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The Treasure of Alexander — Stories of Discovery and Authorship

Abstract: In modern times, the author has acquired a role and a connotation that deeply influence our perception of the ways in which texts were produced and circulated in different historical contexts. Authorship of mediaeval texts worked differently, and this peculiarity is even more evident in the case of pseudo-authorship. The case of Alexander the Great as the alleged author of technical treatises is an example of the emergence of a new syllabus by means of the attribution of a specific corpus to an authoritative, though fictional, author. The materials ascribed to Alexander found their way into many different texts dealing with technical and scientific topics. This paper explores the contents of *The Treasure of Alexander*, and attempts to delineate the complex dialogue between *The Treasure* and other works. The known manuscript and new witnesses are brought together and become objects of a comprehensive philological analysis, in order to reconstruct the textual history of *The Treasure*. In the appendices to this paper, I offer a new edition and English translation of the *Fundlegende*, which serves as frame tale for the technical syllabus, along with its table of contents.

1 The Treasure of Alexander

The Treasure of Alexander (Kitāb daḥīrat al-Iskandar) is a compilation of technical materials, collected from widely different sources. It is arranged into ten sections, the contents of which range from alchemy to the engraving of astrological talismans and the useful properties of animals. The Treasure of Alexander has already

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been the object of scholarly and non-scholarly attention. Julius Ruska, in 1926, included it in his anthology of early alchemical materials in Arabic. He studied the manuscript copy kept in what was, then, the 'Preußische Staatsbibliothek', namely Berlin, Staatsbibliothek - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Wetzstein II 1209, hereafter referred as 'B'. Manfred Ullmann in his repertory of Arabo-Islamic natural and occult sciences mentions the work in the section on magical texts.³ Together with the Berlin manuscript, Ullmann mentions several other copies, and I was able to acquire the reproduction of two of them: the manuscript from the British Library, in the collection of the India Office (London, BL, India Office, 673) hereafter referred as 'I'.4' and the one kept in the Escorial (El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Arab. 947/1) hereafter referred to as 'E'.5 In 1999, Ana Maria Alfonso-Goldfarb and Safa Abou Chahla Jubran published a translation based on the Escorial copy. The Arabic text is given in the form of a black-and-white photographic reproduction in an appendix to the book. Alfonso-Goldfarb also claims to have taken manuscript B into consideration, in order to embellish her translation into Portuguese. 6 In 2010, an English version, translated by Nicholaj

¹ In the fifth section of his long essay, Julius Ruska offered the Arabic text together with a German translation of the *Fundlegende*, the incipits of Chaps 1–7 alongside a summary of part of their contents, and a synthetic description of Chaps 8–10. See Ruska 1926, 68–107.

² Today 'Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz'. See Ahlwardt 1887–1899, III, 541–542 (No. 4193). A digital reproduction of the manuscript is available at <digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN645083135&PHYSID=PHYS_0006&DMDID> (accessed on 19 October 2020).

³ Ullmann 1972, 376. Several manuscripts mentioned by Ullmann and other scholars were impossible to obtain. The copy supposed to be in the *Dār al-Kutub* in Cairo, for instance, went missing long ago, and that there is no microfilm for the call number ħurūf wa-asmā' 56. It was not possible either to include in the *recensio* the manuscript copies kept in Indian libraries, see Sezgin 1971, 103–104 and Stapleton 1936, 129. On the other hand, I came across two different manuscripts of the Persian versions of *The Treasure of Alexander*. The first reproduction that I received from the British Library was of a Persian manuscript, bearing the signature 'Johnson Ms. 928'. On the first blank page, an uncertain hand added the title *Daḥīrat Skandar* (sic) *Risāla durr al-ḥawāṣṣ*. The text, however, is not a complete translation from the Arabic version. It lacks the *Fundlegende*, and shares only parts of the contents, mainly those related to talismans (London, BL, India Office 928, fols 11"–23"). Emily Cottrell informed me that another copy of *The Treasure* was available online. It is a shorter version in Persian, which contains talismans that are not attested in other witnesses, see for instance Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, LJS 414, fol. 154^v (<dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/pageturn.html?id=MEDREN_5145509&rotation=0¤tpage=312>, accessed on 19 October 2020).

⁴ See Loth 1877, 130-131.

⁵ See Derenbourg 1941, 76–78.

⁶ For Alfonso-Goldfarb, the composition of the work can probably be ascribed to some (pseudo-)Sabeans, and set in the third AH / ninth CE century. She presents the text as a manifesto

de Mattos Frisvold and edited by Christopher Warnock, appeared in the nonscholarly series 'Renaissance Astrology'.7

In spite of their heterogeneous appearance, the different textual materials included in *The Treasure of Alexander* share a technical character, and they all deal with the sciences of nature, as intended in the early Abbasid period.8 This type of compilation and juxtaposition required a strong and external narrative element that could justify and structure it. The device chosen to carry out this literary strategy is an introduction that explains the origin of the book and its rediscovery in the ninth century. The compilation is presented as a piece of antediluvian knowledge received by Alexander from his master Aristotle, put in writing in a golden book, and then hidden in order to avoid its disclosure to the unworthy. The book was left in anticipation of a king as wise as Alexander.⁹ A final paragraph, built on some elements from the longer introduction, completes the structure, creating the effect of a *Ringkomposition*.¹⁰

It seems unlikely that the relationship between *The Treasure of Alexander* and its sources follows a straight line. The frame story holds together a great number of erratic blocks of text,11 reorganised for this occasion into ten chapters. In some instances, the size of the block may correspond to an entire chapter, as in the case of the planetary seals. However, the sequence of the three sections on talismans (Chaps 5–7) contains two well-defined groups (Chap. 5 on planetary talismans, and Chap. 6 on healing talismans), whereas the third one collects miscellaneous talismans that did not fit properly into either of the two groups, but which were still worthy of mention. Within this miscellaneous group, are the two talismans prepared by Apollonius for two Syrian cities, which are recognisable as part of the Kitāb al-talāsim al-kabīr ('The Great Book of Talismans'), 12 in which

of Oriental Hellenisation, marked by the hybridisation that is characteristic of Oriental sources (see Alfonso-Goldfarb and Jubran 1999, 33 and 105).

⁷ See Warnock 2010.

⁸ For the table of contents of *The Treasure of Alexander*, see Appendix 2.

⁹ The Sirr al-asrār has a similar composite introduction that counts many different voices. See Forster 2006, 48–55. For the manuscript tradition of the frame story, see B (fols 1^v–4^v), E (fols 1^v– 5^{v}), I (fols $1^{v}-5^{v}$).

¹⁰ For the explicit in the manuscript tradition, see B (fol. 42^v), E (fols 60^v-61^r), I (fols 58^v-59^r).

¹¹ In this way, Manfred Ullmann defines the genesis and the movement of erratic blocks: 'When cultures meet and manifest themselves in great translating activities, it is customary to differentiate between two phases: one of reception and one of assimilation. In the phase of reception, which precedes in time, the foreign books are at first only translated; later, in the phase of assimilation, the translated texts themselves are independently worked into new books. But reception and assimilation may occur also at the same time and in one person.' (Ullmann 1978, 24).

¹² See Ullmann 1972, 380; and Raggetti 2019.

Apollonius tells us, in the first person, about his work as a wandering magician. The coherence of a textual block does not make its origin easier to recognise, nor is its thematic coherence a guarantee for a straightforward attribution to a source at all. For instance, a single and very coherent chapter may well be connected with different sources. As noted above, differences in the style and structure of some poison recipes suggest different sources for the preparations included in this section (Hermetic and non-Hermetic ones). There is also the case, however, in which the same textual block is attributed to a plurality of sources. The planetary talismans, for instance, are also transmitted under the name of 'Utarid b. Muhammad and Hunayn b. Ishāq, and are also included in the larger recension of pseudo-Aristotle's Book of Stones.¹³

In terms of the date of composition of *The Treasure of Alexander*, there is no argument strong enough to point to a precise date. Nevertheless, some textual clues hint at an early period, contemporary to or shortly after the translation movement. The overabundant combination of elements in the Fundlegende conveys an artificial impression, but the single elements themselves are realistic and accurate. The significant presence of numerous non-Arabic names also indicates an early period. The addition of explanations to alleged foreign names in a translated text reminds of a practice adopted in the Graeco-Arabic translation movement. In his translation of the ninth book of Galen's Kitāb al-adwiya al-mufrada ('Book on Simple Drugs'), Hunayn b. Ishaq explains that the Greek names ġālātītis and mālātītis respectively mean 'milk stone' and 'honey stone'. Moreover, he used the very same expression attested in The Treasure of Alexander (watafsīruhū) to introduce the paraphrase of the name.¹⁴

¹³ Paris, BnF, ar. 2775 contains two different copies of the same text; moreover, the two incipits attribute the composition in one case to 'Uṭārid (fols 102^r-112^v), in the other to Ḥunayn (fols 76^r-89°). In Istanbul, Aya Sofya, 3610 (fol. 144°), this text on planetary taslimans is included in the pseudo-Aristotelian Book of Stones, along with other short texts dealing with stones. This copy is not illustrated, unlike the corresponding section in The Treasure of Alexander, and all the different versions of the text preserved in Paris, BnF, ar. 2775. This section is also attested to in the Picatrix, where parts of the materials are attributed to Apollonius of Tyana, see Ritter 1933, 106-112. In spite of the strong internal coherence on the textual block (talisman of a particular planets with all its attributes), four different possible (pseudo-)authors compete for its paternity. For other examples of erratic blocks in Arabic literature dealing with stones, see also Raggetti 2020. 14 For this passage in Ḥunayn's translation of Galen, see Escorial 793 (fols 146^v–147^r); Escorial 794 (fol. 62°); Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Or. 193 (fol. 173°), Istanbul, Saray Ahmet III, 2083 (fol. 204). Julius Ruska boldly attempted to identify the original words behind paraphrases of non-Arabic names as given in The Treasure of Alexander, see Ruska 1926, 86-105. In the economy of the transmission of a text, foreign names transliterated in Arabic letters are a heavy burden: they are difficult to preserve in the copying process, mostly because their meaning is not

