 يُفِّ		
والماء رايت الماء يعقد نفسه تحقق ان الامر حقاً كما وصف.	289.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 137	8	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 57r	8	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 79v–80r	8	
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 53r	8	
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 164v	8	
The first two verses are quoted by Ibn Umayl in <i>Kitāb al-Mā’ al-waraqī wa-l-ard al-najmiyya</i> . ¹⁴²		
اسكنه في حر نار حرها قدر بعدل مفهومه في غير ما سرف.	290.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 138	2	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 57r	2	
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 53v	2	
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 165r	2	
 ان تحرقوا الطلق تتالوا الذى ترجونه من صنعته تشف.	291.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 138	5	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 57r	5	
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 53r–53v	5	

¹⁴² Stapleton et al. 1933: 40.

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 164v–165r¹⁴³ 5

طبائع الحكمة في ظرف والظرف عنها ففهموا وصف.	292	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 121v–122v		28
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 80r–80v		31
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 38r–38v		28

One and a half verses of this poem are quoted in *Rutbat al-hakīm*.¹⁴⁴

نُفُّ / نَفْوَا

هذا كتاب النظم متألف من جوهر ماتكته الصدف.	293	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 162v		11

سَافُهُ

اذا دهنها في جسمه قرّ كله ولم يبقي من اقرارها ما يخافه.	294	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 158r, in margine		2

ق

نَاقِ

اجعلوا عقدكم بوزن الاواق وافهموا امنطقا بغیر نفاق.	295	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 136v–137r		15

نَيْقَ

نحاسك بيضه بما الزيايق تلل سعة في الرزق من فضل رازق.	296	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 139–143		53
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 73r		6
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 35v–36v		57
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā' 107, pp. 139–141		52
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, ff. 57r–58v		64
Dubai, Juma Almajid, 305329, pp. 136–167		12
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 57v		67
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 80v–82r		60

¹⁴³ These two last manuscripts link this poem to No. 286, while the rhymes clearly show that they are two different poems.

¹⁴⁴ Al-Qurṭubī 2016: 138.

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 53v–54v	56
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 165r–166v ¹⁴⁵	56
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 50v–52r	69

The first 12 verses are quoted by Abū l-Qāsim al-‘Irāqī in his *Kitāb al-‘Ilm al-muktaṣab*.¹⁴⁶ One verse is quoted in the *Nāfi‘a fī Ghāyat al-naf‘ wa-l-nafāsa lam yu‘raf muṣannifuhā*.¹⁴⁷ and one in *Mir’āt al-‘Ajā‘ib* by Ibn al-Mukhtār.¹⁴⁸ In this poem a speech from Hermes to Pythagoras and Toth (*Tāṭ*) is cited.

بِيقٍ / بُوقٍ

اغسل الليث بالمياه وبالملح لتقويه من سخام رقيق. 297. (اغسل الليث ذابحاء ومليح كى ينفعي السحاب الرقيق)	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 66r	8
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 35r–35v	8
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 107, p. 138	8
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, f. 57r	8
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 70	6
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 81r–81v	7

Five verses of this poem are quoted in the *Qaṣīda* of ‘Abd al-Salām al-Rajrājī.¹⁴⁹ In this poem the names Hermes and Hippocrates are mentioned.

طالب العلم ان عمرك يقنا فاطلب العلم من مكانٍ وشيق. 298.	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 22v–23r	31

ان النفوس اذا تصعدت اسمها طير تطير هناك في الانبيق. 299.	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 66v–67r	6
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 74v	6

ليس ينقى السواد الا بنفس شبها في اللون مثل الخلق. 300.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 157r	4

بِقٍ

خذ المطروح في الطرق فذلك جوهر الورق. 301.

¹⁴⁵ These two manuscripts of Rabaṭ link this poem to No. 308.

¹⁴⁶ Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa, 1749, f. 14v. Edition (non-critical) by Holmyard: al-‘Irāqī 1923: ۳۴.

¹⁴⁷ London, British Library, Or. 13006, f. 5v.

¹⁴⁸ Ms. Hs. Karachi, University, 19987, p. 35.

