ISLAMIYAT 6, 1985, 25—41

MISKAWAYH'S WAŞİYYAH (TESTAMENT): THE PROLEGOMENA TO HIS ETHICS

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INTRODUCTION

The Qur'an and the Sunnah have formed the major basis of Islamic education since the first century of Islam, and from that time they have remained at the centre of all learning activities. Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) was therefore educated in these subjects and this is reflected in his writing where he cites a great number of verses of the Qur'an. This is a feature of all his works, particularly the Jau'dan Khirad. And in the same book, he refers to the hikmah (wisdom) as expounded by Luqmân in the Qur'an, surah, 31:1—34. This wisdom is based upon the oneness of God and the moral law derived from its relations to man's own good, for God is above all needs. Luqmân in the Qur'an is not only a reference to al-shakhṣ (someone), but also to the dimension of hikmah in general. Miskawayh cites Luqmân precisely for the reason that Luqmân as mentioned by the Qur'an demonstrates the unity of wahy and hikmah — or revelation and philosophy. Therefore, an ethical system which is derived from hikmah is at the same time derived from revelation. This reference to the wisdom of Luqmân is one of the important evidences of Miskawayh's reference to the Qur'an as he exercises his own philosophical reasoning in relation to Greek thought.

Miskawayh is equally drawn to the Sunnah as he quotes regularly the sayings of the Prophet and devotes one section of his Jaw'udan Khirad to them. Most of these hadith (prophetic traditions) are taken from Musnad Imām Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d.241/855), Sahih al-Bukhari (d.256/870), Sahih Muslim (d.261/874), Sahih Ibn Hibān (d.354/965), Sunan Abū Dāūd (d.275/888), Sunan Ibn Mājah (d.273/886), Sunan al-Nasa'i (d.303/915), and Al-Jami' al-Saghir of al-Shaybānî (d.187/803). As a Shi'a, Miskawayh was also familiar with the Shi'a traditions and quoted extensively from the sayings of 'Alî (d.40/661), in a section of his Jaw'udan Khirad.

Neither the chroniclers nor Miskawayh himself give us any clear reference as to when he became concerned particularly with
the ethical issues and their significance in this life and for the hereafter. His friend, al-Thaʿalibī (d.427/1035)\(^7\) states that Miskawayh had an excellent moral discipline, and this is confirmed by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d.ca. 414/1023).\(^8\) But neither of them mention at what stage in his life Miskawayh became a moralist or occupied himself with his ethical treatises.

Al-Tawḥīdī mentions that he lent Miskawayh a commentary on the Isagoge of Porphyry and the Categories of Aristotle,\(^9\) shortly after the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla in 372/982 when Miskawayh, aged about fifty, took refuge in the house of his friend, Ibn al-Khammār (d.408/1017).\(^10\) This shows that his familiarity with these works belonged to the middle part of his life. Ibn al-Nadīm (d.ca.385/995), a senior contemporary of Miskawayh on the other hand, has provided in his most important catalogue on philosophy among the Arabs, ʿal-Fāhrīst, a brief biography of Miskawayh’s contemporaries, Yahyā ibn ʿAḍī (d.364/974), Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī (d.ca.375/985), Ibn Zurʿah (d.398/1008), and Ḥāsan bin Suwar (d.408/1017).\(^11\) This catalogue ends with the year 377/987.\(^12\) Significant for our interests is the fact that the catalogue does not include a reference to Miskawayh, from which we must conclude that he was not known as a philosopher or moralist prior to the year 377/987 when he was approximately in his 50s.