The elaborate frame tale offers a privileged example to study this complex combination of historical and literary elements – that deserve to be analysed separately – that aim to confer coherence to the compendium and historical accuracy to this narrative.15

1.1 Setting in time and space

The rediscovery of this treasure of knowledge and wisdom left by Alexander the Great is set in the first half of the ninth century CE, during the acme of the Abbasid dynasty. The Caliph al-Mu'tasim (r. 218–227 AH / 833–842 CE), the third of Hārūn al-Rašīd's sons to become 'Commander of the Believers', is leading a military campaign against the Byzantine Empire. In the course of this expedition, the city of 'Amurriyya in Phrygia (the Greek Amorion) was conquered by the Muslim army in August of 223 AH / 838 CE. 16 Thus, the Caliph is in Asia Minor with his army and court, when he is told that an invaluable treasure from the past is being kept in a convent built by Antiochus, a disciple of Alexander the Great. This treasure consists of either prophetic relics, or of books containing ancient knowledge. After an intense diplomatic exchange with the monks of the convent, who beg the Caliph not to storm the holy place, he sends a team of experts to evaluate the situation at the monastery. The team consists of a geometer, an astrologer, and the head of the postal service, in other words the head of the intelligence. They inspect the place and, in a moment of brilliant intuition, the geometer discovers a secret room beneath the floor of the convent. However, a wall must be knocked down in order to gain access to the hidden shrine. The Caliph is reluctant to destroy the wall, since he does not think it is appropriate for a king to ravage a

transparent. The Cyranides, for instance, was translated from Greek into Arabic, and the model of talisman proposed there met with great success. The text itself, so tightly bound to the Greek alphabet for its linguistic and magical structure (a stone engraved with animal figures, and a vegetal element placed between the stone and the bezel: the names of the stone, the plant and the animals always beginning with the same letter), was less successful. The talismanic model was accepted and successfully transmitted in Arabic, but not the text itself. For the edition and translation of the Arabic version, see Toral-Niehoff 2004.

¹⁵ For the edition (based on the three manuscripts mentioned above) and English translation of the frame tale, see Appendix 1.

¹⁶ The city of Amorion was the place of origin of the dynasty ruling the second Rome at that time. The city's fall created a very difficult moment for the Emperor Theophilus (813-842), polemically called by his contemporaries 'Sarakenophron' (Saracen-minded). See Ostrogorsky 1963, 169-175.

holy place built by another king, and so, for the time being, he relinquishes the whole idea.

1.2 The Caliph's dream

The stalemate is resolved by an unexpected oneiric twist. Al-Muʿṭasim has a dream, in which his brother and predecessor al-Maʾmūn appears to him. After al-Maʾmūn was famously visited by Aristotle in a dream that served as propaganda for the translation movement, now it is his turn to become the carrier of a message concerning ancient knowledge and its relation with Abbasid power. The dead Caliph reveals to his brother that the shrine contains a treasury of knowledge left by Alexander the Great, and reassures al-Muʿṭasim about the righteousness of his claim to it. The three men at the service of the Caliph are sent to the convent again, this time with a large group of workers, to demolish the wall that separates the Caliph from the treasure.

1.3 The book and its chest

From the ruins of the wall a brass chest locked with iron clasps emerged; inside it, another chest made of red gold, and inside this a golden book: the tangible treasure of Alexander. The codicological description of this book is rich in details and particulars: the format of the book is one by three cubits, it has 360 pages made of red gold with twelve lines of writing per page. The script is engraved on only one side of each page, which is half a finger thick to prevent the engraving from cutting through the page. The material description of the book is designed to impress the reader, although its physical existence is made impossible by this very accumulation of details. No information is given, however, about the binding that was supposed to keep these precious leaves together.

¹⁷ For the dream of al-Ma'mūn, see Gutas 1998, 95–104 and Weststeijn 2010.

¹⁸ Julius Ruska took this description very seriously and attempted to calculate the amount of gold required to produce this book and – with a pinch of irony – its value in modern currency: 'Man kommt nach den Angaben des Verfassers, wenn man die Elle gleich 6 dm setzt und auch im übrigen runde Zahlen annimmt, auf folgende Werte: Oberfläche einer Tafel 108 qdm, Rauminhalt 10,8 cdm bei einer halben Fingerdicke vom 1 cm; Rauminhalt des ganzen Buchs 360×10.8 cdm= 3888 cdm, rund 3900 cdm. Multipliziert man mit 19 als dem Eigengewicht des Goldes, so ergeben sich als Gewicht des Schatzes 74000 kg oder 1480 Zentner, die nach dem alten Goldwert von 2780 Mark für das Kilogramm Gold einen Gesamtwert von über 200 Millionen darstellen, ungerechnet die hermetische Weisheit'. See Ruska 1926, 76.

The chests that contain the book serve not just to protect a treasury of knowledge, but also to carry two different messages in Greek. One is directly engraved on the inner chest, the other on a stone placed in the outer chest. The first inscription explains that the great king, sensing the end approaching, decided to hide the book as he did not want to expose his greatest asset to any debasement or defilement. The book was not placed in its hidden shrine at a random moment, but rather at the point of a precise and favourable configuration of the sky: the constellation of Virgo rising, with the Moon and Mercury in conjunction, and Saturn in its own house of Capricorn. Aristotle reminds the king, too, that he had to wait for a favourable sky to retrieve this knowledge, as Alexander had instructed at the beginning of his great adventure.

The inscriptions on the stone are recorded in the first person. They were placed there by Antiochus, 19 a disciple of Alexander. The reasons, however, remain the same: the book must be protected and kept safe from unworthy hands. Antiochus obeyed his master's order to conceal the chest and understood that it contained prophetic relics. Thus, it is clear that Antiochus must have ignored the content of the inner chest. Secrecy plays an important role, and the importance of protecting this knowledge is reiterated ('since only a few are worthy of it, but many are those who look for it').

1.4 Translators and translation technique

The Caliph's dream is a clear sign of the connection between the acquisition of knowledge and the translation movement.²⁰ The introduction adds that the text is written in *luġa yunāniyya wa-luġa rūmiyya* (the language of the ancient Greeks and the language of the Byzantine Greeks).²¹ The translators are divided into two groups on the basis of their expertise, and then made to work separately. This remark about working in segregation infers that only a single text was under discussion, albeit a 'bilingual edition'. In any case, this expression seems to point to

¹⁹ A historical figure that might have inspired this 'Antiochus, King of the Greeks' could be Antiochus I Soter (281-261 BC), who inherited the Seleucid Empire from his father Seleucus I Nicator, one of Alexander's generals.

²⁰ Curiously, the only activity in the field of translations attributed to the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim is The Treasure of Alexander. Gutas argues that the vigour of the caliphal patronage was in proportion to their political success. The fact that al-Mu'taşim undermined the caliphal authority by relying on the massive support of Turkish troops would explain his modest contribution as a patron of translations. See Gutas 1998, 123.

²¹ See Forster 2006, 53; see also Di Branco 2015.

two distinct languages, perhaps Greek and Latin, or Classical Greek and Byzantine Greek. Arabic authors and intellectuals were aware of the existence of different languages spoken and written in the Oriental Roman Empire, and of their diachronic configuration, Before 232 AH / 847 CE, al-Ğāhiz composed an essay on the non-Islamic civilisations that he considered worthy of interest (Arabs, Indians, Rūm, and Persians). For him, the ancient Greeks were philosophers and physicians, whereas the Byzantine Greeks of his time were mere craftsmen. Nevertheless, he pretends to confuse the two peoples, so that he can fully accept all the sciences from ancient Greece, without any concern about their pagan origin, since they were transmitted by the Byzantines.²² One century later, in his 'Book of notification and verification' (Kitāb al-tanbīh wa-l-išrāf), al-Mas'ūdī explains that the Romans (al-Rūm) completely assimilated the Greeks after the victories of Augustus in Syria and Egypt.²³ This historical process produced confusion and disagreement about whether many philosophers, literates, and physicians were of Greek or Roman origin. Al-Mas'ūdī tells us that, with the help of quotations from the works of those ancient authors, he clearly demonstrated their being Greeks (Yūnāniyyūn) in his 'Book of the different kinds of knowledge and events of the past centuries' (Kitāb funūn al-ma'ārif wa-mā ǧarā fī-l-duhūr alsawālif), now unfortunately lost.²⁴ However, when al-Mas'ūdī considers later periods, he uses the ethnonym $al-R\bar{u}m$ to indicate the Byzantines.²⁵ In the context of translations from Greek into Arabic, another example is the incipit of the 'Byzantine Book of Agriculture' (Kitāb al-filāha al-rūmiyya), composed in the sixth century by Cassianos Bassos Scholastikos and translated into Arabic (min al-lisān al-rūmī ilā al-'arabī) by Sirǧīs b. Hilīyā al-Rūmī. Here, the original author of the text and its translator, both called *al-rūmī*, could be anything but Byzantines. From these few examples, it can be inferred that $r\bar{u}m\bar{t}$ had a polysemic value, determined each time by the context of use, whereas $v\bar{u}n\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ seems always to refer to the ancient Greeks. In the Fundlegende of The Treasure of Alexander, however, it cannot be entirely excluded that the two names are in fact redundant,

²² See Pellat 1967, 71–72 and 86.

²³ See al-Mas'ūdī, Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-išrāf, ed. de Goeje 1894, 115; tr. Carra de Vaux, 1896, 162.