¹⁴⁹ Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 1025, ff. 334r–334v.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 143–144	5
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 59r	7
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 54v–55r	7
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 166v–167r	7

In his *Murīj al-Dhahab*, al-Mas‘ūdī, quotes three verses of Khālid b. Yazīd, the first and last of which are relatively close to two of the verses of this poem, while the second remains mysterious.¹⁵⁰

بِقِيقٍ

صباح الفلاسفه الكريمه ذو الشيق من الحجر المرموز في الكتب بالطلق. 302.	
(صباح الفلاسفة الكرام ذوي الشيق من الحجر المدعا في الكتب بالشرق)	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 148–151	40
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 60r–61r	37
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 83v–85r	46
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 61r–62r	43
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 56r–57r	47
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 168v–170r	47

بِقَاتِيقٍ

همت النفس لترفي فه همم صرت القا. 303.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 152–153	15
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 62r–62v	16
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 85r–85v	12
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 57r	16
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 170r–107v	16

¹⁵⁰ Al-Mas‘ūdī 1874: 176:

خذ الطلاق مع الأشق – وما يوجد في الطرق
وشيئاً يشبه البرقا – فديزه بلا حرق
فإن أحببت مولاكا – فقد شوئت في الخلق

Are the first and last verses to be related to these? It is far from certain whether the first and last verses are related to these three.

(verse 2) خذ الفرار ان احبيت – واقبض لى على الطرق
(verse 5) فإن انت امت الحي – كنت الفرد في الخلق

بـ

ان السود هو العمود الموقن مفتاح اقفال وباب مغلق.	304.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 68r		8
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 148r–148v		14
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 85v–86v		13

In this poem the names Hippocrates (بِقْرَاطِيس), Ostanes? (أُسْتَانِيس?), Barīs? (بَرِيس?), Āras and Zosimus are cited.

تدبير صنعتنا بسبعة احرف منها العمري خمسة ما ينطق.	305.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 129v		8

لا تتبع قول الشفيف الاحمق القابل الزور العمي الاحرق.	306.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 119r		5

عـ / فـ

بوريطش الحكماء فاسمع منطقى صبغ بديع واسمها الما النقى.	307.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 144–148		59
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 37r–37v		38
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, pp. 141–142		38
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 59r–60v		38
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 59r–61v		61
Madrid, Escorial, Ar. 924, ff. 218r–218v		50
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 82r–83v		60
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 55r–56r		58
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 167r–168v ¹⁵¹		58
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 54r–55r		41

Three verses of this poem are quoted in the *Qaṣīda* of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Salām al-Rajrājī,¹⁵² and two verses are quoted in *Mir‘āt al-‘Ajā’ib* by Ibn al-Mukhtār.¹⁵³

قـ

انما الحكمة تدبير الذي هو مطروح على الطرق.	308.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 143		8
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 59r		8
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 85r		8

¹⁵¹ These two manuscripts of Rabat link this poem to No. 302.

¹⁵² Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 1025, f. 357v.

¹⁵³ Ms. Hs. Karachi, University, 19987, p. 11.

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 53v–54v	8
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 165r–166v	8

قا

اذا انت ورجب الطبایع كلها على حسب ما قالوا ووصفوا انسقا. 309. Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 85r–85v	12
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قلب الطبایع بالتضبین تقلبها وتجعل المس سما ابیضا ورقا. 310. Tehran, University, 1205, f. 33v	5
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ك**فاك**

العلم في بعض بنية الفلك والسر تركيبه على فاك. 311. Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 153–154	16
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 62v–63r	17
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 52r–52v	16
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 57r–57v	17
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 170v–171r	17

فاك

اغسل البدر او تراه كدر بمياه عزيرة ويعرك. 312. Madrid, Escorial Ar. 946, f. 218v	4
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فاك

اعقد بعدد الوان تعطي املك مما ترجيه لينزلوا عملك. 313. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 153r–153v	5
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ل**فال**

اجعل الحصن يا اني درجات نلت ما تر تجيب من الاعمال. 314. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 151v	10
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العلم ارفع من كنوز المال لا بل هو الكنز الرفيع الحال.	315.
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 162–163	15
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 41r–41v	18
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 107, pp. 138–139	18
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 66r–66v	18
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 65v–66r	18
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 59v	17
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 173v–174r	17
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 30r–30v	26

In this poem the names Hermes, Zosimus (رسيموس زوسم) and Aristotle, Hippocrates, Gregorius/Pophyry (غروفوريس?) (?), Rūlīs and Jālīnūs are mentioned.

حجر القوم من ثلث براها خالق الخلق ما لها من مثال.	316.
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, f. 92v	3

This poem is quoted in full in *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-tadbīr li-ahl al-tabṣīr* by Ismā‘il al-Tinnīsī.¹⁵⁴

كلف العاذ لون بالبلبال وبرسم الديار والاطلال.	317.
(كلف الغافلون بالتسال ورسم الديار والاطلال)	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 154–161	95
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 37v–39v	81
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 107, pp. 143–146	81
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 60v–63v	81
Dubai, Juma Almajid, 305329, pp. 137–139	23
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 63r–65v	97
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 54v	37
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 57v–59v	85
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 171r–173v	85

Twenty-three verses of this poem are quoted by Abū l-Qāsim al-‘Irāqī, *Kitāb al-‘Ilm al-muktasab*.¹⁵⁵

بلا

انق السواد بالنفس درية تمكى البدور ملاحة وجمالا.	318.
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 56v–57r	12
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 107, pp. 178–179	13

¹⁵⁴ Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 4496, f. 2v and Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 4121, f. 166r. Cf. Ullmann 1972: 235.

