there was a gold cover.” He said, “I tried to pull it up, until I did remove it and saw in it [the vessel] something like pitch, but without its smell for it had dried up.” He said, “I put my hand in it and a gold receptacle happened to be inside. When I removed its lid, behold there was in it fresh blood. The moment the air came into contact with it, it clotted as blood clots, so that by the time that I was able to descend it had become dry.”

He said, “On the tomb there were stone covers13 and I did not stop trying until I removed the lid from one of them. Then, behold, a man was lying on his back14 in the best possible state of preservation and dryness, his form clearly defined and his hair showing. Alongside him there was a woman, appearing like him.”

He said, “The surface was hollowed out about as much as a man’s height, as though it were rounded like the domes in stone vaults.15 In it were images and statues lying down and upright and other deities whose forms are unknown, for it is Allah who does know. In Egypt there are buildings called the barābī,16 made of large stones of excessive size. The barābī are structures of different types, in which there are places for grinding and pulverizing, dissolving, congealing, and distillation, which shows that they were used for the art of alchemy. In these structures there are carvings and writings in Chaldean and Copitic; it is not known what they are. There have also been discovered underground libraries containing scientific works17 written on hides treated with nūrādī18 and on the rūz19 used by the bowmakers, as well as on plates of gold, copper, and stone.”

9 “He” may refer to the member of the Thawībāh family or to someone else, perhaps the author of the book.

10 Although the description does not make it clear, this passage probably refers to access of the Great Pyramid, both inside and outside the pyramid. For accounts of the pyramid, see Trent, History of Egypt, pp. 116-20; Fakhry, Pyramid, pp. 99-114; Mas‘ūdī, II, 179, 404-5; Maqdisī, Kitāb al-Khitat, I, 179 ff., with special reference to p. 183; Sayyūtī, Kham al-Muḥiṣādar, pp. 29 bottom, 31. For “the two pyramids,” (ad-haram), see Ya‘qūb, Geop., IV, 961.

11 For this measurement, see Fück, Ambic, p. 113 n. 13.

12 The Arabic word translated “mathematical measurement” is al-haṣaṣa, which usually means “geometry.”

13 The man who gave this description had evidently seen big Asiatic canals kept down close together. The flat top of the Great Pyramid and also the inside burial chamber might fit this description.

14 Evidently the lid of a sarcophagus.

15 The Arabic word translated “back” is as a rule used for the back of the head.

16 The words “like the domes in stone vaults” are not given clearly in any of the Arabic texts. There is a word which is probably a plural form from min (“half”), and khayyāh ("egg"), used for domes, followed by al-dhāl-al-sawīf ("with obtuse arched roof"), followed by min hijrih ("from stone").

17 The word can also be written barāhī; it was used for temples in Egypt. See Mas‘ūdī, II, 405-41; “Barāī,” Enc. Islam, I, 655.

18 The words translated “scientific works” are literally “these sciences.”

19 The expression “hides treated with nūrādī” is taken from MS 1934. Filiger gives a variation. Nūrādī is made from arsenic and quicklime. See Fück, Ambic, p. 90 n. 21. 20 The or rūz was the inner back of a tree used by the Persians for their bows and also as a writing material. See Fück, Ambic, p. 113 n. 16.
Hermes wrote about the stars, incantations, and things incorporeal (pneumas).

The Books of Hermes about the Art

Book of Hermes to his son about the Art; Flowing Gold; Táth about the Art; The Making of Knots; Secrets; Al-Harîqûs; Al-Malîqûs; Al-Assamkhsûs; Al-Sulûmîsûs; of Armenian, the pupil of Hermes; of Bilûdûs, the pupil of Hermes, about the opinion of Hermes; Al-Arkha'yûlûs; of Damânîs by Hermes.

Ostanes

Among the philosophers, who were practitioners (people) of the Art, becoming celebrated because of it and writing books about it, was Ostanes al-Rûmî. He was one of the people of Alexandria, and according to what he recorded in one of his epistles, he wrote one thousand books and epistles. Each book and epistle had a name by which it was called. The books of this kind of people were composed in accordance with allegories and enigmas. Among the books of Ostanes there was The Dialogue of Ostanes with Tawhir, King of India.

See Fück, Ambix, pp. 114-13, and Berthelot, La Chimie, III, 38.

"Flowing gold" was mercury.

Tâth must have been the deity Thoth; see n. 7. For Thoth as related to alchemy, see Berthelot, Alchimistes, I, 16 n 2, 256; III, 233-24; Berthelot, Origines de l'alchimie, pp. 38, 153. Qâfîh, p. 360-69, gives Tâth as a pupil of Hermes. Usby'îs, Part 1, p. 213 L 27, says he was the ancestor of the Sibyls and the son of Idhr.

In the text the word translated "knots" is al-unûqûd, but Lane, Lexicon, pp. 2017, 2177, says that the n (nann) can be superfluous, giving al-unûqûd, meaning "knots" or "string of beads."