²⁴ This work, mentioned several times in the *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, seems to have dealt with the Greeks, the Byzantines, and the population of North Africa, see Pellat 2012.

²⁵ See, for instance, the chapter on the ransoms exchanged between the Muslims and the Byzantines, al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-išrāf*, ed. de Goeje 1894, 189; tr. Carra de Vaux, 1896, 255

²⁶ Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Or. 414, fol. 1^v.

and that they represent another stylistic device to aid the creation of a more refined and richer intellectual atmosphere.²⁷

No reference to a particular language appears alongside the non-Arabic names for various preparations and talismans mentioned in The Treasure of Alexander. In many cases, however, the meaning of a foreign name is paraphrased in Arabic.²⁸ Usually, these odd words or expressions seem to be the name given to a certain preparation. This does not exclude, however, that the name of a physician or alchemist was also used eponymously for the name of a potion that he had developed.²⁹

Ultimately, the Caliph wants to compare the two translations. His evaluation is that of a connoisseur and leads to approval: the only differences he can find between the two translated versions are those accounted for by the different languages of origin.

1.5 The chain of transmission

The introduction reconstructs an actual isnād ('chain of authorities') for the transmission of The Treasure of Alexander. Aristotle left a note in the book explaining that Hermes threw the best part of the antediluvian knowledge into the abyss of the sea, out of fear that it would be defiled by the unworthy. Bālīnās (Apollonius of Tyana) was the only one who could recover it, and then he passed it on to Aristotle, who, in turn, gave it to his disciple Alexander. From the plaques on the chest, we know that Alexander was gripped by the same fear that led Hermes to bury the book in the depths of the sea, and so he decided to hide it for a second time, involving his disciple Antiochus in the operation. The mention of 'a king who loves wisdom', as the one who, ultimately, will be worthy of retrieving the book and propagating its knowledge, clears the way for the Caliph al-Mu'tasim and strengthens his role.

In the text, however, only Hermes and Apollonius are explicitly mentioned as sources. Comparing the chain of transmission with the other information provided by the different messages, plaques, and notes, the composition of the text belongs to the ancient and mythical period of Hermes and Apollonius. Later, the

²⁷ In the translation of the frame tale, in order to solve this semantic conundrum, 'Romans' has been used as a literal translation of *al-rūmī*, see Appendix 1.

²⁸ The explanations given to these transliterated names are introduced by three different expressions: tafsīr ('explanation'), ta'wīl ('interpretation'), and ma'nan ('meaning').

²⁹ For a list of the names of Indian physicians associated with recipes for poisons, see Levey 1966, 14.

keepers of this knowledge did not modify the text: Alexander had it written in a golden book. Antiochus simply placed the golden chest inside another one, together with the inscribed stone. The last person in the chain, in this case the Abbasid Caliph, collected the paratextual traces left by the previous owners, together with the book itself, and had them all translated into Arabic, enriched by a new introduction. This prestigious chain of transmission has the effect to strengthen the construction of the syllabus that carries the name of Alexander in the title, presenting it as a compendium of all ancient technical knowledge.

As for the contents, their variety points to a large number of sources, certainly more numerous than those mentioned in the introduction. Unfortunately, these sources remain implicit, and in only a few passages they are generically referred to as 'ancient wise men'. Sometimes, it is possible to make a realistic guess by comparing the style and contents of different passages. In the third chapter, 'On the preparation of poisons', this hypothesis about the compilation of materials coming from different sources finds more solid ground. All the recipes attributed to Hermes have an astrological component: in order to be effective, the poison has to be prepared when certain aspects and conjunctions occur. Only one recipe in the third chapter lacks this astrological set of instructions, and it is attributed to Qīnān son of Enoch. In this case, it is clear that the different structure of this recipe corresponds to a different source; while, vice versa, a particular authorial attribution includes materials that share homogeneous contents and structures.

1.6 The final Abbasid touch

The geometer Muḥammad b. Ḥālid, whose brilliant intuition led to the discovery of the hidden shrine, is rewarded by the Caliph. He is entrusted with the composition of a signed introduction to the translation that encloses all the concentric circles of the frame tale.³⁰

2 The authorship of Alexander the Great

Modern scholarship appears reluctant to recognise a precise authorial space – though clearly fictitious – for Alexander the Great in Arabic literature. Studying this text, Julius Ruska reported that its title was not exactly revealing, and that

no author's name is given. In fact, one has to work one's way through a long Fundlegende, and an anthological survey of the text is the only way to glean any idea about the contents.31 Alfonso-Goldfarb and Jubran maintain that (pseudo-)Sabeans wanted to compose a pseudo-Aristotelian work, which can be inferred from the Aristotelian mark on the cosmography described in the first chapter. Even if one is determined to deny Alexander the role of protagonist in the construction of pseudo-authorship,³² it would be perhaps more precise to reformulate this hypothesis, and say that the aim was to compose a text from and for the Hermetic corpus, especially for that part connected to natural sciences. Moreover, the first chapter gives practical remarks on basic astrological notions, rather than a systematic cosmography.³³

By contrast, this study aims to define the authorial space occupied by Alexander the Great, with the idea that the attribution to this alleged author was the cultural mean adopted for the creation of a new syllabus devoted to the sciences of nature and technical knowledge. The association between Alexander the Great and technical materials is confirmed by another title attributed to him, the *Kitāb al-hiyal wa-l-hurūb* ('The book of stratagems and wars').³⁴

³¹ See Ruska 1926, 68.

³² Pseudo-epigraphy is meant here as the attribution of a certain composition to a renowned author; whereas pseudo-authorship is meant as the attribution of a work either to a historical or literary character that offers a good thematic anchor for the contents of the text. Both approaches share the same idea of enhancing the credibility and broadening the circulation of a text. The historical figure of Alexander the Great has been through extensive literary elaboration, eventually resulting in a prominent place for him in Arabic literature, and making him eligible for pseudo-authorship. Other examples of this phenomenon are the Biblical prophets Enoch and Daniel (for geomancy and other forms of divination), Išrāsīm (the Indian slave-girl of Hārūn al-Rašīd, for alchemy and magic), and 'Uṭārid b. Muḥammad (for astrological talismans). Many of these texts are still unpublished. Manfred Ullmann has provided the most comprehensive list of references, see Ullmann 1972.

³³ Sezgin also counts The Treasure of Alexander among the pseudo-Aristotelian works on alchemy; see Sezgin, 1971, 103-104. In the introduction, the words attributed to Aristotle seek to imitate a Neo-platonic philosophical discourse – with rather vague references to the opposition between a perishable and an eternal world, the presence of lights, the celestial harmony, etc. but do not exactly sketch a cosmography.

³⁴ Four manuscript witnesses of this work are known to me: two in the Leiden University Library with the shelf marks Or. 72 and Or. 499, a third in the Topkapı Library in Istanbul with the shelf mark Saray Ahmet III 3469(2), and a fourth in the British Library with the shelf mark Add. 14055. See Witkam 2007, 47 and 218-219, and Ritter 1929, 151-152. The British Library manuscript can be accessed from the following link: http://www.qdl.qa/en/archive/81055/ vdc_10000000046.0x0000086> (accessed on 26 Jan. 2021). For the story of the acquisition of this

The first striking feature that it has in common with *The Treasure of Alexander* is the presence of a *Fundlegende*. Though much shorter, the introduction of the *Kitāb al-ḥiyal* places the book in an underground vault $(d\bar{n}m\bar{a}s)$ not far from Alexandria, where it is found by the 'Two-Horned One': the book is hidden between two stones pressed against each other, the original text is in Greek, later translated into Arabic. Along with descriptions of many fighting techniques and weapons, instructions for siege and battle, and a number of hydraulic machines, the *Kitāb al-ḥiyal* contains preparations for Greek fire, wildfire, pyrotechnic games, different kinds of naphtha $(nafza/nafz\bar{a})$, and other flammable substances. This highly specialised knowledge in recipe form recalls technical alchemy, and can be compared with the materials in the second chapter of *The Treasure of Alexander*.³⁵

The British Library copy has a second introduction that opens a new section of the text, after the chapter on incendiary substances. The *Fundlegende* of the first introduction is retold, but with additional details. Here, Alexander, sensing that death is near and fearful that this knowledge could be lost, writes a book for his son [sic].³⁶ Alexander's perception that he is living his last days on earth and his worry about the destiny of his precious knowledge is a recurring theme in Arabic literature. This second introduction to the *Kitāb al-ḥiyal* reads as follows:³⁷

These are the chapters about weapons, the destruction of fortresses, and all the stratagems, the influence of the sun and the moon, the making of simulacra that resemble beasts of prey to be placed around the army during the war – and the simulacra jump 10 cubits or more and kill every man or animal that approaches them, and at the end go back to their place –

manuscript, see <qdl.qa/en/earl-collection-and-gun-curious-provenance-british-library-manuscript> (accessed on 26 Jan. 2021).

³⁵ In Istanbul, Saray Ahmet III, 3469(2) and in London, BL, Add. 14055 this technical knowledge is mainly concentrated in three chapters: Chap. 6 ('On the knowledge of the different kinds of naphtha and flammable oils' [fol. 70^{v}]), Chap. 7 ('On the lanterns to place around the army' [fol. 82^{v}]), and Chap. 8 ('On the methods to make clothes that resist discolouring' [fol. 89^{v}]). In fact, there are only a few recipes for textile dyeing, followed by many more on different kinds of naphtha. The foliation number refers to the British Library manuscript, for the table of contents of the Istanbul manuscript see Ritter 1929, 151–152. In Leiden Or. 72 the same material is found in a second part that contains the chapters on the preparation of naphtha and its uses, shooting with fire and flammable oils, the knowledge of oils, the extraction of fire from water, and a fire-proof ointment (fols 66^{v} –149 v).

