

CLASSICAL AND ARABIC MATERIAL IN IBN  
'AḲNĪN'S "HYGIENE OF THE SOUL"

A. S. HALKIN

CONTENTS

I. Introduction.....	27
1. Ibn 'AḲnĪn's Sources.....	29
2. Socrates in the Arab-Jewish Tradition.....	38
3. Galen's Tract "On Freedom from Grief".....	60
II. Text and Translation.....	66-67

## ABBREVIATIONS

- Ahasin: Abu Maṣṣūr 'Abdalmalik al-Tha'ālibi, *Aḥāsīn al-Maḥāsīn*, Constantinople, 1300 a.H.
- Amthal: *Amḥāl al-Ḥikmiyya* in Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad al-Dabbī, *Amḥāl al-'Arab*, Constantinople, 1300 a.H.
- Asrar: Jamaladdīn Yaḳūt al-Musta'ṣimī, *Asrār al-Ḥukamā'*, Constantinople, 1300 a.H.
- Boc.: *Bocados de Oro* in Hermann Knust, *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial*, Tübingen, 1879.
- Budge: Abu-l-Faraj Gregory Barhebraeus, *The Laughable Stories*, ed. Wallis-Budge, 1897.
- Dicts: Earl Rives, *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*.
- Freytag: G. W. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, 3 vols., Bonn, 1838-1843.
- Ijaz: Abu Maṣṣūr 'Abdalmalik al-Tha'ālibi, *Al-Ījāz wal-I'jāz*, Constantinople, 1301 a.H.
- IAU: Ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabāqat al-Aṭibbā'*, I, Königsberg, 1884.
- Ikd: Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Al-'Ikd al-Farīd*, Misr, 1935.
- Iḳut, see 'Uyūn.
- IMut, see Mu'tazz.
- IM: Shemtob Falaquera מטרות אגרות, ed. A. M. Haberman, in Kobez Al Yad (N. S.), I, Jerusalem, 1936, pp. 43-90.
- Jāḥiḻ see Mahasin.
- Jamhara: Ḥasan b. 'Abdallah al-'Askari, *Jamharat al-Amḥāl*, Bombay, 1307 a.H.
- Kalim: Abu al-Faraj 'Ali b. al-Ḥusain ibn Hindu *Al-Kalim al-Rūḥāniya min al-Ḥikam al-Yūnāniya*, Cairo, 1900.
- Mahasin: Abu 'Uthmān al-Jāḥiḻ (pseudo-), *Al-Maḥāsīn wal-Aḍḍād* (Le livre des beautés et des antithésés), ed. Van Vloten, Leyden, 1898.
- Merkle: Karl Merkle, *Die Sittensprüche der Philosophen*, Leipzig, 1921.
- Mib. or Mibhar: שלמה אבן גבירול, מבחר הפנינים, ed. Asher, London, 1859.
- Mu'tazz: Ign. Kratchkovsky, *Le Kitāb al-ādāb d'Ibn al-Mu'tazz in Le Monde Oriental*, XVIII, (1924), pp. 56-121.
- Musre: ספר מוסרי הפילוסופים, הגנה בן יצחק הנוצרי, ed. Loewenthal, Frankfurt, 1896.
- 'Uyūn: 'Abdallah b. Muslim ibn Ḳutaiba, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*, Cairo, 1925.
- בן המלך והגויר, אברהם בן חסראי, בהמה'ג.

## CLASSICAL AND ARABIC MATERIAL IN IBN 'AḲNĪN'S "HYGIENE OF THE SOUL"

### INTRODUCTION

Of the works of Maimonides' disciple Joseph b. Judah ibn 'Aḳnīn<sup>1</sup> (d. 1226), his ethical composition, the *Ṭibb al-Nufūs*, and his Commentary on the Song of Songs have so far remained largely unedited and untranslated.<sup>2</sup> We have undertaken a study of the aphorisms contained in the *Ṭibb al-Nufūs* independently of the edition of the entire book because it involves an examination and analysis which would exceed the scope of an editor's introduction to his text.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn 'Aḳnīn's ethical work is one of many that were produced by Jewish and Muslim writers during the Middle Ages. While there are vital differences between the Jewish and Muslim

<sup>1</sup> For his biography and bibliography see Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur d. Juden*, par. 170 (pp. 228-233).

<sup>2</sup> The book on ethics is called *Maḳālatun fī Ṭibbi-n-Nufūsi l-'alīmati wa-mu'ālaḳati l-ḳulūbi s-salīmati* (Treatise on the Hygiene of Sick Souls and the Care of Sound Hearts). The title of the Commentary on the Song of Songs is *'Inḳishāfu l-'asrāri wa-zuhūru l-'anwāri* (The disclosure of (the) Mysteries and the Appearance of (the) Light). The MSS. of both books are in the Bodleian (Neubauer, *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts etc.*, Nos. 1273 and 356, respectively). Two extensive fragments of the Commentary are deposited at the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary. Of the *Ṭibb al-Nufūs*, ch. 1 has been published in Hebrew (from MS. Neubauer, 2282<sup>s</sup>, which contains in addition part of ch. 27) by H. Edelmänn in דברי חפץ, London, 1853, pp. 23-27. The Arabic text of ch. 27 (פרק החלטיד ומחלטיד) is printed in Güdemann, *Das jüdische Unterrichtswesen während d. spanisch-arabischen Periode*, Appendix, pp. 1-57 (German 43-138). For a discussion of the works see Steinschneider, "Joseph ibn Aḳnīn" in *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, and Boaz Cohen, "Un Fragment d'un livre inconnu (Bustān el-Azhār) de Joseph ben Juda ibn Aḳnīn" in *REJ*, 199-200 (1936), 52-61.

<sup>3</sup> This study was made with the consent of the prospective editor. I am grateful to Dr. Franz Rosenthal for some useful hints and for the text of some of the philosophic passages which he possesses in MS. I also take this occasion to thank Mr. Isaiah Berger and Dr. Leo Strauss for some helpful suggestions and Mrs. Israel Davidson for permission to consult the late Professor Davidson's card index of Hebrew aphorisms.

products and among the books within each of the two groups,<sup>4</sup> the ethical doctrines expounded in them are strikingly similar. The same virtues are extolled and the same vices condemned. But the method of presentation and discussion varies considerably in these treatises. Some authors, such as the celebrated Muslim physician Muḥammad b. Zakariyā' al-Rāzī in his *al-Ṭibb al-Rūḥānī*,<sup>5</sup> develop their themes in the form of original essays. Others, both Muslims and Jews, make copious use of quotations from others, but limit themselves to coreligionists, particularly from among the ancients, and only rarely invoke the authority of individuals outside their faith.<sup>6</sup> The method followed by our author, — and by others, both Jewish and (mutatis mutandis) Muslim,<sup>7</sup> — is to incorporate supporting evidence from non-Jewish literature in addition to the wealth of Jewish sources which forms an integral part of his presentation. The excerpts of non-Jewish origin in the *Ṭibb al-Nufūs* vary in character. Ranging from short sayings to long extracts, they include proverbs, epigrams, anecdotes and substantial philosophical passages. They are generally introduced at the end of the chapter whose theme they illustrate or substantiate, and are given in immediate succession.

<sup>4</sup> According to Gustav Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel*, Muslim adab works are a development of original *Fürstenspiegel*, or books of instruction for princes, and are of Persian origin. This original aim explains the presence of large sections on the ruler and on principles of government in such adab writings as ibn Ḳutaiba's *Uyūn al-Akḥbār* or ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd*. It goes without saying that material of this nature is not included in a Jewish ethical book. The same may be said of other subjects such as horses. Nor are all Muslim adab books as comprehensive as the above-mentioned. At the same time the relation between Muslim adab and Jewish books on ethics must be kept in mind and is deserving of a thorough examination.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Paul Kraus, in Raghensis, *Opera Philosophica*, Pars Prior, pp. 1–96. It is interesting to note that ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*, I, 315 says of this work that "it is also known as *Ṭibb al-Nufūs*", like the title of ibn 'Aḳnīn's book.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Abraham Maimonides' *Kifāyat al-'Ābidīn*, ed. Rosenblatt, and the editor's remarks, Introduction, 35–37. As an example of Muslim adab of this type one may mention al-Ḥuṣri, *Zahr al-Adab*, cf. note 27.

<sup>7</sup> E. g. ibn Ḳutaiba or ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (see note 4), or Shemtob ibn Falaquera.

## 1

## IBN 'AḲNĪN'S SOURCES

Ibn 'AḲnīn, an erudite and intelligent scholar, was without question acquainted at first hand with the scientific and philosophic literature of his age. In tracing the sources of his more extensive extracts, one need not therefore hesitate to presume direct quotation from the relevant text. This assumption is not only logically plausible but is also strengthened by the faithfulness of the copy to the original.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, no such presumption is warranted regarding the more epigrammatic sayings, the anecdotes and proverbs. The character of the aphorisms differs radically from that of the philosophic extracts in that the former do not constitute part of a larger context but are strung together by virtue of a loose connection among them.

Where did our author find them?

In view of his Jewish-Arabic background and milieu it can be taken for granted that his source or sources were Arabic, notwithstanding the fact that most of the sayings are given in the name of Greek or Latin sages. Arabic collections of aphorisms, therefore, urgently claim our attention, whereas Greek and Syriac collections need only be dealt with in passing.

The history of Arabic gnostic literature is complicated and much of it is still a mystery. There is a very large number of Arabic proverbs whose tradition goes back to pre-Islamic Arabia or other Oriental peoples,<sup>9</sup> even if Hellenistic influence cannot be altogether ruled out.<sup>10</sup> But there is an equally vast number circulating in the name of Greek or Latin philosophers and wise men. While no doubt there did take place during the middle ages a certain amount of literary fabrication whose products eventually gained acceptance as part of the authentic legacy

<sup>8</sup> See below p. 126.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, *Geschichte d. arabischen Litteratur*, I, 32.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Fraenkel in *ZDMG*, XLVI, 737-740 and Pischl's reply, *ZDMG*, XLVII, 86-91.

of Greece,<sup>11</sup> it must be emphasized that no wholesale fraud — even if pious — can be charged against Muslim writers.<sup>12</sup> Many of the epigrams current in Arabic occur in extant Greek florilegia.<sup>13</sup> We have the testimony of Ḥunain b. Ishāq that his work is a translation from the Greek or a compilation of material current in Greek.<sup>14</sup> A later compiler, Mubaššir ibn Fātik<sup>15</sup> states that his contents were taken from Greek and other sources.<sup>16</sup>

But there are wide gaps in the chain of tradition. This applies to both Greek originals and Arabic connecting links. Ḥunain b. Ishāq<sup>17</sup> is generally regarded as the starting point of the line

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Loewenthal, *Sinnsprüche der Philosophen*, 2 ff.; Wachsmuth, *Studien zu den griechischen Florilegien*, 100–101; Crusius "Über die Sprichwörter-sammlung d. Maximus Planudes," *Rheinisches Museum*, XLII (N. S.), 386.

