

إلى الصلاح والخلل إلى النظام ، ومثاله من صناعة الطبّ إعادة الصّحة إلى البدن العليل .

- (219) ويحتاج السائس الفاضل في تدبير أموره وتسديد أعماله إلى أربعة عشر نفساً من أعوانه ، هو بمنزلة الأعضاء الطبيعيّة التي بها تظهر النفس أفعالها 128b وكالآلات الصناعيّة التي بها يتمّ الصانع مصنوعه . وكلّهم ينقسم قسمين ، 5 أحدهما الصنف الذي يحتاج إليه الملك لحاجات نفسه وعوارض بدنه ، والثاني الصنف الذي يحتاج إلى ارتباطهم لمصالح رعاياه وانتظام ممالكه .
- فالسبعة المحتاج إليهم لحاجات النفس والبدن (1) الحكماء الذين يشحذون عقله ويتفقدون ذهنه ويفيدونه الفوائد الجليلة في أسباب دينه ودنياه ، (2) 10 والأطباء الذين يسوسون بدنه بحسب الطاقة ويتبعون صحّته بقدر الإمكان فيديرون له الأغذية والأدوية في خواصّ أوقاتها ، (3) والمنجمون الذين يختارون له الأيّام المسعودة لابتداءات الأعمال ويفيدونه بقدمه المعرفة بالكلّيّات من 129a الأمور الكائنة ، (4) والندماء الذين يسامرونه في خلواته ويحدثونه في أوقات فراغه ليؤنسوا بذلك وحشته ويجددوا عليه نشاطه ، (5) والملمهون الذين يسمعونه الألحان المنطقيّة والنغم المؤتلفة المشتملة على الحكم المحضّة الجارية في قوى 15 نفسه وأحلاط جسده ، وإن يتحقّق كنه الفائدة بذلك إلا الخواصّ من أهل الحكمة ، (6) والخدم المقيمون على رأسه المقربون له حاجات بدنه كالمطاعم والمشارب والملابس والمراكب وغيرها ، فإنّ الملك لن يستغني عنهم في ترتيب مملكته في أعين رعيته وتفخيم سلطانه في صدور أكفائه ، (7) والسابع 20 الحجاب الذين يرتبون لكلّ واحد من هذه الطبقات مراتبهم ويوصلونهم إلى خدمتهم في أوقاتهم ويفون بما إليهم حسب ما يلزمهم .
- والسبعة المحتاج إليهم لمصالح رعاياه ، أوّلهم الوزراء فإنّ الملك الفاضل لا 129b

M وتشدّيد : وتسديد 3 ind. and blank space of five letters M break (.:) after العليل 2
 M مصنوعة : مصنوعه 6 M وكالآلات : وكالات 5 M الطبيعيّة : الطبيعيّة 4
 M blank space of three letters M 9 after ودنياه break (.:) ind. and blank space of five
 M blank space of three letters M 11 after أوقاتها M | الأديوية : والأدوية 11
 M blank space of three letters M 13 after الكائنة M لابتداءات : لابتداءات 12
 M المنطقيّة 15 M with blank space of three letters after it M سآؤته : نشاطه 14 M حلواته
 M ترتين : ترتيب 19 M الجارية : الجارية | M والنعم : والنعم | M المنظومة : or read
 M رعاياهم : رعاياه 22 M blank space of three letters M أكفائه after 22 M رعية

restoration of incorruptness from corruption and of order from disorder, and an example of it from the craft of medicine is the return of health to a sick body.

(219) In administering his affairs and acting well the virtuous leader needs fourteen persons supporting him. They are like the natural body parts by which the soul manifests its actions, and like the instruments of the crafts through which the producer perfects his product. They are all divided into two parts: one of them is the class [of supporters] whom the king needs for the requirements of his body and soul. The second is the class [of supporters] whose commitment he needs for the welfare of his subjects and the organisation of his kingdom. 128b

The seven needed for the requirements of [his] body and soul are: (1) the wise men who sharpen his intellect, conform to his understanding and benefit him greatly in matters concerning his religious and his worldly motives; (2) the physicians who have charge over his body in the best way possible and pursue its health as far as possible, so they administer food and medication for him at the right times; (3) the astrologers who choose for him the days which are favourable for beginning actions and benefit him because the knowledge of the universals [which they derive by means of astrology] precedes [the knowledge of] the generated [and corruptible] things; (4) the drinking companions who spend the night in pleasant conversation with him in his private quarters and talk to him in his leisure time, in order to cheer him in his solitude by [their company] and revive his energy; (5) the entertainers who play for him melodious compositions and harmonious tunes, which include pure maxims which pervade the powers of his soul and the mixtures of his body; although only the most distinguished of the wise men confirm the full advantage of this [namely, music]; (6) the servants who wait on him and bring him his bodily requirements like food, drink, clothing, riding animals and the like. For the king is not able to dispense with them in arranging his kingdom in the view of his subject[s] and in magnifying [the standing] of his reign in front of his equals; (7) the seventh are the chamberlains who arrange for each one of these classes their ranks and get them to their tasks on time and to carry out their duty. 129a