¹⁵⁵ Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa, 1749, ff. 20v–21r and ff. 22v–23r. Edition (non-critical) by Holmyard: Al-‘Irāqī 1923: 44 (15 verses) and 47 (8 verses).

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 92r–92v 13

دبر الملح ان اردت غنى الدهر الى ان يعود ماء زلا . 319	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 220–222	19
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 93v–94r	20
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 90v	2

سابل

ان الطبائع مبتدأ نزيدها ما ان منعقد واخر سابل . 320

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 39v 16

سابل

ان الهضيب فيها عاقير الهوامل . 321

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, f. 92v 2

هو الحجر الموجود فى كل فلدة وفي الطرق مطروح وفوق المزابل . 322

به تم تدمير الجميع وانه هو الشئ ومنعوت لنا فى الرسائل

Two verses quoted in the *Risāla fī Uṣūl al-ṣan‘a wa-l-iksīr* by ‘Umar b. ‘Isā b. ‘Abd Allāh.¹⁵⁶ This first verses is quoted in *Mir‘āt al-‘Ajā’ib* by Ibn al-Mukhtār.¹⁵⁷

سابل

الامبا قاعنى ءاباء فى رسالتى فان ابنه قد نال ما كان املا . 323

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 222–223	20
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 94r–94v	20
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 90r–90v	20

بول/بيل

اقبلوا النصح من شقيق عليكم ايها الطالبون غير يخبل . 324

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 143r–143v 12

اقول المستجار العقل اكذى ببفيته التوهם والذهول . 325

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 175–176	11
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 70v	10

¹⁵⁶ Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasanīyya, 1025, f. 298r.

¹⁵⁷ Ms. Hs. Karachi, University, 19987, p. 30.

Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 53r	9
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 63r	10
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 178v–179r	10
الخالد الفرد ان سلطته قسطاً على المعايش لك يعديك تحليل. 326.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 178	4
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 71v	4
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 63v–64r	4
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 179v ¹⁵⁸	4
جسم من الذهب الابريز يحضنه جسم من الفضة البيضاء محلول. 327.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 181	3
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 71v	3
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 53v	3
This poem is quoted in full – with three additional verses – in <i>Kitāb Tuḥfat al-tadbīr li-ahl al-tabṣīr</i> by Ismā‘il al-Tinnīsī. ¹⁵⁹	
خل يا صاح تقل ماء النيل فلقد حير وابكل جهول. 328.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 178–179	13
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 71v–72r	13
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 53r–53v	10
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 64r	13
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 180r	13
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 69r–69v	12
علم النجوم وعلم الطب مبذول وعلم صنعتنا لا شك بهول. 329.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 31v	17
قال الحكيم قوله مقيول ما العلم مطرّح ولا مبذول. 330.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 108r	1
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 70r	5
قال الحكيم كلاماً لست اجهله والعلم حقاً على الجهل مثکول. 331.	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 32r–32v	13
ليس ينقى سواده غير شيءٍ من ثلات مدترد معمول. 332.	

¹⁵⁸ These two manuscripts of Rabat link this poem to No. 346, but the rhyme precludes such an association.

¹⁵⁹ Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 4496, f. 2r. Cf. Ullmann 1972: 235.

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 83v 4

نصحت لكم ي العلم فاقبلاوا مقال امرئ بالنصح غير بخيل. 333.

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 32r 11

هذا وهذا ثم هذا يافتى فيما ترا فقد يرا من قبيل. 334.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 180–181 16

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 72r–72v 16

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 64r 2

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 180r–180v 2

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 69v 16

The name Hermes is cited in this poem.

يا ايها السائل عن علم كتابه بقراط ونوفيل. 335.

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 32v 8

The name Hippocrates is mentioned in this poem.

أيها الناس من اضيقوا كثرا القل وقيل. 336.

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 32r 19

مل

خذ الجسد المنعوت بالعلم حاه به تدرك الامال ان كنت تفعل. 337.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 177–178 11

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 71r–71v 11

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 63v 11

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 179v 11

مل/طلوا

ان السواد هو البناء الأول وبه يتم لعامل ما يعمل. 338.

Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 49v–50v 51

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 167r–168v 45

ان الطبایع في المعقول اربعة فيها الاصول وفيها متىدى العمل. 339.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 163–165 36

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 73v 5

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 66r–67r	36
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Vehbi 2254, ff. 26r–26v	43
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 59v–60v	36
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 174r–175r	36
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 38v–39v	36

Three verses of this poem are quoted in *Kitāb al-Arkān* by Jābir b. Ḥayyān.¹⁶⁰ The name Crates (قراطيس) is cited in this poem.

حلوا الشراب بلين النار في لطف ثم ازوجوه بنفس تحته كمل . 340	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 133v–134r	14

صناعتنا نارها تعدل بنار الطبيعة او اعدل . 341	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 174–175	12
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 70r–70v	12
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 52v–53r	11
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 63r	12
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 178v	12
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 69v–70r	10

The name of Hermes is cited in this poem.

عاج الشقى على الاحلال يسألها عن الاحبة مادا بعده فلعوا . 342	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 30v–31v	33

علي	
علم الصناعة موفق على العمل وطالب العلم مقصود على الاجل . 343	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 24v–25v	49
يا صنعة خفيت عن كل فتحل وحاد فيها ذوى الالباب والجبل . 344	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 166–171 ¹⁶¹	76
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 39v–41r	62
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā' 107, pp. 146–149	60
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, ff. 64r–66r	58
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 67r–69r	78

¹⁶⁰ Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 3227, f. 31v. Cf. Kraus 1943: 105.

¹⁶¹ This manuscript links this poem to No. 345.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Vehbi 2254, ff. 16r–17r	50
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 55r–56v	64
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 60v–62r	78
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 175r–177r	78
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 61v–63r	51

مل

الا ايها المتقى صنعة بها الناس قد يضربون المثل. 345.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 171–174	37
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 69r–70r	38
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, ff. 62r–62v	38
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 177r–178v	38

In this poem the name Heraclius is mentioned.

مل

نور نور منور اذ يصفى صفة الحسن والجمال مكال. 346.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 71v	2
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 64r	2
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 179v	2

مل

الجسم بيقي ابدا بالغسل متابعا سبعا وحز الزبل. 347.

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 49v	9
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ثلاثة يجمعها فحلها فيها تمام العقد والحل. 348.

(يا ايها الطالب علم الذى حير ذا الجهل مع العقل)

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 70v–71r	10
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 53v–54r	10
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11077, f. 63v	10
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 179r	10
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 69v ¹⁶²	7

In this poem the names of Socrates, Āras and Hermes are mentioned.

في كل سبع فيه الما تبدل والجسم بالحرق ممزوج على العدل. 349.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 133r	4
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¹⁶² This manuscript only has four verses in common with the others, and in a different order.

لَنْ تَنْفُظْ لَهُ الظُّلْمَةُ وَحَالَكَ لَوْنَهُ إِلَّا الشَّوْبُ وَحْرَ نَارِ الزَّبْلِ.
350. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 133r

3

لِيَهُ

وَفَحْرَ اتَّيَتْ فَاجْمَدَتْهُ الْفَيْتُ عَلَمًا لَدِيْ أَصْلِهِ.	351.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 114–115		14
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 91r–91v		14
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 90r		13

كَايِلَةُ

إِذَا انتَ تَقِيتَ السَّوَادَ بِحُكْمَةٍ بَلَغْتَ لِعُمْرِيِّ كُلَّ مَا انتَ أَمْلَهَ.	352.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 148v–149r		13

أَلَهَا

صَنَاعَتْنَا تَبَيِّضَكَ الْجَسْمَ مُحَسِّنَا بِنَارٍ فِي بَدْوِ النَّوَاطِرِ فَعَلَهَا.	353.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 91r		4

م

عَامٌ

لَنْ يَحْيِي نَفْسًا بِلَا رُوحٍ تَمَازِجَهُ وَلَنْ تَعِيشَ بِلَا انْفَاسٍ اجْسَامَ.	354.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 108r		3
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 158v		1

مِثْلُ الصُّنْعَةِ هَرَامٌ لَهُ عَلَى الْأَجْسَادِ أَقْدَامٌ.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 78r	10
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 157r–157v	12
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 184v–185r	10

عَامٍ

إِذَا مَا صَارَتِ الْأَجْسَامُ بِيَضْنِقِيَّ يَعْدُ لَوْنَ كَالشَّحَامِ.	356.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 62v		3

مَا حَجَرٌ يَنْبَتُ فِي كُلِّ عَامٍ وَفِيهِ مُحِينٌ لِجَمِيعِ الْأَنَامِ.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 190–191	6
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Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 78v	6
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 185r	6