It appears that Miskawayh’s association with Buwayhids gave him the opportunity of observing closely the working of the political system of his own day. During this period he wrote his Tajārib al-Umm (The Experiences of the Nations) which reflects not only his grasp of historical detail but also his concern with the moral foundation of individual and social ethical behaviour. It is here that we can locate the origins of his interest in ethical philosophy, which later became his chief concern. Hence, Miskawayh’s ethics are not only rooted in his individual search of values, but also in his experiences of history, both contemporary and general. This has been observed by Khan in his study of Miskawayh’s historical writings, where he says:

“Throughout the Tajārib he upholds the idea of Divine intervention and Divine justice and the triumph of virtue over vice. Miskawayh often adopts a moralising tone in his history and lays emphasis on good works (al-ʿamal al-qalībāh).”\(^13\)

Though Miskawayh’s history (Tajārib) ends in the year 369/979, he seems to have left the service of the Buwayhids in his late 60s or after the year 388/998.\(^14\) Little is known about his activities during this later period of his life. However, he himself states that he wrote his major ethical treatise, Tahdhib al-Akhlaq
Miskawayh’s wasiyyah

in his old age. Hence the period from when he left the Buwayhid rulers up to the time when he began to write the Tahdhib al-Akhlaq, is the period in which he put his ethical concepts into practice. He resolved, for the purification of his soul, to strive against his own desires. This struggle he calls jihad (striving), thus taking up one of the major themes of the Qur’an. The principles of his personal jihad are recorded in his short ethical treatise entitled wasiyyah (testament), which is the most concise statement of his ethical reflection.

The wasiyyah is the pledge which Miskawayh made with God in order to discipline his soul. This pledge consisted of the four cardinal virtues: hikmah (wisdom), shajâ’ah (courage), ĕffah (temperance) and ĕdâlah (justice). He then subjects himself to a fifteen point code of conduct, revealing that he practiced what he propounded, for he writes:

"I am wishing for you, who are looking for the virtues and seeking the genuine morality, precisely what I have accepted for myself."

The wasiyyah has been admired an recorded by Miskawayh’s close friend al-Tawhīdī (d.ca.414/1023) in his al-Muqâbasât. But the really surprising fact is that al-Tawhīdī did not ascribe it to Miskawayh by name. He only mentions that the wasiyyah was observed and followed in life by one of his friends (ashâbunâ). But it is an established fact that Miskawayh was his friend for he himself mentions him twice as one of his companions in Kitâb al-Imtâ’ wa-al-Mu’ânasâh. It was also possible for al-Tawhīdī to reproduce Miskawayh’s works or articles in his own works as is reflected in al-Hawāmil wa-Shawāmil. Moreover, Miskawayh and al-Tawhīdī corresponded with each other, which goes to prove that they used to appreciate each other’s works.

The authenticity of the wasiyyah as a genuine work of Miskawayh is brought to light by Yaqūt (d.629/1229) who not only reproduced the wasiyyah but also attributed it as an authentic work to Miskawayh, for he writes, hādhâ mâ ēhâda ēlâyhi Ahmad ibn Muhammad ("this (wasiyyah) was made by Ahmad ibn Muhammad”). However, Miskawayh’s other contemporaries and friends did not record the wasiyyah in their works. Al-Sijistânî (d.ca.375/985) for example, states that the list of Miskawayh’s works is too long for him to specify. Therefore the wasiyyah was not listed by him; but neither did he mention the Tahdhib al-Akhlaq of Miskawayh which was beyond doubt considered an important work on Islamic ethics at that time. Al-Thâ’alibî (d.427/1035), another contemporary of Miskawayh,
was mainly interested in literature. Hence, he admired the poetic verses of Miskawayh and recorded some of them in his anthology but neglected Miskawayh’s other works. Al-Bayhaqi (d.573/1170) who was basically interested in history only quoted Miskawayh’s Tajrib al-Umam, and al-Huwâmil wa-al-Shawâmil.

The waṣiyyah appears to have been written as an introduction to his much larger work on ethics, Tadhîb al-Akhlaq. Most of the contents of the waṣiyyah — e.g. al-nafs (soul), al-hikmah (wisdom), al-siffah (temperance), al-shajâyah (courage), al-adâlah (justice), and al-khawf min al-maut (fear of death), are treated in greater detail in the Tadhîb al-Akhlaq. Hence, it is reasonable to suppose that the waṣiyyah was written as a prolegomena (muqaddimah) to the Tadhîb al-Akhlaq, outlining a definite concept of ethics, in the same way as he outlined his concept of history in the introduction to his Tajrib al-Umam (The Experiences of the Nations). Therefore, a close examination of the waṣiyyah is indispensable for a proper understanding of the background of Miskawayh’s ethics.