Of the seven which are required for the welfare of his subjects the first are the viziers. The good king is not able to dispense with a vizier of sound 129b

- يستغني عن وزير حازم يرجع إلى إصابة رأي وجزالة تدبير ، والثاني القضاة المتولون النظر في مظالم الخليفة وحملهم على حكم التصفية وإلزامهم سنن الدين وأحكام الشريعة ، والثالث قادة الجيوش الذين يتولون حفظ الثغور وحماية الأطراف ، والرابع الكتبة الذين هم ألسنة الملوك وحافظو الحسابات في الدخل والخرج وواضعو كل شيء من المعاني الكريمة مواضعها على الاحتياط ، 5 والخامس حفظة الرعايا في المملكة عن عيب العتاة وصائنو حرمهم وأموالهم عن المردة والجناة ، والسادس الباحثون عن أخبار المملكة في القرب والبعد المتعرفون أحوال العمّال والرعايا لينهوها ويجعلوا الملك من معرفتها كالشاهد لها ، والسابع المترددون في السفارة بينه وبين من يحتاج إلي مخاطبتهم من رعايا 130a وأهل مملكته أو من نظراء به وأكفائه . 10
- (220) والواجب على الملك أن يعطي هو لأمن نفسه ستة أشياء يستخلص بها عقائدهم في المناصحة والمحبة ويحسم بها عنهم سبيل الشكاية والاستزادة ، ويأخذ منهم لها ستة أشياء أخذاً لا يقاد واحد منهم على تقصير في شيء منها .
- فأما الستة التي يلزم بذلها لهم فأولها المتوسعة في الأرزاق على قدر مراتب الأعمال ، فإنه لا يكفي من لا يكفي ولا يغني من لا يغني ، والثاني أن لا يستكدهم في الأعمال المنوطة بهم استكداد المستبعد لطوقهم المستنزف لغاية مجهودهم ، فإنّ الأنفس متى استكرهت ملّت ومتى استكدت كلّت ولا بقاء لها مع التعب الدائم والنصب المتّصل ، والثالث أن لا يؤاخذهم بكلّ تقصير 130b مؤاخذه من لا يقبل عشره ولا يقبل معذرة ، بل يتعقّبهم بالصفح والتجاوز والإغضاء والتجافي ما احتملته السياسة الفاضلة ، والرابع أن يترصد أحوالهم في 20

M للتّظر : النظر 2 | blank space of three letters M | after تدبير blank space of three letters M | وجرّالة : وجزالة 1
M الكتّبه : الكتبة | blank space of three letters M | after الأطراف blank space of three letters M | 4 M البصفه : التصفية
M | blank space of three letters M | after الاحتياط blank space of three letters M | وواضعوا : وواضعو 5 M وحافظوا : وحافظو
M | blank space of three letters M | after with blank space of three letters M | 7 M وصّايوا : وصائنو | M الرعايا : الرعايا 6 M
M | blank space of three letters M | after with blank space of three letters M | 10 M وأكفائه : أكفائه 10 M
M | blank space of three letters M | after blank space of three letters M | 16 M واجداً : واحد | M احداً : أحداً 13 M والاستزاده : والاستزادة 12
M | blank space of three letters M | after M | blank space of three letters M | 17 M المبوطة : المنوطة 17 M
M | blank space of three letters M | after break (..) ind. and blank space of three letters M | 19 M لطوفهم
M | blank space of three letters M | after الفاضلة blank space of three letters M | 21 M والتّحافي : والتجافي

management who resorts to finding the right opinion and excellent administration. The second are the judges who are entrusted with the examination of injustice done to men, inflict on them judgements to rectify [wrongs], and compel them to [obey] the traditions of religion and the ordinances of law. The third are the leaders of the armies who are entrusted with the preservation of the frontiers and the protection of the borders. The fourth are the secretaries who are the tongues of the kings, the keepers of the accounts of income and expenditure, and those who implement every noble concept with due caution. The fifth are the protectors of the subjects in the kingdom from the vice of the wrongdoers, and the guardians of their women and their possessions against rebels and criminals. The sixth are the informants [who gather] information of what happens in the kingdom near and far, are knowledgeable about the situations of the governors and the subjects in order to communicate them and make the king aware of them as if he were witnessing them. The seventh are the emissaries moving to and fro between him and those of the subjects and inhabitants of his kingdom or his peers and equals who need to be addressed.

130a

(220) It is the king's duty to grant, for his own security, six things [to his subjects] by which he secures their loyalty with sincerity and love and prevents them [taking] the path of complaint and excessive requests. In exchange for them he takes from [his subjects] six things in a way which lets none of them go short in any of [these six].