³⁶ It is well known that Alexander died without any legitimate heir. The name of this alleged son is reminiscent of that of his father Philip. A variant produced during the transmission of the text was able to conceive an heir for Alexander the Great.

³⁷ London, BL, Add. 14055, fols 122^v–123^r, and Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Or. 499, fols 1^v–2^r. For the different literary developments of Alexander's death, see Doufikar-Aerts 2003.

the construction of a mirror that burns with its rays from a distance of 100 cubits. These chapters also deal with other wise sayings and wonders that kings need in the administration of their kingdom, its provinces, and their government.

All these chapters derive from the wisdom (hikma) that Alexander, the Two-Horned One, discovered, and with which he conquered the country. Wise men transmitted it on to us, and we display it in this book of ours. It is said that this wisdom was in a book extracted from a cave close to Alexandria, between two stones placed one against the other. It was written in Greek and translated into Arabic by order of its author Aglīs son of Alexander.³⁸

This happened when Alexander had grown old and was afraid that death may take him at any moment. So, Alexander entrusted his son with the wisdom and the directions, and wrote this book that deals with different branches of wisdom. We have no other intent than being worthy of this book on the art of war, on weapons, on the knowledge of the stratagems and devices to defeat the enemy and conquer his country. In these chapters, we will mention what needs to be mentioned about this, God willing.

Alexander also appears to be a technical authority on stones in a brief quotation from the short alchemical treatise ascribed to Democritus, dealing with the four elements, colours, and natures. Here, Alexander addresses his anonymous son and instructs him about the origin and the use of a stone that originates from the sea and that can be transformed into lime:³⁹

The King Alexander said to his son: 'The stone that comes from the sea is not generated by a seed, but it is formed in the sea, just as the weeds intertwine one with the other, so as to become like a stone. It is found on the shores of the sea, and you can find it there. When the waves and the South wind pour forth and gush and pour, then it is its moment. Then it is brought where the North wind blows, and since this wind is moist, this stone is produced from its moistness, and in the same way it is brought forth. Then it is crushed. And you, if you crush it, will see that it has rays like the sun. Then make it into a fine powder together with the moistness that is inside it [and derives] from the dew. Then it has to be dried in the sun, and it becomes lime (kals). Then let it evaporate with rain water and evaporated white vinegar. Then let it dry again, and wash it with the water of the dew. Repeat this operation until it becomes white. All your operation consists in what I have told you, so understand it'.

Alexander's authorship plays a role not only in the transmission of knowledge, but also in the particular use of stones in the making of talismans. For instance, Alexander is mentioned in connection with a small group of stones in pseudo-

³⁸ Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Or. 499, fol. 1v: 'translated into Arabic on the orders of Alexander for his son, F/Q(i)līs son of Alexander'.

³⁹ This text is preserved in two copies: Istanbul, Carullah, 1086, fols 7^v-14^r and London, BL, Or. 13006, fols 57^v-66^r. Incipit: *Kitāb al-hakīm al-māhir Dīmūqrātīs qāla yanbaģī li-man yatlubu* hādihi l-ḥikma an ya'rifa li-l-arkān allatī wudi'at 'alayhā wa-l-ağnās wa-l-ṭabā'i' wa-l-alwān (Carullah 1086, fol. 7^v), see also Sezgin 1971, 50.

Aristotle's 'Book of Stones' (*Kitāb al-aḥǧār*). ⁴⁰ The four stones related to the name of Alexander are attested only in the more inclusive recension preserved in the manuscript Istanbul, Aya Sofya, 3610, and not in the text of Paris, BnF, ar. 2772, marked by the creative and fluid hybridisation characterising ancient and premodern sources. ⁴¹ All these stories told in connection with a stone are associated with the military expeditions of Alexander. These campaigns were also explorations of mysterious lands full of wonders. The section on the *bahta* stone ⁴² contains some narrative elements that derive from storytelling, here merged into a technical text. The foundation of a 'City of Brass' (*Madīnat al-nuḥās*) ⁴³ and an expedition organised by the Umayyad Caliph are themes that also appear in the *Romance of Alexander*, in his *Sīra*, and in the *Thousand and One Nights*. Fictitious or not, this city is also mentioned in a number of historical and geographical sources. ⁴⁴ Many scholars have read, in the tale from the *Thousand and One Nights*, the allegory of a spiritual quest. ⁴⁵ The corresponding paragraph in the *Kitāb al-aḥǧār* is a concise summary of some of the main points of the narrative, but it

⁴⁰ See Ullmann 1972, 107.

⁴¹ See Ullmann 1972, 105–107; Sezgin 1971, 103; and Ruska 1912. I was also able to verify that the manuscripts Istanbul, Şehid Ali Paşa, 1840; Istanbul, Bağdatli Vehbi, 2248, and Cairo (*Dār al-Kutub*), Taymūr, Tabīʿīyāt 60 witness to the same recension as Paris, BnF, ar. 2772.

⁴² Charles Genequand worked on a version of the tale in which Baht is the name of the city, probably with reference to the material with which it was built. See Genequand 1992, 328. Andras Hamori focusses on the role of Solomon in connection with the city (the third constitutive element of the story pointed out by Mia Gerhardt): the first person to discover the city, where he confined some rebellious jinns. See Hamori 1971. In Istanbul, Aya Sofya, 3610, the name of the stone is spelled with $t\bar{a}$ 'marbūṭa, whereas in the other sources the name is spelled with a $t\bar{a}$ ' maftūḥa, which might very well be simply an orthographical variant.

⁴³ The word $nu\dot{n}as$ can mean either 'copper' or 'brass'. Both translations have been adopted in different languages, and also by different authors using the same idiom. Since the pseudo-Aristotle is not the only text to describe the colour of its stone as similar to that of marcasite, I prefer to translate it as 'brass' (which also seems to be the conventional solution in English).

⁴⁴ For a detailed survey of the historical and geographical works, see Doufikar-Aerts 2010, 21–34. The theme of the 'City of Brass' is not discussed further in this study; however, it emerges quite frequently, see Doufikar-Aerts 2010, 129, 136, 219, 221, 223. For this theme in the *Nights*, see Gerhardt 1963, 195–235. The presence of Alexander's pseudo-authorship – and the uncertainties about it – are mentioned in the introduction of the 'Book of Poisons' attributed to Ibn Waḥšiyya: 'Also, there is a book on poisons attributed to a man called Alexander. I do not know whether he is Alexander the physician or the other one who is a philosopher. I know two Alexanders aside from Alexander who compiled a book on art. The latter is an Egyptian, and he is a philosopher and scholar'. See Levey 1966, 22a.

⁴⁵ See Hajjar 2012.

seems to be completely free from allegorical elements. 46 The Caliph – in the Nights it is 'Abd al-Malik – is not mentioned by name, but a curious detail is given: he decided to send an expedition because he had read about this city in the 'Book of Stones'. ⁴⁷ This story is recorded for antiquarian reasons, in order to prevent this city from sinking into oblivion, since the Umayyad expedition found that the city was already crumbling away. The element of the bird that counteracts the lethal effect of the bahta stone is mentioned in the 'Book of Poisons' of Ibn Wahshiyya. The story is included in the first chapter of the account of Yārbūqā⁴⁸ on poisons that kill even from a distance.49

Kitāb al-ǧawāhir wa-l-ahǧār ('Book of Precious Substances and Stones'), copied for the Mamluk Sultan Qaytbay (d. 901 AH / 1496 CE). Frontispiece of the Pseudo-Aristotle's 'Book of Stones'.

⁴⁶ Elisabetta Benigni, in a recent article, provides a large bibliography on the spiritual and allegorical interpretations of the 'City of Brass'. See Benigni 2015, 139.

⁴⁷ One wonders whether this is the pseudo-Aristotle itself or another work bearing the same title. In the Nights, the Caliph happened to learn, from different conversations about the glory of Solomon, that the prophet and king imprisoned some demons in brass bottles. He is taken by the desire to possess some of those bottles, so he organises an expedition to retrieve them. See Gerhardt 1963, 199.

⁴⁸ The main source of Ibn Wahšiyya is supposedly a translation of the 'Book of Poisons' from the Nabatean author called Yārbūqa al-Nabaţī al-Kasadānī, see Levey 1966, 12a.

^{49 &#}x27;There is a stone that is found on the islands near the land of the Chinese; its colour is black, like the colour of marcasite, and is made of iron. If a man sees it, he will laugh until he dies, even if he has covered his face after having seen it. It does him no good, so that his laughing does not cease until his death. The remedy that removes the effect of this stone is a bird that lives on the same islands. It is green-feathered and as big as a sparrow. If, on seeing the stone, one sees also, by chance, the bird at the same time, then the lethal power of the stone is destroyed. If he sees the stone and does not meet the bird by chance at that place, then it will snow, as much as the weight of a man or more. He will undress and feed on the snow and begin to swallow it. He will keep swallowing it and, in this way, may escape death. But he may become ill, for as long as he lives, from distress in the body and in the corruption of its composition as long as he lives. However, on looking at the bird which we mentioned just a little earlier, the death of the man is prevented and the illness disappears', see Levey 1966, 27a. The element of death by laughter is also attested in the Nights, as the horrible way in which the soldiers, who tried to enter the 'City of Brass', died in the attempt, see Genequand 1992, 29. In the section on poisons in The Treasure of Alexander, a potion that kills with laughter is mentioned in the third chapter on poisons and antidotes. The same stone with similar properties is also mentioned by al-Ğildakī, Durrat al-ġawwāş wa-kanz al-iḥtiṣāş [1433], ed. Burǧaklī 2012, 128.

The following texts are the three passages of the recension found in Istanbul, Aya Sofya, 3610 that mention Alexander in connection with wondrous and exotic stones.