This title and the three following are probably transliterations of the following words: (1) al-Árka'yûlûs of Òsûnâs, cf. von Lippmann, Entstehung, pp. 37, 85; (2) al-Malîqûs of the word meaning "dresses possessed," see al-Malîqûf in Devey, Supplément, II, 531; (3) al-Assamkhsûs of òsûmûkhûs, used for the orb of the stomach or of other parts of the body; (4) al-Sulûmîsûs of òsûmûlûsûs; see Lippmann, Entstehung, p. 117.

It is not certain who these two pupils were. Armenians is a guest. Bilûdûs looks like Polykleitos, a Greek physician, but very likely is meant to be some semilegendary person. See Smith, GBRM, III, 460.

Al-Árka'yûlûs is very likely meant to be Òrka'yûlû ("primâ", "elemental").

Damânîs is badly transliterated and cannot be identified. One would expect the Panmaner to be mentioned as an important book ascribed to Hermes. If the first letter, Sâl (s), is a corruption of âl (ал) (nâ), and if the other letters are also badly transliterated, perhaps the Panmaner is the work meant. See "Hermes Trismegistus," Enc. of Religion and Ethics, VI, 627; Smith, GBRM, II, 414.

Compare a free translation in Index, Les Magiciens hellènîs, II, 270. The Indian king's name is also written Tawhir and Tôhir, but it cannot be properly identified.

Zosimus

Among them was Zosimus, who went the way of Ostanes. His was a book which he entitled The Keys of the Art, comprising a number of books and epistles in sequence, its first, its second, its third, known as the Seventy Epistles.

The Names of the Philosophers Who Spoke about the Art


The name is badly spelled in the Arabic as Rasûmûs, but the passage undoubtedly refers to Zosimus. For this name and the ones which occur in the passage which follows, see Berthelot, La Chimie, III, 28-30; Fück, Ambix, pp. 113 ff.

For this list it is important to study the notes given by Fück and Berthelot; see preceding note. A few other suggestions are added in what follows.

Perhaps this is meant to be Attûs (Phta); see Ruska, Arabische Alchemisten, no. 6, p. 22. Fligel gives what seems to be Anubûs, but(l. 353 n. 16), suggests Ostanes. See Smith, GBRM, III, 28; Rosenthal, Orient, XV (1966), 35.

As d (âdâr) without its dot can be confused with n (nann), perhaps this is meant to be Belûsûs, a name for Apollonios of Tyanaeûs; see Qâfîh, p. 316 l. 40.

See Bigo, Index, Pseudo Demeûrûs.

Perhaps Bûrûs is meant to be Tadrûs (Theodoros) or Fûrûn, mentioned by Qâfîh, p. 259, as one of the earliest philosophers.

This name is not clearly marked. Perhaps it is meant to be Zeusodorus, see Sarro, I, 182, or the Theodorus known for his interest in alchemy. For other possibilities, see Ruska, Arabische Alchemisten, no. 6, pp. 13 n. 1, 13.

It is possible, though not very likely, that his name is meant to be Africanus. See Berthelot, Alchimistes, I, 171, and, 296, 298, 299; II, 382, 386.

This may refer to either Alexander the Great, or Alexander of Tralles.

The Arabic name is probably meant to be Zoraster. For his interest in alchemy, see Berthelot, Alchimistes, I, 117, 176, 188, 202; II, 82, 266.

For this legendary king of Egypt and the name which follows, see Fück, Ambix, p. 315.

For this king we are not very sure who it is; see Smith, GBRM, III, 466.

This is a legendary king of Upper Egypt who asked Margûsûs to answer questions.

This may be Simûsûs of Thebes; see Smith, GBRM, III, 847 bottom. Or perhaps it is meant to be Chymes.

This is very likely meant to be Pythagoras.

This name is evidently meant to be Pythagoras, though the usual Arabic spelling of the name does not match the Fligel edition, p. 245 bottom line, or Qâfîh, p. 259. Nicôlûs (Nîplûsîn) might be the name intended in MS 1934, which is garbled. Fligel has a name that looks like Dihûs.
and vision. He was the first person for whom books on medicine and the stars and also books on alchemy were translated. He was a generous man, for when someone said to him, "You have expended most of your energy in seeking the Art," Khālid replied, "In so doing I have sought only to enrich my friends and brothers. I coveted the caliphate, but was unsuccessful. Now I have no alternative other than attaining the culmination of this Art, so that anyone who one day has known me, or whom I have known, will not be obliged to stand at the gate of the sultan, petitioning or afraid." It is said, and Allāh is the one who knows, that practice of the Art was validated for him. About it he wrote a number of books and epistles. He also wrote a great deal of poetry about this subject. I have seen about five hundred leaves of this poetry. His books which I have seen are:

Heats; the large book, Al-Šābīfah; the small book, Al-Šābīfah; his charge to his son about the Art.

