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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, Yazīd 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.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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.”<sup>3</sup>

He then goes on to quote the works he claims to have seen:<sup>4</sup>

- about 500 pages of poetry
- *Kitāb al-Ḥarārāt* (“Book of Heats”)
- *Kitāb al-Ṣaḥīfa al-kabīr* (“Large Book of the *Ṣaḥīfa*”)
- *Kitāb al-Ṣaḥīfa al-ṣaḡīr* (“Small Book of the *Ṣaḥīfa*”)
- *Kitāb Waṣīyyatihi 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.<sup>5</sup>

Again nearly four centuries later, Ḥājji Khalīfa (1017–1067/1609–1657) goes even further, mentioning some of Khālid's works in various passages of *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, 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.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> 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.

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

<sup>4</sup> رأيت منه نحو خمسمائة ورقة، ورأيت من كتبه: كتاب الحرارات، كتاب الصحيفة الكبير، كتاب الصحيفة الصغير، كتاب وصيته إلى ابنه في الصنعة.

<sup>5</sup> [...] وأخذ الصناعة عن رجل من الرهبان يقال له مريانس الراهب الرومي، وله فيها ثلاث رسائل تضمنت إحداهن ماجرى له مع مريانس الراهب Ibn Khallikān 1977: vol. 2, 224.

<sup>6</sup> This incipit does not correspond to any of those I know in the manuscripts. Ḥājji 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.<sup>7</sup>

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

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

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 authors<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> They are as follows:

- *Dīwān al-Nujūm wa-Firdaws al-ḥikma* (“Dīwān of the Stars and Paradise of Wisdom”)
- *Risāla fī l-Ṣan‘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-Mufīd fī l-ṣan‘a al-ilāhiyya* (“Useful Discourse on the Divine Art”)
- *Kitāb al-Uṣṭuqus* (“Book of the Element”)<sup>12</sup>
- Persian translation of a *Risāla*

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

8 Hājji Khalifa 1845. 6:53. مقالة مقالنا مريانس الراهب لخالد بن يزيد في الكيمياء أيضاً وهما رسالتان عظيمتان في هذا الشأن

9 فردوس الحكمة في علم الكيمياء لخالد بن يزيد بن معاوية الأمير الحكيم منظومة في قوافٍ مختلفة وعدد أبياتها ألفان وثلثمائة وخمسة عشر بيتاً Hājji Khalifa 1845. 4: 413.

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

11 Sezgin 1971: 125–126.

12 A work attributed to the alchemist Jābir b. Ḥayyān has the title *Kitāb Uṣṭuqus 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.<sup>13</sup>

It is not always easy to precisely associate the works presented here with those mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm, Ibn al-Khallikān and Ḥājjī Khalīfa. 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 *Waṣīyya 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,<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> 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.

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

<sup>15</sup> Rampur, Raza Library, Kīmiyā’ 12, f. 9v: وان وضع المشتري والشمس في صنم حديد ودفن في معسكر قوم لم يغلبهم عدو ابدا

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.<sup>16</sup>

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

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

Manuscripts:<sup>20</sup>

- Abu Dhabi, Markaz Zā'id li-l-Turāth wa-l-Tārikh, 362, ff. 152v–158v: no title<sup>21</sup>
- Cairo, al-Khānjī, 2, pp. 195–198 (*non vidi*): قال خالد لولده
- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Majāmi' 140 (5210), ff. 1v–6v:  
وصية 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 والكمال<sup>22</sup>
- Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri, Arabi 2825, ff. 1r–3v: رسالة خالد بن يزيد
- 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 رحمه الله إذ قال في وصيته إلى ابنه
- Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 1025, ff. 266v and sq.: رسالة خالد إلى ولده
- Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 1185, ff. 9–22: no title (incipit: يا بني أنار الله قلبك)
- Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 429, pp. 1–11: وصية خالد بن يزيد الأموي
- Rampur, Raza Library, Kīmiyā' 12, ff. 7v–12v:  
رسالة لخالد بن يزيد بن معاوية في الصنعة الشريفة وخواصها

<sup>16</sup> Rampur, Raza Library, Kīmiyā' 12, f. 9v:

وان طلي من المشتري وزحل كره ذهب واشعل فيها نار لم تطف ابدا ما دامت في بيت مسدود الباب لا يصل اليها الهواء فيطفئها.

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

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

<sup>19</sup> Stapleton 1914: 60–61.

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

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

<sup>22</sup> I standardise Arabic spelling.

- Tehran, Khānqāh Ni‘mat Allāh, 145, ff. (225v)–326r, l. 5–228v:<sup>23</sup> 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:<sup>24</sup>

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

Explicit:

فمن لم يعمل بعمل الكثرة 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”.<sup>25</sup>

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 (*ḥakīm*) whose name is not specified; the author also says *qāla ba‘ḍuhum* (“some oh 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.<sup>26</sup> One of the great interests of this epistle is that Sébastien

<sup>23</sup> This manuscript contains “one and a half occurrences” of each of these first two texts: the first is *Waṣīyya* (ff. 222v–225r), then *Risāla 1* with a sudden and unexpected passage into *Waṣīyya*, 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.

<sup>24</sup> 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*.

<sup>25</sup> 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*.

<sup>26</sup> 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*.<sup>27</sup> Seven Latin manuscripts have been catalogued, and a bilingual will be published soon.<sup>28</sup>

#### 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
- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, pp. 79–84: كتاب خالد بن يزيد في الكيمياء
- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭal'at, Ṭabī'a 201, ff. 1v–7r (?): كتاب ديوان خالد بن يزيد
- Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 3227, ff. 79v–83r: رسالة أبي هشام وهو الأمير خالد بن يزيد
- London, British Library, Or. 13006, ff. 11v–14r: رسالة لأبي هشام الأمير خالد، خالد بن يزيد الأموي
- Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 1–7: كتاب خالد بن يزيد في الكيمياء
- Rampur, Raza Library, Kīmiyā' 12, ff. 12v–16v: رسالة آخر<sup>29</sup> لخالد بن يزيد الأموي
- 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:<sup>30</sup> no title, and ff. 228v–231r: no title (incipit: قال خالد بن يزيد ابتدئ به وعليه توكلني وبه نستعين إني رأيت الناس
- Tehran, Majlis, 6792, ff. 106v–108v: رسالة أخرى لخالد عليه ما عليه
- Tehran, Millī, 1871, ff. 240r–241v: رسالة أخرى لخالد

#### Incipit:

إني رأيت الناس طلبوا صنعة الحكمة في كل عصر ورأيت الحكماء قد كرهوا إذاعتها

#### Explicit:

هو السواد واحذر والغبار وهو التكليل 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,

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 346.

<sup>28</sup> Moureau/Dapsens (forthcoming).

<sup>29</sup> *Sic*.

<sup>30</sup> 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 *Zūsīm* (Zosimus), 5 of *Hiraql* (Heraclius) and *Hirmis*, (Hermes), 4 of Maria; 3 quotations of *Uṣṭānas* (Ostanes), 2 of *Āras* and *Andriyā*, and one quotation of *Jirjis/Sarḥabīl* (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.<sup>31</sup>

The beginning of this text was edited and translated into English by Ahmad al-Hassan,<sup>32</sup> 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
- Cairo, al-Khanjī, 2, ff. 201 and ss. (*non vidi*): مسائل خالد من مريانس الراهب
- Cairo, University, 26189, pp. 1–14: القول المفيد فيما تلقاه عن مريانس الراهب في الصنعة الإلهية
- Damascus, al-Asad, Ṣāhiriyya 7614, ff. 1v–10v:  
ديوان خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية وما جرى بينه وبين الراهب مريانس من الأسئلة العجيبة
- Damascus, al-Asad, Ṣāhiriyya 9654, ff. 24r–35v: ديوان خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية وجميع ما جرى بينه وبين مريانس الراهب الرومي أو مقالنا مريانس الراهب في الكيمياء
- Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 5002, ff. 55r–56r: no title (قال خالد بن يزيد لمريانس)
- Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 3227, ff. 8v–18v: رسالة مريانس الراهب الحكيم للأمير خالد بن يزيد
- Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 2r–12r:  
ديوان الأمير خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية في علم الحكمة على التمام والكمال
- Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehit Ali Paşa 1749, ff. 61r–74v: مسائل خالد لمريانس<sup>33</sup> الراهب
- London, British Library, Add. 23418, ff. 123r–125r: سؤال وجواب خالد مع الراهب في الصنعة الإلهية (large quote in Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī, *al-Shawāhid fī l-ḥajar al-wāḥid*)
- Qom, Mar‘ashī, 7516, pp. 318–324 (*non vidi*): الكيمياء
- Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 16v–19v: رسالة من الرسائل لخالد
- Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 112v–118r: رسالة في الكيمياء
- Tehran, Khānqāh Ni‘mat Allāh, 145, ff. 4r–5r and ff. 18v–22v: من رسالة لخالد
- Bethesda, National Library of Medicine A-70, ff. 53v–54v: مسائل خالد بن يزيد

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *infra*, pp. 345–346.

<sup>32</sup> Al-Hassan 2004.

<sup>33</sup> *Sic*.

Incipit:

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

Explicit:

ولم أستر عنك شيئا من الصعوبة وفقك الله لما يرضاه  
ونكتب اشعاره لأنه لم يسبقه سابق ولا تقدمه متقدم إلا كان مقصرا عنه لأنه سبك أقاويلهم ونطمها واثنى بأمثالهم  
وأخبارهم وفسر أرمازهم وشرح أغازهم لفظا وعباده

#### 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 سألته 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 tathbīt al-mā' al-karīm min ḥadīd al-ḥijāra*), while in the homonymous treatise there are questions such as: Does art come from one thing only? What is its colour? Its taste?<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup>

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",<sup>36</sup> although, as we have seen, this text is not the only one that

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

<sup>35</sup> Tehran, University, 1087, cf. *Dirāyatī* 2010: vol. 9, 480.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 328.

recounts their encounter and interactions. Similarly, when Ḥājī Khalīfa mentions the “two treatises by the monk Maryānus to Khālid b. Yazīd on art”,<sup>37</sup> 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 سأل مريانس الراهب فهذه أول مسائل التي سأل الخالد عنها قال هرمس يا بني اجعل مما رتبك حيث تطلع الشمس

Explicit:

والذي هو مثل الصابون جزءا واحدا ومن الزئبق المعقود بالكبريت هو الملعمة ثلاثة أجزاء ومن الثقل الذي بيضته وصار مثل الملح الذي عملته بالشبكة الشعر والمنخل جزءا واحدا واجعل ذلك من قارورة على<sup>38</sup>

#### 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:<sup>39</sup>

- “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).
- “Sages of the past and ancient philosophers mentioned” (67 names).
- “Famous women” (8 names).

In this list, the names of Ostanēs 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,

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 329.