ARABIC TEXTS

نسخة وصية أبي على مكربة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

هذا ما عاهد عليه أحمد ابن محمد، وهو يومئذ
آمن في سره، معاني في جسمه، يعده قوت يومه، ولى اندعوه
إلى هذه المعاهدة ضرورة نفس ولا يدو، ولا يريد بهما
مرأة مخالق، ولا استجلاب منغفة من الناس، ولا دفع
مضرتهم، عاهد عليه أن يجاهد نفسه، ويتغفدو أمره ما
إبتعث، فيعد ويشجع ويساكم، وعلامة عقله أن يقتصر
في مأرب بدنه حتى لا يحمله المرفه، على ما يضر جسمه
أو يهتك مروته، وعلامة شجاعة أن يحارب دواعي نفسه
الدميمة حتى لا تقهره شؤبة قبيحة، ولا يغض في غير موقعه
وعلامة حكمته، أن يستمر في اعتقاداته حتى لا يغفوه
بقدر طافته شيء من العلوم والمعارف الصالحة ليستفع
أولاً نفسه وسديبها فتحمل له من هذه المجاهدة شرطين
الذي هي العدالة، وعلى أن يتمسك بهذا التذكرة، ويجهد
في القيام بها والعمل بموجبه، وهي خمسة عصرباباً!

إيار الحق على الباطل في الاعتقادات والصدق
على الكذب في الاقوال والخُير على الشر في
الأفعال.

ذكير السعادة وان تحصينها يكون باختيار
دائمًا، وكترة الجهاد 10 الدائم لاجل الحرب
الداعمة 16 بين المرء وتفسه 17

والتمسك 18 بالشريعة ولزوم وطاعتها.

حفظ المواعيد 19 حتى النجوة 20 وأهل ذلك ما
بيني وبين الله جل وعز 21

وقنة 24 أنفحة بالتباس بترك الاسترسل.

محبة 22 الجميل له جليل لا تغير ذلك،
والفضل 24 في أوقات حركة 20 النفس للكلام حتى
يستشار فيه العقل.

حفظ الحال الذي تحصل في مشيئة 27 غي
حتى تصير ملكة ولا تفسد بالاسترسل.
10 - والآفاق 29 على الزمان الذي هو العمر، ليستعمل
في انهم دون غيره.
11 - ترك الخوف من الموت والغفر بعمل ماما
يبني، وترك انواع.
12 - وترك الاكترا بقول 33 أهل الشر والحسد
ننال يشتغل بكل بلهم، والانفعال لهم.
13 - وحسن 36 احتمال الفناء والفقر، والهوان والكرامة
نجه وجهة.
14 - وذكر 38 الزمان وقت نعمة، وانهم وقت السرور
والرضى عند 37 الضباب يقبل انطفئ والفي.
15 - وقوة 40 الامل، حسن الرجاء، وانفقة بالله تعالى 41
ومصرف جميع الباب اله.
فاذل 42 يسر الله تعالى اصلاح نفسه بما جاهد عليه،
يفرغ 44 بعد ذلك اصلاح غيره. وعلاقة ذلك انها يبيخ على
أحد بصيحة، ولا يصنع احدا روتية ينكحها، ولا يستبد دون
الأخيار 40 بما يتنس له.
فاذل أكمل الله تعالى ذلك له 41 ورفع عنه العزاق
والموات، ولله ما في نفسه من هذه الفضائل، يصير بها
من أولئك الفائزين 42، وانصاره الفائزين 48، وعباده
الآمنين، الذين لا خوف عليهم ولاهم يحزنون، فقد استجاب
له بحمدٍ إلى كل معااهده به، ووعى بعد ذلك بجامته 49
إلى ما وقته 50 إلى جده، من أعطاه وما حسن 51 أن يسبب 52
واسمها ذته مما يحسن 53 إن يستعيد منه، وهو حسابه عليه
توكله ولا قوة إلا به.

هذا آخر العهد، وهو غني عن تقرئي له 54 ودلالي على حساب لظهور الحق عليه، فمن جعل هذا نطوة 55
عصره، وعقيدة سره، ووسيلة بينه وبينه، فهو الفيلسوف
الحق المبرز المحقق.