The Philosopher's Stone (Istanbul, Aya Sofya, 3610, fol. 58^v)

The explanation is that during the day this stone is iridescent with many different colours – red, yellow, and green – and it does not cease to scintillate in all possible colours. When the night comes, it emits a light as if it were a mirror reflecting light, or as the indirect light of the sun and the moon. So, Alexander ordered some of his soldiers to carry these stones during the day; and when the night came, a shower of stones surprised them from every direction, but they could not see anybody, or who was doing this to them. Alexander was so impressed that he brought one of these stones with him and, after he had left that place, he discovered its occult property: that the jinns and the evil spirits flee from the place where this stone is. The same happens with the snakes and the vermin, which had left his military encampment. And so, these stones became one of his most precious treasures.

Tadmur Stone (fol. 85^v)

This is a stone that can be found in the extreme West, on the shores of the sea, but it cannot be found in any other place. Its white colour resembles marble. It has a peculiar property: if a man sniffs it, then his blood coagulates inside the body and he dies on the spot. Some soldiers of Alexander's army did that, and they died immediately.

Bazqī Stone (fol. 86^r)

Its nature is warm and dry, and it has the same nature as fire. If it is brought close to a living being, then it will arouse coitus. Once Alexander broke this stone and found inside it the image of a scorpion. And if one grinds four $\check{s}a$ ir of this stone, and gives it to a man suffering from the presence of purulent water (lit. 'yellow water') in his body to drink, then this will be useful to him, and will immediately purge him. The man who carries this stone under his tongue will never be thirsty, his voice will become nicer and his words eloquent.

Bahta *Stone* (fol. 94^v)

Its mines are on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean; these stones can be either small or big, they resemble the golden marcasite, sometimes the *Okeanos* throws them on its shores, so this stone can be found there as well. The army of Alexander discovered these stones, but everybody who approached this stone in order to fetch it, happened to open his mouth wide, his veins stopped pulsing, and he could not move anymore. Then they found a small bird coming from the *Okeanos* river. This bird sat upon this stone, and its effectiveness ceased. So, Alexander brought with him a huge quantity of this stone in order to build a city of brass with it. Then some Umayyad Kings read the 'Book of Stones' and sent someone to see this city. The exterior aspect of the stone had changed due to the effects of dust and time; whereas inside, it had not changed its colour and it amazed everyone who saw it. In this stone there is no occult property other than this, and what we have just mentioned about this stone is for no other reason than to preserve the memory of it among the other stones.

The Kitāb al-hawāss ('Book of Occult Properties') by Abū al-'Alā b. Zuhr (d. 525 AH / 1130 CE) seems to confirm the existence of a steady relation between Alexander and mineralogical lore.⁵⁰ All the passages attributed to him deal with metals and precious stones, with a particular focus on the making of talismans. The episodes are included in the frame of the military expeditions of Alexander the Great. Two of these wondrous findings are made by the king among the remains of an Egyptian temple, near the city of Homs (Emesa). So, there seems to be an archaeological component to Alexander's antiquarian interests. Below is a translation of the relevant passages from the 'Book of Occult Properties'.

Swallow (sāġūr, Istanbul, Saray Ahmet III, 2086, fol. 25°)

The jaundice stone is useful for the beard. Alexander found it in the belly of a swallow, in its nest, the first time it nests and appears. In the spring, in the farthest East, there are only two white, or red and white, stones: if one is hung on a frightened man, then this will cure him. If the white stone is applied on an epileptic man, then he will recover. If the white stone is applied to a constipated man, then this will loosen him up. If the red one is hung on a man suffering from urine retention, then this will cure him. Sometimes these two stones look different: one of the two is oblong, the other round. If it is put in a calf skin, hung on a man suffering from obsession, and he carries it, then this will cure him. This has been tried out (muğarrab).

Flies (fol. 35r)

Alexander said: 'I found among the ancient Egyptian ruins in Homs two buried temples. I explored them and found a talisman that disperses flies, sitting on a table, and it kept the flies away from it. It is made of hellebore and red sulphur'. *Iqlīmās* [name of a source?]: if the same quantity of the two ingredients is ground, kneaded with sea onion water, make a figurine with it, and place it on the table, then flies will not approach it as long as it remains there.

Alexander said: 'In this temple I found something hung on the door, and it kept flies away'. He said: 'Take the wood called banādriyūn, hang it on the door and the flies will not enter'.

Saker falcon (fol. 50^{r-v})

Alexander used to have a talisman made from the copper of Cyprus; it is said that the one who mounts it in a ring should not speak until the work has been completed. On the stone, the figure of a crescent has to be engraved, with a star next to it. The ring should be made of gold. The man who wears it should place it on his waist, and then he will no longer suffer from bladder complaints, pain in the abdomen, or colic.

He said: 'Take copper and good white ceramics, grind them into a fine powder, pour Palestinian oil on it, and half a dirham of quicksilver, mix it, leave it until it dries, and you will find that this transmutes things into silver'.

⁵⁰ For the structure of this alphabetical collection of occult properties and its particular position in Arabic technical literature, see Raggetti 2014.

A talisman that allows the one who wears it to have sexual intercourse without getting anyone pregnant: its figure is a monkey, pierce it on the back side and tie it to your waist with a silk thread, whenever you want to have sexual intercourse, without the woman getting pregnant. When you want the effect to cease, simply untie it from your waist.

Talisman to repel bedbugs: make the image of a bedbug, take a hair from the tale of a mare at the very moment she is mounted by a stallion, tie all the bedbugs with the hair and give it the shape of a hedgehog, then put it into a new pot made either of clay or of copper, seal its opening, and bury it in the middle of the doorway, then not a single bedbug will enter.

Qalaqand, that is vitriol $(z\bar{a}\check{g})$ and qulqaṭār (fols $72^{v}-73^{r}$)

Alexander said: 'I found among the ancient Egyptian ruins in Homs a lamp (qindil) that illuminated the place without any fire, as if it were made of red ruby'. Description of its preparation: take some green Persian qalaqand that has no impurity; put it in a ceramic pot, roast it in an oven, and leave it there for one night. On the second day, take it out and you will see it turning red. Do the same for the second night and keep doing this until it has become completely red. Then grind it, and pour three times its quantity of sublimated vinegar onto it, put it into a long-necked bottle with a large opening for three days, shaking it every now and then. Then purify its water that is as red as purple and ruby. Sprinkle it inside the house, and you will see wonders.

Diamond (fol. 86^{r-v})

He said: 'The first one to look for this stone was Alexander the Greek, thanks to his love for precious stones. They cannot be found anywhere on earth, but in a valley in the East, beyond Khorasan, in the direction of India. No one has ever travelled there, since there are many kinds of snakes, whose peculiarity is that every living being that looks at them dies, as long as the snake is alive. Once it has died, it loses this peculiarity, and it is no longer harmful to look into its eyes. They have a winter and a summer regimen. When Alexander arrived in this valley, he did not hesitate to cross it; so, he ordered them to make mirrors [with polished metal]. And when the snakes looked at their images, they saw themselves and they were killed by their own image. There are similar snakes in Khorasan, on one of the mountains of the country called $Luy\bar{u}n$.'

Alexander said: 'Once Alexander [sic] had seen the death of the snakes, he left the place. He only took some precious stones from the valley, because there was still something that he desired for himself. So, from outside the valley, he ordered that young goats should be brought, slaughtered, skinned, and thrown into the valley, then the birds of prey should be released. When the goat meat reached the bottom of the valley, the diamonds stuck to it, the birds seized the meat, and Alexander and his companions chased them, after they had emerged from the valley, and collected the stones. Since Alexander, no one has been able to take the diamonds out from the valley, except in this way. [...]

Its property ($h\bar{a}ssiyya$): it breaks stones and precious substances, but almost no other thing can break it. What can really break it is the magnet for gold, and this attracts gold wherever this may be. And if a bit of it remains in contact with gold for a while, then the gold will be corrupted'.

Concluding remarks

If pseudo-epigraphy is the attribution of a new composition to a renowned author based on a stylistic and thematic continuity with his corpus, the creation of pseudo-authorship is a way of authorial attribution that rests upon the commonly shared literary and narrative lore related to a certain character, Pseudoauthorship may very well be linked to a historical figure, but literary aspects tend to prevail over the historical ones nevertheless. This mechanism of attribution was productive in the creation of new syllabi, and guaranteed the transfer of knowledge from one cultural and linguistic context into a new one. The pseudoauthorship of Alexander the Great is an example of this; the constitutive elements of the pseudo-authorship derive from the Romance and popular narratives, rather than from historical sources.51

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⁵¹ For the many facets of Alexander's character, see Stoneman 2003 and Doufikar-Aerts 2010, xix-xx.

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Appendix 1: Edition and translation of The Treasure of Alexander's frame tale

Conspectus siglorum

- В Berlin, Staatsbibliothek - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Wetzstein II 1209 (fols 1'-4' and 42^v)
- El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Arab. 947/1 (fols 1^v-5^v and 60^v-61^r)
- London, British Library, India Office, 673 (fols 1^v-5^v and 58^v-59^r)

Since it was not possible to make a complete recensio of the manuscript witnesses to The Treasure of Alexander, and considering that the equally acceptable variants do not yield any stemmatic clue, the editorial choices were based on internal criteria, in particular the usus scribendi of the textual genre. The orthography of the text has been normalised, linguistically relevant phenomena are noted in the apparatus.