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

<sup>39</sup> 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 [...].<sup>40</sup>

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-ḥikma 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-Ḥikma* 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'*<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup>

#### Manuscripts:

- Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, 255, ff. 6r–7r
- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 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 كتابي هذا ترجمة كتب الأنبياء  
أسماء الأنبياء الذين آتاهم الله تبارك وتعالى هذه الحكمة وخصهم بها

#### Explicit:

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

<sup>40</sup> قال خالد بن يزيد وقد فسرت في كتابي هذا ترجمة كتب الأنبياء صلوات الله عليهم ونقلته من لغتهم إلى لغة العربية وكذلك كتب الحكماء. والفلاسفة الذين تكلموا بالحكمة وبينوا الصنعة [...].

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 338.

<sup>42</sup> 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 *ṣinā‘a*, “art”. The treatise begins with a long enumeration of all that the *ṭabīb ‘ālim ḥādhiq*, “the learned and perceptive physician” must master. Then there is a section on the creation of Adam, paralleled 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 ألزمه جنسا من أجناس الماء وإن خفت من أجناس النار ألزمته من الروح الطيب جنسا يقومه شعر  
فاعلم أن تمام الشيء حياته ويعنايه ومكثه في هذه الدنيا فانظر هذا وتدبيره 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 مريونوس, *Maryūnus*: 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-Ḥasaniyya, 1025, ff. 363v–367r: رسالة خالد بن يزيد لابن عمه في الصنعة الإلهية غريبة الوجود ما وفغت بيد حكيم الأوحى فهالما فيها من التحقيق وإيضاح الطريق

Incipit:

أما بعد اعلم أيها الصافي الصريف وأبى العم السفيق أن الشيء المطلوب واحدا والواحد هو الذي لا يحتمل الغش ولا يدخل عليه غريب

Explicit:

فلا يمولنى أيها الطالب أن تفعل به ذلك ثلاثة مرات أشهر هذا ما وجدت مفيدا وفائدته على الصفة والسلام

#### 4.1.8 Tadbīr al-Ḥajar 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.<sup>43</sup>

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.<sup>44</sup>

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.<sup>45</sup>

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”

43 كتاب في تدبير الحجر الكريم في علم الصناعة تأليف سيدنا خالد بن يزيد ابن معاوية الأموي رحمه الله تعالى ونفع به المسلمون وهو الذي تلقاه عن الراهب مريانس شفاه فيه عيانا على التمام والكمال.

44 أعلم أيها الطالب أنني مكثت أربعين عاما أطلب هذا العلم الشريف وهو علم التدبير فلم أر مرشدا يشفي الغليل إلى أن أذن لي البارئ وسخر لي الراهب مريانس وكان شيخا كبيرا وقد بلغ من العمر ما ينوف عن المائة وسبعين سنة فخدمته وجعلت نفسي أخرس من بطن أمي حتى لا يتكتم شيئا فأراني العلم شفاهها وأرانيه عيانا ولم يدع منه شيئا حتى أوقفتني عليه فلما أن قرب الرحيل أحببت أن اضع هذه الرسالة على اصولها كما ادركتها.

45 وها أنا أشرع في التدبير وآتي به إن شا الله تعالى التدبير فصلا فصلا 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,<sup>46</sup> 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 twice<sup>47</sup> and consequently, this treatise cannot really be considered as one explicitly attributed to Khālid. It is rather a compilation. The title, the *incipit*,<sup>48</sup> as well as the *explicit*<sup>49</sup> 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: كتاب في تدبير الحجر الكريم في علم الصناعة

Incipit:

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

Explicit:

والإكسير واحدا منه من أي جسد شيت يقيمها شمسا أبريز على الخلاص للحما والتعليق لا يتغير أبدا 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 authors<sup>50</sup> attributed to the prince, showed that they are not in the same poetic vein and that this poetry must also be considered apocryphal.<sup>51</sup>

46 Q 2: 269.

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

48 “The poor servant, recognized as weak 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‘ūdī’s *Murūj al-Dhahab* (written in 322/934), although it only partially corresponds to two verses extant in the manuscripts known to us.<sup>52</sup>

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.<sup>53</sup>

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-Ḥikma*<sup>54</sup> (“Paradise of Wisdom<sup>55</sup>”), 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.<sup>56</sup>

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.<sup>57</sup> 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*.<sup>58</sup>

- Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 34–225
- Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, 255, ff. 7r–107v
- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā’ 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

<sup>52</sup> Al-Mas‘ūdī 1874: 176. Cf. *infra* p. 401, n° 301.

<sup>53</sup> 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.

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

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

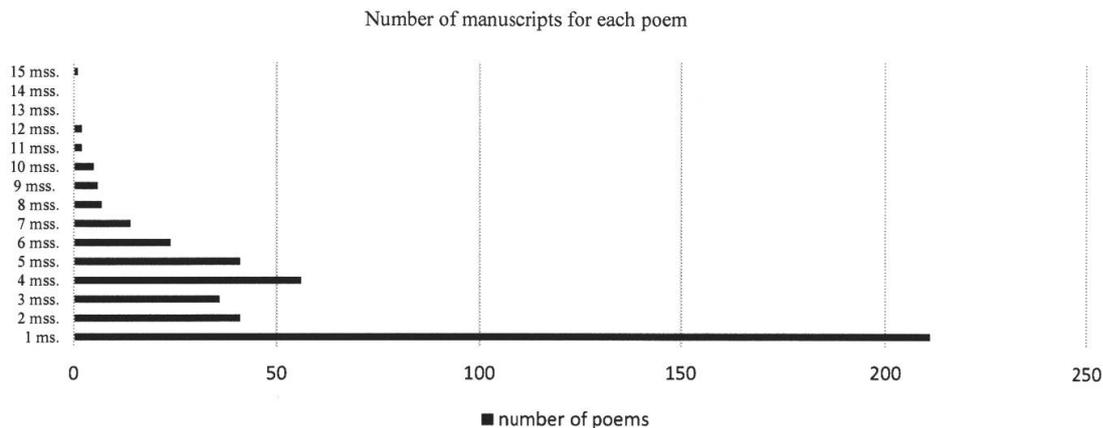
<sup>56</sup> One quotation is also found in al-Mas‘ūdī, as we mentioned earlier.

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

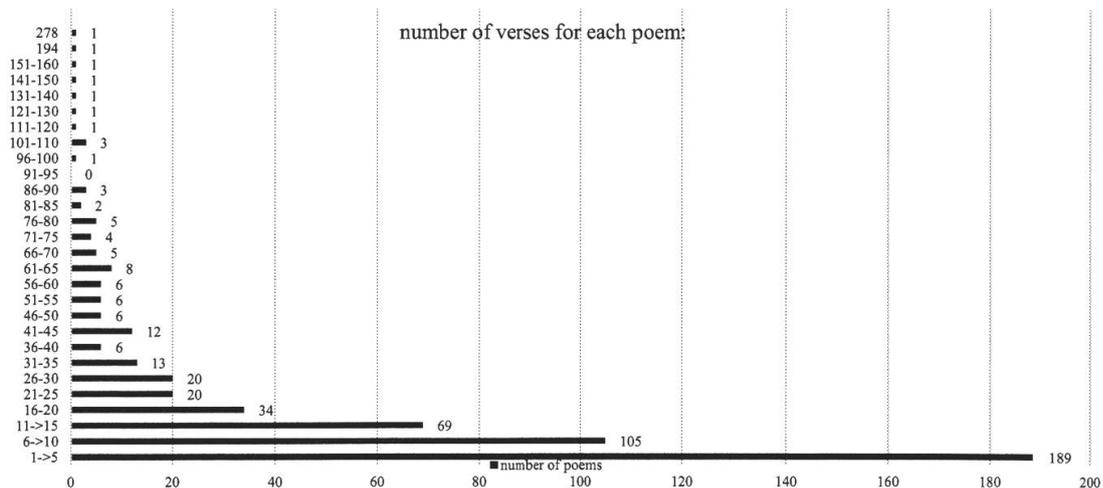
<sup>58</sup> A complete list of manuscripts can be found in APPENDIX 1, p. 347.

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.<sup>59</sup> A list of the poems is provided as appendix 2.<sup>60</sup>

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.<sup>61</sup> 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 *qiṭa'* of one or two verses long. Most of these poems, however, are no longer than fifteen lines, as shown in this graph:



<sup>59</sup> 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.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *infra*, APPENDIX 2, p. 353.

<sup>61</sup> 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 (*ṭawīl*, *basīṭ*, 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”,<sup>62</sup> “Praise to God, who inspired us to discover the matter”,<sup>63</sup> or even “My trust in art is in God, I strive with an intention full of faith”.<sup>64</sup> 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”.<sup>65</sup> 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”.<sup>66</sup>

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”.<sup>67</sup>

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”,<sup>68</sup> or “I am the living son of the sheikh Abū Sufyān from Egypt; get rid of the vicissitudes in difficulty and ease”.<sup>69</sup>

62 (34). تبارك الله يحيي كل ميتة

63 (151). أحمد الله الذي ألهمنا واجدنا للأمر فيه عن هذا

64 (118). توكلني على الله في صنعة بنيت ذى تقه زاهد

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 (395). Is there any reference here to the *Emerald Tablet*? This one says in the version of *Kitāb Sirr al-khalīqa* attributed to Balīnūs: حقا حقا لا شك يقينا صحيحا (“True, true, no doubt, certain and veritable”). Ruska 1926: 158.

67 (187). من حكمة الله جهل الناس صنعته

68 (451). أنا ابن يزيد والجواد معاوية وجدني أبو سفيان

69 (207). أنا ابن سفيان شيخ الحي من مصر – اجلوا النوائب فى عسر وفى يسر

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”.<sup>70</sup> However, in one of the poems we find the following phrase “what Khālid says and what Abū Mūsā Jābir b. Ḥayyān says”,<sup>71</sup> 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”,<sup>72</sup> “Wisdom is only an operation that *is thrown on the roads*”,<sup>73</sup> or “Take what *is thrown on the roads*, and it is the substance of the stone”.<sup>74</sup> A similar formula was found in *Risālat Maryānus*: “But as the sage says: ... and [the thing/stone]<sup>75</sup> *is thrown on the roads and trampled on the dunghill*”.<sup>76</sup> 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, Mihrārīs, Pythagoras, Qusṭus,<sup>77</sup> Rūlis, 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 *ḥakīm*, or *ḥukamāʾ*, “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-Anbiyāʾ*. 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.<sup>78</sup>

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

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

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

73 (308) إنما الحكمة تدبير 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 *Qusṭus* or *Qusṭūs*: 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,<sup>79</sup> 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,<sup>80</sup> and the most diffused version has seen several old editions.<sup>81</sup> This version was then translated into several vernacular languages as early as the 16th century.<sup>82</sup> 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*:<sup>83</sup> Sébastien Moureau and myself have identified a Latin translation of *Risāla 1* in this short treatise.<sup>84</sup> We currently know of seven Latin manuscripts, and a critical edition will soon be published.<sup>85</sup>
- *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.<sup>86</sup>
- *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.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 334–335.

<sup>80</sup> Stavenhagen 1974.

<sup>81</sup> The oldest one is *Morienus Romanus* (1559), *quondam eremitaie Hierosolymitani, De transfiguratione metallorum*. Paris: Guillard.

<sup>82</sup> 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).

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

<sup>84</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 332–333.

<sup>85</sup> Moureau/Dapsens (forthcoming).

<sup>86</sup> Moureau 2020: 112–113.