١ - ق: هذا ما عاهده عليه الله فلان ابن فلان، فإنه
معاهده عليه فلان ربه.

٢ - ق: فوت عمره.

٣ - ق: فلا إرادة خلوية، ولا يرات مثواجه.

٤ - ق: ولا يستجب من منها.

٥ - ق: ولا يستدفع مضرتهم، إرشاد: ولا دفع مضرة

٦ - ق: ويعتقد.

٧ - "مباشرة" غير مذكورة في الإرشاد.

٨ - إرشاد: انصرف.

٩ - ق: وعلامة غفته مرؤوته.

١٠ - ق: حكمه.

١١ - ق: وتحمل فارشاد: وتحمل.

١٢ - ق: هي العدالة، نذكرة ابن الحك.
فوق: أيشار الخير على الشر في الأفعال، والحق على الباطل في الاعتقادات، والمدق على الكذب في الأقوال.

14 - هذه الآيات غير مذكورة في الآية.
15 - ذكر: أرشاد: وكره.
16 - أرشاد: دائم.
17 - أرشاد: وبين نفسه.
18 - ق: التمك.
19 - ق: حفظ.
20 - أرشاد: ينجزها.
21 - ق: تعالي.
22 - ق: قنا.
23 - ق: محب.
24 - ق: الممت.
25 - فم أرشاد: حركة.
26 - ق: حفظ.
28 - ق: القدام.
29 - ق: الإغراق.
30 - ق: ترك.
31 - أرشاد: لعمل.
32 - ق: الونية، ف: الدنيا.
33 - ق: ترك.
34 - ق: لأقوال، أرشاد: لأقوال.
35 - أرشاد: وترك الإنجاز لهم.
36 - ف: وارشاد: والكرامة والهوان بجهة وجهة.
37 - ق: ذكر.
39 - ق: والرضا وقت الغضب.
40 - ق: قوة.
41 - ق: بِالله، إِرشادًا بِالله عز وجل،
وَهَنَا يَنثْبُ ما يُورِدُهُ (الارشاد) مِن العهد.
42 - ق: وَإِذَا
43 - فَتَغَرَّبُ.
44 - ق: الآيات.
45 - فَأَكْمِلْ اللَّهُ لَهُ ذَلِكَ،
46 - ق: البَارِينَ.
47 - ق: العَالِمِينَ.
48 - فَمِن جَانِبِهِ
49 - فَإِلَى كُلِّ مَاءٍ
50 - فَوَقَ: مَا لَيْسَ.
51 - فَوَقَ: يَرِبُّ فِيهِ.
52 - فَوَقَ: مَا لَيْسَ.
53 - ق: تَغْرُضُ.
54 - ق: هَذِهِ نُبِيَّةٌ.
55 -
ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE WAŠIYYAH

This is what Ahmad ibn Muhammad has pledged, while he was safe in his family, healthy in body, and provisioned for his day, and therefore not obliged to make the pledge by any necessity of soul or body, neither intending it as something to be displayed (for the approval) of people, nor for procuring any benefit from them, nor for defending himself from their mischief. He has pledged to strive against his soul and to examine his condition as diligently as possible, so as to be modest, courageous and wise. The mark of modesty is to curb the needs of one’s body, so that immoderation should not lead one to do anything which would harm one’s body or violate one’s virtue. The mark of courage is to struggle against the urges of one’s reprehensible soul, so that neither despicable desire nor misplaced anger should prevail. And the mark of wisdom is to examine one’s beliefs so that nothing of useful knowledge would escape one’s grasp, and one would first improve one’s soul and refine it, so as to reap the fruit of one’s struggle which is justices. Therefore, one should firmly grasp this treatise and do one’s best to uphold it, and work according to it. It consists of fifteen parts:

1/ To prefer the truth to the falsehood in (matters of) belief, sincerity to deceit in words, and goodness to evil in actions.
2/ To remember that happiness is always acquired by free will and by much striving on account of the unceasing struggle between man and his own soul.
3/ To cling firmly to the revealed law and believe in the necessity of its commandments.
4/ To keep promises until they are fulfilled, the most important being that which is between myself and God, the most exalted and the most powerful.
5/ To place little confidence in men, by abstaining from (loose) familiarity.
6/ To love beauty for its own sake (lit: because it is beautiful), and for no other reason (lit: for nothing other than that).
7/ To keep silence when the soul is eager to speak until the intellect has been consulted.
8/ To preserve the state which arises from the wish of something until it becomes a natural disposition and will not be corrupted by ease.
9/ To undertake boldly whatever is right.
10/ To be concerned about the limited time of one’s life, so that it can be employed in none other than important pursuits.
11/To renounce the fear of death and poverty of doing what is seemly and by avoiding indifference.
12/To take no interest in the words of evil and envious people, lest one become distracted by dealing with them or be affected by them.
13/To deport oneself well in wealth and poverty, in disgrace and honour, in the right and proper manner.
14/To remember illness in time of health, grief in time of pleasure, and delight in time of anger, so that there might be less transgression and injustice.
15/To be strong in hope and gracious in expectation, to trust in God the most high, and to turn all one’s mind and heart to Him (alone).

When God, the most high, helps someone improve his souls as he strives (in the above fashion), then that person should devote himself to improving others. The mark of this is that one should not be mean in giving advice to anyone, nor should one deny anyone a rank which he merits, nor should one monopolize (for oneself) the goodness of which one is capable.

When God, the most high, has completed a person’s striving and removed from him (all) hindrances and obstacles, and has enabled him to attain these virtues in his soul, so that he can be counted among (lit: made one of) His successful servants, His victorious helpers and His faithful worshippers, who do not fear nor grieve, thus has God answered him through His grace all that he asked of Him. And after that he must rest confident that God will respond to his trust in His generosity to give him what he desires and protect him against what is undesirable. God sufficient for him, and upon Him he must depend, and no power can be obtained but through Him.

This is the end of the pledge, which needs no addition by me, neither my proof of its goodness, because it is self-evidently true. Anyone who makes this the creed of his heart, the conviction of his inner being, and the medium between him and his Lord is confirmed as an excellent and true philosopher.

COMMENTARY

The key concept of Miskawayh’s opening paragraph in his wasiyyah is conveyed by the verb َمَعَاَمَةَة and its derived noun, مَعَاَمَةَة. The latter denotes a treaty requiring two parties. Ordinarily it is between two persons in a marriage contract, or alternatively in a commercial agreement between two groups. But in the context of the wasiyyah the parties of the مَعَاَمَةَة are Miskawayh
and his own self. Hence it is closer to the concept of resolution. He resolves to discipline his nafs (soul) and therefore the muḍāhaḍah becomes the mujāhadah (struggle), whereas in the usual sense of a treaty the muḍāhaḍah is something which is by nature static. In this sense of a resolution with his own self, however, it requires of him that he should remember it and therefore he defines it further with the reflexive noun, tadhkira, meaning a self-admonition. Hence we have a significant equation of muḍāhaḍah, mujāhadah and tadhkira.

Miskawayh does not use the word wasiyyah in the text itself but any muḍāhaḍah, when it is written and preserved, becomes a wasiyyah for others than one’s own self. It could be in nastaʿīl (instruction) to one’s children, friends, and posterity. This is in line with the Qur’anic concept of the wasiyyah. The term wasiyyah as used in the Qur’ān also denotes the understanding, or the remembrance, or the fear of God. As such the Qur’anic wasiyyah is linked up with three values, al-ḥaqqaq (truth), al-ṣabr (patience), and al-maḥṣamah (compassion). The relationship between al-ḥaqqaq and al-ṣabr is perfectly brought out in surah al-‘Āṣr, 1–3:

“By (the token of) time (through the ages), verily man is in loss, except such as have faith, and do righteous deeds, and (join together) in the mutual teaching (tawāṣaw) of truth (al-ḥaqqaq) and of patience (al-ṣabr) and constancy.”