The Names of the Books Which the Savants Composed

Book of Dioscorus about the Art, Mārijah al-Qibtiyah with the Savants, When They Assembled with Her; of Alexandrinus on the [Philosophers'] Stone; Red Sulphur, of Dioscorus when Synesius questioned him about the problems; of Stephanus; of Crates of the Heavenly...
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(Qaḍi àl-Sanā‘ī); Al-Shamiya, the large book of Naṣîr ibn ʿAbī Thalib; and the Philosopher, about the Art; of Augenius; of Nemesius; of Cleopatra; of Theophilus, the Queen; of Sebou, the Wise Man; of Eratosthenes, Queen of Egypt, the beginning of which is, “When she (l) ascended the mountain”; The Elements, by Dimus; of Servius, the Ra’s Aynul to Quwyyal, bishop of Al-Ruha (Edessa); of Saffīyān on his wisdom, [addressed] to King Hadrīan; of Aras, the large book; of Aras, the smaller book.

Book of Andriyān; of Bighi to Martyriān; of Tādrus the Wise Man; of the Christian, in which he says that wisdom is wisdom like its name; Possessor (Lord) of the Prayer Niche; of Andraulys, from Ephesus to Nicerphorus. The Seven Brothers Who Were Savants, about the Art; of Demosthenes, about the epistles; of Zainul to all of the savants, about the

This is probably the plural of shams, which in alchemy refers to gold; see Spengler, p. 750.

This name cannot be identified and may not be spelled correctly.

Nimrod is a guess.

Māgi (Magi) was an honorary name for Ostanes. See Berthelot, Origins de l’Histoire, pp. 53, 101; von Lippman, Datierung, pp. 75, 98, 236.

This name may be an error, meant to be Zainul.

For the localities, see Yafqī, Geog., II, 731, 876. The name Quwyyal is uncertain. In MS 1934 it looks like something else.

The name Saffīyān is probably meant to be Sapkhūs, from sphakhs, a name given to King Cheops of Egypt, who was also called Sophus. See Berthelot, Origins de l’Histoire, pp. 28, 58, 146, 183; Berthelot, Abūhims, greek, I, 278, 203; II, 211, 243; III, 205, 266, 343. This book was probably the legendary wisdom of Cheops, and dedicated to Hadrīan.

See Biog. Index of Allott.

For Andriyān, see Fīk, Amīr, p. 123 n. 31.

Perhaps Bighi is meant to be Pheicus. See Idrisi, Les Magi de l’Histoire, pp. 326, 337, 339; Berthelot, Origins de l’Histoire, p. 168. The name as given in MS 1934 needs only a very small modification to look like Seneca, who was interested in alchemy. See ibid., pp. 34, 59, 94, 99, 149, 150, 155; von Lippman, Datierung, pp. 145, 181, 200, 311.

Perhaps Martyrius is meant to be Marīb, or something else, as the consonant signs are omitted in MS 1934. It is a coincidence that there is the famous treatise called Seneca to Martia (Consolations Ad Martiam). Was this title confused with one of Seneca’s statements about alchemy? For this treatise, see Smith, GRBM, III, 781, sect. 4.

This may be Théodora, known for his interest in alchemy.

This may be Christianus Philosophus.

This title probably refers to some idol. See Berthelot La Chimie, III, 61.

Qīlī, p. 95 l. 16, gives Andriyān. Perhaps it is intended to be Androudī; see Banâ, Arábiye Alchemiye, no. 10, p. 15.

Fīk, Amīr, p. 95, omits “about the epistles.”

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Art; of Germanus, the patriarch of Rome, about the Art; of Sergius, the Monk, about the Art; of Māgi, the savant, about the Art; of Pelagius about the Art; of Theophilus, about the Art; The Two Words, the first book; The Two Words, the second book; The epitome, The Gift of Alexander; of Petronius; of Barīl; of Heraclius, the larger book, fourteen chapters; of Severus, a large book about dreams connected with the Art; of Sergius, about the Art; of Jamāl, about the Art.

Account of ʿĀbu ʿAnīslb Iḥyā ʿAbī Ḥayyān, with the Titles of His Books

He was ʿĀbu ʿAbd Allāh Iḥyā ʿAbī Ḥayyān ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Kūth, known as al-Shīrī. People differ about him. The Shi’ah have said that he was one of their great men and one of their awlād. They claimed that he was a companion of ʿAbār al-Ṣa’dīq, for whom may there be peace. He was one of the people of al-Kūth. A

88 Rome evidently refers to the Byzantine Empire.

89 This was probably Sergius of Rā’s al-Ayn.

90 See n. 75.

91 Fīk, Amīr, p. 95 n. 35, suggests Pelagius. The Arabic form appears to be Bikhūli.

92 MS 1934 is probably correct in giving the Gift of Alexander. This very likely refers to Eum philosophe, which Aristotle gave to Alexander the Great; see Berthelot, Abūhims, greek, III, 19 n. 4.

93 This word lacks the article and therefore may be a proper name such as Qubin, given in the translation. Other possibilities are fātijn (“assayer of gold”); qubin (“a large set of scales”), or iyin (“slaves”).