عامي/ عام

صخرة القوم ان وعيت كلامي وجدت فى ديار كل الانام. 358.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 42v–44r	102
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 74r–74v	7 + 8
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā' 107, pp. 151–155	90
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, ff. 68v–72? ¹⁶³	23 ?
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 77r–78v	78

عاما

اقصر جسومك يا فتى فى فارس فيها لعمرك تقصـر الا جسامـا. 359.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 48r	8
ماعوـما الأحمر التقـي هو التـم اذا كانت النـجـوم تـمامـا. 360.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 150v–151r	8

يوم/ يـم

اذا الجـسم عـنـد ظـلـمة الـدـهـر اـقـلـعـت وـلـاح وـرـءـا مـنـه الـبـيـاض يـهـيم. 361.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 62v	4

ان الصـفـا يـرـعـهـنـ حـكـيم سـتـ فـكـن بـعـد اـدـهـنـ عـلـيـم. 362.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 150v–151r	8

في صـنـعـة الـحـكـما ما يـرـ وـتـجـيـ صـبـ عمـيد القـلب مـهـمـومـ. 363.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 186–190	46
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 74r–75v	49
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 58r–59r	47
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 180v–182r	49

كم من خـصـيـف رـايـ وـهـو محـرـومـ يـمـشـيـ وـيـصـبـحـ فـرـداـ وـهـو مـغـمـومـ. 364.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 79r–79v	27
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 120v–123r	12
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 185v–186r	27

¹⁶³ This folio is lacking in my copy.

ما تطلوبون قدر جسيم وجليل من العلوم عظيم.	365.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 62v–63v		39
يوم/يَمِّ		
اذا انقضى السواد عن الجسم وابت منظراً مثل النجوم.	366.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 62v		4
اذا زال السواد عن الجسم كما قد جاء عن طب حكيم.	367.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 139v–140r		20
الاخير الفلاسف نجل علم كتاب اخر يخبر بالرسوم.	368.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 77v–78r		14
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 60v–61r		15
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 184r–184v		14
In this poem the names Stephanos, Hermes and Kulthūm are mentioned.		
خذ الاجساد فاغسلها بماء وملح ثم سكن في الجحيم.	369.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 62v		2
عُوْمٍ		
ليس ما يطلبونه ويريدون حسيس مقداره عيش يوم.	370.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 141v		3
سُخْ		
طبائع الحق اربع جمعت والملح منها فسرها الاعظم.	371.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 39v		5
قل لذوه الجهل اما منكم ذو فطنة يعقل ويفهم.	372.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 77r–77v		14
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 183v–184r		14
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 67v		14
سِمِّ		
ان الطبائع فيها نور محتجب وفي الطبائع اجناس من الكلم.	373.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 191–192		6
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 108r		2

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 78v–79v	6
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 185r–185v	6

سُخْ

يا سايلي عن ما كتب معلمى ان البيان له شفافا فاعلم. 374.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 190	8

سِمِّي / سِمِّي

كمال صنعتنا ان كنت ذا نظر طبائع اربع تنقى من العدم. 375.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 181–186	63
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 71v–73r	64
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 56v–58r	57
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 180v	5
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 63r–64	39

سِمِّ

سيكة اهل العلم ان كنت تعلم ثلاثة الوان تبين لدى الفهم. 376.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 41v–42r	44
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, pp. 150–151	42
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, ff. 66v–68v	42
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 61r–62r	45
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 6v–8r	53
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 40v–41v	51

The first three verses of this poem are quoted in *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-tadbīr li-ahl al-tabsīr* of Ismā‘il al-Tinnīsī.¹⁶⁴

عطف الجھول عمل انبه الکرم ولها بكل فخم قدم. 377.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 75v–77r	66
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 59r–60v	71
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 182r–183v	66

قد قال بقراط قولًا بينا وقال يو؟؟ قولًا غير مكتتم. 378.	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 71r–71v	16

¹⁶⁴ Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 4496, f. 2r. Cf. Ullmann 1972: 235.

In this poem the name Hippocrates is mentioned.

لان سودوه اخرا مثل اول لقد ادرکواعلما يزيد على العلم. 379

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 155v, two occurrences

2

لقد ظل هذا الخلوي طلب العلم واسقفهم جهلا عن الغفل والحلم. 380

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 191

5

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 78v

5

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, f. 185r

5

خلفت بموار مبى ثيبيا مكانه ورب منى والمشعر ير وزهم. 381

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 159v–159v

6

Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 62r–62v

6

كائِم

ان الفلسفه الذين قدموا قد اذکروا علما بخدمة عالم. 382

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 63r–64v

4

عامُه

بالماء تنقى ذا السواد وتتجلي عن أرضكم ظلماته وقثامه. 383

Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 88r

3

سود اذا قبلته قلت قطعة من اليل لا يجلوا الهار ظلامه. 384

Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 88r

3

عامِه

ابا خالد جذر لرب مهيمن حباك بعلم بروه وتمامه. 385

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 146r–146v

31

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 91v

16

In this poem the names of Moses, Hermes and Hippocrates are mentioned.