The first of the six [things] which it is imperative upon him to bestow on them is to ensure that they have sufficient means of subsistence corresponding to the[ir] professional positions. For he who is not given sufficient means will not meet what is required of him, and he who is in need will not be of any use. The second is not to wear them out in the works entrusted to them [by expecting] what is unattainable for them even if they exhaust their power in greatest effort. For when the people are forced, they become weary and when they are worn out, they become weak and there is no survival for them as long as there is perpetual hardship and continuous exertion. The third is not to punish them for every shortcoming as if he were someone who accepts neither slips nor excuses, but rather to discipline them by pardoning them, passing over without punishing and by overlooking and turning away from [their shortcomings] as far as good leadership tolerates. The fourth is to observe their attitudes

130b

آثار الطاعة وينعم الفحص عن دلائل المناصحة ، ومتى وقف من أحدهم على حالة مرضية أذاقه حلاوة سعيه وثمره كدحه ليقوى عزمه على الازدياد من الخدمة ويظهر لاقترانه أنّ سعي المجتهد لا يضيع ونصيحة المشفق لا تبور ، فالخامس أن يرمى حرماهم على مّر الأيّم ويحفظ وسائلهم على تصرّم الأعوام ويقضي حقّ مشهدهم في مغيبيهم وعملهم في عطلتهم ومحيّاهم في مماتهم 5 وأنفسهم في اعقابهم ، فإنّ من ضيع صاحبه في وقت الغيبة عنه لم يجده عند الحاجة إليه ، ومن حافظ على حرّات المتّصلين به دائماً فقد بسط بذلك 131a آمالهم وقوى به رجّاهم ، والسادس أن لا يقبل في أحد منهم مكيدة ساع يروم استفساد حاله ولا إغراء واشّ يقصد به حط رتبته ، بل يستبرئ الأمر على وجهه وينعم التنقيير على كنهه ويعلم أنّ من شأن الدهاة الحسدة الإفساد 10 بأغمض حيلة .

وأما التي يعتاضونها ويؤاخذون أصحابهم بها فأولها الإخلاص ، فإنّ المدخول في العقيدة ربما قدح في الملك وذلك ذنب لا يغفر وجرم لا يصفح ، والثاني الوفاء وهو أن يتصرّف معه في حالات السرّاء والضراء وأطوار الشدّة والرخاء معتقداً أنّه من أيسر حقّ إنعام الملك عليه وأهون أذمّته واختصاصه أيّاه ، وقد 15 قال لله ما كان لأهل المدينة ومن حولهم من الأعراب <ما> إليه ، والثالث 131b إحاض النصح وهو أن يمشي أعماله على أفضل سبلها وأجمل طرقها ويجتهد في تريب أسباب سلطانه وتوطيد قواعد ملكه وإصلاح أمور رعيّته غير مفرق بين ما يتولاه ويتولاه غيره في صدق العناية عارفاً بأنّ الملك سائس الكلّ والكلّ شامل للجزء والجزء في ضمن الكلّ ، ولا يسعي ترك العناية مما هو 20

M أمالهم : 8 M معيبيهم : مغيبيهم 5 M after blank space of three letters تبور 3
 M الذي : التي 12 M دهاة : الدهاة 10 M رجّاهم : رجّاهم
 M after blank space of three letters أمالهم 8
 M السرّاء : السرّاء 14 M after blank space of three letters أيّاه 15
 M يتولّى : ويتولاه 19 ? الآية : الآية : إليه 16

for signs of obedience and to make an effort to inquire closely into the proofs of [their] sincerity; and when he meets in one of them with a satisfying attitude, he allows him to taste the sweetness of his effort and the fruit of his labour so that he will strengthen his determination to give yet more service and demonstrate to his peers that neither the effort of the diligent is wasted nor the advice of the concerned futile. The fifth is to respect their honour in the course of the days, guarantee their means in the passing of the years, respect their tombs when they are gone, their [accomplished] work when they have stopped [working], their dwelling places when they are dead and their selves in their offspring. For someone who neglects his associate when absent will not find him [by his side] when he needs him, whereas he who has always protected the honour of those associated with him will thereby have enlarged their hopes and strengthened their expectations. The sixth is not to be taken in either by tricks of a slanderer who wishes to destroy [the king's] prosperity or by the allurements of a traitor who thereby pursues undermining his standing, but to make a full investigation upon the issue in the correct way, to make an effort to examine its core and to know that it is the way of envious and cunning people to use concealment and trickery to destroy. 131a

As to [the things] they [i.e. the kings] receive in exchange and by which they gain mastery over their associates, the first of them is sincere loyalty. For someone of false loyalty may offend against the king and that is an offence not forgiven and a crime not pardoned. The second is sincerity, i.e. that [the subject] stands by [his king] in situations of prosperity and distress and at times of trouble and ease believing that his entitlement to the king's favour is less significant and his claims and demands for it are less important. Already God has said: 'The people of Medina and their neighbouring desert Arabs should not' and so on.³⁰⁵ The third is honesty in counsel, i.e. that [the subject's] deeds proceed according to the most virtuous of paths and most beautiful of ways, and are made in an effort to foster the fundamentals of [the king's] reign, the consolidation of the foundations of his kingship and the improvement of the affairs of his subjects without distinguishing between one's own tasks and those of others in providential care, as he knows that the king leads the whole, that 131b

³⁰⁵ This is from *Surat al-Tawba* (9:120): 'The people of Medina and their neighbouring desert Arabs should not have held back from following God's Messenger, nor should they have cared about themselves more than him: if ever they suffer any thirst, weariness, or hunger in God's cause, take any step that angers the disbelievers, or gain any advantage over an enemy, a good deed is recorded in their favour on account of it. God never wastes the reward of those who do good' (tr. Haleem).