94 “Larger” (awlūd) may go with Heraclius instead of “book,” making it “of the greater Heraclius.”

95 The name Severus is very uncertain; the different versions give variations for this name.

96 The name is probably meant to be Sergius. MS 1934 gives a form which is likely an error.

97 MS 1934 adds al-Ṣa’dīq to this name.

98 Over this name, MS 1934 has inserted, in small letters, “and ʿAbī Mūsā Ḥamid.” Perhaps because his eldest son died, he was first called ʿĀbu ʿAbd Allāh and later known by the name of another son, Mūsā. The name Ḥamid is obviously meant to discredit him as a Summit of the lower classes, or else it is a mistake, meant to be Ḥamād, indicating that he was a protegé of Khalīf ibn Yazid of the Umaysah family. See “Dā bjīr b. Ḥayyān,” Enc. Islam, I, 587–88; Berthelot, La Chimie, III, pp. 31–36, 137.

99 Here awlād refers to spiritual leaders with access to the divine.

100 Instead of this piou phrase taken from MS 1934, Flügel has “with whom may Allāh be well pleased.”
group of philosophers have stated that he was one of their number, and that he wrote compositions about logic and philosophy.

Those engaged in the Art of gold and silver [alchemy] have asserted that during his time the leadership culminated with him, but his status was kept secret. They stated that he moved about among the regions, without settling in any town (region), fearing lest the sultan (government) might take his life.

It is said that he belonged to the circle of the Barmak family, to which he was attached, and that he was regarded as trustworthy by Ja'far ibn Yahyā. Those who asserted this said that by his master, Ja'far, he meant the Barmakī, but the Shi'a said that he meant Ja'far al-Sadiq.

A reliable person occupied with the Art told me that he resided on the street of Bāb al-Shām on an alley known as Darb al-Dhahab. This man told me that Jābir for the most part was at al-Kūfah, where because of the healthiness of the climate, he used to deal with the elixir. When they hit upon the arched chamber at al-Kūfah, in which they found a mortar for gold, there were about two hundred ṭīf in it. This man mentioned that the place in which this was hit upon was the house of Jābir ibn Ḥayyān and that nothing other than the mortar was found in the arched chamber, which was built for solution and fixation. This was at the time of 'Izz

98 Mutahlifīn ("regarded as trustworthy") may also be translated as "shown respect."

99 Bī ("by") is from Fligel: MS 1934 has lī ("to").

100 For the two men named Ja'far, see Khalikīn, I, 300-301. For a possible connection between Jābir and the descendants of Ja'far al-Sadiq who were among the Imāmīyah, see Kraus, Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, pp. xvi ff. As both men called Ja'far incurred the ill will of the caliph, Jābir was evidently obliged to escape from the police, as he was a protégé of one of them.

101 Bāb al-Shām was the northwest gate of the Round City at Baghdad. See Le Strange, Baghdad, p. 17; Yāqīn, Gog, I, 445.

102 This was probably a passage in the gold bazaar. Some authorities believe that it was the "reliable person occupied with the Art" who lived on Darb al-Dhahab, but if Jābir was attached to the Barmakī family, he must have had a residence at Baghdad, and an alley in the gold bazaar would have been an appropriate place for an alchemist.

103 Fick, Amīrī, p. 96, has "a golden mortar weighing 200 ṭīf was found." The translation follows MS 1934, which seems to be more reasonable than the statement that the mortar was "golden." For ṭīf, see "Rāšī," Enc. Islam, III, 1329.

104 Most authorities believe that this book was compiled by the disciples of Jābir but confused with the master's own works. It is not included in the long list of Jābir's books in MS 1934. See Kraus, Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, pp. xxvii ff, 1, 5-9, 120; Bérenger, Le Chêne, III, 131, 161; "Jābir," Enc. Islam, I, 988.

105 As these adjectives are given as comparatives, they cannot be translated literally. Fick, Amīrī, p. 96 has "His circumstances are too clear and well known and his writings too important and numerous [for his authorship of them to be doubted]."

106 Instead of "saying," Fick, ibid., gives "there said."
catalogue including exclusively what he had written about the Art. We shall mention all of his books which we ourselves have seen, or which reliable persons have witnessed and reported to us. Among them there are:108

The Element of Genesis, the first [one addressed] to the Barani family:106

The Element of Genesis, the second [addressed to them; The Perfect (Complete), the third [addressed to them; The One, the large book:108

The One, the small book; The Support:128 The Explanation; Arrangement (Observing the Proper Order); The Light; Red Tincture;123

Fermented Liquors, a large book; Fermented Liquors, a small book; Processes Based on Reasoning:128 known as The Third; The Spirit; Mercury (Al-Zibh, Al-Zibah):123 Interior Amalgams; Exterior Amalgams; The Amalekites, the large book;118 The Amalekites, the small book; The Swelling Sea; The Eggs; The Blood; The Hair; The Plants; Fulfillment.

