

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

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INTRODUCTION

The *Qur'ān* 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.¹ 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'ān*. This is a feature of all his works, particularly the *Jāwīdān Khirad*.² And in the same book³, he refers to the *ḥikmah* (wisdom) as expounded by Luqmān in the *Qur'ān*, *sūrah*, 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. Luqman in the *Qur'ān* is not only a reference to *al-shakhs* (someone), but also to the dimension of *ḥikmah* in general. Miskawayh cites Luqmān precisely for the reason that Luqmān as mentioned by the *Qur'ān* demonstrates the unity of *wahy* and *ḥikmah* – or revelation and philosophy. Therefore, an ethical system which is derived from *ḥikmah* is at the same time derived from revelation. This reference to the wisdom of Luqmān is one of the important evidences of Miskawayh's reference to the *Qur'ān* 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 *Jāwīdān Khirad* to them.⁴ Most of these *aḥādīth* (prophetic traditions) are taken from *Musnad* Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d.241/855), *Ṣaḥīḥ* al-Bukhārī (d.256/870), *Ṣaḥīḥ* Muslim (d.261/874), *Ṣaḥīḥ* Ibn Hibān (d.354/965), *Sunan* Abū Dā'ūd (d.275/888), *Sunan* Ibn Mājah (d.273/886), *Sunan* al-Nasā'ī (d.303/915), and *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḡīr* of al-Shaybānī (d.187/803).⁵ As a *Shi'ī*, Miskawayh was also familiar with the *Shi'ah* traditions and quoted extensively from the sayings of 'Alī (d.40/661), in a section of his *Jāwīdān Khirad*.⁶

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-Tha^calibī (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 ^cAḍud al-Dawlah 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, *al-Fihrist*, a brief biography of Miskawayh's contemporaries, Yaḥyā ibn ^cAdī (d.364/974), Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī (d.ca.375/985), Ibn Zur^cah (d.398/1008), and Ḥasan bin Suwār (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-Umam* (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-a^cmāl al-ṣāliḥah*)."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, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*

in his old age.¹⁵ Hence the period from when he left the Buwayhid rulers up to the time when he began to write the *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, 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.¹⁶ This struggle he calls *jihād* (striving),¹⁷ thus taking up one of the major themes of the Qur'an. The principles of his personal *jihād* are recorded in his short ethical treatise entitled *waṣiyyah* (testament), which is the most concise statement of his ethical reflection.

The *waṣiyyah* is the pledge which Miskawayh made with God in order to discipline his soul. This pledge consisted of the four cardinal virtues: *hikmah* (wisdom), *shajā'ah* (courage), *ʿiffah* (temperance) and *ʿadālah* (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".¹⁸

The *waṣiyyah* has been admired and recorded by Miskawayh's close friend al-Tawhīdī (d.ca.414/1023) in his *al-Muqābasāt*.¹⁹ But the really surprising fact is that al-Tawhīdī did not ascribe it to Miskawayh by name. He only mentions that the *waṣiyyah* was observed and followed in life by one of his friends (*aṣḥābunā*). But it is an established fact that Miskawayh was his friend for he himself mentions him twice as one of his companions in *Kitāb al-Imtā' wa-al-Mu'ānasah*.²⁰ It was also possible for al-Tawhīdī to reproduce Miskawayh's works or articles in his own works as is reflected in *al-Hawāmīl wa-Shawāmīl*.²¹ Moreover, Miskawayh and al-Tawhīdī corresponded with each other,²² which goes to prove that they used to appreciate each other's works.

The authenticity of the *waṣiyyah* as a genuine work of Miskawayh is brought to light by Yāqūt (d.629/1229) who not only reproduced the *waṣiyyah* but also attributed it as an authentic work to Miskawayh, for he writes, *hādihā mā ʿāhada ʿalayhi Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad* ("this (*waṣiyyah*) was made by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad").²³ However, Miskawayh's other contemporaries and friends did not record the *waṣiyyah* in their works. Al-Sijistānī (d.ca.375/985) for example, states that the list of Miskawayh's works is too long for him to specify.²⁴ Therefore the *waṣiyyah* was not listed by him; but neither did he mention the *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq* of Miskawayh which was beyond doubt considered an important work on Islamic ethics at that time. Al-Thaʿālibī (d.427/1035),²⁵ 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-Bayḥaqī (d.573/1170)²⁶ who was basically interested in history only quoted Miskawayh's *Tajārib al-Umam*, and *al-Hawāmil wa-al-Shawāmil*.