اذهب ققام جسمه بغمامه ادفعه أياما لوقت تمامه. 386

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 169r–169v

14

يومَه

ان المر بولا يقال مراده حتى يزاوج خمسة مغلومة. 387

Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 88r

4

ن

مان

سبیکة الحکمة مجموعۃ لها علی الحکمة برهان. 388.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 12r	8
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 82v	7
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, f. 39r	8

مان

بیض الجسم جاهذا فی اتال فهو تصف التدبیر بالبنیان. 389.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 48v	6

حجر القوم نرجس في العیان و اذا شئت قلت كالاً قهران. 390.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 169r	3

سبیکة الحکمة من خمسة مجموعۃ تتظرها بالعيان. 391.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 11v	9
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 37v–38r	9

عذب الجسم بالمعدن حتى تلقه كالرماد في الرا کدان. 392.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 134r	4

عذ العذر خالق الا زمان کون الكون قبل الكيان. 393. (عن ذوى العز خالق الا زمان کون الكون قبل کون الكواني)	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 201–208	101
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 44r–50v	258
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, pp. 155–167	276
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī'a 201, ff. 72? ¹⁶⁵ –82v	?
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 83r–86r	91
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 107v–115r	257
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 69v–76v	278
Tehran, Majlis 4345, ff. 126r–126v	21
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 9r–16r	273

In this poem the names of the prophets Adam, Seth, Idrīs, Abraham, Noah, David, Solomon, Moses and Jesus are quoted. There is also mention of Heraclius, Hippocrates, Ülīs (أولیس) and Sergios.

165 This folio is lacking in my copy.

قلب الطبائع اولاً بثلثة بالزيق المحلول بالنيران. 394.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 70r	7
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 42r	8
In this poem, the name of Hermes is mentioned.	
ليس يبقى السواد الا بارض سميت بالخلوق والزغفران. 395.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 119v–121v	65
من نفسه ربى وسد وعاوه وادفنه فى وهج من النيران. 396.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 71v	4
شف هديت رطوبة الابدان بالطبع والتقليل والاتقان. 397.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 208–210	21
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 86r–86v	21
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 68r–68v	19
نصف سدس الهلال سغون سودا فى اللون كالحشبان. 398.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 70r	3
والى الاثال يرد بعد بياضه سبعاً يديم الوقود كالغضيان. 399.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 71r–71v	6
يا من هدى ولقد هدى لبيان القلب يبصر لا ترى العيان. 400.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 64v–65r	11
 بيان/بيان	
ابار القوم صحفى المكان مياه راي قات في العيان. 401.	
(ابار القوم ان فكرت فيه مياه راي قات في الفنان)	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 191–196	54
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 53r–54r	51
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, pp. 172–174	49
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 86v–88v	49
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 79v–81r	56
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 65r–66v	59
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 11268, ff. 186r–187r	28
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 53r–54r	51
اعلم بانه النفس في طبعها لها علامات ترى بالصباي. 402.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 50v	9

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, p. 168	9
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 83r–83v	9
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 75r	8

In this poem the name of Āras/Hermes is mentioned.

اقتلوا السبع سبعة فتروه ابيضا لونه كلون الحمان. 403	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 81r	14

الارض تقسمها اذا بيضتها نصفين بالتعديل في الميزان . 404	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 50v	5
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, pp. 167–168	5
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 81v–82r	6
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 67r	3
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 73r	3

In this poem, the name of Hermes is mentioned.

ان المحرب لو اقام بحربا عشرين تتبعها عقود ثمان . 405	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 51r	14
Birmingham, Cadbury Library, Mingana Collection, IV 1919, f. 1r	2
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, pp. 168–169	14
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, f. 83v	15
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 126v–128r	68
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 76v–78r	67

Two verses of this poem are quoted in *Kitāb al-Arkān* of Jābir b. Ḥayyān.¹⁶⁶ In this poem the names of Hermes, Sergios and Qusṭus (قسطس) are cited.

حمدت الله ذا الالاء ربى على ما خعني وبه حبني . 406	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 32v–33v	37

خلو الطبائع كلها من واحد وقياسا بطبائع الانسان . 407	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 52v–53r	12
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, pp. 171–172	12
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 86r–86v	?
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 41v–42r	13

شجاني فيه رمز هم شجاني فارفق عوبصات المعانى . 408	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 196–200	56
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 51r–52v	51

¹⁶⁶ Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 3227, f. 26v. Cf. Kraus 1943: 105.