<sup>12</sup> Richter, *l. c.*, 100.

<sup>13</sup> Cf., e. g., the references to Greek and Latin sources in Knust's edition of the Spanish version of Ḥunain's and Mubaššir's anthologies (in Hermann Knust, *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial*), passim.

<sup>14</sup> כוסרי הפילוסופים (ed. Loewenthal), 3 (Cf. the editor's Introduction to the German translation [see note II], pp. 5–9). Cf. also Eric Werner and Isaiah Sonne, *The Philosophy and theory of Music in Judaeo-Arabic Literature* (Second Installment), 558 sqq.

<sup>15</sup> See below.

<sup>16</sup> וכנת קר קראת כחמא פיהא אשיא- מן אראב אל חכמא- אל יונאנין וטואעט אל עלמא- אל מתקרטינ . . . פחדאני דלך עלי אן נעעה מנהא פי כתאבי הדא מא רמיהה נאפעא אלך. From his Introduction as cited in de Jong & de Goeje, *Catalogus cod. orient. bibl. acad. Lugud. Bat.*, III, 343. Note also the canon of Tebrīzi: פלא יזח (Only what has been transmitted is admissible, because proverbs do not change). Cited by Goldziher in *ZDMG*, XXXI, 766.

<sup>17</sup> For his life see Gabrieli in *Isis*, VI, 282–292; for his work cf. Bergstrasser, *Ḥunain b. Ishāq u. seine Schule*; Idem: *Über die syrischen u. arabischen Galen-übersetzungen*; Brockelmann, *l. c.*, Supplement, I, 366–369. That Tritton may have been a little unfair in including Ḥunain among the translators whom "the philologists and grammarians despised" (*The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects*, 170), can be proved from a passage by the eleventh-century philologist Abu Maṣṣūr al-Tha'ālibī, who lauds Ḥunain's skill in choosing "the exact, noble and uncommon word" as surpassing the skill of rhetoricians. *Khāṣṣ al-Khāṣṣ* cited by Paul Kraus in the weekly magazine *Al-Thakāfa*, Miṣr, No. 218 (3/2/1943), p. 8. Karl Merkle, *Die Sittensprüche der Philosophen*, 6–7, prefers the title ואל חכמא to the usual נוודר אל פלאספיה ואל חכמא which is the equivalent of the Hebrew כוסרי הפילוסופים in al-Ḥarīzī's translation. He also accepts Dérenbourg's view that the *Adab* is

of Arabic transmission,<sup>17a</sup> and Mubaššir b. Fātik<sup>18</sup> is described as dependent on him.<sup>19</sup> There are, of course, numerous parallels between the two, and Mubaššir's knowledge or even utilization of Ḥunain's work may be readily admitted. But dependence is hardly likely for several reasons: 1) The volume of Mubaššir's book is about four times as large as Ḥunain's.<sup>20</sup> 2) Mubaššir's anthology of the sayings of the twenty three "philosophers" is almost regularly preceded by a biographical sketch of varying length, whereas in Ḥunain's work no biographical introduction is available.<sup>21</sup> 3) In the parallels between the aphorisms in the two compilations the linguistic variants are considerable.<sup>22</sup>

an adaptation of the *Nawādir*, made by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Anṣārī. *Ib.*, 7-11.

<sup>17a</sup> Steinschneider, *Hebräische Übersetzungen*, 348; Loewenthal, *l. c.*, 1.

<sup>18</sup> See Brockelmann, *l. c.*, I, 459, and the Supplement, I, 829; Yākūt, *Dictionary of Learned Men*, VI, 6, 241 (he does not mention his anthology). His compilation is called *Muḫtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim*. The Arabic original has not been published, but translations are available in Latin, Spanish, French and English. For the relative chronological priority of the Latin and Spanish versions see Knust, *l. c.*, 570-578. Other works by Mubaššir are listed in Yākūt, *ib.*, and Ḥajji Khalifa, *Lexicon Bibliographicum* (ed. Flügel), II, 439.

<sup>19</sup> Steinschneider, *l. c.*, 349; Merkle, *l. c.*, 181; Knust, *l. c.*, 561.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Müller, "Über einige arabische Sentenzensammlungen" (*ZDMG*, XXXI, 506-528), 513.

<sup>21</sup> Only the sayings of the following are not preceded by a *Bios*: Sed (נשׁ); Catalquius (Aesculapius); Tad (šāb); Enufio (Aurelius or Eunapius, Steinschneider, *Jahrb. f. roman. u. engl. Philologie*, XII, 364. This name is not listed in the chapter-headings given by de Jong & de Goeje, *l. c.*, 342-343.); Sillus (Basilius) and Gregorius. (The lacunae in the Leyden MS. are given by Merkle, *ib.*, note 5). The material contained in these biographies is, at least in the case of the life of Aristotle, characterized by Baumstark as being of direct and independent value for restoring the Greek *Bios*, *Aristoteles bei den Syrern u. Arabern*, 15.

<sup>22</sup> This argument can be adequately substantiated only when the Arabic originals of both works are published. However, a comparison of the Hebrew version of the *Adab*, which Merkle, *l. c.*, 11, who compared it with the Arabic, calls "im allgemeinen sehr treu", with its Spanish rendering (incomplete; it was published by Knust, *l. c.*, 1-65. Its Spanish title is *El Libro de los buenos proverbios*) and of the Spanish of the *Muḫtār al-ḥikam* (entitled *Bocados de Oro*, Knust, 66-394) with those sayings from the latter which appear in Arabic in ibn Abi Uṣāibi'a's work (see above note 5), which frequently

4) Not only are many of the sayings which are contained in the *Mukhtār* wanting in the *Ādāb*, which is understandable in the light of the difference in volume, but many of those in the latter are missing in the former.<sup>23</sup> 5) The order of the sayings which both works have in common is strikingly dissimilar.<sup>24</sup> In view of these arguments we are compelled not only to doubt the dependence of the *Mukhtār* on the *Ādāb*.<sup>25</sup> but even to question whether they have a common immediate parent. As both compilations arrange the aphorisms according to authors and probably draw from a source or sources with similar arrangement, the foregoing third and fifth reasons argue strongly against a common immediate parent. Their lines of descent must have separated further back than that.

The investigation of the source or sources of ibn 'Aḩnīn's aphorisms further complicates an already involved problem. We may begin with the disappointing admission that for numerous sayings I have not succeeded in finding any source.<sup>26</sup> Secondly, in many instances (if not in all), the occurrence of the saying elsewhere does not imply the discovery of a source but only of a parallel. The large number of works, in addition to *Ādāb al-falāsifa* or *Mukhtār al-ḩikam*, cited in the notes to the aphorisms offers no decisive evidence in favor of a hypothesis that ibn 'Aḩnīn took his material from any of them. The in-

cites excerpts from Mubaššir's book, proves quite convincingly that the translations are, on the whole, faithful to the Arabic originals. For illustrations of the statement made in the text above, cf., e. g., Knust, 17-18 with 167-169 (sayings of Socrates in *Buenos Proverbios* and *Bocados de Oro*, respectively.

<sup>23</sup> This is easily demonstrated by an examination of the cross references to the two works which are given by Knust.

<sup>24</sup> Taking, for example, the Diogenes chapters in the two collections and numbering the aphorisms as they are in the מוסרי, we get the following order in the *Bocados*: 22 (with variant), 25, 6, 10, 4 (with variants), 7, 1, 2, 20, 21, 3, 16, 15, 17. No. 8 is credited by Mubaššir to Socrates and 24 to Hermes. The missing numbers (25 is the last in מוסרי) are not found in *Bocados*, and a great deal of what the latter contains is, of course, not available in the former.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Knust, 561; Merkle, 19.

<sup>26</sup> This is particularly true of the sayings about speech and about death (nos. 17-72 and 187-239).



debtedness of our author to those sources is light in comparison with his apparent dependence on Mubaššir or Ḥunain. Moreover, not one of the works consulted contains all the sayings found in our work or even a complete group on one topic. Only the little collection on lying (nos. 105–114 in the text) finds a striking parallel in another work,<sup>27</sup> but even this group is not complete in the other book,<sup>28</sup> nor do we find much else in it of what our collection of aphorisms includes. We might, of course, reckon with the possibility that just as ibn 'Aḥnīn seems to have copied from a predecessor in this case, so he may have utilized other sources for his other groups. But while exhaustiveness cannot be claimed by the present editor, he believes he has consulted a sufficiently representative body of parenetic literature to exclude that possibility. We are rather compelled to proceed with our investigation in the hope of reaching some conclusion regarding a source.

Unlike Ḥunain or Mubaššir, ibn 'Aḥnīn, as stated, arranges his sayings according to subject. His reason for this method is obvious. Incorporating these sentences in chapters dealing with specific themes, he cites those aphorisms which are related to the particular subjects. In this procedure he follows the pattern of other Adab writers who undertook similar tasks. But is he responsible for this topical arrangement of the aphorisms?<sup>29</sup> Did he, in other words, utilize a work such as the *Mukhtār* — in which we find the largest number of parallels to our collection —

<sup>27</sup> *Zahr al-Ādāb* by Ibrahīm b. 'Alī al-Tamīmī al-Ḥuṣrī (d. after 1022). His work has been published on the margin of ibn 'Abd Rabbihi's *Iḥd* (Bulak, 1302 A. H.), and separately edited by Zeki Mubarek in four volumes (Cairo, 1344 A. H.). The aphorisms about lying appear in vol. 2 of *Iḥd*, 27–28.

<sup>28</sup> Nos. 105–106 are not represented in *Zahr al-Ādāb*, ib. Note also that beg. with No. 107, the sentences are introduced with וקאלו or וקאלו, not otherwise used by ibn 'Aḥnīn.