The waṣiyyah appears to have been written as an introduction to his much larger work on ethics, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*.²⁷ Most of the contents of the waṣiyyah – e.g. *al-nafs* (soul), *al-ḥikmah* (wisdom), *al-ʿiffah* (temperance), *al-shajāʿah* (courage), *al-ʿadālah* (justice), and *al-khawf min al-mawt* (fear of death), are treated in greater detail in the *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*. Hence, it is reasonable to suppose that the waṣiyyah was written as a prolegomena (*muqaddimah*) to the *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, outlining a definite concept of ethics, in the same way as he outlined his concept of history in the introduction to his *Tajārib al-Umam* (The Experiences of the Nations).²⁸ 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 مسكويه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

هذا ما عاهد عليه أحمد ابن محمد^١ وهو يومئذ
 آمن في سربه، معانى في جسمه، عنده قوت يومه،^٢ لاتدعوه
 الى هذه المعاهدة ضرورة نفس ولا بدن، ولا يريد بها
 مرااة مخلوق،^٣ ولا استجلاب منفعة من الناس،^٤ ولا دفع
 مضرتهم،^٥ عاهد على ان يجاهد نفسه ويتفقد^٦ أمره ما
 استطاع،^٧ فيعف ويشجع ويحكم. وعلامة عقته أن يقتصد
 في مأرب بدنه حتى لا يحمله السرف،^٨ على ما يضر جسمه
 أو يهتك مروءته.^٩ وعلامة شجاعته أن يحارب دواعى نفسه
 الذميمة حتى لا تقهره شهوة قبيحة، ولا غضب في غير موضعه

وعلاوة حكيمته،^{١٠} ان يستبصر في اعتقاداته حتى لا يفوته بقدر طاقته شيء من العلوم والمعارف الصالحة ليصلح أولا نفسه ويهذبها فتحصل^{١١} له من هذه المجاهدة ثمرتها التي هي العدالة، وعلى ان يتمسك بهذه التذكرة، ويجتهد في القيام بها والعمل بموجبها. وهي خمسة عشر بابا!^{١٢}

١- ايشار الحق على الباطل في الاعتقادات والصدق على الكذب في الاقوال والخير على الشر في الأفعال.^{١٣}

٢- وذكر السعادة وان تحصيلها يكون باختيار دائم،^{١٤} وكثرة الجهاد^{١٥} الدائم لأجل الحرب الدائمة^{١٦} بين المرء ونفسه.^{١٧}

٣- والتمسك^{١٨} بالشريعة ولزوم وظائفها.

٤- وحفظ المواعيد^{١٩} حتى اجزئها^{٢٠} وأدل ذلك ما بينى وبين الله جل وعز.^{٢١}

٥- وقلة^{٢٢} الثقة بالناس بترك الاسترسال.

٦- ومحبة^{٢٣} الجميل لانه جميل لا لغير ذلك.

٧- والضمن^{٢٤} في أوقات حركة^{٢٥} النفس للكلام حتى يستشار فيه العقل.

٨- وحفظ^{٢٦} الحال التي تحصل في مشيئة^{٢٧} شيء حتى تصير ملكة ولا تفسد بالاسترسال.