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, pp. 169–171	51
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 84r–86r	51
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 84r–86r	56
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 66v–68r	57

صخرة اصلها من الحيوان وبها الصبغ ثابت الاركان. 409.	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 13r–15v	116
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 30v–33v	118

الصخرة افضل بغية الحيوان والصخر يبدى زهرة الالوان. 410.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 54r–56r	68
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, pp. 174–177	73
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 88v–91v	73
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 15v–16v	85
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 34r–36r	76

In this poem, the name of Hermes is mentioned.	
وذات دل لها الحاظ انسان وريح مسك وجيد الا عند الجاني. 411.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 88r–90r	85

وفاد اما سحقه خلت فيه صوت رمل حسه الادنان. 412.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 81v–83r	3

بيانا	
الصخور لعمري من طباعنا والطبايع قد صجن اكونا. 413.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 76v	5

نرا التقى في؟ ايار شيانا؟ الى الوصول كما كانا. 414.	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 65r–65v	23

ونزرة تبلغ فيلاً ولا يرى لها الوزان أوزانا. 415.	
One verse quoted in <i>Rutbat al-ḥakīm</i> of Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī. ¹⁶⁷	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 64r–64v	12

بيان/بيان	
ان الطبايع اربع من واحد والواحد العالى على الزوجين. 416.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 64r–64v	12

¹⁶⁷ Al-Qurṭubī 2016: 153.

عيون

اجعل نفوسك من جسوم حيه واغسل بماء لميت الجسمين. 417
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 75v–77r 9

In this poem the name of Heraclius is quoted.

ان الطبائع من ماء ومن غير في جوف جلموا وة قدت بنصتين. 418	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 210–213	41
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 86v–87v	42
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 68v–69v	41

Thirteen verses of this poem are quoted in *Risāla fī Uṣūl al-ṣan‘a wa-l-iksīr* by ‘Umar b. Īsā b. ‘Abd Allāh.¹⁶⁸

ان انت ركبتها حقا كما امرروا بالعدل تجمع بين البحر والعين. 419	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 70r	3

ان طبائع من مائين قد جبت في رقة العين في اللونين جنسين. 420	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 40v–41r	28

سيكمة القوم من مائين اثني ومن تراب ومن جسمين رطبين. 421	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 11v–12r	8
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 83r	8
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 38r–38v	7

يا من ترى حيرا من فوق ماين مجلدا مطينا من فوق شمسين. 422	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 171v	2

عيون

جسمان في الحجر صلد مقامها مسميا باسمين ولوتين. 423	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 115r–119r	129
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 42r–44r	69

Three verses of this poem are quoted separately in *Rutbat al-ḥakīm* by Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī.¹⁶⁹ In this poem the names of Hermes, Hippocrates, Qusṭus (قسطس), Andriyā and Muḥammad are cited.

اعلم يقينا وكن منه على ثقة ان المدبر من ماين اثنين. 424	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 156v	8

¹⁶⁸ Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 1025, ff. 307v–308r.

¹⁶⁹ Al-Qurṭubī 2016: 142 and 153.

بُونَ/بِينَ

425 اخرج نفوسك من سواد مظلم بالمزن والمبلول بالمانين.
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 75v 4

426 طلب العلم مشمر فاضوا وقوم ماتوا بداء دفين.
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 33v 5

بِيَنَا/بُونَا

427 حل صخورك فاتق؟ او لا فيهن شند بحرا وغيونا.
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 76v 8
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 26r–26v 8

بُونَ

428 طبيعة ثلاثة غير شد لكل طبيعة منهن لون.
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 68v 7
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 40r 7

عِنْ

429 في النفس وبك علامات مبينة عند البلاغ فكن العلم ذا محن.
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 50v 5
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā' 107, p. 168 5
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, f. 83r 5
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 75r 5

430 احرق نحاسك بالكبريت واللبن وداوم الغسل كي ينقى من الدرن.
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 131v–132r 20
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 71v–72r 20

Two verses are quoted by Ibn Umayl in *Kitāb al-Mā’ al-waraqī wa-l-arḍ al-naj-miyya*.¹⁷⁰ The name of Hermes is quoted in this poem.