<sup>29</sup> The same problem obviously presents itself in the analysis of any other adab work, Jewish or Muslim, which follows a topical arrangement, e. g., the סבחר הפנינים, or ibn Ḳutaiba's *Uyūn al-Aḥbār*, and the conclusion arrived at in this study can with much likelihood be applied to them. But an analysis of other works, or of a composite group of such writings, would be beyond the scope of this undertaking.

by altering the arrangement from one according to author to one according to topic?<sup>30</sup>

One or two arguments may be cited in support of an affirmative answer to this question. A few instances occur where identical or almost identical sayings are repeated.<sup>31</sup> It can be maintained that such repetition can best be explained on the assumption that such sayings appeared in his source under different authors and that he excerpted them mechanically, without troubling to eliminate duplications. That Socrates is credited with so many sayings, — particularly in the discussions of the advantages of silence and of death, — can be best explained by again assuming that ibn 'Aḩnīn thoughtlessly excerpted an anthology according to authors. The explanation would be that having begun with selections from Socrates he turned next to, let us say, the wisdom of Plato, and, declining to copy the first saying which presumably began with אַל קַדְמוֹתָא פְּלַטוֹנִי he chose the second or third which started with אַל קַדְמוֹתָא.<sup>32</sup>

But this hypothesis, while apparently explaining the repetitions with some plausibility, must, to my mind, be abandoned for several reasons. It is most unlikely that ibn 'Aḩnīn, who utilized the aphorisms incidentally, would undertake the rather arduous task of rearranging the contents of a book so as to suit his purpose. Moreover, a comparison of the dicta of sages which are found in ḩunain or Mubaḩḩīr and are not used by our author with some of the sayings in our collection which are not found

<sup>30</sup> It should be noted that this possibility is somewhat strengthened by an examination of al-ḩuḩrī's group of sayings about lying, discussed above, whose manner of compilation we can still follow. He quotes them all in the name of ['Abdallah] ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 908). The latter's collection, *Kitāb al-Ādāb* (ed. Ign. Kratchkowski, in *Le Monde Oriental*, XVIII, 56-121; for the title see ed.'s Introd., 59-64) is arranged in a haphazard fashion without following any plan. Al-ḩuḩrī grouped together the aphorisms about lying by selecting them from the *Kitāb al-Ādāb* in the order in which they appear in his source. That al-ḩuḩrī cites them in the name of ibn al-Mu'tazz means only that the latter served as his source and not that ibn al-Mu'tazz originated them, even if in the latter's collection the sayings are anonymous (cf. Kratchkowski, *l. c.*, 61).

<sup>31</sup> E. g., Nos. 20 & 60, 29 & 59.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Wachsmuth, *l. c.*, 108.

in the works of these two compilers convicts ibn 'AḲnīn of a poor sense of discrimination, unless we decide that he was copying a text mechanically. Then again, almost all of the sayings which our collection cites in the name of Socrates and which have parallels in Ḥunain or in Mubaššir are ascribed to Socrates by these authors as well, so that the contribution of the Greek Sage to our text is not the result of thoughtless accidents.<sup>33</sup> We must also take note of the fact that the order of the sayings of a philosopher which our text has in common with the *Muḳḥṭār* is not the same in both works.<sup>34</sup> These considerations, it seems to me, offer conclusive evidence that ibn 'AḲnīn did not derive his material from Ḥunain or Mubaššir.<sup>35</sup>

We are therefore reduced to the one assumption which appears to be the most reasonable. Ibn 'AḲnīn's source was one which corresponded most closely to his needs. It was a collection of sayings not according to authors but according to topics. It was presumably considerably larger than our text, also including aphorisms on subjects which were not treated by our author. He found in it the aphorisms which he needed and utilized as many as he chose to for his purpose. While, however, florilegia of this nature undoubtedly circulated in the Middle Ages,<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The cases of disagreement, as in No. 217, between our text and the *Muḳḥṭār* also argue against accident, since the saying which the latter ascribes to Pythagoras appears in our text among statements identified by both as Socratic. Moreover, Pythagoras is followed by Diogenes in Mubaššir's work, and both precede Socrates.

<sup>34</sup> The following will serve as an example of the order in the two works. The numbers are from our text and they follow the order in the *Muḳḥṭār*: 117, 121, 123, 124, 159, 126, 127, 129, 132, 134, 136, 172 (after an interruption), 142 (after an interruption), 156, 150 (after an interruption), 151, 161, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167, 171, 174 (after an interruption). The numbers missing here between 117 and 174 are not found in Mubaššir.

<sup>35</sup> The same holds true of other extant works which I have consulted or which are discussed in Merkle, *l. c.*, 16-35.

<sup>36</sup> To cite one or two examples, we may mention, for the Arabic speaking world, Pseudo-Jāḥiẓ, *Al-Maḥāsin wal-Aḍḍād* (Le Livre des Beautés et des Antithèses), ed. van Vloten, or Ibrahīm ibn Muḥammad al-Baiḥāqī's *Al-Maḥāsin wal-Masāwi*, ed. Schwally. The editor of the former concludes that either the second work is the source of the first, or both drew from a common source (Introd., X-XI). In the Byzantine world, great popularity was en-

none of the extant Arabic ones known to me can be identified as the source of our author, as none of them contains all of the sayings in our collection.<sup>37</sup> But Adab works in which the aphorisms play a role as minor as in the *Ṭibb al-Nufūs* can be suggested as sources of our author's selection with even less reason.<sup>38</sup> For in such works the bulk of the material consists of anecdotes and poetic citations, and is in the main either genuine or invented Arabic and Persian lore.<sup>39</sup> It is therefore necessary to assume the existence of a hitherto unknown anthology, topically arranged, which was utilized by ibn 'Aḩnīn.

It is idle to speculate on the nature and contents of a conjectural book. Nevertheless, a few comments are in place. It is more than likely that this work was of comparatively early date, perhaps contemporary with ḩunain's compilation,<sup>40</sup> though it doubtless received later accretions. Its history goes back to Greek times. Excerpts from the writings of sages and philosophers, or epigrams based upon the words and views of these men were collected into two kinds of books. In one, the point of departure was a theme, in connection with which relevant excerpts from various ancients were compiled.<sup>41</sup> The other was an anthology of the wisdom of an individual. Collec-

joyed by several works based on the Parallela, a 10th century florilegium. See Wachsmuth, *l. c.*, 90-161.

<sup>37</sup> The largest number of parallels, as stated, is in the *Muḩḩtār al-ḩikam*.

<sup>38</sup> As the notes to the aphorisms show, several sayings recur in these adab works. But their number is small, and such as are found usually occur repeatedly in the several works consulted. This only supports the impression that there is a considerable amount of interdependence among these works. Cf. the discussion of the relation of ibn 'Abd Rabbihi to ibn ḩutaiba in Richter, *l. c.*, 72-80.

<sup>39</sup> The Persian origin of the early adab works has been established by Richter in his aforementioned study. Cf. also Goldziher's short article in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, s. v. Adab.

<sup>40</sup> It is to be noted that in the first part of ḩunain's *Adāb al-falāsifa* several chapters treat of subjects and include the utterances of various philosophers concerning the relevant topic.

<sup>41</sup> This is illustrated in the florilegium of Stobaios (fifth cent.). Wachsmuth, *l. c.*, 132, has established that it was not compiled directly from the sources but utilized intermediate collections. See also Pauly-Wissowa, IX, 2549 sqq.

tions were in circulation of the sayings of Pythagoras,<sup>42</sup> of Sextus,<sup>43</sup> of Democritus,<sup>44</sup> of Socrates,<sup>45</sup> and others. In these, the arrangement was of secondary importance, the main object being the preservation of the philosopher's utterances.<sup>46</sup> Whether a compilation of the first type already existed in pre-Islamic times or this genre originated in the Syro-Arabic age cannot be established. But to explain adequately the type of arrangement which ibn 'AḲnīn's work implies, and to provide a source for his aphorisms which have, so far, remained untraced, it is necessary to assume that even as Ḥunain enriched Arabic literature with a representative of the second variety of collection, so someone else produced in Arabic a work of the first variety based on Greek lore. The chain of transmission is still incomplete. Among the missing links are not only a Greek or Syriac original, but an adaptation or revision of it, including Muslim and Oriental accretions, until it assumed the form which served as the parent of ibn 'AḲnīn's collection.<sup>46a</sup>

<sup>42</sup> See Gildemeister, "Pythagorassprüche in Syrischer Überlieferung", in *Hermes*, IV, 81-98. The Syriac text was published by Lagarde in *Analecta Syriaca*, 1858, 195-201. Cf. Wachsmuth, *l. c.*, 141.

<sup>43</sup> Ed. Gildemeister. I was unfortunately unable to examine this text.

<sup>44</sup> Wachsmuth, *l. c.*, 121.

<sup>45</sup> Wachsmuth, *l. c.*, 147: "es muss eine schriftliche Sammlung derartiger (i. e. Sokratischer) Gleichnisse existiert haben und sehr beliebt gewesen sein".

<sup>46</sup> In Mubaššir's compilation, the vague outlines of a topical arrangement in the aphorisms of the individual author may be discerned.

<sup>46a</sup> The editor is fully aware of the conjectural nature of the hypothesis developed above, and of one or two difficulties involved in its acceptance. A knotty problem is created by the collection on lying which is found both in our author's book and in the *Zahr al-Ādāb* of al-Ḥuṣrī. Reference was made previously to the possibility that the little group in the latter was compiled from the work of ibn al-Mu'tazz, who is given as the source (see note 30). If the compilation was prepared by al-Ḥuṣrī himself, we must conclude that at least in this case ibn 'AḲnīn's source is the work of a recent predecessor. This will force us to predicate further that Ibn 'AḲnīn utilized the postulated work for most of his aphorisms, and resorted to al-Ḥuṣrī for the statements on lying. But it is likewise possible that he found all of his material in that one work, which, as suggested in the text, probably underwent several revisions until it reached the form which ibn 'AḲnīn had before him, and from which he drew all his material. To the editor, the second possibility is the more attractive. The discussion of lying occupies a prominent place in all

## 2

## SOCRATES IN THE ARABIC TRADITION

Socrates is the largest single contributor of sayings in the popular florilegia and in ibn 'Aḳnīn's collection. His views as reflected in these sayings are truly medieval. He urges piety and submission to the will of God, he minimizes the value of worldly goods and emphasizes the advantages of suppressing passions and mundane desires. He praises wisdom, he seeks to dispel the fear of death, and he makes little of what most people regard as important or meaningful. This general tenor of his sayings and the personality which emerges from them compel an inquiry into the origin and nature of the medieval conception of Socrates.

The celebrated Muslim physician Muḥammad b. Zakariyā' al-Rāzī (865-925)<sup>47</sup> wrote a short essay, called *Al-Sira al-*

*adab*-works, and can hardly have been lacking in this work. In this case, al-Ḥuṣrī too, may have taken his statements from the same book as our author. That he cites them in the name of ibn al-Mu'tazz does not argue against this. The sayings may have occurred under that name in the large work, and ibn 'Aḳnīn, who is generally reluctant to mention Muslim authorities, substituted for it the word *בְּרֵינָא*, (members of the other community, or faith). Or the collection may have been anonymous, and it is al-Ḥuṣrī who displayed his erudition by citing his authority (we find other instances of this, see aphorism No. 2 and its note), or rather his insufficient knowledge (for ibn al-Mu'tazz gives his sayings anonymously, see note 30).

Another difficulty is raised by the repetition of sayings in our text. It was suggested above that it would be simpler to solve this crux by the hypothesis that ibn 'Aḳnīn's sources were arranged according to author. But in view of the cumulative evidence in favor of a source topically arranged, we must choose a more complex and perhaps less plausible solution, namely, that ibn 'Aḳnīn found the duplications in his text (The compiler, after all could have been just as capable of copying mechanically as we should be obliged to assume ibn 'Aḳnīn to have been.)