<sup>87</sup> Moureau 2020: 119.

## 4.4 Persian works

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

## 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.<sup>89</sup>

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'īl al-Tinnīsī<sup>90</sup> 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 corpus<sup>91</sup> 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.

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<sup>88</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 353.

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

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

<sup>91</sup> 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 works<sup>92</sup>

### 1 Works in Arabic

\***Abu Dhabi, Markaz Zā'id li-l-Turāth wa-l-Tārikh, 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: *Waṣīyya*. – Online catalogue of the Juma Almajid Center.

**Aleppo, 'Abd Allāh Yūrki 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 Karmālī; 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:

<sup>92</sup> 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-Ḥikma*. – Online database: <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> and <https://k-tb.com/manuscrit/daralkutob25088-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D8%B1%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, Kimiyā' 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, Majāmi' 140 (5210)<sup>93</sup>** (undated): 56 ff., 13 × 21 cm, 13 lines per page, *naskhī*. – ff. 1v–6v: *Waṣiyya*. – Online database “al-Furqān”: [https://digitallibrary.al-furqan.com/our\\_is\\_item/manid/781508/groupid/63408](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-Iskandar-iyya)<sup>94</sup> (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, Ḍāhiriyya 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, Ḍāhiriyya 7614** (partial copy Dubai, Juma Almajid Center, 241011) (undated, most likely copied from Damascus, al-Asad, Ḍāhiriyya 9654): 13 × 18 cm, 19 lines per page, *naskhī*. – ff. 1v–10v: *Risālat Maryānus*; poetry – Online catalogue of Juma Almajid Center.

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

<sup>94</sup> 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. Wajih 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-ḥikma*. – 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 Aḥmad 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 fi 'ilm al-kīmiyā'*. – Stapleton 1932: 59.

**Isfahan, Dānishgāh, 155** (copied in the 12th/17th–18th c.): *nasta'liq*. – *Firdaws al-Ḥikma*. – 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-Mīqānī): 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*. – *Waṣiyya*. – Online database: [https://utah-primoprod.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/dtufc4/UUU\\_ALMA21223219520002001](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'liq*, 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-laqaḍ awḍaḥa Khālīd raḥimahu Allāh idh qāla fī waṣiyyatihi ilā bnihi*. – Kraus 1943: 188.

**\*London, British Library, Or. 13006** (first part copied in 919/1513 by Qudrat Allāh al-Marandī al-Ādharī, and second part by M. b. Sulaymān al-Mawṣilī 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](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-ḥajar al-wāḥid*). – 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-Uṣṭuqus*. – Ruska 1925; Sezgin 1971: 126.<sup>95</sup>

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

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

<sup>95</sup> 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’liq*. – 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 Aḥmad in 1264/1848): *nasta’liq*. – 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’liq*. – poetry. – Sezgin 1971: 126; Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 5, 146.

**Tehran, Asgar Mahdawī, 725** (dated 1293/1876): *nasta’liq*. – 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 Yürkī 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’liq*. – pp. 102–113: *Risālat Khālid b. Yazīd li-waladihi*. – 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://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc91075v/ca59931482983604> (accessed 18 June 2020).

**Tehran, Majlis, 2325** (copied in the 12th/17th–18th c.): *naskhī*. – *Firdaws al-Ḥikma*. – 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 ḥaqq karīm*** – Afshār/Dānishpazhūh 1973–2014: vol. 6, 284.

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

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

**Tehran, Malik, 3740: *Risālat Khālīd 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‘īm 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 ḥaqq 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. – Sālīm 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'liq*. – *al-Kīmiyā* (in Persian); poetry. – Sezgin 1971: 126; Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 5, 146.

**Tehran, Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, 157**: *naskhī*. – *Ṣaḥīfat 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 ḥaqq karīm* (in Persian). – Afshār/Dānishpazhūh 1973–2014: vol. 6: 355; Dirāyatī 2010: vol. 2, 1045.

**Tehran, Milli 7124**: *Tadbīr Ḥajar ḥaqq 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.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>96</sup> 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.

## Muzdawija<sup>97</sup>

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-Libiyīn, 1125, ff. 4v–9r	169

In this poem the names Sergios (سرحس), Gregorius? (عرعروود), Qusṭūṣ (قسطس), Khālīd 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-Libiyīn, 1125, ff. 48v–54v	156

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### ع

#### عَاء

إذا زحل احرقته بعد سبعة وكلسه حتى يعود هبأه 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

#### عَاء

إذا صارت الاحجار كلسا هبأ فليس لهل بعد الهبأ عناء 4.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 8r	4

#### عَاء

اعتقد 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

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<sup>97</sup> 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-Libiyīn, 1125, ff. 23r–23v	19

النار تحرق زهرة الاشياء بلهيبها في اول المبداء 6.

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 18r	8
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 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 *Qaṣīda* of 'Abd al-Salām al-Rajrājī.<sup>98</sup> In this poem the names Sergios, Hermes, Qusṭūṣ, Yarsiyūs? (يرسيوس) and Muḥammad are cited.

ان الصناعة قد حكي الحكماء خمس احمرى ما بهن خفاء 7.

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 8r	5
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ايا ملكا لصحور 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 21v–22r	29
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 120r–121r	29
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 12v–13r	27

راس الطبائع بالتدبير اشياء لها بتدبيرنا فعل وابناء 9.

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 33v	5
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فلين كتموا سقي المركب انني سايد به الطلاب فاستوعبوا العلماء 10.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 158r	2
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قل لباعى السبيكة الصعراء هي ارض لنا بمات بماء 11.

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 12v–14v	93
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, pp. 94–96	93

<sup>98</sup> Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 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-Libiyyīn, 1125, ff. 41v–44r	93

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

12. يا طلابا بوريطش الحكما عي منطفا حقا بغير خفاء

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, Kīmiyā’ 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 19v–20v	80
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 118r–120r	80
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 55r–56v	68

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

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 17r–17v	31
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 43–45	28
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā’ 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 22r–22v	30
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 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-muktasab*.<sup>99</sup>

In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

<sup>99</sup> 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.

سائيه

فان ولد نجلا كريما فبالحرى وايته تضريجه بد مايه 14.  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 73v 2

عى

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

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

ب

باب

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

اقسموا السم وامزجوا منه نصفاً بمياة من السحاب عذاب 18.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 150r 2

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

سبيكتنا قد يتك من نزاب ومن ماء حكي قطر السحاب 20.  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 18r–19r 42

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 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-Libiyyīn, 1125, ff. 47r–48r 52

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

يا حابر الحكم فى الطلاب وسالكا اضيق الشعب 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 26v–27r	21
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 127v–128r	21

## أبي

23. الخلق تحکم بينهم عملا وهم والحكم يحوى بنى ست قرايب	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 82r	8
24. العلم زين من صدوق واهب فاسمع كلام فتى كريم مناصب	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 103r	17
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 22r–22v	33
25. بيض نحاسك بالسموم الذايب فهو العماد لكل صب طالب	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 24r–? <sup>101</sup>	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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 22v–23v	59
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 122r–123v	59
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 52r–53r	63
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Libiyyīn, 1125, ff. 26v–28r	63

Six verses are quoted in the *Qaṣīda* of 'Abd al-Salām al-Rajrājī.<sup>102</sup> Two verses are quoted in the anonymous *Risāla Nāfi'a fī ghāyat al-naf' wa-l-nafāsa*.<sup>103</sup> In this poem the names Maryās (*Maryānus*?)<sup>104</sup> and Zosimus (زسيموس) are cited.

26. صخر تحلله بماء سارب فيمود كاللبن المحيض الرايب	
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

<sup>101</sup> Unnumbered folio between 24 and 25.

<sup>102</sup> Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 1025, f. 354v.

<sup>103</sup> London, British Library, Or. 13006, f. 5v.

<sup>104</sup> 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-Libiyyīn, 1125, ff. 23v–26r	101

In this poem the name of Muḥammad is mentioned.

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

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

#### ؤب/يب

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

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

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

بالفكر يقده في القلوب هيب والنوم قد ولي وليس ثوب 32.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 152r–152v	31

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

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

#### يبا/وبا

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

عَب

- قال الذين مضوا من سلف الحقب ان يصنعوا ذهباً من الذهب.  
(اعيا الذين مضوا في سائر الحقب ان يصبغوا ذهباً الا من الذهب)
- Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 49 2
- Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 17v (*in margine*) 2

This poem is quoted by Ibn Umayl in *Kitāb al-Mā' al-waraqī wa-l-arḍ al-najmiyya*.<sup>105</sup>

- اقسم ان الامر حقا كما قد قاله من كان لا يكذب.
- 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, Ṭabī'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

- امزج رصاصك بالذهب واغمره عن ما السحب.
- 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*.<sup>106</sup>

- حل الشديديات مبتدا صفة الذهب والعقد للماء فيه منتهى الارب.
- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, pp. 115–117 43
- Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabī'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.
- Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 61–?<sup>107</sup> ?
- Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 21r 14

<sup>105</sup> Stapleton et al. 1933: 48.

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

<sup>107</sup> 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
41. سبيكة القوم ان ظفرت بها تفوز بمنظر عجب  
 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, Ṭabī'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-Libiyyīn, 1125, ff. 39r–40r 40
42. عجا ايما عجب مرؤء و على النصب  
 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
43. لا تطلبين نحاسك كى تدبره ولا رصاصا ففیه اعظم العطب  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 82r 13
44. من كان همته في ثغو واللعب او كان مذهبه في الهزل والطرب  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 25v–26r 34
45. واعلم بان شعيرا انت زارعه فما الى حصد بر منه من سيب  
 London, British Library, Or. 13006, f. 8r 8
- In this poem the name Adam is mentioned.
46. يا صاح خد بحين كفى الطلب ودبر الحق تدبيرا بلا لعب  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Vehbi 2254, ff. 17r–18r 49
47. يا من يسالنى فحتلب عن صفة الفضة البيضاء والذهب  
 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 123v–125r 61

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

يا ايها الطالب اصل الذهب وملتف المال ومعني النشب. 48.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 167r 3

ب

ثلاثة الوان وخمسة طبائع مركبة من واحد صنعة الرب. 49.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 132v 3  
In this poem the name of Hermes is mentioned.

ب

ان الطبائع سبعة غير ما كذب بالنعته 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 يخادعني فما يسايلني لا بد يعاملني باللبن والغضب. 52.  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 107v 5

ب/بوا

جميع الطبائع في واحد هو الاضل 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-iksīr* by ‘Umar b. ‘Īsā b. ‘Abd Allāh.<sup>108</sup>

ما يتم قلبى 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 28r–29v 70  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 129v–131v 70

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

<sup>108</sup> Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 1025, ff. 307r–307v.