قطعة منه ، والرابع الإجلال وهو أن لا يطرح مهابته عن قلبه في خفض صوته
 وضّم أطرافه واستعمال حسن الأدب في قيامه وعوده والإقبال على حديثه
 بذهنه وسمعه ، فإنّ الملوك ربّما استعادوا المخاطبين حديثهم امتحاناً لهم ،
 والخامس كتمان السرّ فإنّه ركن من أركان التدبير ، والسادس ترك الدالّة
 والسحب في الطلبة ، بل يصبر إذا منع ويشكر إذا أعطى ولا يزيد صاحبه
 5
 132a ادّناءً وتقريباً إلا زاده إجلالاً وتوقيراً .

(221) قد تقدّم القول بأنّ الفضائل التي يحصرها الإنسان من جهة نفسه راجعة
 إلى القوى الثلاث ، أعني قوّة الشهوة وقوّة الغضب وقوّة التمييز ، وقوّة الشهوة
 بإزاء النفس المغتذية التي بها ينمو الإنسان ، وقوّة الغضب بإزاء النفس
 الحساسة التي بها يدفع المضارّ ، وقوّة التمييز هي النفس الناطقة التي بها يعلم
 10 ويعقل . ولكلّ واحدة من هذه القوى الثلاث خاصيّة فضيلة تتفرّد بها عن
 غيرها ، وفضيلة القوة الشهوانيّة العفّة وهي حالة متوسّطة بين طرفي الشرّة
 وخمود الشهوة ، وفضيلة القوّة الغضبّيّة الشجاعة وهي حالة متوسّطة بين طرفي
 التهورّ والجنّ ، وفضيلة القوّة التمييزيّة الحكمة وهي حالة متوسّطة بين طرفي
 المكرّ والغباوة . ثم يتولّد من مجموع هذه الفضائل على الاعتدال فضيلة رابعة ،
 132b أعني العدل وهي حالة متوسّطة بين طرفي التسلّط والاسخداء . فقد نزل
 العدل منزلة الصورة الموجودة في النفس عند اعتدال تلك القوى الثلاث ، ثم
 يتفرّع من هذه القوى الثلاث فضائل أحرّ ترجع في القسمة إليها إمّا كالأنواع
 لها أو كالمركّب منها .

ومثال ذلك أنّ القوّة الشهوانيّة متى ضبطت عن الاشتغال بما هو خارج عن
 20 مقدار الحاجة سمّي ذلك قناعة ، ومتى سلسلت لبذل ما يجوزه الإنسان من
 الأملاك يحسن المواساة على جهة يقيني به الحمد والأخذ سمّي ذلك جوداً ،
 وهما جميعاً متّصلان بالعفّة .

ومثله متى ضبطت القوّة الغضبّيّة ضبطاً لا يستفرّجها ألم المكروه سمّي ذلك صبراً

1 after blank space of three letters M 3 | after blank space of three letters M 4 after التدبير blank space of three letters M 5 after يصبر add. above the line M 6 ادّناءً : ادّناءً | after وتوقيراً break (·) ind. and blank space of three letters M 8 الثلث : الثلث | M 11 التّمييز : التّمييز | M 15 after الثلث : الثلث | M 17 الثلث : الثلث | M 18 الثلث : الثلث | blank space of three letters M and الغباوة

the whole contains the part and the part is within the whole. He does not attempt to stop caring for what he is part of. The fourth is reverence, i.e. not to diminish the awe in his heart, by speaking in hushed tones, bowing, displaying the finest manners while sitting and standing and attending to [the king's] speech with his mind and hearing. For the kings may ask the ones addressed to repeat their speech, testing them. The fifth is secrecy, for it is one of the essentials of government. The sixth is to avoid boldness and to step back from making demands. Rather [the subject] is patient when [his demand is] refused and grateful when it is granted. His master does not increase his closeness and nearness, unless he increases the honour and respect [he shows his king]. 132a