We may conclude with the repetition of another strong argument. Since many of ibn 'Aḳnīn's sayings have remained untraced, we must postulate a lost work. That work was either topically arranged or according to author. The weight of evidence seems to be in favor of the assumption of a work of the former order.

<sup>47</sup> For his biography and bibliography cf. Brockelmann, *l. c.*, I, 233 ff.; *Supplement*, I, 417 ff.

*Falsafiyya* (The Philosopher's Life),<sup>48</sup> a kind of *apologia pro vita sua*, in which he makes the following important declaration:

"A number of thinking, discriminating, and scholarly individuals, who noticed that we mingled with people, and participated actively in various interests, criticized and spoke ill of us, maintaining that we were straying from the path of the philosophers, and particularly from that of our master Socrates. For tradition relates that he never sought an audience with kings, and received them coolly if they called on him; that he did not partake of delicate foods or wear sumptuous garments; that he did not build a house, or acquire possessions or raise a family; that he ate no meat, drank no wine, and attended no party. He, on the contrary, confined himself to eating herbs, wrapping himself in a shabby cloak, and taking shelter in a barrel in the wilderness. Moreover, he did not resort to dissimulation,<sup>48a</sup> either towards the masses or towards the authorities, but shocked them with the clearest and frankest expression of the truth as he saw it. But we, on the other hand, follow a directly opposite course. Then they point out the evil aspects of the life which our master Socrates led, by characterizing it as contrary to human nature and to the preservation of civilization and of mankind, and as conducive to the destruction of the world and to the death and extinction of the human race. But we, with the help of God, shall refute them with our view of this matter.

"We declare: What they relate and recall of Socrates on the strength of tradition is true, and they are right in presenting it as his manner. But they are either unaware of other facts, or deliberately fail to mention them in order to suit the needs of their argument against us. The fact is that what they tell of Socrates was true of him in his early years for a considerable period of his life, but that he subsequently abandoned many

<sup>48</sup> Published by Paul Kraus with an introduction and a French translation under the title "Raziana, I" in *Orientalia* IV, (N. S.), 300-334; re-edited by him in *Raghensis Opera Philosophica*, I, 99-111.

<sup>48a</sup> See the stimulating essay of Strauss, "Persecution and the Art of Writing", in *Social Research*, VIII (1941), 488-504, esp. 500 sqq.

of his earlier practices, so much so, that when he died, he had several daughters, that he had participated in wars against the enemy,<sup>49</sup> attended banquets, ate delicacies, except for meat, and drank a little wine."

Al-Rāzī does not deny the truth of the popular image of Socrates, but he is intent on securing a place in history for the life of the Master by which he was guided. He follows the well-tried and, in his day, very common procedure<sup>49a</sup> of reconciling the obvious contradiction by proposing a change of heart on the part of Socrates. He had been a cynic in his youth, but subsequently adopted a more wholesome attitude to this world and to people.

Al-Rāzī is clearly one of a small minority among his contemporaries who knew and accepted the "normal" Socrates. His attitude to religion, which earned for him the title of arch-heretic<sup>50</sup> and exposed him to severe attacks,<sup>51</sup> his objectionable pride in his achievements,<sup>52</sup> and the low opinion of his philosophic talent,<sup>52a</sup> did not persuade people of the plausibility of his argu-

<sup>49</sup> On the relation of the philosopher to killing, see *Cuzari*, I, 2-3, and cf. Strauss, "The Law of Reason in the Kuzari" (in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XIII), 71 (25). For the asocial life of the Philosopher, see *ibid.*, 70-71 (24-25).

<sup>49a</sup> Thus, Galen reconciles Hippocrates' contradictory views, Walzer, *Rivista di studi Orientali*, XV, 331 sqq. (cited by Kraus in *Orientalia*, *ib.*, 305 note 1); the author of the "Epistles of Socratis" (third century, cf. J. Sykutris, *Die Briefe des Sokrates und der Sokratiker*, 121) seeks to harmonize the views of the several disciples of Socrates (*ib.*, 133 sqq.). Al-Fārābī seeks to prove that Plato and Aristotle held compatible views. Cf. his "Kitāb al-jam'i baina rai'ai al-ḥakimain Aflātūn al-ilāhī wa-Aristāṭālīs" in *Al-Fārābī's philosophische Abhandlungen* (ed. Dietrici), 1-33 and see the editor's introduction, XIII-XVI.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, 35, 87-88, 90 note 2.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Pines and Kraus in *Encyclopædia of Islam*, s. v. Rāzī.

<sup>52</sup> He is reported to have believed himself superior to all earlier physicians and philosophers and equal to Hippocrates and Socrates, Kraus, *ib.* 304 note 1.

<sup>52a</sup> Sā'id, *l. c.*, 53 (French trans. 107) discounts al Rāzī's philosophic talent saying that "he did not delve into metaphysics and did not understand its abstruse aims, and for this reason his opinions were confused and he adopted vile doctrines and professed ugly beliefs. He condemned people he did not understand and was not guided to their path". This is repeated in *IAU*, 310 and also cited by Munk in his note to Maimonides, *Guide*, III, 67, where



ment regarding Socrates. If to a modern reader, the image of the Master as al-Rāzī paints it appears to be closer to the truth than that of his opponents, it is important to remember that the views of the latter are not, in the main, a Muslim "fabrication", but have a long and honorable history. Their conception of the Athenian sage finds its beginnings even in Plato's writings.<sup>53</sup> In the *Apology* Socrates declares that in following the oracle which, he thought, had bidden him to find the truly wise, "I have no leisure for the important affairs of state and home, but live always in utter poverty as a servant of the god".<sup>54</sup> He disdains to be swayed by the opinion of people, and shuns public life.<sup>55</sup> He gladly prefers death to dishonor or cowardice, the conviction by judges to conviction by truth.<sup>56</sup> Death is really a gain, for it redeems us from the labors of life and despatches us to a happier world.<sup>57</sup>

Now the student of Plato's dialogues is, of course, aware that these traits are but single aspects of the complete person. He knows Socrates as the philosopher who insists on knowledge, primarily self-knowledge, and on virtue; who analyzes human institutions and beliefs critically, yet stresses man's obligations as the individual, the head of a family, the citizen of a state and the member of a religious community. And it is possible, according to the view of some scholars, not only to be acquainted with Plato's or Xenophon's characterizations of Socrates, but to arrive at a knowledge of a "historical Socrates", by making a comparative study of the divergent views of his disciples, whose attitude to family life, to political activity and to participation in the affairs of the state is decidedly positive.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, in the

the latter criticizes al Rāzī's *Ilāhiyyāt* because כלל בו משענותיו וסכלותו הרבה. In his epistle to Samuel B. Tibbon, Maimonides writes: וספר חכמה אלהית שחבר אל ראוי אין בו תועלת לפי שאל ראוי היה רופא בלבד. Cited by Munk, ib.

<sup>53</sup> The ascetic Socrates is "pre-modelled indeed to a great extent in the Platonic dialogues." Rosenthal, "On the knowledge of Plato's philosophy etc.," in *Islamic Culture* XIV, 388.

<sup>54</sup> *Apology*, 16. The translation is by Paul Elmer More.

<sup>55</sup> *Crito*, 3 and 16; *Apology* 19.

<sup>56</sup> *Ib.*, 29.

<sup>57</sup> *Ib.*, 32; *Phaedo*, 63.

<sup>58</sup> H. Maier, *Sokrates*, 382 sqq.

same speech before his judges in which he speaks of his retirement from life, he informs us that he served as a soldier in the army<sup>59</sup> and that he took an active part in the management of the state.<sup>60</sup> His reasoning with Crito when the latter urges him to escape from prison is likewise eloquent testimony to his consciousness of duty towards the state and the respect in which he held its institutions.<sup>61</sup>

But the fact remains that the life, manner and even views of Socrates provide one with sufficient material for a divergent estimate. Since by his basic principle — analysis and penetrating examination — he was prevented from teaching concretely a comprehensive ideal of life, people were at least justified in drawing varying conclusions.<sup>62</sup> If Antisthenes, the real founder of the Cynic school, believed that he was honestly expounding the views of his Master when he taught that fulfillment of the individual meant unhampered freedom which necessitated withdrawal from society, avoidance of all desires and of involvement in family-life, he undoubtedly did not,— even if he misunderstood Socrates' philosophy, — deliberately refuse to grasp its meaning.<sup>63</sup> Socrates did withdraw from public life, neglect his family, stress the importance of the individual irrespective of his social position or his nationality, and did disdain the comforts of life.

The kind of example and guide which Socrates was destined to be depended therefore on whether greater attention was paid

<sup>59</sup> *Apology*, 17; see also Alcibiades' description of his courage and endurance as a soldier in Plato's *Symposium* (ed. Loeb), 232-235. It is interesting that Athenaeus (early 3rd Cent., C. E.) calls such accounts fictitious, dismissing also the story that Socrates wore nothing but a tattered coat. *Deipnosophistae* (ed. Loeb), II, 215 ff.

<sup>60</sup> *Apology*, 20.

<sup>61</sup> *Crito*, 3, to the end.

<sup>62</sup> Maier, *l. c.*, 382-386. Cicero decides that "ex illius (Socratis) variis et diversis et in omnem partem diffusis disputationibus alius aliud apprehendit", *de Oratore*, 3, 16, 61 (cited in Überweg-Praechter, *Gesch. d. Philosophie d. Altertums*, 169). Augustine also explains that Socrates' disciples found it possible to interpret the Master's conception of the final good in various ways because he nowhere stated it explicitly. Plato simply records his own and other people's teachings in the name of Socrates. *City of God*, Book 8, ch. 3.

<sup>63</sup> Überweg-Praechter, *l. c.*, 173-74.

to his personality, his behavior and such statements by him as conformed to these, or to his philosophy from which the duty of being a social and active citizen could be plausibly deduced. Plato was impressed with his reasoning and analysis, and in his name taught Platonic philosophy. But on others it was the man Socrates who exerted the greatest influence, his appearance, his acts and particularly his martyrdom. This was especially true of those who sought to present their own doctrines and wished to invoke Socrates in their support.<sup>64</sup>

In the century before and those following the rise of Christianity, it was the character and personality of Socrates rather than his philosophy which made the strongest appeal to the hearts and minds of men.<sup>65</sup> The deeper interest in morals, the prominence of ethics in the philosophic systems of the dominant schools, — Stoicism, Pythagoreanism and the new Platonism, — the more intensified religious longing, the reverence of the past and the tendency to trace the views of the day back to the ancients, — all these were factors favoring the new emphasis on the poor, shabbily-clad Socrates who spurned the pleasures of life and willingly sacrificed himself in defense of virtue and the better life.<sup>66</sup>

To men like Epictetus, Seneca and Marcus Aurelius, Socrates is the perfect man. Epictetus knows that he cannot be better than the Athenian and hopes he will not be worse.<sup>67</sup> Socrates is held up as a model of resignation to a life of imprisonment, exile, sorrow and death.<sup>68</sup> He recognized virtue as the greatest good and made it his mission in life to teach others to follow that path.<sup>69</sup> His devotion to virtue was such that he scorned any offer at its expense and was entirely indifferent to his state.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>64</sup> *L. c.*, 169; Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, III, 1, 489.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Geffcken, *Sokrates u. das alte Christentum*, 7-8.