Defended (Well-Guarded) Wisdom; Dividing by Headings: The Salts; The Stones; Chameleon (Abu Qalamin);123 Circulating (Construction of a Circle:118 Splendor; Repetition; The Hidden Pearl:113 Progressing, Step by Step: The Pure; The Comprehensive; The Moon:118 The Sun; The Compound; Understanding (Knowledge of

Although the translation of these book titles has been made with the help of the numerous authorities referred to in the notes, it is impossible to be sure of the exact significance of each title, as many of the words seem to have some special meaning connected with medieval alchemy.

For this book, see Chap. VII, sect. 3, p. 187.

Al-Wahid ("The One") may refer to a theological conception of unity (see Qur'an 2:163), or to some principle of alchemy.

Sprenger, p. 591, says that "the support" (al-nahr) is the essential without which there can be no existence.

For "red tincture," Sigel, Diekrnamen, p. 45, gives rote Farbe.

This is Al-Tadhib al-Ra'iyah in Fligel. MS 1943 lacks vowel and consonant signs. Berthelot, La Chémie, III, 11, gives Le Livre des opérations par fusion.

See Berthelot, La Chémie, III, 207-16.

See "Amalik." Enc. Islam, 3, 315. For the second title following, The Swelling Sea, the Arabic is Al-Bahr al-Zehir. It might be instead Al-Bakhr al-Zehir ("The Odor Rising Up").


Al-Tabairi ("Circulating") may be connected with astrology rather than alchemy; see Sprenger, p. 478.

This was a term for a valuable pearl, but here probably has a metaphorical meaning in connection with alchemy.

In alchemy the moon was related to silver and the sun to gold.

the Law); The Element; The Animals; Urine; The Processes, another one:123 The Secrets.

Concealing Minerals (Mines); The Quality; The Sky, its first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh; The Earth, its first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh. Then after that, Extracts:123 The Eggs, the second book; The Animals, the second book; The Salts, the second one; The Door, the second one:128 The Stones, the second one; The Perfect (Complete); Praise:128 The Residue of Fermented Liquors; The Element; The Compound, the second one; Specific Properties (Characteristics); The Reminder; The Garden; The Inundations (Torrents); The Spirituality of Mercury; Fulfillment (Completion); Varieties (Species); The Proof; The Substances, the large book:128 The Tincture (Oxides); Odor (Perfume), the large book; Odor, the pleasant book; Sense; The Clay:123

The Salt; The True and Greatest Stone; Milks; Nature; Metaphysics; Causing to Shine; The Proud (Glorious); The Lowly; The Luster; The Truthful (Sincere); The Garden; Flowering; The Crown; Spector:128 Presentation of Knowledge; Arsenic; Divine;127 to Khāfīj;128 to Jumhūr al-Farāji,128 to 'Alī ibn Yaqūt; Plantations (Sown Field) of the Art; to 'Alī ibn Bāṣār al-Barnākī; Transmutation;

118 The first treatise on the subject was Processes Based on Reasoning, listed in the middle of the preceding paragraph. This is a second treatise on processes.

Al-masārūdūt ("extracts"), also means "abstractions" or "things incorporated." This translation follows MS 1934, which differs from the other versions. This book is called the "second," but no book with the same title has preceded it. For hād ("door") see Runika, Arabische Alchemisten, no. 10, pp. 41, 69, 54. The word has a special significance for alchemy.

Berthelot, La Chémie, III, 26 ff., gives La Soustraction instead of Praise.

The word al-jantāh ("the substances") may also mean "precious stones" or refer to stones from which things of value are extracted.

MS 1255 gives Al-Tin ("Clay"). MS 1943 gives what is not certain but seems to be Al-Tayr, which can mean "salt ammoniac." See Richardson, Dictionary, p. 980; cf. Runika, Arabische Alchemisten, no. 10, p. 46 n. 4. 128 Al-din is sometimes translated as "submissive." The most common meaning is "pious, holy, etc."

Instead of Al-Khiyāl ("Specters" or "Imaginings"), the word may be Al-Jhīl ("Mountains"), Al-Khābīr ("Patrad Matter"), or Al-Hālī ("Ropes").

Instead of Hāfī ("Divine"), perhaps this word is meant to be Al-Hāfi ("Essence," "Existence"), or Al-Hāfī ("Preparation").

This is probably Khāfī al-Hudhālī.

Jumhūr al-Farāji may be a proper name, al-Farāji meaning "the French." Other possibilities are that Jumhūr means "crowd" and that the second word is al-Qāfījī. Cf. n. 55.
These are forty books from among the seventy books.243 Then there follow epistles about the [Philosophers’] Stone,244 his (its) first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, which have no titles. In addition to these, he had ten epistles about plants, his first to his tenth. Then he had ten [other] epistles of this type about stones. This [total] seventy epistles. Supplementing the seventy, there are ten books which are:

Emendation; The Meaning (Idea); Elucidation; The Intention; The Scales; The Agreement; The Condition; The Residue; The Completion; The Accidents (Aims).245

After these and following these books he has ten treaties, which are246

Emendations of Pythagoras; emendations of Socrates; emendations of Plato; emendations of Aristotle; emendations of Archigens,247 emendations of Homer,248 emendations of Democritus; emendations of al-Harītī,249 and emendations of our own [writings].