## عُب

55. هى الراح الا انه يشرب ولكنها صبغ من الصبغ مذهب.  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 162r–162v 9  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 66r–66v 12  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 74r–74v 14
56. وله بفوارك ام طرب ام هيم لا حجك النجب.  
 Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 67–69 15  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 23v–24r 15  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 27v–28r 15  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 129r–129v 15

## عُب/عَبُوا

57. ما تقينه حجر رطب سمى ملحا وهو العذب.  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 23r 14  
 Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 24v–25r 14  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 27r–27v 14  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 128r–128v 14

## عُب/عَبُوا

58. بالنار تدبير الطبائع كلها فالنار يظهر جوهر متغيب.  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 147r–147v 9

## عَبَا

59. العلم زين وسراف لطالبه فاطلب هديت اليك العلم والادبا.  
 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-Libiyyīn, 1125, ff. 20v–22v 87

## عَبِه

60. ان الصخور من الطبائع خلقها هكذا للطبائع الصخور مركبه.  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 76v 4

## 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, Kīmiyā' 107, pp. 107–109	56
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabī'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

## تات

إذا اسود الطبايع عدن بيضًا وبعد بياضهن سودات. 62.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 76–77	3
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 27r	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 30r	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 132v	3
اسحق جسومك بالمواه في لطف النار يوما الى وقت العشيات. 63.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 49v	6
اطلب العلم من معادن صدق واسمع العلم من رجال ثقاة. 64.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 123r–123v	24
الجسم بالقييد يدعى في رسايلهم فاعمد اليه وحلله بحمات. 65.	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 47r–47v	7
الفكر مشغلة القلوب وانني بالفكر مشتغل عن الذات. 66.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 133v–134r	5
النار تمحوا أصناف السوادات من الجسوم وعلام الخفيات. 67.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 132v	3
ان السبيكة ان فكرت جمعهم للطرب واليبي حقا في الصلايات. 68.	
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. ?	?
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, p. 118	7
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabī'a 201, ff. 38r–38v	7
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 48	7

- Tehran, University, 1205, f. 83v 6  
 Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Libiyyīn, 1125, f. 38v 6
69. بها يبيض مسود يصبغه حتى يعود باللون بددعات.  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 151r 18
70. جسم اذا اعنه اخرجت الرهانات بخمسة كره فيه كالقرايات.  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 137r–139r 72  
 Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 25v–27v 62  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 44r–45v 70
71. حل الحديد مع الرصاص وشبهه والزبيق الغراد في الاوقات.  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 142v 2
72. دبر فدينك هذا الاستقصات طبائع في قوارير مصونات.  
 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, Kīmiyā' 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
73. سرنا الاعظم الذي كتموه وهو كيواننا على الطرقات.  
 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
74. طبائع الحق مجموعات في حجر يحوي ثلاثة الوان صبيطات.  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 135v–137v 41  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 34v–35v 38
75. طرد الظلام تتابع الفبالان في كل واحدة من الجمعات.  
 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, Kīmiyā' 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 29v	13
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 131v	13

ليس الاذابة الا بالقرابات خلط الرصاص باجسام الخاسات. 76.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 142v	12

واذا سمعت لهم بقلب الطبايع فالقلب وبك اذابة الادوات. 77.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 42r	6

In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

عائِ/عائِي

ان الخمير من الرماد هو الذى سموه بالاكليل الععات. 78.	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 73r–73v	12

بوتُ

الروح يحيى النفس بعد مماتها والنفس تحيى الجسم حين تموت. 79.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 25v	3

تَهُ

ان السواد هو العماد لكل ماطر حوا ونا مله اذا احكمته. 80.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 173r–174r	42

عُث

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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 30v	3
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 131v	3

تِيه

وببيض الجسم بالتثليث فحمره والسحق والدفن تنفى عند ظلمته. 82.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 90r	3

## ث

## ث

83. اطرح الحيرة يا حارث في صنعة انت لها باحث  
 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 30v 15  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 133r 15

## ج

## ج

84. سراج ذا العلم وهاج اليه كل الناس محتاج  
 (زكب الافيق يا ناج انا لداك الفعل نحتاج)  
 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 30v–31r 7  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 133r–133v 7
85. سراج هذا العلم في الافاق هاج اليه طرًا جميع الخلق يحتاج  
 Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 28v 16  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 29v–30r 14

## ج

86. خذ الحجر الممهي بالاجاج ومكسر ضعيف كالزجاج  
 Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 29v 9

## ج

87. ان السبيكة خلطنا بعد المراج اذا تزواج  
 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-Libiyīn, 1125, f. 38v 4

## ج

88. سماوية لم تعص سو مكانها ولم تاتلف للابناد مع الثلج  
 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 المكثر الا سفار في الدلج افهم انحوى ترد الحر كالتلج 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

## عجا

- ما زالت سد طريف العلم اقرعه لقرح 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, Ṭabī'a 201, ff. 40r–40v 14  
 Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 50 8

## جُه

- يا ايها الطالب السامي بهمته الى سراير ما يبيري 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

## ناخ

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

- عانى التكاليس بالارواح ارواح والعقد وانحل الاكلاس اشباح 93.  
 Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 30r–30v 14

## نايح

- ان الدواء اذا تخف فاعلموا ان الصباغ ناى 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, Ṭabī'a 201, f. 41r 7  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 80r–80v 6  
 Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Libiyyīn, 1125, ff. 22v–23r 7

In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

## وَحْ/وَحْ

95. النار تهلكه وتنفى روحه هذا الذي المقال سيخ.  
 Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 81 3  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 28v in margine 3?<sup>109</sup>  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 31v 3  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 134r 3
96. في الحل والعقد تاه الناس كلهم والسر فيك لوا فكرت مشروخ.  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 47v 2
97. لا شي احسن من ماء الجسم اذا القى مخالبه في النفس والسروح.  
 Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 30r 5
98. ليس ينقي السواد الا بنفس لونها ابيض رفيع مليخ.  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 147v–148r 22

## وَحْ/وَحْ

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

In this poem the name of Muḥammad is mentioned.

## وَحْ

100. اسد الصناعة جوفه طير تراه ليس يبرح.  
 Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 25v 7  
 Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, p. 121 5  
 Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabī'a 201, ff. 41r–41v 5  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 81v 5
101. ان الطبيعة بالطبيعة تفرح علم به فقل السراير يفتح.  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 28v, partim in margine 8  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 31v, partim in margine 7  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 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.

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

## عاجا

103. راس الطبايع اصحت ويط املاخا يعد فى النار احساما وارواخا (رئيس الطبايع ويحت املاخا يعرر فى النار اجسادا وارواخا)	
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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 31v	4
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 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. ‘Īsā b. ‘Abd Allāh.<sup>111</sup> In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

## د

## داد

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

105. اقتل السبع بالحرارة واليبس سبوعا ومثله في العباد	
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.

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

<sup>111</sup> Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 1025, f. 310r.

<sup>112</sup> 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 35r 8  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 139r–139v 8
107. *فارجعوا بعد ذلك الى الجسم وهو شديد السواد كالقرباد*  
 Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 71r 6  
 In this poem, the name Hippocrates is cited.
108. *كم عزيز نله هرب النفس وكم طالب وكم مر تاد*  
 Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 71r 5
109. *لن تنف ظلمة ويخرج دهنه الا يخلط معذب الاجساد*  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 133r–133v 20
110. *لن تنف ادها ها الا بانفسها فاسمع مقال نصيح غير حساد*  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 159r 2
111. *من كان ذا بصير بتسويدي الذي فيه البها وفيه كل مراد*  
 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 34v–35r 8  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 139r 8
112. *نسعوا الكيميا ليست بحق كذبوا هي معيشة العباد*  
 Birmingham, Cadbury Library, Mingana Collection, IV 1919, f. 1r 2  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 69r 8
113. *ويا لك من حي ينطف جسمه على اخذ حل كالمدامه حاد*  
 Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 77r 2
- ناد/نادي
114. *انق لون الجسد بالسحق والطبخ وما بالقيوم كم كل واد*  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 162v–165r 72  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 45v–47r 80
- ادا
115. *اعلموا فكركم هي الشمس والفلى بها محرق ينالوا رشادا*  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 147r 5

تأيدُ

116. اشانك علم له نافذ هو التابيت الطارف التالذ.  
 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 35v–36r 23  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 140r–140v 23  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 65v–66r 23

تأيد

117. الا بياغى طالب علمًا مقال فتى شاكراً حامد.  
 (الا سيلقي طالبى عالما مقال فتى شاكرا حامد)  
 Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 99 3  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 36v 3  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 141r 3  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 141r 13

118. الاقل لى الطالب ال الهاهد مقال امر في ليس بالحاسد.  
 Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 101–102 11  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 35r–35v 12  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 37r 12  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 141v–142r 12

119. ان الطبايع خمسة من خمسة خرجت يعود جميعها في واحد.  
 (ان الطبايع اربع في واحد خرجت بقوى جمعها في واحد)  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 35v 17

The first two verses are quoted in *Mir'āt al-'Ajā'ib* by Ibn al-Mukhtār.<sup>113</sup>

120. كالأرض يخرج ماؤها من قعرها ويعود سكباً في التراب الهامد.  
 فثريك زهراً معجباً في لونه ويعود أثماراً بقدرة ماجد

Two verses are quoted in *Rutbat al-Ḥakīm* of Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī.<sup>114</sup>

121. وحكمة ليست نجرهولة أخرجتها من حكمة الخالد.  
 Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 102 7  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 35v 7  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 37r 7  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 142r 7

<sup>113</sup> Ms. Hs. Karachi, University, 19987, p. 18.

<sup>114</sup> Al-Qurṭubī 2016: 153.

122. يا ايها الباحث عن سرنا ذو فكه في نسق واحد.  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 36r 3
- بيد/يؤد
123. بالعلم يخرج القلب معمود والجهول فيه ملام وتفيد.  
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 23v–24v 50
124. ثلاث تراكيب بها تم كلها يحتم محب او مريد.  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 25v–26r 22  
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 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
125. زعموا من تفلق بالحكمة لا عاقل ولا رشيد.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 69r 8
126. طباع القوم اربعة تفيد جسوم خالادات ما يفيد.  
(صباغ القوم ان فكرت فيه جسوم خالادات لا بيتد)  
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 *Kitāb al-'Ilm al-muktasab*,<sup>115</sup>  
and two verses are quoted in *Mir'āt al-'Ajā'ib* by Ibn al-Mukhtār.<sup>116</sup>
127. طباع القوم في حجر فريد مصى اللون مشرقه وحيد.  
(صباغ القوم من حجر فريد نضى اللون ابيض كالجليد)  
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 87–92 69  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 26r–27v 54  
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 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

<sup>115</sup> Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşa, 1749, f. 22v. Edition (non-critical) by Holmyard: *Al-'Irāqī* 1923: 48.

<sup>116</sup> 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 33r–34v	71
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 136v–138v	71

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

بيد/يود

اسق المركب نفسه فيعود كالليل سود لي يداك مشهود. 128.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 158r	3
ان المعادن في الوماء معنود مصورات على تلك الجلاميد. 129.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 68v	3
سودوا تنجحوا فقد نال من نال رجاء بحكمة التسويد. 130.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 153v	4
شكرتك مولاي وانت حميد لك الحمد ربي مبدي ومعيد. 131.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 144v–145v	30
علاني بالزييق المعقود ودعاني 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 140v	3

يدا/يودا

قد كان هرمس الحكيم مقدما بالعلم فيه مطعما محمودا. 133.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 123v–125r	48

In this poem the name of Hermes is mentioned.

<sup>117</sup> 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).