<sup>66</sup> *L. c.*, 6-13; idem, *Religiöse Strömungen*, 22 passim.

<sup>67</sup> Epictetus' *Works* (ed. Loeb), Book I, ii, 36.

<sup>68</sup> *L. c.*, Book I, iv, 23-24; Seneca (ed. Loeb), *Epistle XXIV*, 4; LXX, 10; LXXI, 7; CCIV, 27.

<sup>69</sup> Dio Chrysostomus, *Discourse XIII*, 16 ff.; Cicero, *Academica*, I, 15.

<sup>70</sup> Epictetus, Book I, ii, 33; Seneca, *On Providence*, iii, 12-13; *The Happy Life*, XXV, 4; XXVI, 4; XXVII, 1-3; Aurelius, VII, 66. Geffcken, *Sokrates u. d. alte Christentum*, 10 and 41.

He declined King Archelaus' invitation to visit him because he did not care to be confronted with a situation where he might find it necessary to refuse a gift which he did not want to accept.<sup>72</sup> He braved the anger of the thirty Tyrants, although he alone opposed them.<sup>73</sup> His calmness in prison won particular praise. He cannot really be said to have been confined since he remained there willingly.<sup>73</sup> His fortitude and peace of mind when he drank the hemlock was rapturously admired by Epictetus, Seneca and others.<sup>74</sup>

This portrait of Socrates, in which disdain of worldly power, scorn of worldly goods, contentment in the face of poverty and disregard of suffering are the outstanding features, is not far removed from the personality of Diogenes. It is not therefore surprising to find him coupled with the latter by admirers and scoffers alike.<sup>75</sup> Whether Aurelius praises him for standing guard in the frost on cold winter nights,<sup>76</sup> or whether others jeer at the suggestion that Socrates served as a soldier,<sup>77</sup> both the disdain of the fury of the elements and the refusal to perform the duties of a citizen<sup>78</sup> are the traits of a cynic. Whichever the future generations remembered, it confirmed their image of the Athenian. In the *Epistles of Socrates*, a pseudepigraphic work, composed in the first Christian century, if not before,<sup>79</sup> the

<sup>72</sup> *Ib.* Seneca, *On Benefits*, V, vi, 2-7.

<sup>73</sup> Geffcken, *l. c.*, 10 and 41.

<sup>73</sup> Epictetus, Book I, XXIX, 16 ff.; Seneca, *On the Happy Life*, xxvii, 1 (Socrates calls from prison "which he purified by entering, and made more honorable than any Senate house").

<sup>74</sup> Epictetus, Book I, xxix, 16 ff.; Seneca, *Epistles*, XIII, 14; Geffcken, *l. c.*, 11-13 and 41-42. An echo of this admiration in the Islamic world, which regarded his readiness to die as the normal result of his attitude to life (see below), is heard in the enthusiastic description of Socrates as a hero by the colorful 12th century Syrian gentleman Usāmah b. Murshid ibn Munqidh in *Lubab al-Adab*, 195.

<sup>75</sup> Marcus Aurelius, VIII, 3; Epictetus, Book II, xiii, 24, 26; xvi, 35; Lucian (ed. Loeb), I, 146, 168, 170; G. A. Gerhard, *Phoenix von Kolophon*, 116-17.

<sup>76</sup> *Meditationes*, VII, 66.

<sup>77</sup> Athenaeus, *l. c.*, ib.; Lucian, III, 288. Cf. Geffcken, *l. c.*, 14 and 42.

<sup>78</sup> Epictetus praises Socrates as a citizen of the universe, I, ix, 1 ff.

<sup>79</sup> Sykutris *l. c.*, 111-112.

cynical aspects of Socrates' character are even more emphasized. Plato's conception of his master is almost absent, the *Apology* being the only work which the author seems to know. Xenophon, on the other hand, is the source on which he draws. Socrates in these letters objects to pleasure, wealth and falsehood, stressing, on the contrary, the cynic virtues of contentment, freedom, autarchy, resoluteness and frankness.<sup>80</sup>

The Christian estimate of Socrates during the early centuries agreed with that of the pagan thinkers.<sup>81</sup> Some of the Christian fathers of the second and, especially, third centuries, who read of the Greek sage, did not hesitate to draw a comparison between the execution of Socrates and the death of the Founder of Christianity. Justin Martyr readily admits the spirituality of the Athenian, his struggle for truth, the ungodliness of his adversaries, and his fortitude in the face of his successes.<sup>82</sup> Tatian says: "There is only one Socrates".<sup>83</sup> Clement of Alexandria, better acquainted with the views of the Greek than his predecessors, admires that philosopher's ethical outlook and identifies it with the Christian ethical doctrine. He finds Socrates' stress on virtue to be parallel to the Christian respect of law.<sup>84</sup> Origen, in his refutation of Celsus, the Greek pagan who, though he recognized the affinity between Socratic and Christian ethics, ascribed it to borrowing by the latter and appreciated the worth and contribution of the Athenian much more than that of the Galilean, insists on the similarity between both of them.<sup>85</sup> The poverty of both, their martyrdom, and their common ethical

<sup>80</sup> *Ib.*; 106-107 ("Das ist offensichtlich das Sokratesbild der späteren Popular-philosophie, die von den xenophontischen Schriften und der kynischen Literatur beeinflusst ist").

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Geffcken, *l. c.*, 40, note 1 in which he takes issue with Harnack.

<sup>82</sup> Geffcken, *l. c.*, 18-19; Harnack, *Sokrates und die alte Kirche*, 8. He argues that Socrates, since he lived by Reason, was a Christian even if he was convicted as an atheist. First *Apology*, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (American edition), I, 178.

<sup>83</sup> Harnack, *l. c.*, 11, but see Geffcken, *l. c.*, note to p. 19 line 10.

<sup>84</sup> Geffcken, *l. c.*, 21.

<sup>85</sup> He compares Jesus' death to that of Socrates for better or worse. *Contra Celsum*, VII, 56.

doctrine<sup>86</sup> are the strongest argument against anyone who fails to realize the greatness of Jesus.<sup>87</sup>

Naturally, not all apologists of Christianity followed this procedure of reconciliation. Even among the Greek Christian Fathers, some, such as Theophilus, called Socrates a blind heathen,<sup>88</sup> while others, like Justin Martyr and Origen qualified their admiration of the Athenian by certain reservations.<sup>89</sup> But the Latin Fathers, probably as a result of their ignorance of Socrates' teachings, adopted a generally hostile attitude towards him. Tertullian disparages him, divesting even his heroic death of grandeur.<sup>90</sup> Lactantius, who, — in line with his aversion to science, — approves of Socrates' skepticism,<sup>91</sup> lashes out against him for statements and views which he had not even made or sponsored.<sup>92</sup> Similarly we hear voices from the other camp protesting, in defense of Socrates, against attempts to find similarities between Socrates and Jesus. Celsus has already been mentioned. As an antidote to the statements of the Latin Fathers we may refer to Marcus Aurelius who emphasizes that Socrates died consciously and earnestly, whereas Jesus died blindly and boastfully.<sup>93</sup> Lucian disparagingly relates that the Christians call one of their leaders "the new Socrates."<sup>94</sup> But it was amply clear to both Christians and pagans that parallels

<sup>86</sup> *L. c.*, VII, 58.

<sup>87</sup> Geffcken, *l. c.*, 21-24; Harnack, *l. c.*, 14.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>89</sup> Justin makes the statement that "no one trusted in Socrates so as to die for this doctrine, but in Christ who was partially known even by Socrates." Second Apology, ch. 10 (in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, I, 191).

<sup>90</sup> He dismisses Socrates' poise and wisdom at the time saying that they "proceeded from the affectation of an assumed composure rather than the firm conviction of ascertained truth. "On the Soul" in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, III, 181. He commends him for destroying the Greek gods, ("Ad Nationes", ch. 4 [*ibid.*, 112]) and grants that he caught a glimpse of the truth, but condemns him for the cock to Aesculapius ("Apology," ch. 46 [*ibid.*, 50-51]). Cf. Geffcken, *l. c.*, 26-27. Cf. also John Chrysostom, Homily IV on First Corinthians (in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, XII, 19.)

<sup>91</sup> Harnack, *l. c.*, 17; Geffcken, *l. c.*, 27).

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 28-29.

<sup>93</sup> XI, 3 (ed. Loeb, 294-295).

<sup>94</sup> Lucian (ed. Loeb), V, 12 (pp. 12-13).



guides by pagan authors.<sup>97</sup> The outstanding translator of such literature is Sargīs of Rīsh'aina.<sup>98</sup> Among his renderings we also find a short dialogue between Socrates and Erosthophos.<sup>99</sup> Although the theme of the booklet is the nature of the soul, the personality of the Athenian sage as it emerges from the conversation continues the tendency outlined above and is an antecedent of the medieval Socrates. He is described by his companion as a person who is above temptation and whom worldly pursuits do not attract.<sup>99a</sup> Socrates, in his discussion, clearly distinguishes between those who preserve the purity of the soul by protecting it from the passions and cravings of the body and those who yield to worldly interest.<sup>100</sup>

A thorough search of Syriac literature might reveal considerably more of this conception of Socrates. But even at present one is justified in concluding that, along with the general religious and moral coloring of the classical legacy which Islam inherited through the medium of the Syriac transmission,<sup>100a</sup> it also received that image of Socrates which enjoyed almost unchallenged acceptance in the medieval world.

\* \* \* \* \*

The important biographers of Socrates who wrote in Arabic and whose works are extant are Muḃaššīr ibn Fātik,<sup>101</sup> ibn Abi Uṣāibi'a<sup>102</sup> and al-Ḳiftī.<sup>103</sup> In addition, shorter notices of vary-

<sup>97</sup> *L. c.*, 166; Sachau, "Über die Reste syrischer Übersetzungen," (*Hermes*, IV, 69-80), 77. The latter cites a statement by George, Bishop of the Arabs, in which he apologizes for this activity by contending that no blame attaches to philosophy, which is God's gift; it is the fault of the pagan authors who did not understand its teachings.

<sup>98</sup> Baumstark, *l. c.*, 167 ff.

<sup>99</sup> Edited by de Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, 158-167. Translated by V. Ryssel in *Rheinisches Museum* (N. S.) 48, 175-195. Erosthophos, as Ryssel suggests, *ib.*, 176, note 1, may be a misreading of the Syriac for Aristippos.

<sup>99a</sup> Syriac, 159; German, 186.

<sup>100</sup> Syriac, 167; German, 195.

<sup>100a</sup> Cf. C. H. Becker, "Rahmen einer allgemeinen Kulturgeschichte" (in *Islamstudien*, I), 35.