The controlling verb in the latter part of this surah is the verb tawāṣaw, which expresses the idea of people committing themselves to one another in a relationship of wasiyyah, defined in terms of truth (al-ḥaqqaq) and patience (al-ṣabr). But in order that this wasiyyah should be valid in the objectified sense of external conduct, there needs to be an internal wasiyyah between a man and his soul, as Miskawayh himself emphasizes in his equation between muḍāhaḍah, mujāhadah dan tadhkira, all constituting the wasiyyah dimension.

The most important function of the wasiyyah is the jihād (strife) against the nafs (soul). The word jihād is another critical term in Qur’anic ethical terminology. It is interesting to note that the most typical uses of the term jihād in the Qur’ān are related to fighting against kāfirūn (unbelievers), munāfiqūn (hypocrites), and mushrikūn (those who give associates to God). However, the Qur’ān emphasizes that the true duty of jihād is the jihād in God’s cause (fi sabāl Allāh) and those who strive in such cause, will be guided to the right path. The striving to purify one’s soul in service and devotion to God, is the theme of both Miskawayh’s wasiyyah and the Tahdīh al-Akhlaq, and this
brings out his dependence upon the Qur'anic ideas of jihād. A few examples will suffice:

“And if any strive (jihāda) (with might and main), they do so for their own soul: for God is free of all needs from all creation.”41

“By the soul, and the proportion and order given to it; and its enlightenment as to its wrong and its right; — truly he succeeds that purifies it, and he fails that corrupts it.”42

Miskawayh’s ethics are clearly based on the active striving of the soul for its purification.43 When the soul is pure and clean, it will lead to a higher rank, closer to God, fellow man, and the universe. It is therefore necessary to decide which nafs is fighting, and which is being fought against, and what things they fight for.

Miskawayh regards the nafs as a single structure but it has three faculties: the highest in the scale is al-natiqah (the rational soul), the middle is ghadabiyyah (the irascible soul), and the lowest is shahawiyyah (the concupiscient soul). The first is naturally noble and moral, the second is lacking morality but has the capacity of acquiring it and of yielding to it, while the third is amoral and incapable of gaining morality.44

In the process of mujāhada, the rational soul, which is the most elevated of the three aspects will not only discipline the irascible soul, but also lead it to morality and compel it to good obedience. When the latter has been refined and disciplined man may make use of it in order to subdue or rectify the concupiscient soul which is incapable of acquiring morality.45 On the question of what things the irascible soul curbs in the concupiscient soul Miskawayh writes:

“He who seeks wisdom (hikmah) and wants to obtain it he should start by killing all that is contrary to it in his heart (irascible soul) and purifying it from these (contrary things) such as whim, harmful desires, hatred, envy, love of prestige, quick anger and the like. And when a man’s heart has become purified of these things he would receive philosophy (hikmah) and take from it as much as it (the heart) could.”46

Miskawayh suggests that when the above programme of mujāhada is successful in achieving moderation, the rational soul reaps the virtue of hikmah (wisdom), the irascible soul gains the virtue of shajā'ah (courage) and the concupiscient soul accomplishes the virtue of 'iffah (temperance).47 When all these three virtues reach a proper level and have the proper relations of harmony in their activities, another virtue is produced, namely, al-'adl (justice). Hence justice exists in the balanced development of all faculties which also means that justice is always a comprehensive virtue achieved through all the other virtues of the soul.
Miskawayh’s reference to the four cardinal virtues in the wasīyyah: wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice logically follows his resolution for mujāhadah. It implies that Miskawayh’s soul is already moving away from its concupiscent station and is perceiving the possibility of its growth. Although Miskawayh’s four divisions of virtues are not very different from those of Plato, their treatment is mostly his own and sometimes drawn from Qur’anic ideas. For example, his theory of temperance, that is, restraint of the body from al-sarf (extravagance or immoderation) is similar to that of the Qur’an:

"Those who, when they spend, are not extravagant (yusrī‘ū) and not niggardly, but hold just the balance between those (extremes)."  

"Eat and drink: but waste not by excess (tusrī‘ū), for God loveth not the wasters (musrī‘īn)."