(221) The doctrine has already been presented before that the virtues which man comprises on the part of his soul derive from three faculties, i.e. the faculty of appetite, the faculty of anger and the faculty of discrimination. The faculty of appetite corresponds to the nourishing soul by which man grows. The faculty of anger corresponds to the sensible soul by which one avoids harm. The faculty of discrimination is the rational soul by which one knows and thinks. Each one of these three faculties has a specific virtue by which it is distinguished from the others. The virtue of the appetitive faculty is moderation, which is the intermediary condition between the two extremes of greed and the extinction of passion[s]. The virtue of the irascible faculty is courage, which is the intermediary condition between the two extremes of recklessness and cowardice. The virtue of the discriminating faculty is wisdom, which is the intermediary condition between the extremes of deception and ignorance. From the well-balanced sum of these virtues a fourth virtue is then brought forth, i.e. justice. It is the intermediary condition between the two extremes of tyranny and servility. So justice is certainly like the form that exists in the soul when those three faculties are well-balanced. From these three faculties, then, other virtues branch out which derive from them by division, either as kinds of them or as composites of them. 132b

For example, when the appetitive faculty is restrained from excess, that is called self-restraint. When it is compliant to give freely of man's possessions to such an extent that he can be charitable in a way by which praise and acceptance are acquired, that is called generosity. These two [i.e. self-restraint and generosity] together are joined to moderation.

In the same manner when the irascible faculty is restrained from being provoked by some inconvenience, that is called patience, magnanimity or

133a أو سعة الصدر أو ربح الذراع ، ومتى ضبطت ضبطاً يستمسك به عن
المبادرة إلى قضاء وطرّ الغضب ممن يحيي عليه سميّ حلماً أو عفواً أو كرمًا ،
وهما يتعلّقان بالشجاعة .

وتمثله متى ضبطت النفس التمييزيّة ضبطاً لا تقدم على العمل في الحوادث
الواقعة إلا بما هو أقرب إلى السلامة وأبعد من الضرر واستعقاب الندامة سميّ
5 حزمًا ، ومتى هدّبت تهذيباً أسرع الهجوم على حقائق ما أدته الحواس إلى
نفسها سميّ ذلك فطنةً أو فهماً ، ومتى لاحظت ما ينتج ارتكاب القبائح من
سوء الأحداث فأحسنت الارتداع عن تعاطيها وانخزلت عن الإقدام عليها سميّ
ذلك حياءً ، ومتى منعتها عن الرفع والاستطالة سميّ ذلك تواضعاً .

10 (222) والفضائل الجسمانيّة تنقسم قسمين ، أحدهما ما يتّصل بالمرفق ، نحو قوّة
البدن وسلامته عن العاهات ، والثاني يتّصل بالزينة ، نحو الصورة الحسنه
133b ونزاهتها عن الدمامة . والرجال إلى فضائل الزينة أحوج منهنّ إلى فضائل
المرفق . والمعاني التي يتعلّق بها الفضائل الجسمانيّة تكون من وجهين ، أحدهما
النسب ، والآخر التربة ، وكما أنّ الوالدين ينسلان الولد على شكليهما في
15 الدمامة والملاحة كذا المكان الذي هو موضع الكون ، وكثيراً ما يوجد وطن
الرجل ومسكنه شيئاً لطول عمره وصحّة بدنه وعلّة لشدة أشدّه وجمال صورته
وداعيّة لطهاره طباعه وسجاحه أخلاقه وذريعهً إلى تهذيب سيره ورضى أنحائه .
واتّفاق الموطن الجيّد يكون باتّفاق الأسباب ، الأسباب العلويّة والسفليّة
جميعاً ، أمّا العلويّة فبأن لا تكون مفرطهً في ناحيتي الشمال أو الجنوب
20 فيستولي عليها فرط الحرارة أو البرودة ، وأمّا السفليّة فأن تكون برّية بحريّة
سهليّة جبليّة .

after M حيّاً : حياءً 9 M تعاطيها : تعاطيها | M سُؤ : سوء 8 M نفسه : نفسها 7
M ويزانها : ونزاهتها 12 M break (∴) ind. and blank space of half a line M تواضعاً
M وانفاق : واتّفاق 18 M والآخر : والآخر 14 M after جبليّة 21 M
space of three letters M

generousness. When it is restrained from reacting to the acts and outbursts of someone pitiable, it is called clemency, forgiveness or kindness. The two [i.e. patience and clemency] are attached to courage. In the same manner, when the discriminating soul is restrained from proceeding [from thought] to action under normal circumstances unless it is in the interest of wellbeing, avoiding harm and regrettable consequences, it is called prudence. When it is refined in a way in which it immediately grasps the truth of what the senses convey to it, that is called intelligence or understanding. When it observes the results of committing shameful deeds of slander, so that it acts well to prevent them from being undertaken and restrains from venturing upon them boldly, that is called shame. When it prevents itself from presumption and arrogance, that is called modesty.