<sup>101</sup> *Bocados de Oro*, (ed. Knust), 156-164.

<sup>102</sup> *IAU*, 43-49.

<sup>103</sup> 197-206. The account is analyzed by Müller, *Die griechischen Philosophen*, 36-38. For the interrelation among these three and other accounts,



ing length, as well as incidental references are available in many works of diverse character.

The name of Socrates is interpreted to mean "the devotee of justice."<sup>104</sup> "He was of fair complexion, red-haired, blue-eyed. His bones were big, his face ugly, his shoulders narrow. He moved slowly and spoke rapidly. He had a straggly, short beard. When he was asked something, he would lower his eyes a moment and then give an adequate answer. He spent much time alone, ate and drank little, was much given to worship, spoke much of death, wrote little, traveled little, and was well-trained in science. He was dressed shabbily, yet he was impressive-looking and well-spoken."<sup>105</sup> The most prominent trait in Socrates' personality, often recorded as the sole biographical fact, is his asceticism and his renunciation of all worldly pleasure.<sup>106</sup>

as well as for the sources of these accounts, see Baumstark, *Aristoteles bei d. Syrern u. Arabern*, 1-39, which, though dealing with Aristotle's *Bios*, contains much that is instructive for an evaluation of the Socrates-biographies.

<sup>104</sup> *Boc.* 156: el tenedor con justicia, which is a literal translation of the original באלעדל במלעצם אלמעצם as preserved in *IAU*, 43 whose source is Mubaššir; *Fihrist*, 245; מסך אלצחא with the same meaning. Perhaps it is to be ultimately traced to the recognition of the root *κραιέω*, with "justice" supplied. For other examples of Arabic translations of Greek names see *Plato Arabus*, II (ed. Walzer & Rosenthal), p. 4, 8, etc.

<sup>105</sup> Mubaššir as cited in *IAU*, 47. The divergences in the Spanish rendering are important enough to be quoted: "E fue Socrates de bermeja color e de buen grandes e corvo e de fermoso rostro e espaldudo e osudo e de poca carne e los ojos prietos e vagaroso de su palabra e de mucho collar e de miembros quedos. Quando andava catava a tierra de mucho pensar, quando fablava movia ed dedo que es dicho index." *Boc.*, 164.

<sup>106</sup> *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā* (ed. Miṣr), IV, 99: וכאן קד אטער אלוהר פי אלדניא ונעימא ולדאחא (he practised asceticism in relation to the world, its delights and pleasures). Sā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaḡāt al-Umam* (ed. Cheikho), 23: וערץ ען מלאך אלדניא ורפצהא (he turned away from the pleasures of the world and renounced them). *IAU*, 43, who commences his biography with a quotation from Sā'id, repeats this phrase. So also Shahrastānī, *Al-Milal wal-Nihal* (ed. Cureton), 279; Abu-l-Feda, *Akhbār al-Bashar*, I, 89 (who copies Shahrastānī); al-Ḳiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 198, line 2. In the longer biographies this trait is elaborated, either because of the additional space or because of the composite form of the material. Ḳiftī introduces the above phrase with: אלנוה אלמחכלי מן תנוהא דא אלעאלם אלפאני אלנוטר אלי מא פיה בעין אלחקיקה (the one free from blame, who secluded himself away from the diversion of

He ate simple food and dressed simply.<sup>107</sup> He preferred solitude, desiring only the company of students with whom he could discuss philosophic matters and be provoked to reflection and study.<sup>107a</sup>

A most curious feature in the biographies is the popular belief regarding his domicile. Mubaššir gives no indication of Socrates' residence.<sup>108</sup> According to Shahrastānī and Abu-l-Fedā, he retired to a mountain and made his home in a cave.<sup>109</sup> But most of the other sources have Socrates living in a barrel. The transference of this distinguishing peculiarity of Diogenes to the Athenian occurs in Arabic writings of the ninth century. Ḥunain b. Iṣḥāq relates a conversation between Socrates and a Sophist, in which the former explains that he is never worried because he owns nothing the loss of which might cause him worry. Thereupon the Sophist interrupts: "But what if the barrel breaks?", which Ḥunain elucidates parenthetically by adding: "He had a barrel which sheltered him from heat and from cold."<sup>110</sup> The philosopher al-Kindī, a contemporary of Ḥunain, also relates the same incident in his essay on worry.<sup>111</sup> Later

this perishable world, who examined what was in it with the eye of truth). *IA U*, (Ib. bottom, וּכְאֵן סִקְרָאֵם זָהָרָא פִי אֶלְרִנְיָא קָלִיל אֶלְמַבְאֵלָאָה פִּיהָ, (Socrates was an ascetic in relation to the world, paying but little attention to it).

<sup>107</sup> Razi, *al-Sira al-Falsafiyya* (translated above p. 39). Ḳiftī, *l. c.*, 198, 13, makes Socrates say in answer to the king (see below): קָטַעַת עַן נִפְסֵי מוֹתָה כֹּל קָטַעַת עַן נִפְסֵי מוֹתָה כֹּל (I have removed from myself the trouble of every perishable and worn-out garment). An anecdote relates that when a king, seeing Socrates attired in the same poor garb on a festive occasion, asked him why he was dressed so shabbily, he replied: "There is no more decorative apparel than justice, for it is among the most excellent faculties of the intellect". Usāmah, *Lubab al-Ādāb*, 43?.

<sup>107a</sup> Judah Ha-Levi, *Kusari*, 3, 1.

<sup>108</sup> He even omits our saying No. 173, discussed here, which is very current. See note *ad loc.*

<sup>109</sup> *Al-Mīlāl wal-Nihāl*, 278; *Akhhbār al-Bashar*, I, 89.

<sup>110</sup> מוֹסְרֵי הַפִּילֹסוֹפוֹיִם, 20, No. 65; ibn 'Aḳnīn, nos. 172-173. The Hebrew is: וְהִיָּה לּוֹ חֲבִית לְסִקְרָאֵם לְמַחְסָה מוֹרֵם וְצֶל מְחֹרָב. The Arabic original is probably preserved in our text, see *ad loc.*

<sup>111</sup> H. Ritter & R. Walzer, *Uno Scritto morale inedito di al-Kindi* (in *Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Serie VI*, Volume VIII, Fascicolo 1), 41. Walzer seems to have

biographers know and apply an epithet "Socrates of the barrel," although they do not all understand it in the same way. Ibn abī Uṣaibi'a limits his abode in the barrel to the period of his camping out in the field with the king.<sup>112</sup> Shahrastāni, who evidently did not credit the story, gives the epithet a metaphorical interpretation according to which the barrel is the human body.<sup>113</sup> Ibn al-Ḳiftī, however, takes it literally.<sup>114</sup> "He is known as Socrates of the barrel because he lived in a barrel, i. e. a *dann*."<sup>115</sup>

The transfer to Socrates of the motif of Diogenes in the barrel results in a similar substitution of names in the well-known anecdote of Diogenes and the king,<sup>116</sup> but in an elaborated manner. Ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a relates:<sup>117</sup> "One day the king passed by while he was in that barrel. He stopped and asked: 'Why do we not see you, Socrates, and what prevents you from visiting us?' He answered: 'I am busy.' 'What are you busy with?' 'With what sustains life.' The king said: 'Then come to us, for it is always ready for you at our place.' He replied: 'If I knew

been unaware of the popularity of the incident in the Middle Ages, for he refers to it as "hitherto unknown," 25. He is inclined to believe that it was found in Themistius (whose work, according to him, al-Ḳindī adopted), but without the confusion of Socrates and Diogenes. Al-Ḳindī probably is the source of ibn Falaquera, who repeats this incident in צדי הינון (ed. Warsaw), 17. See below note 195.

<sup>112</sup> *IAU*, 43-4. It is interesting that although he uses the word *zār* (a jar), he ends the account with the phrase סקראט אלחב ולאנל דלך סמי סקראט אלחב (because of this he was named "Socrates of the barrel"). *Soḳrāt al-hubb* is the known epithet.

<sup>113</sup> *L. c.*, 280: כאן יבוף באלמלך אלדי חבסה אן ידי קחלה קאל אן סקראט פי חב ואלמלך לא יקרר אלא עלי כטר אלחב פאלחב יכטר וירוע אלמא-אלי אלחבר.

<sup>114</sup> *Ta'rīkh al-hukamā'*, 197, 19.

<sup>115</sup> Ibn Khaldun, probably basing himself on al-Ḳiftī, records his name as *Suḳrāt al-Dann* (MS. M of al-Ḳiftī has a marginal gloss: אלחכים סקראט אלמשהור: (בין אלעאסה בסקראט אלדן והו באלסין ויערף בסקראט אלדן בסכנאה פי דן סן אלכופ) (אתכדה לרהבאניחה), *Kitāb al 'Ibar*, II, 188.

<sup>116</sup> Diogenes Laertius, VI, 38. The connection of Socrates with an episode with a king may be the result of the reported invitation of Archelaus, king of Macedonia, to him to visit him, which he declined. Cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric* (ed. Loeb), II, XXIII, 8.

<sup>117</sup> *L. c.*, 44, top. The incident is also related in *Boc.*, 166, with slight variants, among them the identification of the king as "el rey que le mato".

that I would find it at your place, I would not decline it." The king continued: 'I have heard that you say that idol-worship is harmful.' He answered: 'I did not say it.' 'What did you say?' 'I said that idol-worship is beneficial to the king and harmful to Socrates, for the king guides his subjects by means of it and derives his income through it, but Socrates knows that it neither hurts nor helps,<sup>117a</sup> since he acknowledges that he has a Creator who provides for him and rewards him for whatever he does, good or evil.' The king asked: 'Do you want anything?' He answered: 'Yes, turn the bridle of your beast away from me, for your forces hide me from the light of the sun'. The king then had a splendid outfit of silk and other material brought, and jewelry and much money to present to him. But Socrates said: 'O king, you promised what would sustain life and have substituted for it what will make death certain. Socrates has no need of the stones of the earth, or of dried plants or of the drivel of worms. What Socrates needs he has with him wherever he turns.'"<sup>118</sup>

To account for his marriage to Xanthippe, Mubaššir resorts to an explanation which he found in one of his sources, for it occurs as early as Xenophon<sup>119</sup> and is repeated by later authors.<sup>120</sup> "He sought the hand of the ignorant and most domineering woman so as to become inured to her ignorance and patient with her evil character and in this way learn to suffer the ignorance of the noble and the lowly."<sup>121</sup>

His activities consisted of teaching and spreading the truth. His purpose was to instruct his contemporaries in the practice of piety and of doing good deeds. "He ordered them to do that which was approved and to avoid that which was ugly and

<sup>117a</sup> Cf. מוסרי, II, 8, 69. In *Buenos Proverbios* (ed. Knust), 21, the king is described as "el rey que lo mandava matar."