عَدَا

134. ما اخرجوه بالقشر من ذكر فليل اكبرهم من بعضهم ولد.  
 Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 103 11  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 36r 11  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 37r–37v 11  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 142r–142v 11

عُدْ

135. حجر الحكمة من غير فسد مكن يدركه كل احد.  
 Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 99–100 9  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 34v–35r 9  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 36r–36v 9  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 141r 9

136. خذا الأمر من قرب وتكب عن البعد ففي القرب اشياء تدل على الرشذ.  
 Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 98 7  
 Damascus, al-Asad, Ḥāhiriyya 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 36r 7  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 140v 7

137. ليس للاحراق يا هذا ابتدا غير ان الحرق احراق الجسد.  
 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 37v 5  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 142v–143r 5

عُدْ

138. بيض جسمك يافتى في فارس فيها البياض لكل جسم اسود.  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 47v 7

This poem has similarities with the next one, but they are two different poems.

139. بالنفس يكسي كل ابيض حمرة وبها البياض لكل جسم اسود.  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 149r 4

140. حلل صخورك بالزوابق ستة ا؟ بها مديتك نا؟  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 76v–77r 5

141. فياسائلى فاقبل كلاما محيرا حباك به محض الردة مرشد.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 84v 5
142. ما التار كات عراضها والساميات الى الرصد.  
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 100–101 14  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 35r 15  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 36v 15  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 141r–141v 15
- بدي/دي
143. بثاقب نور العلم يعلم ذو الفصل وبالجهل يوذى الجاهل المائق المردى.  
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 26r–27r 48
144. خذوا الفضة البياض كل معدن مطهرة كالب على خير محتد.  
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 84v–85r 6
145. عليك تقوى الله يا صاح تهدي ولا تتبع امرء غير مرشد.  
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 95–96 15  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 33r–33v 16  
Madrid, Escorial, Ar. 924, ff. 217v–218r 16  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 35v–36r 16  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 35r–35v 16  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 139v 16  
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 67v–68r 10
- In this poem the name of Hermes is mentioned.
146. من يهده الرحمن فهو المهتدي ومن يضلله ليس بمرشد.  
(من يهده الله فذاك المهتدى وما لمن يضلله من مسدد)  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 149v–150r 19  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 68r 18
- In this poem the name of Moses is mentioned.
147. يا طالب الرزو خذها رده بيدى اصغ لقولي ولا تنله للجدى.  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 187r–188r 39

عُدُوا

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

عَدَا

149. جسم اذا ماراته العين افرغها وايست ان تراه ابيضا ابدا  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 134r 8
150. حثيروا القالمين عما ادمروا عليهم الطرق سدا  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 68r 2
151. صير السم غبيطا في الضدا هكذا التدبير فيه ابدا  
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 103–104 4  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 36r 4  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 37v 4  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 142v<sup>118</sup> 4
152. وقال ابونا هرمس في لفوزه رموز لفوز البحر مذكان واردا  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 28r 5  
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, p. 126 5  
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabī'a 201, f. 45v 5  
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 55 5

In this poem the name of Hermes is mentioned.

عُدُّ

153. بالنفس تكسير كل ابيض حرمة وبها البياض بكل جسم امرد  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 36v 2
154. لك الحمد والنعما والطول ربنا لك الحمد ربي ما جد ومجد  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 27v–28r 18  
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, pp. 125–126 20  
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabī'a 201, ff. 45r–45v 20  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 170r–170v 40

<sup>118</sup> In these last two manuscripts, the rhymes are in *-ādḥ*.

Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 54–55 20

In this poem the name of Hermes is mentioned.

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155. ان الاتاليه التي اعليتها فيها نطقت وحق الله ربي ومقصد  
(ن الاتاليه التي اغلقتها فيها نطقت براي المحمدا)

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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 34v 13

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 138v–139r 13

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156. لا تجزعن من السواد فانه ماء الشوب يزيله عن حده.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 132v 5

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ر

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راز

157. القلم سر والاسرار اسرار وفي التدبير انباء واخبار.

Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 45r–45v 27

Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 27v–28v 38

راز

158. اجعلوا السقي للجسوم مليا قبل سيحق الاحجار بالاحجار.

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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 48r 4

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 157v 4

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 80v 4

159. اياك ان تحرك الاجساد بالنار وحرك الكل في ليل واسفار.

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 157v, in margine 12

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

<sup>119</sup> 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 (?) (عزوز) is mentioned.

167. زوج المسد بادياً بالابار والهوا اللطيف مع ضوء نارِ	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 42v–44r <sup>120</sup>	85
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 40v–42v	83
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 42v–43r	40
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 149v–150v	40
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11656, ff. 221v–222r	65
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 57r–58r	62
168. سبيكه الحكمة من اطيوار صريخها يمنع بالاسحار	
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-Libiyyīn, 1125, f. 38r	6
169. لا علم افضل من تدابير الاحجار ان انت درتها بالماء والنار	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 45r–45v	27
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 28v–29r	15
170. لا علم انفع من تدبير احجار سود تبييض بالكبريت والنار	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 28v	17
171. ليس بنف السواد والله ربي مالك الملك عالم الاسرار	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 134v–135r	4
172. ويحل الجسم اذا عنها السواد رلته بماء وكبريت وحر من النار	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 134v	6
173. يا ايها السائل عن صنعة النار وعن تشا كل الحار بالحار	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 61r–61v	35
عاز/عاري	
174. اترك الباكي على الدور وسكان الديار وذر القايل فيها باصطبار واختبار	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 112–113	7
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 59v	30

<sup>120</sup> 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
175. اغسل بلطفك اقدارا بانوار واحل بعقلك احجار باحجار  
 Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 67v 7  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 74r 19
176. الشمس البدر مقرونات في قرن مقداران بامر الخالق الباري  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 70r–70v 34
177. كباريت اجساد خمسين تذوب علي اذا سقيت في ظلمة بالذي الجاري  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 129r–121v 21
178. النفس فافهم علامات باسرار من قبل عقد كها في الجسم بالنار  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 76r 10
- عازا
179. صخرة الشيطان فافهم تجعل الاجساد قارا  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 77r 4
180. لا تنتقد في الحل الا انه ترطيب مبسم بعقد الفرار  
 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
- تاير
181. الى الله اشكر ما تدور الدواير واوقات هم وقعها متواير  
 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
182. الا ايها السائل المتذاكر بغاوض سر السالفين الاخير  
 Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 121–124 35  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 52v–53v 36

- Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 50r–20v 36  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 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.

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

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

تاير

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

بيز/نور

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

بيز/نور

187. ابليغ ابا يزيد سفيان ما تور مقال ذي فطنة بارفي تحرير  
 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 46r–46v 16  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 155r 16

In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

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

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

190. النفس فى الذهن علواها ومسكنها والروح فى الماء قولى لا لیس بالزور  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 134v–135r 5  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 75r 5

In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

191. ان الجسم اذا دخلن امالها فقد نقضى نصف من التدبير  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 48v 5

192. ان الطبايع اربع معروفة وتمامها الخامس المحقور  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 36v 8

193. ان الطبايع خمسة معروفة ارضين مع ماءين في التدبير  
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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 47r 10  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 156r 10  
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 37r–37v 38

The first two verses are quoted in *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-tadbīr li-ahl al-tabṣīr* by Ismā'īl al-Tinnīsī.<sup>121</sup> In this poem the name of Hermes is mentioned.

194. جميع طبايع الحكما خمس يزواجها القليل مع الكثير  
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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 44v 12  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 157v–158r 12  
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 85r–85v 12

195. حلل الصخر بالزوايق ستا لتمام الميقات في التحمير  
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.

196. خلط العقاقير في بدو التدبير مفتاح ما ترجون من كل مستور  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 125r–125v 20

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

197. علمنا علم خطير غامض بالامر يسير.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 30r<sup>122</sup> 12
198. علمنا علم كبير غامض بالامر يسير.  
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 118–119 7  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 51v 7  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 49r 7  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 158v 7
199. كل علم سوى الصناعة زور علم ما لو علمتوه خطير.  
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, Ṭabī'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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 50v–51r 25  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 160v–161v 25
200. ليس يبقي السواد الا بشيئ منضج حرة عظيم حقير.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 134v 6
201. ما علم فرفره البياض صغيرة لكنه علم يعدّ كبير.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 156v 2
202. نزلت بصور طلوع الشروق وعند الغيب فلم اقل صور.  
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 120–121 20  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 52r–52v 20  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 49v 20  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 159r–159v 20
203. واحرق الليث سبعا فترى لونه كمثل الجير.  
Two verses quoted in the *Qaṣīda* by Shaykh 'Abd al-Salām al-Rajrājī, with the indication: *min Kitāb Firdaws al-ḥikma*.<sup>123</sup>
- بيراً  
اجعل جسمك حالكا في لونها عند البدى وكن براك بصيرا. 204.

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

<sup>123</sup> Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 1025, f. 334v.

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 49r 3

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افصل نفوسك من ارض مسودة سبعا تنتظرها 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 سبعا لتغسلها لفره الدهن والاوزار والقدر. 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 النوائب في عدو في يسر. 207.

(انا ابن سفیان شیخ الحی من رصر اجلوا النوائب فی عدو فی یسر)

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 31r–32v 73

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, pp. 131–134 71

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabī'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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 39v–41r 78

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 145v–147v 78

Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Libiyyīn, 1125, ff. 28r–30v 87

In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

خلفت يمينا 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 (اييلينوس)/Jālīnūs, Qusṭūs (قسطس), Safanjā, Abū Bakr, Muḥammad and Heraclius are mentioned.

زوج رصاصك بالنحاس الاحمر واسقيهما بم الحياة الازهر. 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 45v 17

- Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 153v–154r 17  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 85r 17
210. سرّ النفوس عجيب في اوائلها والامحان ين بك الحق في النظر.  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 75v 13
211. صعد جسمك في الاتال فانها نمو هنالك مثل حبر في النظر.  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 47r 6
212. علامة التخمر باسائل شرب العجيب الماء في الظاهر.  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 67r 5  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 73r 3
213. لا تبتغي الدهر ماذا هو ام ما حمدوا من العقاقير من ترب ومن حجر.  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 171v–173r 46
214. لا تكاف بغير شمس والقمر والصلب لحاجتك الانتى مع الذكر.  
 Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 110 9  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 47v–48r 9  
 Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 52r 9  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 46r 9  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 154v 9  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 67r–67v 9
215. وضع الحكيم علامة في العصر اللطالين مبينها الميصر.  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 135r 13  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 73v 13
216. يا طالب النهايات العلوم ولم يحكم مبادئها من قبل الفكر.  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Vehbi 2254, ff. 18r–19v 53
- عري
217. يا ايها السائل في علمنا عن صنعة اللولو والجوهر.  
 Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 113–114 7  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 50r 7  
 Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 48r 7  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 47v–48r 7  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 157r 7  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 29r–29v 27

نر

218. نصحت لكم والله ربّ محمّد وما قلت زورا والذي امره الامر.  
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.

219. طبائع الحكمة معروفة ست لها من فوقها ستر.  
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

نر

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

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

222. سوادك الأوّل لو تدري فيه غنى لذوي الفقر.