The last section of the wasīyyah deals with the perfection of the self through mujāhadah. The sign of this self-perfection will be that the soul will help others towards improvement and will recognize the merits of others when they deserve it. So through this the soul attains its faḍā‘il (moral excellences) and becomes one of God’s successful servants, His victorious advocates and His secure worshippers. All these three groups possess the state of lā khaufun ‘alayhim walā hum yahzānūn (those who do not incur any fear nor suffer any grief). This higher state of the soul desired by Miskawayh is a concept taken from al-Qur‘ān 2:38, “whosoever follows my guidance, on them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve”, and 2: 112, “nay, — whoever submits his whole self to God and is a doer of good, — he will get his reward with his Lord; on such shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve”. It is a man in this state which Miskawayh calls the true philosopher. Hence, Miskawayh’s reference to the word faylasūf (philosopher) in the wasīyyah reflects his preference for the Qur’anic ḥikmah (wisdom or philosophy) as the foundation of his ethics. This conclusions is also confirmed, in our judgement, by the additional evidence of Miskawayh’s frequent references to the Qur’ān in general and to the wisdom of Luqman as mentioned in the Qur’ān in particular.

NOTES
Miskawayh’s Wasīṣyah

4 Ibid., pp. 103–110.
5 These are what have been traced by ʿAbd al-Rahmān Bādawī, in his edition of Miskawayh’s Ḫawāṣīṣ Khirad, pp. 103–110.
7 Ṭittimmat al-Yaṣīm, ed. Ābābā Ḥaqqī, 2 vols., Teheran, 1934, 1, p. 96.
9 Al-Tawhīdī, Kitāb al-İmtāz wa-al-Muqṣasah, ed. A. Amin and A. Zayn, 2 vols., Cairo, 1939–1944, 1, p. 35; al-Muqaddasī, p. 60.
20 Al-Tawhīdī, Kitāb al-İmtāz wa-al-Muqṣasah, 1, pp. 31, 134.
21 Ed. Aḥmad Amin and Aḥmad Ṣafar, Cairo, 1951, p. 400.
22 Al-Sijistānī, Munṭakhab Ṣawān al-Ḥākima, p. 152.
Yāqūt, Irshād, 11, pp. 95–96.


28. See further, M.S. Khan, Sources of the Contemporary History of Miskawayh, pp. 6–38.

29. The terms ʿahada and al-ḥahd are Qur’anic. For the former Qur‘ān (16:91) says, “ Fulfill the covenant of God when you have entered (ʿahada) into it”; and for the latter Qur‘ān (17:54) says, “And fulfill (every) engagement, for (every) engagement (ʿahd) will be enquired into (on the day of reckoning)”.

30. This concept of ṭadhkhirah is similar to that in the Qur‘ān, 3:135, “And those who, having done something to be ashamed of, or wronged their own souls, earnestly bring God to mind (dhakārū Tāha), and ask for forgiveness”. And in surah 2:282 God says, “So that if one of them errs, the other can remind (ṭadhakkir) her”.


32. Ibid., 6:151–153.

33. Ibid., 105:3.

34. Ibid., 103:3.

35. Ibid., 90:17.


38. Ibid., 31:15, 29:8.


42. Al-Qur‘ān, 91:7–10. These verses are also quoted by Miskawayh to represent the object of his Tahdhīb al-Akhūdq. See Tahdhīb al-Akhūdq, p. 1.

43. Tahdhīb, pp. 1, 45–46. To this end, the discussions about the soul are not only scattered through Miskawayh’s writings but are given special and separate treatment in Tahdhīb al-Akhūdq, pp. 5–26, and in Risālah fi al-Nafs wa-al-Aql (ed. Muhammad Arkoun, in “Deux épîtres de Miskawayh”, BEO, 17 (1961–1962), pp. 20–65.

44. Miskawayh, Tahdhīb al-Akhūdq, pp. 45–45, 47–49.

45. Ibid., pp. 47–49.


47. Miskawayh, Tahdhīb al-Akhūdq, pp. 15–17.

48. “Traditionally, four virtues were set up as the most important ones: wisdom, justice, temperance, courage. Plato gives special attention to these. In the Laches, the question centres upon the concept and the essential nature of courage, in the Charmides upon

50 Ibid., 7: 31.