كتاب ذخيرة الاسكندر

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

كان الامير المعتصم بالله بعد ان فتح عمورية قد سمع ان بها ديرًا قديما ينسب الى انطيخوس تلميذ الاسكندر ذي القرنين بن فَيْلبُس اليوناني وان انطيخوس بناه وحصّنه وجعل فيه قومًا يخدمونه ويحفظون ببتًا فيه

زعموا انه يشتمل على شيء من آيات الانبياء واثارهم وان انطيخوس وقف على جهاعة الموكلين بحفظ الدير عدة ضياع وكتب بهم سجلات ثبتها في رومية الكبرى واخذ العهود على الروم واليونان ان لا يمكّنوا احدًا من قصرهم والتعرض لما وقف عليهم وان لم يمكنوا احدا من فتح باب بيت الاثار اجلالا له وصيانة لما فيه

فارسل المعتصم الى اهل ذلك الدير وامرهم ان يمكنوا من بيت الاثار وقال ان يكن هذا 10 البيت ليس فيها الا اثار الانبياء كما تزعمون فانا لا نناله بضرورة ولا نتعرّض وان يكن فيه مال او كتب حكمة فلا فائدة في تركها محرزة بعد موت اصحابها ونحن الان بها احق

فسألوه المُهلة الى ان ياتيهم جواب رسالة ارسلوها الى ملك الروم فامحلهم مدةً

ثم عاودهم ثانية وفي خلال ذلك هم محاصرون يضيّق عليهم فسألوه ان يحلف لهم على ان يؤمنهم على انفسهم ودينهم اذا اسلموا اليه الديرَ ففعل المعتصم ذلك واعطاهم من المواثيق ما رضوا به 15 وسكنوا اليه

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¹ كتاب دخيرة الاسكندر در علم حكمت وغيره B, om. E, om. E, وغيرة الكندراني [كتاب دخيرة الاسكندر B المسكندر و الاسكندر B السكندر ي الاسكندر B السكندر B السلك اليوناني الليوناني ا

Book of the Treasure of Alexander

In the Name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate.

After the Caliph al-Mu'tasim bi-Llāh had conquered the city of 'Amūrivya, he heard that there was an ancient convent there, whose foundation could be traced back to Antiochus, disciple of Alexander, the Two-Horned One, son of Philip the Greek, He heard also that Antiochus had built and fortified it, and then made some people settle there, so that they could serve there as ministers, and live there.

It was also maintained that relics and signs of the prophets were kept there, that Antiochus ordered all the acolytes to guard the temple: he stipulated with them a legal pact about their loyalty to the 'Great Rome'. He obtained the oaths of the 'Romans' and the Greeks so that they would never allow anyone to enter the door of the temple containing noble relics and that they would protect what was kept there.

Al-Mu'taşim sent a message to the people in that convent and ordered them to allow him into the place where the relics were kept, and he said: "If there are actually relics of the Prophets in this place, as you maintain, then we will not damage it in any way, and will leave them untouched. However, if there is a treasure there, or books of knowledge, then there is no reason to spare the fortification after the death of its acolytes. Because now our claim is more rightful."

So they asked him to grant them a deferment, until they had received an answer to the message sent to the king of the 'Romans', and they obtained some time.

After that, they went to him again, in order to ask for a second time frame, but meanwhile they were kept under siege, so that they could not forget about their commitment. For this reason, they asked him to swear that he would spare their lives and religion, in case they had to surrender the convent to him. Al-Mu'tasim promised that, granted them what they were beseeching, and they were reassured by this.

ثم انه انفذ اليهم عبد الملك بن يحيى صاحب البريد وعلى بن احمد المنجم ومحمد بن خالد المهندس وامرهم بالتفتيش عن مخابئ هذا الدير وان يخبروه بما فيه ففعلوا ما امرهم به المعتصم ففتحوا باب بيت الاثار ودخلوه فوجدوه خاليًا من كل شيء يحسّ فانكروا ذلك وكثر تعجّبهم منه

فقال بعضهم يا قوم لولا انا وجدنا اقفال ملوك الروم واليونان على باب هذا البيت لظننا ان اهل الدير قد حوّلوا عنه ماكان فيه

فلما عزموا على الانصراف الى صاحبهم قال لهم محمد بن خالد المهندس يا قوم ان هذا البيت لم يصنعه انطيخوس مجانًا فانّ له شانًا وانّ صاحبنا لا يقنع منّا بالرجوع اليه بغير خبر يعتّد به فذروني امسح ارض هذا البيت وامسح اعلاه فانه يتخيل الى ان اعلاه اوسع من اسفله

فقلوا له وما عسى ان يحصل لك من ذلك وهذا انما قصد به القوم تحصين البيت ومنعته

فقال لهم يا قوم انه لوكان قصدهم التحصين فقط لكان ذلك في حائط الدير جميعه لا في 10 حائط البيت لان الذي بنى هذا الدير واهتم به هذا الاهتمام الذي تشاهدونه ماكان ليعجزه ان نشتد جميع حائط الدير هذه الهيئة فقالوا شانك وما تريده

فسيح صحن البيت فوجده عشرة اذرع في اثنا عشر ذراعا غير ثخانة البناء وهو عَرُض الحائط ثم عادوا الى المعتصم فاعلموا بذلك

فقال نخاف ان نحن هدمنا الحائط ان لا نجد فيه شيئًا فيستقبح منّا هَدُمه بغير فائدة فان 15 الملوك لا تهدم اثار الملوك من غير عداوة بينهما ولا سيّما البيوت الموسومة باثار الانبياء وضرب عن ذلك صفحًا

فرأى في منامه كانّ المأمون بالله يقول يا اخي دونك وهدم الحائط ففيه دخيرة ذي القرنين وعلم ارسطوطاليس وهرمس الاكبر فهنيئا لك يا اخي ما اوتيتُه من الفضل والفتح والغنيمة والملك الباهر

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Then he sent to them 'Abd al-Malik b. Yahyā, Master of the Post, 'Alī b. Ahmad the Astrologer, and Muhammad b. Hālid the Geometer, and ordered them to carry out an inspection of the hiding places of the convent, and to report to him about what was in there. They did what al-Mu'taṣim had ordered them to do: they opened the door of the relics' chamber, and entered it only to find that it was completely empty. They could not believe this, and great was their amazement.

One of them said: "Oh people, if we had not found on the door of this temple the seals placed there by the kings of the 'Romans' and the Greeks still in their place, we would have thought that the acolytes of the convent had already taken away what was in there."

When they were about to go back to their sire, Muhammad b. Halid the Geometer told them: "Oh people, for sure Antiochus did not build this place without a reason - he must have had a purpose - and our sire will not be pleased if we go back to him without any information. So let me make a survey of the surface of this temple and its height, since it gives me the impression that its upper part is wider than the lower part."

They replied to him: "And what could you possibly derive from this? The only purpose of these people was the fortification and the inviolability of the temple!"

But he answered them: "Oh people, if their only purpose had been the fortification, then the entire convent would have been surrounded by a wall, and not only the temple; because it is impossible that the one who built this convent and took care of what we are observing could not fortify the whole wall of the convent in this way." So they replied: "It is your responsibility, do as you wish."

Then he made a survey of the chamber and found out that it was only ten cubits of the total twelve cubits, without considering the thickness of the construction that is the thickness of the wall. Then they went back to the al-Mu'taşim, and reported what they had discovered.

[The Caliph] said: "We are afraid that, if we demolish the wall, we will not find anything there, and that this pointless destruction will be considered heinous: because kings do not destroy the monuments of other kings without a reason of enmity between the two parties, nor do they spoil the temples where relics of the Prophets are kept." So he desisted from this.

In his dream, however, he saw al-Ma'mūn who told him: "Oh brother, behold! Destroy the wall, since behind it is the treasure of the Two-Horned and the knowledge of Aristotle and of the Great Hermes. So I greet you, my brother, for the excellence, the victory, the prize, and the magnificent reign."

فاستيقظ المعتصم واحضر لساعته محمد بن خالد المهندس وامره بهدم الحائط وان يعجل بذلك فركب محمد ابن خالد ومعه اربع مائة من الفعلة فهدم الحائط الى وقت صلوة العصر فلم يظهر لهم في الحائط شيء فعلاهم الفتور وكادوا ينصرفوا فانفذ اليهم المعتصم ان احفروا اساس الحائط ايضًا فلما ابتدؤا بحفره ظهر لهم منه صندوق من النحاس مغشى بالحديد الصيني فعلا تكبيرهم

وتسابق المبشرون الى المعتصم بالخبر وحُمل الصندوق الى بين يديه فامر بالاحتيال لكسر قفله 5 فكسر وفتح الصندوق فؤجِد فيه صندوق من الذهب الاحمر مقفولًا بقفل من الذهب ومفتاحه من الذهب معلّق فيه بسلسلة من الذهب وعلى الصندوق كتابة باليونانية مجسّمة

فامر بفتح الصندوق فوجد فيه كتابًا من الذهب واوراقه وصفحاته جميعًا من الذهب الاحمر كل ورقة منها سُمْكها نصف اصبع وطول الكتاب ذراع وعرضه ثلاثة اذرع

وهو مكتوب بكتابة هي نقشٌ في الذهب بمقدار نصف ثخانة صحيفة في احدى جانبي الورقة 10 والجانب الاخر خالٌ من النقش والكتابة وغلظ الكتابة بمقدار غلظ الشعيرة وعدد الاوراق ثلثائة وستون ورقةٍ في كل ورقة اثنا عشر سطرًا والكتابة بعضها باليونانية وبعضها بالرومية

فامر باحضار النقلة والمترجمين وامرهم بتقّله فوجدوا الكتابة على ظهر الكتاب •هذه دخيرة الاسكندر الملك بن فلبيس ذي القرنين وهي اعزّ ما ملكته يده من ملك الارض ضنّ بها ونقّص عليها حتى اذا حضر وقت انفصاله من العالم المستحيل وارتفاعه عنه لم ير ان يجعلها معرّضةً 15 للابتذال لتتلاعب ايدي الجهال بها والناقصين عنها ولا استحسن اعدام الفضيلة واتلافها لعلمه بجلالة الطريق الذي علم به علمها وعزة وجود الاللانبياء الابرار الذين هم صفوة الناس واشرفهم فاودع هذا الجملة مخزنًا وثيقًا وكنرًا حصيئًا يعصمها عن الابتذال وكان وقت ترك هذا الكتاب في هذا الصندوق بطالع السنبلة وفيه ععطارد والقمر متصِل به من الجوزاء وكان زحل بالجدي

وشكل الفلك معسودًا

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فعلا | E الحفرة [بحفره 4 الحفروا | E اليه اليه اليه اليه B الله اليه B العنوة | 0m. B I ابن خالد 2 B بساعته الساعته الله اليونانية الكورة الحفرة الحفولاً الكورة ا

Then, al-Mu'tasim woke up and immediately summoned Muhammad b. Hālid the Geometer, and ordered him to destroy the wall, and to be quick about it.