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

223. فرد به النم للاعمال نغلمه هو المحلل والفسال لكنر  
(فرد البرية في الاعمال يعرفه هو المحلل والفسال لكنر)  
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

<sup>124</sup> Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hacı Beşir Ağa 505, f. 71r.

<sup>125</sup> See the contribution by Vicky Ziegler in the present volume.

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 49r	4
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 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 نخرجه منها درى الخبر. 224.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 49v	6
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 47v	6
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 156v	6

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

ب/يري

ابار نحاسنا ان كنت تدرى سمام ابيض 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 43v–44v	54
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 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.<sup>126</sup>

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

ب/ا

ابا خالد اجدد لخالقها الشكرا ففكر بعقل راجح محمد الفكرا. 228.	
(ربا لك حمد ولخالقنا شكرا وفكر بعقل راجح 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, Kīmiyā' 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

<sup>126</sup> 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 45v–46r	17
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 154r–47v	17

One verse of the poem is quoted in *Rutbat al-ḥakīm*.<sup>127</sup>

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

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

230. ان في البيضة اسرار وفي الاسرار سرا

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

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

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.<sup>128</sup>

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

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 70v	3
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233. وبعد ذلك فاسحقه وعفنه في الزيل عشرين يوما بعد ذلك تري

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

234. يلقي على الزئبق الفرار يعقده جسما تراه مضيا عسجدا زهرا

جزء على الف من اى الجسوم اذا سيكته عاد لونا يغشى البصرا

Two verses quoted by Ibn Umayl in *Kitāb al-Mā' al-waraqī wa-l-arḍ al-najmiyya*.<sup>129</sup>

زُ

235. الي ثقود النار بيد والزهر كمثل اصباغ ملاح حمر

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

<sup>128</sup> Saliba 2017.

<sup>129</sup> Stapleton et al. 1933: 61.

دبر الكبريت فهو الحجر الذي منه الفنا الاكبر. 236.	
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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 49r	5
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 158v	5

قابلهم في البيض عنصره والبيض انجع ما راموه لو قدر. 237.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 46r–46v	22

### ز/زوا

الايارايحا اما عشيه او سيببكر الاقل للذين شقوا وانفسهم ليختبر. 238.	
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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 45r–45v	26
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 152v–153v	26

تدبرت ما اخفى الانام واجهروا عجايب قد بقتى بها التفكر. 239.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 41r–42v	53
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 39r–40r	54
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 41r–42v	53
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 148r–149r	53

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

رسم الفلاسفة والاشكال والصور تبدى وتظهر ما خفو وما ستر. 240.	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 126–127	11
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 54v	12
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 51r	12
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 161v	12

كم قابل قال لى بالله ما الحجر وما دار قط دار انه حجر. 241.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 46r–46v	22

<sup>130</sup> Al-Qurṭubī 2016: 138.

<sup>131</sup> Ms. Hs. Karachi, University, 19987, p. 21.

242. وخالد كم لولا الخميرة لم يكن ليعقد ما ح الحجيج وكبروا

One verse quoted by Ibn Umayl in *Kitāb al-Mā' al-waraqī wa-l-arḍ al-najmiyya*.<sup>132</sup>

نُ

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

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 156v–157r 6

In this poem the name of Muḥammad is mentioned.

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

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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 49r–49v 4

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 159r 4

The first four verses of this poem are quoted in *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-tadbīr li-ahl al-tabsīr* of Ismā'īl al-Tinnīsī.<sup>133</sup> The first verse is quoted in *Ghāyat al-Surūr fī sharḥ al-Shudhūr* by al-Jildakī.<sup>134</sup>

245. بالملح يصلحما يخشا تنيره فماء والملح ان حلف بد النير

Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 45r 10

نُ/نُروا

246. ليس التدابير بالاركان يبلغها مدبر ابدا ما اوراق الشجر

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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 43r–43v 27

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 150v–151r 27

<sup>132</sup> Stapleton et al. 1933: 47.

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

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

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

عز/عزَا

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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 37v–39v	92
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 143r–145v	92
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 2v–5v	144
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Libiyyīn, 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-Wāfī fī l-tadbīr al-kāfī* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mašmūdī.<sup>135</sup>

ييزَا

هو الحجر المصاب بكل ارض وفي الاسواق تلقاه خَيْرًا. 248. (يضمن به الجواد علي خيه إذا اضحي يوما خبيرًا)	
Two verses quoted in <i>Risāla 1</i> by Khālid. <sup>136</sup>	

زُهُ

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

مِرِه

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

ييزُهُ

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

<sup>135</sup> London, British Library, Or. 13006, ff. 157v–158r.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 332–333.

## عازها

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

## ببرها

- جسوما الاربع ان سودت ندها احد عند نسيرها. 253.  
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 49r–49v 6
- سبيكة الحكمة خزانها ثلاثة من قبل تدبيرها. 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, Ṭabī'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-tabṣīr* by Ismā'īl al-Tinnīsī.<sup>137</sup>

## س

## عائس

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

## عائس

- الروح مخرجة من الحجر الذي يحوي النجار تراه كالديماس. 256.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 67r 5  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 74v 5
- علم الطبائع محجه عن الناس اذ كان تدبيرها من خمس اجناس. 257.  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 86v 15  
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 38r–38v 13

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

## نوس

- ليس ينقي السواد الانفوس وبخار في جوفها مدسوس. 258.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 158v–159r 3

## نوس/نيس

- اجعل لقرعك ارجلا في وقت اصعاد النفوس. 259.  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 33v 7  
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, p. 135 7  
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabī'a 201, ff. 54r–54v 7  
Mecca, Umm al-Qurā 237, p. 67 7  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 75v 5

In this poem the names Hermes and Agathodaimon are mentioned.

- معلم الحكمة اسطانبس قد قال قولاً لين بالخصيس. 260.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 159v 3

## نيس

- الا يا سايلي حقا عن التدبير بالشمس وعن صنعتنا مع السعد ومع النحاس. 261.  
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 129–130 14  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 51v 11  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 161v–162r 11  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 54v–55r 11  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 86r 11

- ذات النور موطنها والروح في القمر العالی على الشمس. 262.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 67r 6

## نوسه/نيسه

- جسم تدبيره بحر سمومه وتزيل عنه سواد بنفوسه. 263.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 158v 5

## ش

## ش/شيش

- ما حجر شبه بيضة الجبل بينت حقاً ببلدة الحبش. 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 51v	6
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 162r	6

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## ص

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### صايص

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

In this poem the name Hermes is mentioned.

### عاصا

ان الجسم اذا دخلوها تالها تدعا ومالا فافهمو ورسا صا 266.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 48r	4

### عص

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

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## ض

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### عض

خذ البيضاء الشقراء من خير معدن تصادفه لا فى 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 Usqf Dimyāṭ,<sup>138</sup> and the second verse is quoted in *Mir'āt al-'Ajā'ib* by Ibn al-

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

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

### يَاضٍ

إذا بيضت اجسامها بنفوسها وحللت الاجسام بهعد بياض. 269.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 158v 2

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### ط

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### يط

طبايع 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, Kīmiyā' 107, p. 136 7  
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabī'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

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### ع

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### تبيع/توغ

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

### عغ

ابلق لنا الجاهل ان الذى لم تك في ادراكه تطمع. 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.

- تزوج نيران لماء مطهر وتقطيم انفاص بنار تشعشع. 273.  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 79r–79v 13
- اذا النفس عنها الدهن زال راتها كبدر السما من بعد خمس واربع. 274.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 158v 4
- ع  
ان السواد به تمام علومنا فاعمل لتسويد الجسوم الاربع. 275.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 158r 4
- ع  
ان الطبايع اسها وماديكها شى نذلل له الجسوم 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 52v 10  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 163v 10  
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 40r–40v 18
- جميع الطبايع في واحد وفي واحد كلها ترجع. 277.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 56v 8  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 52v–53r 8  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 52v–53r 8  
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 39v–40r 8
- ع/ع/ع  
حل جسومك بعد اخذ خميرها كالما يجرى في الصعيد شوعا. 278.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 48v 8
- ان اجسادنا لعمرک لا تبيض او يذهب الدهان جميعا. 279.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 49r 3
- ثلاثة اجناس جمعن جميعا يعدن اذا بيضتھن بخيعا. 280.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 145v–147r 2

## عَـ

- اجعل مناك من الدنيا وبغيتها تدبير شيئين من اجناس اربعة. 281.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 153v 7
- يا ايها السائل عن علمنا دونك هو في احرف تسعه. 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 52v 7  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 164r<sup>141</sup> 7

## غ

## غَايَعَا

- من صير الجسم الكريم بماده روحًا لطيفا عاد سما صابغا. 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 53r 6  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 164r–164v 6

## غُوا/غُ

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

## ف

## فَافِي/فَافِي

- اسد راكب على البحر طافي فيه تأمتون كل الخلاف. 285.  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 35r 10  
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, p. 138 10  
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabī'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*.

286. النفس تخرج قبل ذا من جسمها حمرا وترجع كالمها الصافي  
 Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 138 2  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 57r–75v 2  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 53v 2  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 165r 2

## وف/يف

287. طبايعنا برموزهم فهي الاواني والكهوف  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 38r 9

288. في الصخرة البيضاء كل الذي يبغيه صب القلب ملهوف  
 Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 34r–35r 40  
 Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā' 107, pp. 136–138 39  
 Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabi'a 201, ff. 54v–56r 40  
 Mecca, Umm al-Qurā, 237, pp. 67–69 39  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 19v–20r 38

## يف

289. والماء رايت الماء يعقد نفسه تحقق ان الامر حقا كما وصف  
 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 53r 8  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 164v 8

The first two verses are quoted by Ibn Umayl in *Kitāb al-Mā' al-waraqī wa-l-arḍ al-najmiyya*.<sup>142</sup>

290. اسكنه في حر نار حرها قدر بعدل مفهومه في غير ما سرف  
 Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 138 2  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 57r 2  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 53v 2  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 165r 2

291. ان تحرقوا الطلق تناولوا الذي ترجونه من صنعته تشف  
 Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 138 5  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 57r 5  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 53r–53v 5

<sup>142</sup> Stapleton et al. 1933: 40.

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 164v–165r<sup>143</sup> 5

طبايع الحكمة في ظرف والظرف عنها فافهموا 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-ḥakīm*.<sup>144</sup>

عُفُ/غُفوا

هذا كتاب النظام موتلف من جوهر ماتكنه الصدف 293.  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 162v 11

عُفُهُ

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

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ق

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عاق

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

عابق

نحاسك بيضه بما الزيايق تنل 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, Kīmiyā' 107, pp. 139–141 52  
 Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabī'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

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

<sup>144</sup> Al-Qurṭubī 2016: 138.

Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 53v–54v	56
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 165r–166v <sup>145</sup>	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-muktasab*.<sup>146</sup> One verse is quoted in the *Nāfi‘a fī Ghāyat al-naf‘ wa-l-nafāsa lam yu‘raf muṣannifuhā*.<sup>147</sup> and one in *Mir‘āt al-‘Ajā‘ib* by Ibn al-Mukhtār.<sup>148</sup> In this poem a speech from Hermes to Pythagoras and Toth (Ṭāṭ) is cited.