Then following, with their titles, are these twenty books:

The Emerald; The Model (Pattern); Vital Spirit (Blood of the Heart); The Unveiling of Secrets,250 The Distant; The Excellent (Virtuous);

243 Actually there are 38, not 40, books in this list. In these list the differences between books, epistles, and chapters do not seem to be clearly distinguished.

244 Fick, Ambix, p. 101, has “stones,” but MS 1994 gives al-ḥawār (“stone”), probably referring to the Philosopher’s Stone. The singular form seems reasonable, since the plural, al-ḥārīf (“stones”), is given in the second sentence following, and a repetition is unlikely. In this second sentence, Berthelot, La Chimie, III, 26 ff., gives “plants” instead of “stones.”

245 For this title, see Berthelot, La Chimie, III, 131. For the last title in the list, see n. 131.

246 There are only nine titles in this list, if Archigens is given twice.

247 Two names are given here in the Arabic. They are probably meant to be transliterations of Archigens. They are spelled differently and are likely duplicated by mistake.

248 For Homer’s connection with alchemy, see Berthelot, Alchimistes grecs, I, 250, n. 267; v. Lippman, Einteilung, pp. 46, 74, 121.

249 In MS 1994, the name al-Harītī is spelled with a za’ (za) instead of a ra’ (r), evidently an error.

250 Instead of al-saff (“unveiling”), the word may be al-saff (“book”).
The Carnelian; The Crystal; The Resplendent; Illumination; The Symptoms; The Questions; Rivalry (Emulation); Resemblance (Ambiguity); Commentary; Distinction (Specification); Perfection and Completion.

There follow, being connected with them, three more books:
Reflection (Secret Thought, Conscience); Purity; The Aims (Accidents).

After that there are seventeen books, the first one of which is:

The Beginning of Training (Practice); Introduction to the Art; Stopping (Delaying Judgment); Confidence in the Truth of Science; Mediation (Avoiding Extreme Points of View) in Connection with the Art; The Test; The Reality (Truth); Agreement and Disagreement; The Rules and Perplexity; The Scales; The Obscure Secret; The Supreme (Most Distant) Point of Attainment; Opposition; The Explanation; The Deficient and the Complete; The Thorough Investigation.

Then there follow these three books, which are:
Purity, another one; Confidence; The Aims (Accidents).

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Ishaq [al-Nadim]: In his book catalogue Jabir said, "After these books I composed thirty epistles which have no titles. Then after that I composed four treatises, which are:
Jabir said, "With these books there are two [other] books which explain them. They are:
Purity; The Aims (Accidents).

Then after that I composed four books, which are:

Venus; Consolation (Comfort); The Perfect (Complete); Life.

"After that I composed ten books according to the opinion of Apollonius, author of The Talismans: They are:

Saturn; Mars; The Sun, the larger book; The Sun, the smaller book; Venus; Mercury; The Moon, the larger book; The Aims (Accidents); a book known as The Inherent Quality of Its Essence; The Twofold."

He had four books about hidden treasures:
The Result; The Field of the Mind; The Eye (Fountain, Quintessence); The Arrangement.

MS 1934 omits this title, but with a correction on the margin and a repetition of the first title of the four.

For this last title, see n. 131.

This man was Apollonius of Tyana (Tyanaeus). In Arabic Apollonius is Babilus; see Qalq., p. 316 i. 10. This name is followed by the word ʿalāh, translated "author" instead. It may mean "master." Smith, GRBM, I, 244, speaks of his works on divination by the stars.

See n. 131.

The Twofold ("Al-Mashatta") is from MSS 1934 and 1135. Fück, Ambic, p. 104, gives Al-Mashkat ("The Planet Jupiter").

"The field" (al-maydān) is given as "the racetrack" in Fück, Ambic, p. 104.

Al-Nāṣir ("The Arrangement") is also used to mean "The Pisces." This passage and what follows in MS 1934 is written in a handwriting which appears to be different from that of the rest of the chapter.
Al-Rāzī, Muḥammad ibn Zakariyya

His place in the science of philosophy and in medicine is [well] known and famous. I have dealt with him thoroughly in the account of medicine. He saw (professed) the truth of the Art, about which he composed many books. Among them there was a volume comprising twelve sections, which were:

The Didactic (Instructive) Introduction; The Introduction by Proof; The Proofs; The Process; The [Philosophers'] Stone; The Elixir; Nobility of the Art; The Arrangement (Observing the Proper Order); The Processes; Subtleties of the Enigmas; The Testing; The Devices.

In addition to these he had other books about the Art:

Secrets; The Secret of Secrets; Dividing by Headings; the epistle, Specific Property (Particularity); Yellow Stone; Epistles to (of) the Kings; Refutation of al-Kindī, about his refutation of the Art.