(222) The physical virtues are divided into two parts. One of them concerns the benefits of the physique, for example bodily strength and freedom from physical ailments. The second concerns beauty, for example a lovely form and freedom from ugliness. Men are more in need of the virtues of beauty than [women] are in need of the virtues of benefits of the physique. The features on which the physical virtues depend are twofold: one [set] of them is lineage and the other environment. Just as parents procreate offspring who reflect their own appearances in respect to ugliness and beauty, in the same way the birth-place [is reflected in the offspring]. Often the homeland of a man and his dwelling place have a bearing on his longevity, the soundness of his body, the factor[s] behind his physical strength and the beauty of his form. It also induces purity in his nature and gentleness in his character, and is a means towards the refinement of his conduct and the graciousness of his manners. To be given a fortunate living-place is caused by chance, which includes the upper and the lower causes together. As for the upper causes, they should not be extreme with regard to north or south, so that an excess of heat or coldness would prevail over them. As for the lower causes, they are land, sea, plain and mountainous.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁶ The catchword on fol.133b, which most probably reads *qāla Abū Zayd*, is a clear indication that the quotation in the name of al-ʿĀmirī is preserved in full.

Commentary

(1) 5a1 (end of unidentified passage)¹

Edition: ed. Cottrell with French tr. in 'L'Anonyme', pp. 435–6.

Source: unidentified; Ps.-Platonic?

As the beginning of the Marsh manuscript is lost, the text of our *Philosophy Reader* (PR) starts, mid-sentence, at the end of a discussion about how to talk about God appropriately. The topic is further elaborated in the following passages, which all sound Ps.-Platonic, but are introduced simply by 'He says'. This seems to allow for the assumption that the incompletely preserved first quotation must also derive from some (Ps.-)Platonic source.

(2) 5a2–13 He says in his *Letter to Dionysius*

Edition: ed. Cottrell with French tr. in 'L'Anonyme', pp. 435–6.

Source: unidentified; Arabic version of a commentary on the Ps.-Platonic *Letter to Dionysius*?

Parallel (partial): *R. fī l-Radd*, Istanbul, Üniversite Kütüphanesi, MS 1458, fol. 106a15–18;² ed. Türker in 'Traité', 61.6–12; ed. Cottrell with French tr. in 'L'Anonyme', pp. 435–6.³

This is one of the rare instances in which the compiler of the PR provides his readers with the – although corrupted – title of the source he quotes. However, the provision of this title is not particularly helpful, even if Cottrell convincingly argues that the addressee of the letter must be

¹ The text of the PR starts on what is presently numbered as fol. 5a, but whether the current foliation originates from a time when the manuscript was still complete and thus indicates how many folios of text are missing at the beginning must remain in doubt (see pp. 7–8 above).

² The manuscript has two different foliation numbers in the upper-left-hand corner of the recto page. I give the foliation in Hindu-Arabic numerals and ink, the corresponding European foliation in pencil is 104a15–18.

³ Cottrell's edition ('L'Anonyme', pp. 431–6) with a French translation is only a partial edition, but includes the parallel to the PR. Badawī's edition of the *R. fī l-Radd* (*Aflātūn*, pp. 337–9) is based on an Iranian MS which does not include the passage parallel to the PR. This passage is only found in the Istanbul MS indicated above, p. 47, n. 132.

Dionysius and the reference thus to the Ps.-Platonic *Second Letter*.⁴ The Greek version, *Epistolae* 310b-315a, has no parallel to the topics of our passage. Proclus' discussion of the letter in his *Theologia Platonica* II, chapters 8 and 9, touches, at least, on the inconceivability and inexpressibility of the One and stresses that the soul must leave all multiplicity aside in order to join It.⁵ The similarities are not strong enough to assume that this Proclean passage is a likely source for the quotation in the *PR*, but they suggest that our compiler draws on a commentary of the letter rather than the letter itself.⁶

So far, no Arabic version of or commentary on a *Letter to Dionysius* has been discovered, but that it must have existed is suggested by another excerpt ascribed to it in the Ps.-Platonic *R. fī l-Radd*.⁷ The entire excerpt is, as Cottrell shows, parallel to the quotation in the *PR*, yet the latter is slightly longer.

(3) 5b1-5 He says

Source: unidentified; Ps.-Platonic?

As this passage is introduced by '(and) he says', the reader is led to believe that the same authority as in the previous passage is quoted again. The material may thus be Platonic or rather Ps.-Platonic. It is presented in the form of an exhortation or advice based on personal experience: engaging in divine matters and turning away from the bodily world ensures divine providence.

(4) 5b5-8 He says

Source: unidentified; Ps.- or Neoplatonic?

Parallel: Anonymous, *R. fī Ārā'*, ed. Badawī in *Aflātūn*, 318.16-19.

⁴ 'L'Anonyme', p.423, n.29.

⁵ See Proclus Diadochus, *Théologie*, ed. Saffrey and Westerink with French tr., II, pp.51-7, esp. 55-6.

⁶ Plotinus also mentions the *Second Letter* of Plato several times (for the passages, cf. *ibid.*, pp.XLIII-XLIX), but his references have nothing in common with the passage in the *PR*. The problem of resorting to other things when thinking or talking about the One is, however, addressed in the *Enneades* (e.g. V 3, 13 and V 5, 10).