So Muhammad ibn Hālid rode there with four hundred men and they kept demolishing the wall until the afternoon prayer, but nothing appeared there; they were already tired and wanted to leave, but al-Mu'taşim told them to dig up the foundations of the wall. When they started to dig there, a brass chest locked with Chinese iron clasps emerged, and this made them jubilantly cry "God is Great".

So emissaries went to give the news to al-Mu'tasim, and the chest was brought in front of him. He ordered them to find a way of breaking the locks: they were forced, and the chest opened. Inside it there was another chest of red gold, sealed by a golden lock, whose key - also made of gold - was attached to it with a golden chain. On the chest there was a Greek inscription in relief.

He ordered them to open the chest, and inside it there was a book made of gold, all its pages and folia were of red gold, each page was a half-finger thick, the height of the book was one cubit, while its width was three cubits.

The writing was engraved in the gold, the engraving reached a depth of one half of the page on one side, whereas the other side was not engraved. The body of the script was of one grain ($\check{s}a'\check{i}r$); there were 360 pages, with twelve lines per page, part of the text was in Greek and part in "Roman".

Then [the Caliph] ordered them to summon the interpreters and the translators, he ordered them to translate and they found out what the inscription on the chest meant: "This is the treasure of King Alexander, son of Philip, the Two-Horned One, and this treasure was the greatest wealth he ever had on earth. He was so attached to it and afraid of its ruin that, when the moment of his departure from the world of transition and his separation from it came, he did not want to see that his treasure was exposed to debasement, so that the hands of ignorant men might defile it, without any regard for the destruction of its excellence and its science, with the greatness of the way of learning its science, and the excellence that belongs only to pious prophets, who are the best and the most noble of men.

So he deposited the whole of it in a safe storeroom and in a protected shrine in order to protect it from debasement. The book was placed in this chest when the constellation of the Virgo was rising, and Mercury and the Moon were in conjunction from Sagittarius, while Saturn was in Capricorn, and the sky was in a favourable configuration.

وقصد بذلك ان لا يتيسّر اخراج هذا الكتاب من مخزنه الا لملك محب الحكمة فليقر عيبنًا واليهنئه عظيم الشرف الواصل اليه ونسئله ان يسلك طريقنا في صيانته وحياطته وتنزيهه عمّن لا يستحقه فذلك سرّ الاله في خلقه وله عَنّا حسن الشاء وجميل الاحاد

وكان في ذلك الصندوق الاكبر النحاس تحت الصندوق الذهب حجر على مقدار طول الصندوق وهو على هيئة اللوح وقد نُقش فيه كتابة باليونانية فترجمها اليونانيون فكان فيها قال 5 انطيوخوس ملك اليونان تلميذ ملك الملوك الاسكندر ذي القرنين اليوناني ان ملك الملوك لما احسن بارتفاعه عن عالم الاستحالة اتوني ان أضمر هذا الصندوق حيث لا تصل اليه يد وذكر لي ان فيه شيء من اثار الانبياء التي لا يجوز تبديلها ولست اشك ان فيه من الحكمة ماكره ملك الملوك ان يطلع عليه احد من اهل زمانه لان ملك الملوك لم يكن لينفس على شيء من جواهر الدنيا الا الحكمة ونفائس العلوم ولم يكن يسعني ان أخالف ما امرني به ملك الملوك فلذلك جعلتُ هذا 10 الصندوق حيث امر فمن وصل اليه فقد انبأتُه انباه بخبره

فلما نقله اصحاب اللسان اليوناني وهم في خلال ذلك مؤكّل بهم محاطٌ عليهم دُفع الكتاب الى اصحاب اللسان الرومي فنقلوه جميعًا الى العربية 'ثم امر المعتصم ان يقابل بما نقله اليونانيون فوجد متفقين في سائر المعانى والاعراض ولم يوجد بينهما اختلاف شيء العبارة لان الكتاب كان مكتوبا باللسانين اليوناني والرومي فاحسن الى النقلة وصلهم

وزاد ذلك في تقريب محمد بن خالد ووصله واكرمه وامره ان يكتب هذا المقدمة وليضيفها في اول الكتاب فيكون باسمه وهذا اول الكتاب المترجم باسم الواحد الواجب الوجود نبتدى والى سابق علمه ننتهى له عالم النور والتأثير وعالم الاستحالة والتغيير علة الكُل ومدير الفلك لعظمته خشعت النفوس وبالاضافة الى ملكه نقص كل كامل وبه اتصلتْ افكارُنا وهممنا بجناب قدسه لاذت ومن

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EI عنا حسن الغناء [عَتَا حسن الشاء EI 3 سبيله [ونسئله I 1 وليهنة EI 8 واليهنية [واليهنئة I 4 فليتقر [فليقر I 8 عجرا I 8 جرا I 9 جرا I 9 في داخل [في ذلك I 8 . جمع حمد [وجميل الاحماد I 1 عَتَا حسن الشّناء I 8 ويف I 1 عَتَل حسن الشّناء I 2 مع المدون I 2 على I 3 على I 4 على I 4 على I 5 على I 5 على I 6 على I 8 على I 6 على I 8 على I 9 على I 9 على I 9 على I 1 على I 2 على I 4 على I 5 على I 8 على I 6 على I 8 على I 6 على I 8 على I 8 على I 6 على I 8 على I 8 على I 8 على I 9 على I 1 على I 2 على I 4 على I 2 على I 4 على I 6 على I 8 على I 8 على I 8 على I 9 على I 8 على I 9 على

By this, he meant that the book could not be taken from the place in which it was kept, except by a king who loves wisdom. So he should rejoice for the great nobility he has attained. And we beg him to follow our way of protecting it, guarding it, and keeping it untouched by those who do not deserve it. Because this is the secret of God in His creation, to Him the greatest obedience and the highest praises."

In this very large brass chest, under the golden chest, there was a stone as large as the chest, in the shape of a board with an inscription in Greek engraved on it, and this said: Antiochus, king of Greeks disciple of the Greek King of Kings Alexander the Two-Horned said: "When the King of Kings felt that he was about to leave the world of transition, he ordered me to hide this chest where no hand could reach it and reminded me that, inside it, there were relics of the prophets that should not be adulterated. I have no doubt that in it there is the knowledge that the King of Kings did not want to be known by anyone of his own time, because the King of Kings desired no treasure from this world, but wisdom and the finest sciences. I could not refuse what he had ordered me to do, and for this reason I put this chest where I was ordered to. And the one who reaches it will be told its story."

When the translation from Greek was completed by the translators of this language - all the while kept in custody - the book was handed over to the translators of 'Roman', so that they could translate it all into Arabic. Then al-Mu'tasim ordered that it be compared with what had been translated from the Greek, and he found that the translations were in agreement about their meanings, and that he could not find any difference between them except for idiomatic expression in each language, because the book was written in two languages, Greek and 'Roman'. So he congratulated and praised the translators.

He praised Muhammad b. Hālid even more, and ordered him to write this very introduction bearing his name, in order that it be added to the beginning of the book, and this is the beginning of the translated text: "In the name of the One, the Necessary Existence we begin, and with the One, Whose knowledge is surpassing, we end. His is the world of light and effect, and the world of transition and of change. The cause of all and the One who sets the sphere in motion. To His Greatness the souls submit, and compared to His power every perfect thing is lacking. Our thoughts and our ambitions become one with Him.

نوره اشرقت العقول هو الذي نوره يستعلى عن الابصار ويتنزّه عن الالوان كثيرة الانوار الشعاعية عن كثافة الجسمية وكل صفة كال تُناطُ به غير ذاته فهو برئ منها مستغن عنها وهي عنه وعند الانقياد لا ينطلق عليه فتحميده الحقيقي انه لا هو الا هو فذلك مبلّغ القول من تقديسه وجمدُ الطاقة من تحميده

قال ارسطوطاليس انت ايها الملك لعزة موقعك مني وجلالك في نفسك واستكمالك خلال الفضل واستهالتك على احمد الصفات الملوكية حقيق بان تكون وارثًا لعلم الحكمة السماوية التي اودعها الملك هرمس الكبير السرب البحرى خير علم بما يكون من حال الناس ومالهم الى الطوفان والغرق ولم يقدر على استخراجه من السرب البحري الا الرجل الحكيم بليناس وعنه اخذتُه ومنه استفدته وكنتَ ايها الملك قد سمعتَ منى بذكر هذا الكتاب عند اول خروجك من مقدونية وتكرر منى الطلب له ولم يكن الفلك على شكل يصلح لاظهاره الى الان فليتهن الملك الوصول اليه وليتمتع بفوائده فاما تجديد الوصية بحفظه والمبالغة في صيانته فلا حاجة الى استثنائه لانه قد تكرر مني مشافهة الملك ومعاهدته عليه وكيف لا يكون ذلك كذلك وهو مستودعُ اشرف العلوم التي بها مني مشافهة الملك ومعاهدته عليه وكيف لا يكون ذلك كذلك وهو مستودعُ اشرف العلوم التي بها يكن التصرف بها في العالم الكوني

اخر الكتاب

قال النقلة المترجمون لهذا الكتاب هذا اخر ما وجدناه من هذا الكتاب الدهبي الموضوع بذخيرة 15 الاسكندر وهو اخر ماكان في الكتاب الذهبي المودوع في صندوق الذهب وفي اخره مكتوب قال الاسكندر ذو القرنين بن فليبس اليوناني ايها المطلع على هذا الكتاب قد ظفرت بملك الارض ان ساعدك الحظ ولم يقعد بك الحرمات وان اهتديث لاجتناء الثمرة من هذا الشجرة وان لم يستظل

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Our intellects seek shelter with Him and are illuminated by His light. He is the One whose light rises over the sights. He is above the colours just like the radiating lights are above the bodily thickness. Every attribute of perfection linked with him does not speak of his Essence. For He is free from them and they are dispensable for Him, and He for them. And in compliance, they cannot be applied to Him. And His glory is that there is not He but He. And this is the extent to which one can speak about His glory and how far striving to obey him will bring one in His praise."