- ٩- والأقدم ٢٨ على كل ما كان صوابا .
- ١٠- والأشفاق ٢٩ على الزمان الذى هو العمر، ليستعمل فى انهم دون غيره .
- ١١- وترك ٣٠ الخوف من الموت والفقر بعمل ٣١ ما ينبغى، وترك انتوانى. ٣٢
- ١٢- وترك ٣٣ الاكتراث باقوال ٣٤ أهل الشر والحسد نئلا يشتغل بمقابلتهم، والانفعال بهم. ٣٥
- ١٣- وحسن ٣٦ احتمال الفنى والفقر، والهوان والكرامة نجبة وجهة. ٣٧
- ١٤- وذكر ٣٨ انمرض وقت النصح، وانهم وقت السرور وانرضى عند ٣٩ الغضب، ليقل انطفى والنبى.
- ١٥- وقوة ٤٠ الامل، وحسن الرجاء، والثقة بالله تعالى ٤١
وصرف جميع البال اليه. ٤٢
- فاذا ٤٣ يسر الله تعالى اصلاح نفسه بما جاهد عليه،
يفرغ ٤٤ بعد ذلك اصلاح غيره . وعلامة ذلك أنه لا يبخل على
أحد بنصيحة، ولا يمنع احدا رتبة يستحقها، ولا يستبد دون
الأخيار ٤٥ بما يتسع له .
- فاذا أكمل الله تعالى ذلك له ٤٦ ورفع عنه العرائق
والمواتع، وبلغه ما فى نفسه من هذه الفضائل، يصير بها
من اوليائه الفائزين، ٤٧ وانصاره الغالبين، ٤٨ وعباده
الأمينين، الذين لا خوف عليهم ولا هم يحزنون، فقد استجاب

له بحمده الى كل ماعاده به ، ووثق بعد ذلك باجابته^{٤٩}
الى ما وكنه^{٥٠} الى جوده ، من اعطائه ما يحسن^{٥١} أن يرغب^{٥٢}
وانما ذته مما يحسن^{٥٣} ان يستعيد منه ، وهو حسبه وعليه
توكله ولا قوة الا به .

هذا آخر العهد، وهو غنى عن تقريظي له^{٥٤} ودلالاتي
على حسنه لظهور الحق عليه . فمن جعل هذا نحلة^{٥٥}
عصره ، وعقيدة سره ، ووسيلة بينه وبين ربه ، فهو الفيلسوف
الحق المبرز المحقق .

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- ١ - ف: هذا ما عاهد عليه الله فلان ابن فلان، ق: هذا
ماعاهد عليه فلان ربه .
 - ٢ - ق: قوت عمره .
 - ٣ - ف: فلايرانى مخلوقا، ق: ولا يرائى مخلوقا .
 - ٤ - ف و ق: ولا يستجلب منفعة من الناس .
 - ٥ - ف و ق: ولا يستدفع مضرتهم، ارشاد: ولا دفع مضرة
 - ٦ - ق: ويعتقد .
 - ٧ - "ما استطاع" غير مذكورة في الارشاد .
 - ٨ - ارشاد: انشره .
 - ٩ - ق: وعلامة عفته مروءته .
 - ١٠ - ق: حكمه .
 - ١١ - ق: وتحصل، ف و ارشاد: ويحصل .
 - ١٢ - ق: هي العدالة، تذكرة ايثار الحق .

- ١٣ - فِوَقِي: ايشار الخير على الشر فى الافعال، والحق على الباطل فى الاعتقادات، والصدق على الكذب فى الأقوال.
- ١٤ - هذه الآيات غير مذكورة فى الارشاد.
- ١٥ - قِي: ذكر، ارشاد: وكثرة.
- ١٦ - ارشاد: الدائم.
- ١٧ - ارشاد: وبين نفسه.
- ١٨ - قِي: التمسك.
- ١٩ - قِي: حفظ.
- ٢٠ - ارشاد: ينجزها.
- ٢١ - قِي: تعالى.
- ٢٢ - قِي: قنة.
- ٢٣ - قِي: محبة.
- ٢٤ - قِي: الصمت.
- ٢٥ - فِي ارشاد: حركات.
- ٢٦ - قِي: حفظ.
- ٢٧ - قِي: شىء، ارشاد: شىء، فِي: بشىء.
- ٢٨ - قِي: الاقدام.
- ٢٩ - قِي: الاشفاق.
- ٣٠ - قِي: ترك.
- ٣١ - ارشاد: لعمل.
- ٣٢ - قِي: الونية، فِي: الدنية.
- ٣٣ - قِي: ترك.
- ٣٤ - فِي: لأقوال، ارشاد: لأقوال.
- ٣٥ - ارشاد: وترك الانفعال لهم.
- ٣٦ - قِي: حسن.
- ٣٧ - فِي وارشاد: والكرامة والهوان بجهة وجهة.
- ٣٨ - قِي: ذكر.