⁷ The unique MS, which contains the parallel to the *PR* (cf. n.3 above), however, refers to a letter to *W-s-ā-s-w-s*. This reading can easily be explained as a misspelling of Dionysius, *Diyānisiyūs* in Arabic. The *Fihrist* attests to 'extant letters by Plato' (246.20: *wa-lahū rasā'il mawjūda*) which is repeated by Ibn al-Qiftī (18.10).

The statement also occurs in the *R. fī Ārā' al-ḥukamā' al-yūnāniyīn*, where it is explicitly ascribed to Plato. As the explanation of the meaning of the three heavens appears in both texts, although in different places, it is obvious that it is not the compiler of the *PR* commenting on his excerpt.

The four heavens may stand for the realms of nature, soul, intellect and the One of the Neoplatonic tradition, according to which Intellect keeps nature and soul from approaching the One directly. The explanation of the three heavens presented at the end of the passage is somewhat puzzling as one would expect the first heaven to correspond to the natural sciences and the second to psychology and/or mathematics.

(5) 5b8–6a1 Hermes says

Source: unidentified.

Parallel: Stobaeus, *Anthologium* II, 1, 26.1–9; Ibn Durayd, *K. al-Mujtanā*, ed. Rosenthal with Greek text of Stobaeus and tr. in 'Sayings', pp.183 and 54; ed. al-ʿAwwād, 194.1–6; ed. al-Dālī, 144.5–10: no.488.

The quotation in the name of Hermes ultimately derives from a Greek source, as the parallel to Stobaeus' *Anthologium* indicated by Rosenthal clearly shows. Its Arabic version appears also in the *K. al-Mujtanā* by the Arab philologist and lexicographer Ibn Durayd (837–933), who may or may not be the source for our compiler.⁸ Ibn Durayd's version is closer to the Greek, but has already suffered from some corruption.⁹ It is, in any case, the only parallel between the *K. al-Mujtanā* and the *PR*.

The passage takes up the same topic as passages (1) and (2), namely the indescribability of God.

⁸ On which, see also Van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, pp.198–9, who argues that the transmission of this particular Hermes passage from Greek into Arabic may have happened either through the translation of a Greek gnomologium as Rosenthal has already suggested or by the translation of various Christian authors who used Stobaeus. The appearance of the passage in the *PR* somehow contradicts Van Bladel's verdict (p. 199) that 'Moreover, it does not seem to have been repeated in later florilegia by other Muslim authors; this particular Hermetic citation is ultimately a rare one in Arabic.'

⁹ See Rosenthal, 'Sayings', p.54, n.1: 'This [i.e. the reading: 'For it is impossible for a comprehensible body to be described as something incomprehensible'], of course, is non-sense. The Greek text suggests the reading: *an yūṣafa <bi->jismīn mudrakin mā*, "for an incomprehensible body to be described as something comprehensible". But the Arabic text may possibly have read originally: *an yaṣifa (sic Bodl. ms.) jismun mudrakun mā*, "for a comprehensible body to describe something incomprehensible". This textual corruption may also have existed in the source text of the *PR*, be it the *K. al-Mujtanā* or not, and explain the shortening of the quotation in the *PR*.

(6) 6a1–10 Pythagoras says

Source: some commentary on the *Dicta aurea*?

A possible source for this Pythagorean quotation may be some version of the *Dicta aurea*. Elsewhere the *PR* seems to make use of the standard version of the *Dicta aurea* (passage 102) and of the no longer extant Proclean commentary on them (passage 16). The standard version and the extant commentary on the *Dicta aurea* attributed to Iamblichus do not contain our passage, but do have material on which a commentator could have commented in part by saying what is quoted in the *PR*.¹⁰ The commentary ascribed to Proclus as preserved in Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Istithmār* does not have a striking parallel to our passage. Yet, it does use the terms 'divine' and 'natural number' (*ʿadad ilāhī/tabīʿī*), but within a list of four categories of numbers: the divine, intellectual, psychic and natural numbers. Consequently, Ibn al-Ṭayyib (78.10–11, 80.3) states that the existents begin with the divine One and end with the natural four.

The *PR*'s explicit ascription of goodness to the divine numbers and of the complete lack of goodness to the natural numbers, is absent in Ibn al-Ṭayyib and any other text I have looked at. It is also surprising that the number One is said to stand for the intellect and not for the One as the First Principle, as it does, for example, in Ibn al-Ṭayyib (78.6–7) and the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*.¹¹

(7) 6a10–b3 Aristotle says in his book called *Metaphysics*

Source: unidentified; some commentary on Aristotle, *Met. Lambda*, 7?

The passage may stem from some commentary on Book *Lambda* of Aristotle's *Metaphysica*,¹² in which case the underlying Aristotelian text is

¹⁰ The material in question is an invocation of the tetractys, the Arabic rendering of which is faithful to the Greek original. It occurs in the *Dicta aurea* as preserved in Miskawayh's *Hikma al-khālida* (227.17), the *Muntakhab Ṣiḥān al-hikma* (ed. Dunlop, line 532), and even twice – in a shorter and a longer version – in the lemmata of Iamblichus' commentary (pp. 88–90), but not in al-Anṣārī's *Ādāb al-falāsifa*:

إلى والذي وهب لأنفسنا ينبوع ذا الأربع من الطبيعة التي لا تفتت!