Aristotle said: "You, oh King, for the greatness of your condition compared to mine, the majesty in your person, your excellence in the sublime merits, and the excellence in the most praised royal qualities, deserve to be the heir to the knowledge of heavenly wisdom that King Hermes the Great deposited in the abysses of the sea: the best part of the science before the flood and the inundation, but there was no one capable of recovering it from the abyss of the sea except for the sage Apollonius [of Tyana], and I received it directly from him. But you, King, have already heard about this book, when you left Macedonia for the first time, and you have repeatedly asked me to search for it; but the stars have not been favourable to retrieve it until now. So may the King rejoice for its finding, and for the great benefit that derives from it. As for the renewal of the commitment to protect it and guard it, there is no necessity to do it again, because I have already promised it, more than once, to the King, and there is already an agreement about this. And how could it be different, since it is the repository of the noblest sciences that can be applied in the world of being?"

End of the Book

The translators of this book said: "This is the end of what we found in the golden book entitled The Treasure of Alexander, and this is the end of what was in the golden book placed in the golden chest, and at its end there was written: Alexander the Two-Horned son of Philip the Greek said: 'You who look upon this book, I have already obtained sovereignty on the earth, if luck is on your side and nothing hinders you, if you are on the right way to harvest the fruit of this الملك الى مقاصدك فاجعل شكر صانع العالم على ما خوّلك صيانة هذا العلم الشريف عن ايدي الناس وعن نوظرهم

فان مسحقة قليل وطالبه كثيرٌ ولذلك امرنا بالاحتفاظ حيث رايتَه واجعل شكرنا على اينا لم نرفع عن الايدي بالكلية موافقتُنا على ما رايناه من صيانته وقبول عهدنا اليك في ذلك والصلاح فيه راجع اليك ومتصل بك لانا نحن قد ارتفعنا عن عالم الاستحالة والتغيير الى عالم البقاء والانوار وفلا بخل عندنا الان ولا غم ولا حسد ولا فاقة وقد حرمت كما حرم الله تعالى جلالا من الحرام هذا الكتاب من اي الجهال ومن معرفتهم ومن علمهم وفقنا الله لما يجب ويرضى من القول والعمل

BEI B

[[]موافقتنا | I فالكلية [بالكلية | B نرفعه [نرفع E 4 وكذلك , D 0 . [ولذلك] D 0 . [وطالبه كثيرٌ D 1 والملك D 1 والملك D 2 موافقنا وقت حرمت كها حرم الله تعالى جلالا من الحرام هذا الكتاب من اي الجهال | D 1 والصلاح | D 1 والصلاح | D 2 موافقنا والعمل والحمد الله رب العالمين على اتمام والصلوة على محمد D 2 معرفتهم ومن علمهم وفقنا الله لما يجب ويرضي من القول والعمل وعلى والحما المخصوصين بحمده الذات وعلق الصفات في الافتتاح والاختسام كُتِب في غُزة (شهر) ذي قعدة من ستى الهجرة العبد وعلى والحما D 3 معرفته على D 3 معرفته الماموردي D 3 معرفته على الماموردي

tree, and if power does not overshadow your judgement, then give thanks to the Maker of the World for He granted you the protection of this noble science from the hands of people and their gazes.'

Only a few are worthy of it, but many are those who look for it. For this reason we ordered them to keep and protect it in the place where you have seen it. Be thankful to us that it was not touched by any hand, with all our great efforts for its protection, your acceptance of the guardianship, and the success of this depends on you, and is connected to you. Because we have already elevated ourselves from this world of transition and change, towards the world of permanence and lights. So now we do not have with us any affliction, or envy or need. I have kept – as God the Highest has kept [his] Excellence from that which is forbidden - this book from any ignorant man, from his knowledge and learning. May God grant us success, and approve the words and the work."

Appendix 2: Table of contents of *The Treasure of Alexander*

First section: On the principles and the prolegomena to what is necessary to this science

الفن الاول في ذكر اصول ومقدمات ما يحتاج الى علمها

Introduction on the movement and influence of the celestial and earthly bodies – Trigons and sextiles – On sun and moon – On the five climates – On the different natures of people – Influence of the sun on plants – About animals – Influence of the moon on the sea level and other aspects of nature – On the five celestial bodies [the planets]

Second [section]: On the principles of the [alchemical] craft and the preparation of elixirs

الثاني في ذكر اصول الصنعة وتدبير الاكسيرات

Gold – Silver – Preparation of the first water called $\bar{sabiyun}$ – Preparation of the second water called $q\bar{u}riy\bar{a}l$ – Preparation of the third water called $ra'r\bar{a}siy\bar{u}s$ – Preparation of the fourth water called $tar\bar{i}r\bar{a}s$ – Peculiar properties of this water called $tar\bar{i}r\bar{a}s$ – Section on the preparation of the substance that contains the faculty of Mars – Illustration of its useful properties – Chapter on the purification of arsenic – Another [way] – Chapter on the vaporisation of purified arsenic – Chapter on the purification of copper – Chapter on the whitening of copper – Another [way] – Chapter on the softening of copper – Preparation of the great softening water – Chapter on the conversion of copper, from its appearance to that of gold – Way to purify white vitriol – White vitriol as elixir to change the appearance of copper into that of gold – Chapter on the purification of silver – Chapter on the elixir of silver [in four precepts] – Way of pouring this elixir on silver.

Third [section]: On the composition of poisons

الثالث في تركيب السمومات

Fourth [section]: *On the antidotes that dissolve* the poisons

الرابع في الترباقات المخلصة من السموم

Preparation of the theriac known as al-biyānūs - Preparation of the theriac of Hermes the Great - Preparation of the theriac called atīrsāliyūs by Hermes - Preparation of the theriac composed by Hermes against all poisons - Preparation of the theriac called *īlalūniyūs* by Hermes – Preparation of the dardahālūš theriac

Fifth [section]: On the making of talismanic stones useful against illnesses that are difficult to cure

الخامس في صنعة الخرزة الطلسمية النافعة من الامراض العسرة البرء

Talisman that cures all the diseases of the throat - Bīlāwānūs talisman for the sciatica -Talisman for urine dripping - Description of the amulet that placates wrath - Talisman against liver complaint - Talisman against kidney complaint - Amulet called salāriyūs for a permanent erection - Preparation of the talismanic amulet for pangs in the eye - Preparation of the talismanic amulet called anāliyūsīs against toothache

Sixth [section]: On the seals of the seven planets

السادس في خو اتم الكو اكب السبعة

Preparation of seals in the way described by Hermes, who impressed many kings by wearing them (Sun and Moon) - Preparation of the talisman of Saturn to calm sexual desire, agitation of the blood, fevers, and plague - Preparation of the talisman of Jupiter for the heart and the feeling of suffocation - Preparation of the talisman of Mars that strengthens the heart and protects from robbers and foes - Preparation of the talisman of Venus for love, women, and the increase of sexual desire - Preparation of the talisman of Mercury that helps with the subjugation of viziers, writers, penmen, and wise men

Seventh [section]: On some different talismans

السابع في ذكر فنون شتى في طلسمات

Talisman that stops different kinds of bleeding and dysentery - Talismans against scorpions made by Apollonius [of Tyana] - Preparation of the seal that cures the scorpion sting - Talisman against snakes made by Apollonius [of Tyana] - Way to prepare the talisman that chases locusts away - Talisman made by Hermes against strong winds - Preparation of the talisman against tertian fever - Preparation of the talisman against yellow fever - Talisman to destroy a country called āfsanţīnūs - Talisman called kīklānūs

chapters on love and hatred

الثامن في النخور ات و ابو اب العطف و النغضية Eighth [section]: On fumigations, and the

Different practices to arouse love, to exploit the influence of celestial bodies and astrological configurations: how to conquer hearts, how to placate the wrath of kings, how to kindle love or hatred

Ninth [section]: About the occult properties attributed to wondrous plants

Chapter called astitivalitas 'iyānūs, that means 'the one that approaches the spiritual entities that lead to the natures' – Preparation of the melon (battih) called 'asisālānūs – Preparation of the melon called kaliyās – Preparation of the melon called kaliyās – Preparation of the melon called kaliyas – Preparation

Tenth [section]: On the occult properties of العاشر في ذكر خواص اعضاء الحيوان animal parts

Occult properties of animal parts from Hermes – Human brain – Section on love – Description of a mortal poison and its theriac – Talisman of the horse – Advantages that Hermes obtained from swallows – Advantages that Hermes obtained from owls and pigs – Chapter on enmity – To bind desire – Wounds – Chapter on enmity: black dog – Occult properties of the black cat