#### بيق/بوق

297. اغسل الليث بالمياه وبالملح لتتقيه من سخام رقيق (اغسل الليث ذابحاء وميلح كى ينغى 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, Kīmiyā’ 107, p. 138	8
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘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 *Qaṣida* of ‘Abd al-Salām al-Rajrājī.<sup>149</sup> In this poem the names Hermes and Hippocrates are mentioned.

298. طالب العلم ان عمرك يقنا فاطلب العلم من مكانٍ وشيق	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 22v–23r	31
299. ان النفوس اذا تصعدت اسمها طير تطير هناك في الانبيق	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 66v–67r	6
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 74v	6
300. ليس ينقى السواد الا بنفس شبهوها في اللون مثل الخلق	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 157r	4

#### نقى

301. خذ المطروح في الطرق فذلك جوهر الورق	
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<sup>145</sup> These two manuscripts of Rabat link this poem to No. 308.

<sup>146</sup> Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Paşha, 1749, f. 14v. Edition (non-critical) by Holmyard: al-‘Irāqī 1923: ٣٤.

<sup>147</sup> London, British Library, Or. 13006, f. 5v.

<sup>148</sup> Ms. Hs. Karachi, University, 19987, p. 35.

<sup>149</sup> 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 54v–55r	7
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 166v–167r	7

In his *Murūj 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.<sup>150</sup>

### نق/نقي

302. صباغ الفلاسف الكريم ذو الشيق من الحجر المرموز في الكتب بالطلق (صباغ الفلاسفة الكرام ذوبالشيق من الحجر المدعو 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 56r–57r	47
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 168v–170r	47

### نقأ/نق

303. همت النفس لتزفي فه هموم صرت القا	
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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 57r	16
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 170r–107v	16

150 Al-Mas‘ūdī 1874: 176:

خذ الطلق مع الأشق – وما يوجد في الطرق

وشيناً يشبه البرقا – فدبزة بلا حرق

فإن أحببت مولاكا – فقد سُودت 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.

خذ الفرار ان احببت – واقبض لى على الطرق (verse 2)

فان انت امت الحي – كنت الفرد في الخلق (verse 5)

عق

304. ان السواد هو العمود الموتق مفتاح اقفال وباب مغلق.  
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 (بقرطيس), Ostanēs? (نسطانييس), Barīs? (بريس), Āras and Zosimus are cited.

305. تدبير صنعتنا بسبعة احرف منها العمري خمسة ما ينطق.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 129v 8
306. لا تتبعن قول الشفيه الاحمق القايل الزور العمي الاحرق.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 119r 5

عق/عقي

307. بوريطش الحكما فاسمع منطقى صبغ بديع واسمه الما النقى.  
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 144–148 59  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 37r–37v 38  
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kimiyā' 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<sup>151</sup> 58  
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 54r–55r 41

Three verses of this poem are quoted in the *Qaṣida* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Salām al-Rajrājī,<sup>152</sup> and two verses are quoted in *Mir'āt al-'Ajā'ib* by Ibn al-Mukhtār.<sup>153</sup>

عق

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

<sup>151</sup> These two manuscripts of Rabat link this poem to No. 302.

<sup>152</sup> Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 1025, f. 357v.

<sup>153</sup> Ms. Hs. Karachi, University, 19987, p. 11.

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

## قَا

- إذا انت ورجب الطبايع كلها على حسب ما قالوا ووصفوا انسقا. 309.  
 Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 85r–85v 12
- قلب الطبايع بالتضيين تقلبها وتجعل المس سما ابيضاً ورقا. 310.  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 33v 5

## ك

## ك

- العلم في بعض بنية الفلك والسر تركيبه على فلك. 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 57r–57v 17  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 170v–171r 17

## ك

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

## ك

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

## ل

## ل

- اجعل الحصن يا اني درجات نلت ما تر تجيب من الاعمال. 314.  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 151v 10

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, Kīmiyā' 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 59v	17
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 173v–174r	17
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 30r–30v	26

In this poem the names Hermes, Zosimus (زرسموس and رسيروس), Aristotle, Hippocrates, Gregorius/Pophyry (?) (غرفوريس), Rūlīs and Jālīnūs are mentioned.

حجر القوم من ثلاث 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'īl al-Tinnīsī.<sup>154</sup>

كلف العاذ لون بالبلبال ورسوم الديار والاطلال. 317.	
(كلف الغافلون بالتسال ورسوم 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, Kīmiyā' 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 57v–59v	85
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 171r–173v	85

Twenty–three verses of this poem are quoted by Abū l-Qāsim al-'Irāqī, *Kitāb al-'Ilm al-muktasab*.<sup>155</sup>

للا

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

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

<sup>155</sup> 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 زلالا. 319.  
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 220–222 19  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 93v–94r 20  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 90v 2

سائل

ان الطبايع مبتدا نزيدها ما ان منعقد واخر سائل. 320.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 39v 16

سائل

ان الهضيب فيها عقاقير الهوامل. 321.  
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala‘at, Ṭabī‘a 201, f. 92v 2

هو الحجر الموجود في كل قلدة وفي الطرق مطروح وفوق المزابل. 322.  
به تم تدمير الجميع وانه هو الشئ ومنعوت لنا في الرسائل

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

سائلا

الامبا قاعنى ابااء 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 شفيق عليكم ايها الطالبون غير يخيل. 324.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 143r–143v 12

اقول المستجار العفل اكذى ببقيته التوهم والذهول. 325.  
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 175–176 11  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 70v 10

<sup>156</sup> Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 1025, f. 298r.

<sup>157</sup> Ms. Hs. Karachi, University, 19987, p. 30.

- Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 53r 9  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 63r 10  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 178v–179r 10
326. الخالد الفرد ان سلطته قسطاً على المعاش لك يعديك تحليل  
 Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 178 4  
 Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 71v 4  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 63v–64r 4  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 179v<sup>158</sup> 4
327. جسم من الذهب الابريز يحضنه جسم من الفضة البيضاء محلول  
 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 *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-tadbīr li-ahl al-tabṣīr* by Ismā‘īl al-Tinnīsī.<sup>159</sup>
328. خل يا صاح تفل ماء النيل فلقد حير وابل كل جهول  
 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 64r 13  
 Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 180r 13  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 69r–69v 12
329. علم النجوم وعلم الطب مبذول وعلم صنعتنا لا شك بهول  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 31v 17
330. قال الحكيم قوله مقبول ما العلم مطرّح ولا مبذول  
 Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 108r 1  
 Tehran, University, 1205, f. 70r 5
331. قال الحكيم كلا ما لست اجهله والعلم حقا علع الجهل مثكول  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 32r–32v 13
332. ليس ينقى سواده غير شئ من ثلث مدترد معمول

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

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

- Tehran, University, 1205, f. 83v 4
- نصحت لكم ي العلم فاقبلوا مقال امرئ بالنصح غير بخيل 333.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 32r 11
- هذا وهذا ثم هذا ياقتى فيما ترا فقد يرا من قيل 334.  
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 180–181 16  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 72r–72v 16  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 64r 2  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 180r–180v 2  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 69v 16
- The name Hermes is cited in this poem.
- يا ايها السائل عن علم كتاه بقراط ونوفيل 335.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 32v 8
- The name Hippocrates is mentioned in this poem.
- أيها الناس من اضيقوا كثر القال وقيل 336.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 32r 19
- عُ
- 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 63v 11  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 179v 11
- عُ/عُلُوا
- 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 الطبائع في المعقول اربعة فها الاصول وفيها متيدى 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.<sup>160</sup> The name Crates (قراطيس) is cited in this poem.

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

341. صناعتنا نارها تعدل بنار الطبيعة او اعدل	
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.

342. عاج الشقي على الاحلال يسالها عن الاحبة ماذا بعده فعلوا	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 30v–31v	33

علي

343. علم الصناعة موفوق على العمل وطالب العلم مقصود على الاجل	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 24v–25v	49

344. يا صنعة خفيت عن كل فتحل وحاد فيها نوى الالباب والجبل	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 166–171 <sup>161</sup>	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, Ṭabī'a 201, ff. 64r–66r	58
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 67r–69r	78

<sup>160</sup> Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 3227, f. 31v. Cf. Kraus 1943: 105.

<sup>161</sup> 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 60v–62r	78
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 175r–177r	78
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 61v–63r	51

عَلَّ

345. الا ايها المتقى صنعة بها الناس قد يضربون المثل	
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 171–174	37
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 69r–70r	38
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, ff. 62r–62v	38
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 177r–178v	38

In this poem the name Heraclius is mentioned.

عُلُّ

346. نور نور منور اذ يصفى صفوة الحسن والجمال مكلل	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 71v	2
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 64r	2
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 179v	2

عِلِّ

347. الجسم بيبقى ابدأ بالغسل متابعاً سبعا وحرّ الزبل	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 49v	9

348. ثلاثة يجمعها فحلها فيها تمام العقد والحل (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-Ḥasaniyya, 11077, f. 63v	10
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 179r	10
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 69v <sup>162</sup>	7

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

349. في كل سبع ففيه الما تبذله والجسم بالحرق ممزوج على العدل	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 133r	4

162 This manuscript only has four verses in common with the others, and in a different order.

لن تنف ظلمة وحالك لونه الا الشوب وحر نار الزبل. 350.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 133r 3

لِهُ

وفحر اتيت فاجمدته الفيت علمًا لدى اصله. 351.  
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 114–115 14  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 91r–91v 14  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 90r 13

عَائِلُهُ

اذا انت تقيت السواد بحكمة بلغت لعمرى كل ما انت امله. 352.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 148v–149r 13

لَهَا

صناعتنا تبييضك الجسم محسنا بنار فيبدو النواظر فعلها. 353.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 91r 4

---

م

عَامٍ

لن يحيي نفسا بلا روح تمازجه ولن تعيش بلا انفاس اجسام. 354.  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 108r 3  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 158v 1

مثالث الصنعة هرام له على الاجساد اقدام. 355.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 78r 10  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 157r–157v 12  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 184v–185r 10

عَامٍ

اذا ما صارت الاجسام بيضا نقيا يعد لون كالشحام. 356.  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 62v 3

ما حجر ينبت في كل عام وفيه محين لجميع الانام. 357.  
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 190–191 6

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

## عام/عامي

358. صخرة القوم ان وعيت كلامى وجدت فى ديار كل الانام.	
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, Kīmiyā' 107, pp. 151–155	90
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabī'a 201, ff. 68v–72? <sup>163</sup>	23 ?
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 77r–78v	78

## عاما

359. اقصر جسومك يا فتى فى فارس فيها لعمر ك تقصر الا جساما.	
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 48r	8
360. ماءوما الأحمر التقي هو التم اذا كانت النجوم تماما.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 150v–151r	8

## يوم/يوم

361. اذا الجسم عند ظلمة الدهر اقلعت ولاح وراء منه البياض يهيم.	
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 62v	4
362. ان الصفا يرعدهنّ حكيم ست فكن بعد ادهنّ عليم.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 150v–151r	8
363. فى صنعة الحكما ما ير وتجى صب عميد القلب مهموم.	
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-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 180v–182r	49
364. كم من خصيف راي وهو محروم يمشى ويصبح فردا وهو مغموم.	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 79r–79v	27
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 120v–123r	12
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 185v–186r	27

<sup>163</sup> This folio is lacking in my copy.