The interpretation of the tetractys is manifold (see, e.g., Delatte, 'Tétractys') and what is preserved in the *PR* may well be a late Neoplatonic interpretation.

¹¹ In Ibn al-Ṭayyib the first numbers represent the Gods. The *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, I, p. 53, further list the active universal intellect, the universal soul and first matter as two, three and four.

¹² On the Arabic transmission of the *Metaphysica* in general, see Bertolacci, 'Translations'. There are no parallels to our passage in the anonymous paraphrase of Book *Lambda*, chs. 6–10 (on which see *ibid.*, pp. 256–7) or in the fragments of Alexander's comment-

probably 1073a3–13.¹³ There the existence of ‘a substance which is eternal and unmovable and separate from sensible things’ (tr. Ross) is stated. This substance is further said not to have any magnitude, which corresponds to the claim of God’s incorporeality in the passage of the *PR*. There, impassivity¹⁴ and inalterability are deduced from the substance’s immovability.

Non-Aristotelian, however, are the attribution of wisdom (taking *al-‘ilm wa-l-ḥikma* to express one single concept), generosity and omnipotence to God and the exclusion of any anthropomorphism from Him. As to the three divine attributes ‘wisdom’, ‘generosity’ and ‘omnipotence’ their usage is at least attested in some Ps.-Aristotelian text, namely the *R. al-Siyāsa al-‘āmmīya*.¹⁵

ary preserved in Ibn Rushd, or in the extant parts of Themistius’ paraphrase which is quoted in passage (17) below, or in Theophrastus’ paraphrase, or in the fragments preserved of Nicolaus Damascenus’ *De philosophia Aristotelis*, Books II and III, which discuss the *Metaphysica*, or in the paraphrase by Thābit ibn Qurra, or in the one by ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī.

¹³ Cf. the Arabic text in the lemmata of Ibn Rushd’s *Long Commentary* (Averroès, III, 1625.10–1626.4):

قال ارسطاطاليس فأما إنَّ جوهر ما أزلَّ وغير متحرَّك مفارق للمحسوسات فبيِّن مما قيل وقد أوضح أنَّه لا يمكن أن يكون لهذا الجوهر عظم البتَّة بل هو لا جزء له ولا قسمة لأنَّه يحرك زماناً لا تحاية له وليس شيء متناه له قوَّة لا متناهية فإذا كلَّ عظم إما لا متناه وإما | متناه فلهذه العلة لا يكون في العظم المتناهي ولا يكون لا متناهي لأن ليس عظم لا متناه البتَّة وأيضاً بيِّن أنَّه لا يفعل ولا يتغيَّر فإنَّ جميع الحركات الأخر بعد المكائنة فهذه الأشياء بيِّنة أمَّا على هذه الحال .

¹⁴ Following the suggested emendation ‘affections’ (*al-infi‘ālāt*) instead of the manuscript reading ‘translocations’ (*al-intiqālāt*).

¹⁵ The passage in question is found in the *R. al-Siyāsa* and partly quoted in passage (19) below. Curiously enough, the sentence which describes the creator as omnipotent, wise and generous (ed. Maróth, 50.19–20) is omitted by our compiler. A possible reason may be the similarity to the alleged *Metaphysics* quotation. Yet, in the course of the *PR* repetition is ubiquitous.

The three divine attributes (*jūd, qudra, ḥikma*) are commonplace in Arabic philosophy. They occur, e.g., in an Arabic version of Late Alexandrian *Prolegomena* preserved by Ibn al-Ṭayyib in the context of the fifth definition of philosophy, i.e. likeness to God (ed. Gyekye, 22.15, and tr. Dunlop, ‘Existence’, p. 89). They are further used in an invocation contained in the *Praise [of God] by the Philosophers* (*Tamjīd al-falāsifa*) which is preserved in Istanbul, MS Köprülü 1608, fols. 32a16–33a18. There (fol. 32b8) we read:

سبحانك يا تام القدرة والجود والحكمة .

The attributes can also be found in ‘Abd al-Laṭīf’s *K. fi l-‘ilm mā ba’d al-ṭabī‘a*, ch. 22 (ed. Badawī in *Aflūṭīn*, 217.10–13). This chapter is supposedly a summary of the *ThA*, but in the extant version of the *ThA* there is no corresponding passage. In Miskawayh’s *Fawz* (40.6–9) it is claimed that ‘none of the Ancients ... rejected any of [the Creator’s] attributes which He deserves [to be attributed] by men according to their ability [to do so], namely generosity, omnipotence and wisdom’. See also Rowson, *Muslim Philosopher*, pp. 217–18 and 226. The three attributes also figure prominently in al-Isfizarī’s *K. fi Masā’il al-umūr al-ilāhiya*, pp. 236–7, 247, 249.