Ibn Wāḥshiyah

He was Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Ali ibn Qays ibn al-Mukhtaṣar ibn 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Ḥarathiyāh ibn Badāniyyāh ibn Bīnāsīyyāh al-Kazdānī, from among the people of Jumblā and Qusīn. He was one of the Nabataeans, who had a good literary style in the language of the Kašānīyūn [Nabataeans]. We have dealt with him thoroughly by mentioning what he did in Chapter Eight, in the section about magic, juggling, and charms, things with which he had good luck (skill).

118 For the treatment of al-Rāzī in connection with medicine, see Chap. VII, sect. 2, p. 131.
119 Phīlī gives Al-Abīdī (“Veres”), but the correct title is evidently Al-Abīdī (“Proofer”).
118 For this title, see n. 206.
117 This title is not clearly written in MS 1934. Instead of Al-Abīdī (“The Testing”), the title may be Al-Mubahābāt (“Love”).
116 The Arabic is Al-Jaḥr al-Aṣfar. Another possible translation is The Gold Stone as al-ṣaḥf plural of al-asfūr (“yellow”) is defined as “pieces of gold” by Dorsey, Supplementary I, § 96.
115 Some of the ancestors’ names are copied from the mention of Ibn Wāḥshiyah in Chap. VIII, sect. 2, near n. 30, where they are a little clearer. See Yaqūt, Gog., II, 116; IV, 100.
116 The word translated “juggling” is al-ṭaḥbīḥ. For “charms” see the Glossary.
In this place we mention his books about the art of alchemy. They were:

The Principles, a large book about the Art: The Principles, a small book about the Art; Gradation; Discourses, about the Art; a book comprising twenty sections, first, second, third, in sequence; a transcription of the calligraphies with which the books on the Art and magic are written.182

Ibn Walashiyah mentions these calligraphies, and I have read about them [in what was written] in his handwriting. I have also read a transcription of these same calligraphies in a collection of passages written in the handwriting of Abû al-Hasan ibn al-Ḳūfī,183 with marginal notes on language and grammar, historical accounts, poems, and traditions. They fell [into the hands of] Abû al-Hasan ibn al-Tunji from among the books of the Banû al-Forî.184 This was the finest of what I have seen written in the handwriting of Ibn al-Ḳūfī, except for the book Vices of the Common People, by Abû al-Ḥanîs al-Ṣaymârî.

The letters of Fāṭīma:185 a b t t h j k d h r z s h ṣ d ṭ z ʾ gh f q k l m n h w l y.

The letters of the Musnad:186 a b t t h j k d h r z s ṣ h ṣ d ṭ z ʾ gh f q k l m n h w l y.

These are the letters which served for the ancient sciences in the ʿarabî.187

The letters of al-ʿAnbath. These scripts frequently (sometimes) occurred in the books which I have mentioned about the Art, magic, and charms, in the languages

182 Al-ṣundarîrâdîr ("gradation") can also mean "graduation" or "indication of degrees of quantity."
183 Ibn al-Ḳūfī, A.D. 868-960, was a well-known calligrapher whom the author of Al-Ṭabîrî may have known personally.
184 Both Fügîl and Fûkû, Amûbic, p. 106, fail to give al-Tunji properly. The Banû al-Forî were members of a family who gained great political power at Baghdad during the late ninth and early tenth centuries. For a famous vizier and his brother who belonged to this family, see Biag. Index, Ibn al-Fûkû.
185 This name Fāṭīma may be related to Quafûs (Cephas). See Fûkû, Amûbic, p. 146.
186 For the Musnad, see Remarks about the Ḥimyarite script, in Chap. 1, sect. 1, near n. 14. This alphabet, however, may refer to the Egyptian hieroglyphics.
187 For barâbî, see n. 17.

with which people originated science but, by Allâh, they cannot be understood unless a man knows that language, which is unusual. Often these writings (scripts) were transliterations into the Arabic language, so that it is necessary to study them so as to make those scripts correspond with it [Arabic]. We shall return to it [this subject], if Allâh so wills.188

Al-Ḳhrûmî189

His name was ʿUthmân ibn Suwayd Abû Ḥari al-Ḳhrûmî from Khômîn, a village from among the villages of Egypt. He was pre-eminent and a leader in the art of alchemy. He had controversies with Ibn Walashiyah and between them there was correspondence. [He wrote]:

Red Sulphur;190 The Exposition; Encarnations; Cleaning Dhû al-Nûn al-Mâri of False Charges; Marginal Notes; Instruments of the Ancients; Dissolving and Fixation;191 Processes; Sublimating and Distilling; The Hottest (Greatest) Fire; Controversies and Conferences of the Scholars.