365. ما تطلبون قدر جسيم وجليل من العلوم عظيم.  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 62v–63v 39
- نوم/ييم  
366. اذا انقشح السواد عن الجسوم وابرت منظرًا مثل النجوم.  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 62v 4
367. اذا زال السواد عن الجسوم كما قد جاء عن طب حكيم.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 139v–140r 20
368. الاخير الفلاسف نجل علم كتاب اخر يخبر بالرسوم.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 77v–78r 14  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 60v–61r 15  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 184r–184v 14
- In this poem the names Stephanos, Hermes and Kulthūm are mentioned.
369. خذ الاجساد فاغسلها بماء وملح ثم سكن في الجحيم.  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 62v 2
- نوم  
370. ليس ما يطلبونه ويريدون حسيب مقداره عيش يوم.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 141v 3
- علم  
371. طبابع الحق اربع جمعت والملح منها فسرهما الاعظم.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 39v 5
372. قل لذوه الجهل اما منكم ذو فطنة يعقل ويفهم.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 77r–77v 14  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 183v–184r 14  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 67v 14
- علم  
373. ان الطبابع فيها نور محتجب وفي الطبابع اجناس من الكلم.  
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

عَمَّ

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

عَمَّ/عَمِّي

- 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

عَمَّ

- سبيكة 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, Ṭabī'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-Libiyyīn, 1125, ff. 40v–41v 51

The first three verses of this poem are quoted in *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-tadbīr li-ahl al-tabṣīr* of Ismā'īl al-Tinnīsī.<sup>164</sup>

- عطف الجهول عمل انبه الكرم 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 قولاً بيناً وقال يو؟؟ قولاً غير مكتتم. 378.  
 Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 71r–71v 16

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

In this poem the name Hippocrates is mentioned.

379. لأن سودوه اخرا مثل اول لقد ادركوا علما يزيد علي العلم.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 155v, two occurrences 2

380. لقد ظل هذا الخلوي طلب العلم واشقلهم جهلا عن الغفل والحلم.  
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 191 5  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, f. 78v 5  
Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, f. 185r 5

381. خلقت بموار مبي ثيبوا مكانه ورب منى والمشعر ير وزهزم.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 159v–159v 6  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 62r–62v 6

تايم

382. ان الفلاسفه الذين قدموا قد اذكروا علما بخدمة عالم.  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 63r–64v 4

تامه

383. بالماء تنقى ذا السواد وتنجلي عن أرضكم ظلماته وقتامه.  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 88r 3

384. سواد اذا قابلته قلت قطعة من الليل لا يجلوا الهار ظلامه.  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 88r 3

تاميه

385. ابا خالد جذر لرب مهيمن حباك بعلم بروه وتاماه.  
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.

386. اذهب قتام جسومه بغمامه ادفنه اياما لوقت تاماه.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 169r–169v 14

يومه

387. ان المر بولا يقال مراده حتى يزواج خمسة مغلومه.  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 88r 4

## ن

## نان

- سبيكة الحكمة مجموعة لها على الحكمة برهان. 388.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 12r 8  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 82v 7  
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Libiyīn, 1125, f. 39r 8

## نان

- بيض الجسم جاهذا فى اتال فهو تصف التدبير بالبنيان. 389.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 48v 6

- حجر القوم نرجس في العيان واذا شنت قلت كالاقران. 390.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 169r 3

- سبيكة الحكمة من خمسة مجموعة تنظرها بالعيان. 391.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 11v 9  
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Libiyīn, 1125, ff. 37v–38r 9

- عذب الجسم بالمعذب حتى تلقه كالرماد في الرا كدان. 392.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 134r 4

- عزد العشر خالق الازمان كون الكون قبل الكيان. 393.  
(عن ذوى العز خالق الازمان كون الكون قبل كون 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?<sup>165</sup>–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-Libiyīn, 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, Ūlis (اوليس) and Sergios.

165 This folio is lacking in my copy.

394. قلب الطبايع اولا بتلثة بالزبيق المحلول بالنيران  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 70r 7  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 42r 8
- In this poem, the name of Hermes is mentioned.
395. ليس يبقي السواد الا بارض سميت بالخلوق والزعفران  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 119v–121v 65
396. من نفسه ربي وسد وعاوه وادفنه في وهج من النيران  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 71v 4
397. نشف هديت رطوبة الابدان بالطبخ والتقليب والاتقان  
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 208–210 21  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 86r–86v 21  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 68r–68v 19
398. نصف سدس الهلال سغن سودا في اللون كالحشبان  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 70r 3
399. والى الاثال يرد بعد بياضه سبعا يديم الوقود كالغضبان  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 71r–71v 6
400. يا من هدى ولقد هدى لبيان القلب يبصر لا ترى العيان  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, ff. 64v–65r 11
- غان/عاني
401. ابار القوم صحفى المكان مياه راى قات في العيان  
(ابار القوم ان فكرت فيه مياه راى 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-Ḥasaniyya, 11268, ff. 186r–187r 28  
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 53r–54r 51
402. اعلم بانہ النفس في طبعها لها علامات ترى بالصبان  
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.

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

404. الارض تقسمها اذا بيضتها نصفين بالتعديل في الميزان.	
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.

405. ان المحرب لو اقام بحربا عشرين تتبعا عقود ثمان.	
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.<sup>166</sup> In this poem the names of Hermes, Sergios and Qusṭus (قسطس) are cited.

406. حمدت لله ذا الالاء ربي على ما خعني وبه حياني.	
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 32v–33v	37

407. خلو الطبائع كلها من واحد وقياسا بطبائع الانسان.	
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

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

<sup>166</sup> 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

409. صخرة اصلها من الحيوان وبها الصبغ ثابت الاركان

Tehran, University, 1205, ff.13r–15v	116
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Libiyīn, 1125, ff. 30v–33v	118

410. الصخرة افضل بغية الحيوان والصخر يبدى زهرة الالوان

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-Libiyīn, 1125, ff. 34r–36r	76

In this poem, the name of Hermes is mentioned.

411. وذات دل لها الحاظ انسان وريح مسك وجيد الا عند الجاني

Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 88r–90r	85
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412. وفاد اما سحقته خلت فيه صوت رمل بحسه الادنان

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 81v–83r	3
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نأنا

413. الصخور لعمرى من طباعنا والطبايع قد صجن اكوانا

Tehran, University, 1205, f. 76v	5
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414. نرا التقى فى؟ ار شيانا؟ الى الوصل كما كانا

Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 65r–65v	23
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415. وذرة تبلغ فيلاً ولا يرى لها الوزان أوزانا

One verse quoted in *Rutbat al-ḥakīm* of Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī.<sup>167</sup>

عان/سئين

416. ان الطبايع اربع من واحد والواحد العالى على الزوجين

Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 64r–64v	12
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<sup>167</sup> Al-Qurṭubī 2016: 153.

ثَين

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

In this poem the name of Heraclius is quoted.

- ان الطبايع من ماء ومن غير في جُوف جَلُمُوا وة قُدت بنصنين. 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.<sup>168</sup>

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

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

- سبيكة 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-Libiyīn, 1125, ff. 38r–38v 7

- يا من ترى حجرا من فوق ماين مجلدا مطبقا من فوق شمسين. 422.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 171v 2

ثَين

- جسمان في الحجر صلد مقامها مسميًا باسمين ولونين. 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.<sup>169</sup> 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

<sup>168</sup> Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 1025, ff. 307v–308r.

<sup>169</sup> Al-Qurṭubī 2016: 142 and 153.

## نون/بين

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

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

## بين/يوننا

427. حلل صخورك فاتق؟ اولا فيهن شتد بحرا وغيونا.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 76v 8  
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Libiyyīn, 1125, ff. 26r–26v 8

## نون

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

## ين

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*.<sup>170</sup> The name of Hermes is quoted in this poem.

431. ان يظهر السر وينقى جسمهما وتمزج التراب في ماين في فرن.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 157v 7

432. حلل صخورك بالزوايق اولا فترى الصخور مع الزوايق كاللبن.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 175r 3

170 Stapleton et al. 1933: 28.

- حلل صخور اللين تأمن مصارفة الزمن. 433.  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, f. 102v 8  
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 17r–17v 53  
Tripoli, Markaz Jihād al-Libiyyīn, 1125, ff. 36r–37v 59

- يا طالب العلم من حجر ومن غصن وتارد العلم عند الشامح 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.

ين/يني

- ثلث صفاين فيها لعمرى 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

نُه

- اسق نحاسك ما لكس فاسحقه على الصلابة أياما وعفنه. 437.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 128v–129r 20

In this poem the names of Stephanos (*Istīfānūs*) and Āras are mentioned.

نِهَا

- ان تنفت ظلمته ونتاج سواده بالطبخ بالنفس النقية لونها. 438.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 159v 5

نِيه

- بالروح ينقى ظله وسواده مع ربه الماخود 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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هـ

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

ها

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 كبريتة صبغ الجسوم ونورها وبهاوها. 442.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, ff. 133v–134v 30

طبايع تلت قد تراها مدورة مطولة جواها. 443.  
Tehran, University, 1205, ff. 41r–41v 10

يه

افصل نفوسك مرجوم ثلاثه 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 ابدية خوف الاعاد ونار انفكر تنكيه. 445.  
Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, pp. 217–218<sup>171</sup> 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 تكرا وحكمتنا حتى اضلواها. 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

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171 This manuscript links this poem to No. 451.

بيها

447. ان الطبايع شتى غير واحد تاباالتالف مع ما لا مدانيها.  
Tehran, University, 1205, f. 41v 7
448. انق الجسم بحسن الفصل مصطبرا فالسمعه والطبخ تنقيها.  
(انقي الجسم بحسن الغسل تحمده فالسحق والطبخ ينقيها ويزكيها)  
Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph, Or. 255, ff. 57r–57v 21  
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Kīmiyā' 107, pp. 179–180 20  
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Ṭala'at, Ṭabī'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-Rajrāji.<sup>172</sup>
449. زواج حجاتك الانات ذكورها وامكن عليها الماء كي يبيديها.  
Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 1613, f. 160r 9  
Paris, BnF, Ar. 6281, f. 87v 10

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و

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نو

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

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ي

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يية

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

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<sup>172</sup> Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥasaniyya, 1025, f. 354v.

## يَا

452. اباراكبا نحو الشام عشية توم دمشقاً قف تحمل كتابيا  
(ابار اكبيا بيقى 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, Ṭabī'a 201, ff. 93v–94r 16
- Cairo, University, 26189, p. 3 7
- Damascus, al-Asad, Ḥāhiriyya 5560, f. 63r 3
- Damascus, al-Asad, Ḥāhiriyya 5560, f. 63r–65r, in margine ?
- Damascus, al-Asad, Ḥāhiriyya 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.<sup>173</sup>

453. يا ايها الطالب للكيميا لا تطلب العلم بغير الميا
- Baghdad, National Museum, 2123, p. 225 5
- Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Köprülü 924, ff. 95r–95v 5

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<sup>173</sup> Dublin, Chester Beatty, Ar. 5002, ff. 91r–91v.

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