- ٣٩ - ق: والرضا وقت الغضب.
- ٤٠ - ق: قوة.
- ٤١ - ق: بالله، ارشاد: بالله عز وجل.
- ٤٢ - وهنا ينتهى ما يورده (الارشاد) من العهد.
- ٤٣ - ق: واذا.
- ٤٤ - ف: تفرغ.
- ٤٥ - ق: الاحياء.
- ٤٦ - ف: أكمل الله له ذلك.
- ٤٧ - ق: البارين.
- ٤٨ - ق: العالمين.
- ٤٩ - ف: من جانبه.
- ٥٠ - ف: الى كل ما.
- ٥١ - ف و ق: مالا يحسن.
- ٥٢ - ف و ق: يرغب فيه.
- ٥٣ - ف و ق: مما لا يحسن.
- ٥٤ - ق: تقرضى.
- ٥٥ - ف: هذه نبيلة.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE WAŞIYYAH

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 immoderateness 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 commandements.
- 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 *waṣiyyah* is conveyed by the verb *ʿāhada* and its derived noun, *muʿāhadah*.²⁹ 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 *waṣiyyah* the parties of the *muʿāhadah* 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 mu^cāhadah becomes the *mujāhadah* (struggle), whereas in the usual sense of a treaty the mu^cāhadah 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, *tadhkirah*, meaning a self-admonition.³⁰ Hence we have a significant equation of mu^cāhadah, mujāhadah and tadhkirah.

Miskawayh does not use the word wasiyyah in the text itself but any mu^cāhadah, when it is written and preserved, becomes a wasiyyah for others than one's own self. It could be in *naṣīhat* (instruction) to one's children, friends, and posterity. This is in line with the Qur'anic concept of the wasiyyah.³¹ The term wasiyyah as used in the Qur'ān also denotes the understanding, or the remembrance, or the fear of God.³² As such the Qur'anic wasiyyah is linked up with three values, *al-ḥaqq* (truth),³³ *al-ṣabr* (patience),³⁴ and *al-marḥamah* (compassion).³⁵ The relationship between *al-ḥaqq* and *al-sabr* is perfectly brought out in *sūrah al-ʿAsr*, 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-ḥaqq*) and of patience (*al-sabr*) and constancy”.

The controlling verb in the latter part of this *sūrah* 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-ḥaqq*) 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 mu^cāhadah, mujāhadah dan tadhkirah, 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),³⁶ *munāfiqūn* (hypocrites)³⁷, and *mushrikūn* (those who give associates to God).³⁸ However, the Qur'ān emphasises that the true duty of jihād is the jihād in God's cause (*fi ṣabīl Allāh*) and those who strive in such cause, will be guided to the right path.³⁹ The striving to purify one's soul in service and devotion to God, is the theme of both Miskawayh's wasiyyah and the Tahdhīh al-Akhlāq,⁴⁰ and this

brings out his dependence upon the Qur'anic ideas of jihād. A few examples will suffice:

"And if any strive (*jāhada*) (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-nātiqah* (the rational soul), the middle is *ghadabiyyah* (the irascible soul), and the lowest is *shahawiyyah* (the concupiscent 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 mujāhadah, 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 concupiscent soul which is incapable of acquiring morality.⁴⁵ On the question of what things the irascible soul curbs in the concupiscent soul Miskawayh writes:

"He who seeks wisdom (*ḥikmah*) 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 (*ḥikmah*) and take from it as much as it (the heart) could."⁴⁶

Miskawayh suggests that when the above programme of mujāhadah is successful in achieving moderation, the rational soul reaps the virtue of *ḥikmah* (wisdom), the irascible soul gains the virtue of *shajā'ah* (courage) and the concupiscent soul accomplishes the virtue of *ʿiffah* (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-ʿadl* (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 waṣiyyah: 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,⁴⁸ 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 immoderateness) is similar to that of the Qur'an:

"Those who, when they spend, are not extravagant (*yusrifū*) and not niggardly, but hold the just (balance) between those (extremes)."⁴⁹

"Eat and drink: but waste not by excess (*tusrifū*), for God loveth not the wasters (*musrifīn*)."⁵⁰

The last section of the waṣiyyah 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 khawfun ʿalayhim walā hum yahzanūn* (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'an* 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 *faḥṣāḥ* (philosopher) in the waṣiyyah reflects his preference for the Qur'anic *ḥikmah* (wisdom or philosophy) as the foundation of his ethics. This conclusion is also confirmed, in our judgement, by the additional evidence of Miskawayh's frequent references to the Qur'an in general and to the wisdom of Luqmān as mentioned in the Qur'an in particular.

NOTES

¹ See further, Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, tr. Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols., London, 1958, 11, pp. 436–463.

² Ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badāwī, Cairo, 1952, pp. 112, 113, 114, 118, 119, 126, 129, 134, 136, 138, 149, 161, 162.

³ *Jawāidān Khirad*, pp. 127–128.

- ⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 103–110.
- ⁵ These are what have been traced by ^CAbd al-Rahmān Badāwī, in his edition of Miskawayh's *Jāwīdān Khīrad*, pp. 103–110.
- ⁶ *Jāwīdān Khīrad*, ed. ^CAbd al-Rahmān Badāwī, pp. 110–113.
- ⁷ *Tatimmat al-Yatīmah*, ed. ^CAbbas Iqbāl, 2 vols., Teheran, 1934, 1, p.96.
- ⁸ *Al-Muqābasāt*, ed. Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, Cairo, 1929, p. 90; *Risālat al-Ṣadaqah wa-al-ṣadīq*, ed. Ibrahim al-Kaylānī, Damascus, 1964, pp. 67–68.
- ⁹ Al-Tawhīdī, *Kitāb al-Imtā^C wa-al-Mu^āanasah*, ed. A. Amīn and A. Zayn, 2 vols., Cairo, 1939–1944, 1, p. 35; *al-Muqābasāt*, p.60.
- ¹⁰ Al-Tawhīdī, *Kitāb al-Imtā^C wa-al-Mu^āanasah*, 1, pp. 33–34; al-Qiftī, *Ta^ʿriḫ al-Ḥukamā* ed. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903, p. 164.
- ¹¹ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, J. Rodiger, and A. Müller, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1871–1872, pp. 264–265.
- ¹² F.E. Peters, *Aristotle and the Arabs: the Aristotelian Tradition in Islam*, London – New York, 1968, pp. 277–280.
- ¹³ M.S. Khan, *Sources of the Contemporary History of Miskawayh*, an unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1958, p.26.
- ^{14*} Al-Sijistānī, Abū Sulaymān, *Muntakhab Siwān al-ḥikmah*, ed. D.M. Dunlop, – (Berlin: W.D. Gruyter, 1979).
- ¹⁵ Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, ed. by C.K. Zurayk, Beirut, 1968, p. 45.
- ¹⁶ Al-Sijistānī, *Muntakhab Siwān al-ḥikmah*, pp. 152–155; Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, pp. 45–46; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arīb ilā Ma^Crifat al-Adīb*, ed. D.S. Margoliouth, 7 vols., Leiden–London, 1907–1926, 11, pp. 95–96. (hereafter cited as *Irshād*).
- ¹⁷ Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, p. 45. For an analysis of the Qur'anic understanding of *jihād* see R. Peters, *Islam and Colonialism: the Doctrine of Jihād in Modern History*, The Hague, Mouton, 1979; and D.A. Craig, *The Military and Spiritual Aspects of Jihād in the Qur'ān*, and unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of Theology, University of Birmingham, 1969.
- ¹⁸ Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, pp. 45–46.
- ¹⁹ Ed. Ḥasan al-Sandūbī, Cairo, 1929, pp. 323–326 (hereafter cited as ^ف) and Muḥammad Taufīq Ḥasan, Baghdād, 1970, pp. 384–387 (hereafter cited as ^ق). Although the Arabic text of the *wasīyyah* has also been published by Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsā, in his work, *Falsafat al-Akhlāq fī al-Islām wa-ṣilatuhā bi-al-Falsafat al-Ighrīqīyyah*, Cairo, 1963, pp. 77–80, and by Muḥammad Luṭfī Jum^Cat, in his work, *Ta^ʿriḫ al-Falsafat al-Islām fī al-Mashriq wa-al-Maghrib*, 1927, p. 306. The first is mainly based on the edition of ^ق and the edition of *Irshād* (11, p.95), while the second is only a reproduction from *Irshād*, which is not complete. Part of the *wasīyyah* in *al-Irshād* has also been translated into English by D.M. Donaldson, *Studies in Muslim Ethics*, London, 1953, p. 123; ^CAbd al-Haq Anṣārī, *The Ethical Philosophy of Miskawayh*, Aligarh, 1964, pp. 122–123; and B.H. Siddīqī, "Miskawayh: Life and Works", *Journal of the Reginal Culture Institute*, VII. 2 & 3 (1974), pp. 93–94.
- ²⁰ Al-Tawhīdī, *Kitāb al-Imtā^C wa-al-Mu^āanasah*, 1, pp. 31, 134.
- ²¹ Ed. Aḥmad Amīn and Aḥmad Ṣaqar, Cairo, 1951, pp. 400.
- ²² Al-Sijistānī, *Muntakhab Siwān al-ḥikmah*, p. 152.