Abû Qirân

He was one of the people of Nisân who affirmed that the art of alchemy had been validated for him.192 He was, moreover, one of the persons to whom those practicing this Art refer, regarding him as pre-eminent and superior. Ibn Walashiyah made mention of him. Among his books there were:

An explanation of the "Book of Mercy" by Jâhir;193 Fermented Liquors;

188 "We shall return" seems to be indicated in MS 1934. Different authorities give somewhat varied interpretations of this passage, but the meaning in general seems to be clear.
189 MSS 1934 and 1135 give the name as al-Ḳhrûmîn, but al-Ḳhrûmî seems more correct as the man came from the Egyptian village which Ṭûrûq, Geog., p. 165, spells Khômîn.
190 See Glossary.
191 Berthelot, La Chimie, III, 38-40, deals with these passages which come at the end of the chapter. He translates this title as De la Dissolution et de la combination.
192 For "validated" see n. 3.
193 For the Book of Mercy see n. 104.
CHAPTER TEN

Consumption (Ripeness, Puberty); Explanation of the Ether; Emendations; Eggs; The Sevenfold Purple; Advice; Making Liquids.

Stephen the Monk

This man was at al-Mawṣīl in a monastery called Mikhlāʿīl. It was said about him that he practiced alchemy and that when he died his books appeared at al-Mawṣīl. I saw some of them, which were:

Guidance; What We Have Initiated (Invented); The Greatest Door; The Prayers and Offerings Employed Prior to (before) Practicing the Art of Alchemy; Marginal Notes; Seasons (Hours) and Times.

Al-Sāʿī al-ʿAlawi

He was Abū Bakr ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Khuṣaynī al-Ṣūfī, one of the descendants of al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, may Allāh be well pleased with them both. According to what has been recorded by persons concerned with this matter, he was one of the people for whom the art of alchemy was validated. He used to move about among the towns (regions), fearing lest the sultan might take his life. I have never seen anyone who met him, but his books have reached us from the region of al-Jabal. Among his books there were:

Epistle of the Orphan; The Pure Stone; The Humble [and] Useful; Concealed Pure; The Sources (Fundamentals); Hair, Blood, Eggs, and the Use of Their Liquids.

184 Fīück, Ambīc, p. 107, gives Al-Fāṭīr al-Musahha ("The Sevenfold Purple"). Berthelot, La Chimie, III, 38–40, gives a choice of Le Livre hāʾif des deux sortes ou Le Livre né avant terme, biyāḍ. MS 1924 has what appears to be al-fāṭīr ("the pure plant") followed by a word which might be either ab-mulūk ("profligate") or al-musahha ("sevenfold").

185 This title might also be Watering, L'Enivellennement, or Gilding. The Arabic is Al-Ṭā며rīs.

186 Both MS 1934 and MS 1135 omit any word indicating "monastery," but Fligel inserts fi ʿamm ("in a building"). For the Monastery of Mikhlāʿīl (Dayr Mikhlāʿīl), see Yāṣīn, Greg., II, 646.

187 See n. 121.

188 Fligel gives a title missing in MS 1934, Astrological Selection of the Art.

189 As this man was a descendant of the Prophet, he was feared as a pretender to the caliphate. He was hunted by the police, so that he was forced to wander.

190 The Arabic is Al-Tīhir al-Khafṣ, taken from Fligel. MSS 1934 and 1135 have a different form, which is garbled.
Al-Khanshalif

He was Abū al-Ḥasan Ahmad, al-Khanshalif, being a nickname. He was a friend of mine, who a number of times asserted to me that the Art had been validated for him. But I did not observe any indications of that in his case, because I never saw him to be other than a poor, miserable, old man, who was also foul [looking or smelling]. Among his books there were:

Explanation of the Subtleties of Enigmas;\(^{206}\) The Sun;\(^{207}\) The Moon; Helper (Faithful Neighbor) of the Poor; Operations on the Top of the Forge (Furnace).

Thus saith Muhammad ibn Iḍhāq [al-Nādiri]: the books composed about this subject are more numerous and greater than can be estimated, because the authors make false claims about them. There were authors and learned men in this field among the people of Egypt, where there was the beginning of talk about the Art and from which place they derived it. The well-known Kārāb,\(^{208}\) which were the houses of learning, and Marīyah were in the land of Egypt. It is also said that the origin of talk about the Art was with the first Persians, but [on the other hand] it is said that the Greeks, the Indians, or the Chinese were the earliest to speak about it. It is Allah who knows.\(^{209}\)

The tenth chapter of Kitāb al-Fihrist is completed and with its completion the entire book is finished. To Allah is the praise, the grace, the strength, and the power. May Allah bless our master Muhammad and his family. Peace and salutations.

\(^{206}\) The phrase “subtleties of enigmas” is in Arabic mukāt al-nunūm. Rück, Anbl., p. 100, gives al-nunūm (“enigmas”) as “mystical sayings.”

\(^{207}\) In alchemy the moon was related to silver and the sun to gold.

\(^{208}\) See n. 17.

\(^{209}\) In MS 1115 there is a marginal note at the bottom of the page.

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**General Bibliography**

The name elements al-, ibn, abi, and ābi, and combinations of these are disregarded in the alphabetical sequence and are given in parentheses following the major elements to which they belong.