431 ان يظهر السر وينقى جسومهما وتمزج الترب في مالين في فرن.
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 157v 7

432 حل صخورك بالزوابق او لا فترى الصخور مع الزوابق كاللبن.
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 175r 3

170 Stapleton et al. 1933: 28.

حل صخور اللبن تأمن مصارفة الزمن. 433.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 102v	8
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 17r–17v	53
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Lībiyyīn, 1125, ff. 36r–37v	59
يا طالب العلم من حجر ومن غصن وتأرد العلم عند الشامغ الفطن. 434.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 63v–64v	35
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 81r–81v	25
The name of Hermes is quoted in this poem.	
عن/بني	
ثلاث صفاتين فيها لعمري شفاء النفس من هم وحزن. 435.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 141r–141v	23
ن	
حجر القوم ما حلا منه مسكن ليس يخلوا ولا محالة ممكن. 436.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 87v–88r	11
نَهَّ	
اسق نحاسك ما للكلس فاسحقه على الصلابة أيامها وعنه. 437.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 128v–129r	20
In this poem the names of Stephanos (<i>Istifānūs</i>) and Āras are mentioned.	
نَهَا	
ان تنفت ظلمته وتنق سواده بالطبع بالنفس النقية لونها. 438.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 159v	5
نَاهِ	
بالروح ينقى ظله وسواده مع ربعه الماخوذ من نيرانه. 439.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 56r–56v	19
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, pp. 177–178	19
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, ff. 91v–92r	19
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 72r–72v	20

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اه

ان الذى يطلب تدبیره هو الذى فى الزبل مأواه.	440.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 85v		20

اها

الجسم يدعى معقدا فى علمنا وهو المقيد بالقيود تراها.	441.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 47v		10

In this poem, the name of Hermes is mentioned.

زعم الحسود بانها كبرية صبغ الجسم ونورها وبهاواها.	442.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 133v–134v		30

طبائع ثلث قد تراها مدورة مطلولة جواها.

Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 41r–41v		10
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بيه

افصل نفوسك مرجم ثلاثة وال؟ مثل لون الغاليه.	444.	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 75v–76r		8

In this poem, the name of Hermes is mentioned.

قلبي بهيم بشئ لست ابديه خوف الاعد ونار انفك تنكـه.	445.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 217–218 ¹⁷¹		10
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 92v–93r		10
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 87v–88r		12
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 41r		12

وها/بيها

ان الفلاسفة الماضين قد وصفوا تكرار حكمتنا حتى اصلوها.	446.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 216–217		19
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 92r–92v		20
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 87r–87v		20

¹⁷¹ This manuscript links this poem to No. 451.

بِهَا

ان الطبایع شتی غیر واحد تباالتاً لف مع ما لا مدانیها. 447.
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 41v 7

انق الجسوم بحسن الفصل مصطبرا فالسمعه والطبخ تنقيها.	448.	
(انقى الجسوم بحسن الغسل تحمدہ فالسحق والطبخ ينقیھا ویزکیھا)		
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 57r–57v	21	
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā' 107, pp. 179–180	20	
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, ff. 93r–93v	?	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 165r–165v	21	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 72v–73r	20	

Two verses of this poem are quoted in the *Qaṣīda* of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Salām al-Rajrājī.¹⁷²

زاوج حجارتك الانات ذكورها وامكن عليها الماء کي بیدیها.	449.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 160r	9	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 87v	10	

و

مُؤ

طبع الحکماء معروفة ثلاثة في اول البدو.	450.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 220	4	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 93v	4	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 90r	4	

ي

بَيَّنَة

انا ابن يزيد والجود معاوية وجدي ابو سفيان من كل واعية.	451.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 218–219	11	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 89v	11	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 93r	11	

172 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Hasaniyya, 1025, f. 354v.

يَا

ابراكبا نحو الشام عشية توم دمشق قف تحمل كتابيا. 452
 (ابراكبا يبقى الرواح عشية بروم ومشقا قف نحل كتابيا)

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 224	13
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 58r	16
Berlin, 4183 (or. quart. 115), 119v	14
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 107, p. 180	16
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabi‘a 201, ff. 93v–94r	16
Cairo, University, 26189, p. 3	7
Damascus, al-Asad, Zāhiriyā 5560, f. 63r	3
Damascus, al-Asad, Zāhiriyā 5560, f. 63r–65r, in margine	?
Damascus, al-Asad, Zāhiriyā 9654, f. 36r	2
Dubai, Juma Almajid, 305329, pp. 141–143	14
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 94v–95r	13
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 154v	4
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 68v	13
Tehran, Majlis, 20476/1598, p. 388	14
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Libiyīn, 1125, f. 52v	10

Four verses of this poem are quoted in *Tarākīb al-Anwār* of al-Ṭughrā’ī.¹⁷³

يَا ايَّهَا الطَّالِبُ لِلْكِيْمِيَا لَا تَطْلُبُ الْعِلْمَ بِغَيْرِ الْمِيَا. 453.

Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 225	5
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 95r–95v	5

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¹⁷³ Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 5002, ff. 91r–91v.

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