<sup>118</sup> Al-Kifti's account, 198, 14-18, introduces Diogenes' retort to the king's comment that Socrates is his slave, and has the king discuss his choice of the barrel. The elements of the *IAU* account are not included. Cf. Müller, *Griech. Philos.*, 37, note 1.

<sup>119</sup> *Symposium*, II, 10.

<sup>120</sup> Geffcken, *l. c.*, 9-10 and 33.

<sup>121</sup> *Boc.*, 156-157; *IAU*, 43.

condemned<sup>122</sup> by the trustworthy authorities of his age. But he did not attempt to attain absolute truth<sup>123</sup> because he knew that they would not accept it from him."<sup>124</sup> He was particularly interested in correcting the religious beliefs of his contemporaries. He combated idol-worship and steadfastly exhorted them to worship "God the One, the Eternal,<sup>125</sup> the Creator, the Maker of the universe with all that is in it, the Wise, and the Omnipotent."<sup>126</sup> His teaching was oral. He neither wrote books, nor did he permit his disciples to commit his words to writing.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>122</sup> מנכראת . . . . . אל ען ונהאמם באלמערוף ונהאמם, a legal Muslim expression.

<sup>123</sup> Does the author mean the faith of Islam? Unquestionably, Ha-Levi's appraisal of the religion of the philosophers, *Kuzari*, I, 1 and 4, 13 is much profounder and much closer to the truth, as is also the apocryphal statement of Socrates (cited in the latter passage and 5, 14), which, as Cassel shows (הכחרי, 327) goes back to al-Fārābī and is also quoted by ibn Rushd. Cf. Strauss, *l. c.*, 57-58 (11-12).

<sup>124</sup> *IAU*, 45: That the Jews also believed Socrates had professed his faith in the true God is evident from a prayer which circulated in his name. Cf. Moses b. Ezra, ערונה הבשם, (*Zion*, [Jost and Creizenach], II, 135); Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.*, 2585-6. But see preceding note.

<sup>125</sup> Arab.: אלצמר. Bell, *The Qur'an*, II, 685, note 2, suggests "the Undivided"; Rosenthal, *l. c.*, 389: "the Stable".

<sup>126</sup> *IAU*, *ib.*; *Boc.*, 158, emphasizes this aspect of his activity more than his interest in the good life. The same holds true of Ṣā'id, *Ṭabakāt al-Umam*, 23, quoted by *IAU*, 43; al-Ḳiftī, 198, 3 ff., (in his first report); and Albērūnī, *India* (trans. Sachau), I, 24-25. *Rasā'il*, IV, 99, on the contrary, makes no mention (except in the charge, see below) of his struggle against polytheism but enlarges on his exhortation to live an ascetic life.

<sup>127</sup> *Boc.* 157 and *IAU*, 43. But this does not prevent the latter, 49, from presenting Socrates as the author of four books: 1) רסאלה אלי אנומה פי; 2) מעאלה פי אלסמה ואלפלספה; 3) כתאב מעאתבה אלנפס; 4) וקיל אן רסאלתה פי אלסירה אלנומילה לה צחיה. The second title is credited by *IAU*, 54, to Plato, and by MS. Borgiano arabo 260. f. 462-473b, to Aristotle (G. Levi della Vida, *Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici*, 273), and most frequently to Hermes Trismegistos, Levi della Vida, *ib.* The text was published by H. L. Fleischer, *Hermes Trismegistus an die menschliche Seele*, (incomplete) and by Otto Bardenhewer *de Castigatione Animae*, Bonn, 1873. On the general subject see Goldziher, "Die Zurechtweisung d. Seele" in *Studies in Jewish Literature in Honor of Kaufmann Kohler*, 128-133, especially 129 ff. The last two are also listed in *Fihrist*, 245, which is apparently the source of *IAU*, Müller, *Die griechischen Philosophen*, 39 note 11. Hadji Khalifa, I, 341, mentions a work אלהרופ פי עלם אלהרופ, which is ascribed to Socrates, but which he regards as the writing of a Ṣūfī. A perfect example of the me-

His refusal is based on the argument that it is not proper to entrust pure and holy wisdom to inanimate skins, and that it more fittingly belongs to living beings.<sup>128</sup> He is said to have acquired this view from his master Timaios.<sup>129</sup> When Socrates, in his youth, questioned him why he did not permit him to record the wisdom which he taught him, Timaios replied: "How much faith you have in the skins of dead animals, and how little in living souls! Suppose someone asked you a question, do you think it proper to make him wait until you have visited your house and consulted your books? Since it is not proper, try to depend on your memory."<sup>130</sup>

Both Shahrastāni and ibn Abi Uṣāibi'a report that in his teaching Socrates resorted to veiled and enigmatic language.<sup>131</sup> According to the former he learned this art from his master Pythagoras. Here are a few examples:<sup>132</sup> Keep the triangular

dieval belief regarding Socrates is provided in the bibliographic item in *Ib.*, V, 65: כתאב אלחנה ללרב בדעומא אלכרב לארסטו עלי מדהב סקראם (on turning to the Lord with the aid of prayers in periods of grief, by Aristotle according to the doctrine of Socrates). The statements by ibn al-Ṣāigh: וכסאן נולד דעא וסכאן נולד דעא (Steinschneider, *Al-Fārabi*, 60, note 1) and Al-Fārābī: והו כתאבה פי אללה אלמסכוב אלי סקראם (*Plato Arabus*, II, 12) do not imply a belief in Socrates' authorship of the *Phaedo* and the *Symposium*, but an awareness of the fact that he is the main character in these dialogues. The authenticity of the view that Socrates wrote no books is in doubt. Acc. to Diog. Laert., I, 16, some believed that he left nothing in writing. Epictetus (ed. Loeb), II, 32, says of him: "Who wrote as much as he?" The editor of Epictetus is rather astonished and explains that he may have written for private use (*ib.* 222, note, and *Intro.*, p. xii). The certainty prevailing in medieval circles probably developed gradually.

<sup>128</sup> *Boc.*, *ib.*; *IAU*, *ib.*; Albērūnī, *l. c.*, I, 170. Klamroth, who recognizes an Oriental taint in this reasoning, although he is aware of a similar attitude among cynics, calls it an invention to explain the lack of writings by Socrates. *ZDMG*, XLI, 418 and note 2.

<sup>129</sup> Probably the Timaios of Plato's Dialogues, who, though a fictitious character, was regarded as the author of a work *περὶ ψυχᾶς κόσμου καὶ φύσεως*. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, VI A, 1203 sqq. Ya'kūbī (ed. Houtsma), I, 134, makes Timaios the disciple who questions Socrates (cf. Klamroth, *ib.*).

<sup>130</sup> *Boc.*, *ib.*; *IAU*, *ib.*

<sup>131</sup> Shar., *l. c.*, 281-282; *IAU*, 44.

<sup>132</sup> Shahr. leaves the sayings unexplained, with the excuse that, since Aeschinus to whom Socrates imparted them wrote and explained them, he need do no more than list some.

well free of empty pails; that is, remove from your heart all hindering passions.<sup>133</sup> With the twelve procure the twelve, i. e., with the twelve organs, with which both pious and sinful acts are committed, acquire the virtues.<sup>134</sup> Sow in black and reap in white, i. e., sow crying and reap joyfully.

Uncertainty prevails as to the factors which led to Socrates' trial. It is generally accepted that he was accused of seducing the masses away from idol worship.<sup>135</sup> But we find numerous divergences in the accounts. The reports are divided regarding the individuals or groups responsible for the charge. Although in all cases the heads of the community are finally those who press Socrates' conviction, the briefer accounts have these leaders directly outraged by the arguments and proofs against idol worship with which he conquers them and they in turn incite the masses to demand his death of the king.<sup>137</sup> Mubaššir<sup>138</sup> relates that his audience was drawn from the masses, and that the aristocrats<sup>139</sup> felt obliged to take action when they received word of the evil influence which Socrates' teaching exerted on the religious convictions of the common people. Al-Ḳiftī, apparently presenting a variant version of the immediately preceding course of events, tells the following story:<sup>140</sup> "After Socrates steadily admonished his fellow-citizens, impressing them with the obligation of following the dictates of political science, warning them against the artifices of poetry, and urging them to shun the example of the poets,<sup>141</sup> their mighty men and

<sup>133</sup> The triangular well refers to the three souls.

<sup>134</sup> Another explanation is that twelve indicates the months of the year. What the twelve virtues are is not indicated.

<sup>135</sup> Ṣā'id, *l. c.* 23; *IAU*, 43 (from Ṣā'id), 45 (from *Boc.*, 158); *Shahr*, *l. c.* 278, (*Haarbrücker's* rendering, II, 111, is inexact); *Abu-l-Fedā*, *l. c.*, 89; *al-Ḳiftī*, 198 (from Ṣā'id); *Rasā'il*, IV, 99.

<sup>136</sup> Ṣā'id and those who use him as their source; *Shahr*.

<sup>137</sup> Ṣā'id: וקאבל [סקראט] רוסאיהם באלחנן ואלארלה פתורו אלעאמה עליה ואצטרו: מלכהם אלי קתלה.

<sup>138</sup> *Boc.*, 158 and *IAU*, 45.

<sup>139</sup> *IAU*: אלרוסא פי וקחה טן מלכהנה ואלארמכנה.

<sup>140</sup> *L. c.*, 199, 6 ff.

<sup>141</sup> *Fihrist*, 245, 29–30, is apparently the first source in Arabic to refer to Socrates' hostility to poetry and poets. It relates that Plato had at first favored poetry and been greatly under its influence but abandoned it when

those in authority were provoked and agreed to slander him before the king."

The position of the king<sup>142</sup> in the conviction of Socrates is also variously reported. The briefer accounts, as indicated, describe the king as being compelled by the masses or the aristocracy to condemn him to death. He imprisons him so as to gain their favor and makes him drink the hemlock "so as to avoid their malice,"<sup>143</sup> after carrying on discussions with him. But another version makes the king a more active accomplice in the conspiracy to condemn the Athenian. Al-Ḳiftī<sup>144</sup> reports that after the king's conversation with Socrates, "he discussed the matter secretly with his Privy Councillors, who followed the Magian cult and were star-worshippers, and they advised him to kill him."<sup>145</sup>

he became Socrates' disciple and discovered that the latter condemned it. Cf. Müller, *l. c.*, 6 and 37 note 6. From *Führ.* it got into *Boc.*, 202, al-Ḳiftī, 17, *IAU*, 50, in their biographies of Plato. Al-Ḳiftī is, to my knowledge, the only one to develop it into a full anecdote in Socrates' βίος. Its origin may be the accusation, reported by Xenophon, *Memorabilia* (ed. Loeb) I, 11, 56-59, that Socrates quoted immoral passages from the poets in order to spread false teachings. *IAU*, 49, nevertheless quotes a couplet by Socrates which, it significantly remarks, "is also metrical in Arabic" (וְזוֹן אִיצָא בְּאַלְעֶרְבִיָּה): "Truly the world, though it be tenderly loved, is only a suggestion of the glance of an interested person."