- ²³ Yāqūt, *Irshād*, 11, pp. 95–96.
- ²⁴ Al-Sijistānī, *Muntakhab Šiwān al-Hikmah*, p. 152.
- ²⁵ Al-Tha^cālībī, *Tatimmat al-Yatīmah*, 1, pp. 96–100.
- ²⁶ Al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat Šiwān al-Hikmah*, ed. Muḥammad Shāfi, Lahore, 1935, pp. 28–29.
- ²⁷ D.M. Donaldson, *Studies in Muslim Ethics*, p. 122.
- ²⁸ See further, M.S. Khan, *Sources of the Contemporary History of Miskawayh*, pp. 6–38.
- ²⁹ The terms *cāhada* and *al-ahd* are Qur'anic. For the former Qur'ān (16:91) says, "Fulfil the covenant of God when you have entered (*cāhada*) into it", and for the latter Qur'ān (17:34) says, "And fulfil (every) engagement, for (every) engagement (*ahd*) will be enquired into (on the day of reckoning)".
- ³⁰ This concept of *tadhkirah* 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 (*dhakarū Ilāha*), and ask for forgiveness". And in *sūrah* 2:282 God says, "So that if one of them errs, the other can remind (*tudhakkir*) her".
- ³¹ *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:132, 42:30, 31–14.
- ³² *Ibid*, 6:151–153.
- ³³ *Ibid*, 103:3.
- ³⁴ *Ibid*, 103:3.
- ³⁵ *Ibid*, 90:17.
- ³⁶ *Ibid*, 9:73, 25:52, 66:9.
- ³⁷ *Ibid*, 9:73, 66:9.
- ³⁸ *Ibid*, 31:15, 29:8.
- ³⁹ *Ibid*, 2:218, 22:78, 29:69.
- ⁴⁰ Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, p. 1, 45.
- ⁴¹ *Al-Qur'ān*, 29:6, 4:95.
- ⁴² *Al-Qur'ān*, 91:7–10. These verses are also quoted by Miskawayh to represent the object of his *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*. See *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, 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-Akhlāq*, pp. 5–26, and in *Risālah fī al-Nafs wa-al-^cAql* (ed. Muḥammad Arkoun, in "Deux épîtres de Miskawayh", *BEO*, 17 (1961–1962), pp. 20–65.
- ⁴⁴ Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, pp. 44–45, 47–49.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 47–49.
- ⁴⁶ Al-Sijistānī, *Muntakhab Šiwān al-Hikmah*, pp. 152–153.
- ⁴⁷ Miskawayh, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, 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

temperance, in the *Republic* upon justice''. See further, *The Essence of Plato's Philosophy*, trans., Adam Alles, London, 1933, p. 306.

⁴⁹ *Al-Qur'ān*, 25:67.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 7: 31.