<sup>142</sup> On the strange figure of the king in Athens see Baumstark, *l. c.*, 5-7; Rosenthal, *l. c.*, 389. Knust suggests a possible defense of the introduction of the king, *l. c.*, 159 note a. Cf. *Euthyphro* (ed. Loeb), at the beginning (pp. 6-7).

<sup>143</sup> תַּפְאֲדִיא מִן שָׂרְהָם, Ṣā'id, *l. c.*, 23, and the sources which copied him.

<sup>144</sup> *L. c.*, 198. It is also incorporated by the French translator of Ṣā'id in the latter's text on the basis of another MS. (cf. Regis Blachère, *Livre des catégories des nations*, 61 and note 1). But this hardly formed an integral part of the original. It is not repeated in *IAU* or al-Ḳiftī who copied the bulk of Ṣā'id's report, and occurs in a comparatively recent MS.

<sup>145</sup> He adds the further bit of information that when word of this reached Socrates, "he remained where he was (i. e. in the barrel) and said: 'Death is not evil but good, for man's state after his death is more perfect.'" This comment is better understood in the light of the medieval conception that since man is, by definition, "a living, speaking, dying being", he attains perfection only with his death. Cf. al-Ḳindī, *l. c.*, ch. 12 (44-45 and 60), ibn Miskawaih in his אֲלֻמּוֹת פִּי אֲלֻכוֹף מִן אֲלֻמּוֹת (ed. Malouf, *Traité inédit d'anciens philosophes arabes*, 104-114), and ibn Sīnā, מִן כּוֹף אֲלֻמּוֹת (in *Jāmi' al-Badā'i'*, ed. Misr), 39.



Since death by poison was a manner of execution unknown to the Muslims, Socrates' drinking of the hemlock required its explanation. The king's determination to employ this method in order to avoid evil has already been referred to, although it cannot be determined whether the execution of the death-sentence or the choice of poison is emphasized. Mubaššir, recalling the king's reluctance to fulfill the obligation imposed upon him by the judges,<sup>145a</sup> makes him ask Socrates to choose his manner of execution, and the latter selects hemlock.<sup>146</sup> Still another explanation is found in the fourth of al-Ḳiftī's sources.<sup>147</sup> The judges frighten the king into consent by warning him that if Socrates continues to live he will jeopardize his throne and shake the stability of the state. But the king, cognizant of the philosopher's renown in the neighboring lands, and fearful of the shame he will suffer from his own subjects if he executes him publicly, hesitates in his decision. The judges resolve his difficulty by offering to deceive Socrates by means of poison which they will give him.

The prison-scene, which is described in considerable detail by Mubaššir, ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a and al-Ḳiftī,<sup>148</sup> follows, as has been recognized,<sup>149</sup> the account of his death in Plato's *Crito* and *Phaedo*.<sup>150</sup> While the nobility of the closing scene of Socrates'

<sup>145a</sup> *Boc.*, 158-59; *IAU*, 45; al-Ḳiftī, 199, 10. All report that the judgment was handed down by eleven judges. See Knust ad *Boc.*, 158 note b. Acc. to *Rasā'ūl*, IV, 99, the eleven men were false witnesses as well as judges (ועשר עליה במליצור אחד עשר רגלא כמנה ואנב קחלה).

<sup>146</sup> *Boc.* 158-59; *IAU*, 45; Knust points out that actually he was allowed to choose the punishment, not the means of death.

<sup>147</sup> *L. c.*, 199, 10 ff.

<sup>148</sup> *Boc.*, 159-163; *IAU*, 45-47; al-Ḳiftī, 199-206.

<sup>149</sup> Müller, *l. c.*, 38; Kraus, *Orientalia*, IV, 305; Rosenthal, *l. c.*, 390.

<sup>150</sup> The relation of al-Ḳiftī's account to Plato's has been sketched by Müller, *ib. Boc.* and *IAU*, although closely linked to al-Ḳiftī in the general trend of the story, and despite an almost verbal agreement throughout, nevertheless differ in some essentials. Al-Ḳiftī's account, like the Greek, is in the first person, *Boc.* & *IAU* in the third. They make no mention of *Phaedo*. Instead of the question and answer regarding Plato's absence (Ḳiftī, 206), *IAU*, 47 merely reports his absence (ואם יבן מפלטון חאצרא מערס לאנה כאן מריצא). The abridged argument of the *Laws* in Ḳiftī (also briefly summarized in *Rasā'ūl*, IV, 100) is missing in *IAU* & *Boc.*, as are also the summaries of the discussions

life, as described by Plato, is not attained by these medieval versions, they succeed in reproducing the pathos of the occasion and the greatness of the man Socrates. His age at the time of his death is in dispute. Ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a gives three different estimates.<sup>151</sup> One, which is not documented, sets it at above a hundred. Another, which he found in the *Apology* makes him seventy. The third, given in the name of Ishāq b. Ḥunain,<sup>152</sup> is eighty.<sup>153</sup>

Socrates' reminder to Crito to offer a cock to Aesculapius must have proved rather embarrassing to the medieval historians, but owing to the reputation enjoyed by the Athenian it is not a subject of reproof as among the Christian fathers.<sup>154</sup> Mubaṣṣir and ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a omit it altogether, and make his last utterance consist of the phrase: "I entrust my soul to the Receiver of the souls of the wise."<sup>155</sup> Al-Ḳiftī records the request

beyond the general topic. The Muslim coloring is more evident in *Boc.* & *IAU*. (What does Rosenthal mean by the statement that "in Mubaṣṣir's work the oriental veneer is thinnest" *l. c.*, 390?). When Socrates informs Crito that he was convicted because of his opposition to wrong-doing and his attacks on evil deeds and their perpetrators, *IAU* adds: "such as their denial of the Creator and their worship of idols instead of Him". When Socrates announces to his visitors that the time to bathe has arrived, *IAU* adds: "and for praying as much as I can", and when the bathing is recounted, it includes the offering of prayers. There are also a number of omissions in *Boc.* as compared with *IAU*. Since the former is the source of the latter, it is likely that the Spanish version of the *Mukhtār* has been abridged or altered.

<sup>151</sup> *IAU*, 47.

<sup>152</sup> A son of Ḥunain b. Ishāq. See *IAU*, 200; Steinschneider, *Beihfte z. Centralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, V, 20; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 207 and *Supplement*, I, 369. The work in which the biographical information was contained is *Ta'riḫh al-Aṭibbā'*, *Fihrist*, 285.

<sup>153</sup> The information is gained from Ishāq's statement that Socrates lived as long as Plato, and from another statement that Plato lived eighty years. *IAU* took his material not directly from Ishāq, but from *Fihrist*, 245, 25. *Boc.*, 164 also gives his age as 80.

<sup>154</sup> See Geffcken, *l. c.*, 24, passim; idem, *Zwei griechische Apologeten*, 32, note 4.

<sup>155</sup> *Boc.* 163 (Do la mi anima al rrescebtor de las almas de los sabios); *IAU*, 47 (אסלמח נפסי אלי קאבך זאנפס אל חכמא). Rosenthal's characterization of this omission "as a striking proof that the source of Mubaṣṣir's version is not to be looked for in this direction" (*i. e.* Greek material; *l. c.*, 390) is an overstate-

without any comment.<sup>156</sup> An altogether objective treatment is accorded this incident in the *Rasā'īl Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*,<sup>157</sup> and in the controversy between two physicians on the relative heat of the young bird and the chicken.<sup>158</sup>

It is noteworthy that the memory of the Athenian sage, who won universal respect among the medieval thinkers and was regarded as worthy of the love and reverence of all who believed in the true God and followed a revealed religion, should nevertheless be marred by the recollection of a doctrine which did not please the Muslim biographers. Ṣā'id al-Andalusi<sup>159</sup> and, after him, al-Ḳiftī<sup>160</sup> and ibn Abi Uṣaibi'a<sup>161</sup> record that while in the problem of God's attributes he adhered to the (approved) views of Pythagoras and Empedocles,<sup>162</sup> he entertained wrong beliefs regarding the future life.<sup>162a</sup>

ment. It is just as likely that the image of the monotheistic Socrates, which would have been marred by the last request to offer to Aesculapius, compelled him to omit it as an untruth.

<sup>156</sup> *L. c.*, 205, 20-21.

<sup>157</sup> *Rasā'īl*, IV, 339. It is mentioned in connection with a lengthy description of the occult sciences which were pursued by the elect among the Greeks, p. 331 sqq, and the ritual of initiation into the secret circle.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. J. Schacht and Max Meyerhof, *The Medico-Philosophic Controversy between ibn Bullān and ibn Riḏwān*. Ibn Riḏwān, whose view ibn Butlān challenges for several reasons, including the sacrifice of a cock by Socrates, replies that if the story is true, Socrates intends to pay homage to Apollo and not to express his esteem for the cock, but that it is far more probable that the incident is not literally true, 45.

<sup>159</sup> *L. c.*, 23: *ולא וצאיא שריפה ואראב פאצלה וחכם משהרה ומראהב פי אלצפאת*: *קדיבה מן מראהב פיתאנורם ובנדקלים אלא אן פי שאן אלמעאר אראה צעיפה מן מחץ אלפלספה כארנה ען אלמראהב אלמחקקה*.

<sup>160</sup> *L. c.*, 198.

<sup>161</sup> *IAU*, 43.

<sup>162</sup> His metaphysical philosophy, as known to the Muslims, is summarized by Shahrastāni, *l. c.*, 279-281.

<sup>162a</sup> According to the medieval view he did not believe in the immortality of the soul, arguing that man was nothing more than the perceptible being. Cf. ibn Falaquera, *המטלות* (ed. Venetianer), 31, who calls this belief *אמתה וכבר זכר זה אריסטו ונה אוחם סאר* and adds: *המבעיי הקדמונים קחים סקראם חבריו על זמא האמתה*. Müller's confident explanation that it refers to his denial of Pythagoras' and Empedocles' theory of metempsychosis (*l. c.*, 36 note 14) is hardly probable. Cf. also fragment of defense of Maimonides' *חזית המחים* (ed. Harkavy in *ZfHB*, II [1897], 125 and 181 ff.), 128.

## 3

## GALEN'S TRACT ON FREEDOM FROM GRIEF

The excerpts from ibn 'Aḳnīn collected here are valuable because they include a few passages<sup>163</sup> from an otherwise lost work by Galen.

Galen's<sup>164</sup> fame as a physician was unexcelled in the Middle Ages.<sup>165</sup> He was the most widely translated ancient scientist,<sup>166</sup> the best known and the most highly respected in medieval times.<sup>167</sup> He enjoyed this popularity thanks to the fact that his voluminous literary legacy epitomized and encompassed all earlier knowledge in addition to his original contribution. His renown can be further explained by his recognition of the need of combining the art of the philosopher with the art of the physician.<sup>168</sup> He was concerned as much with the moral life, with the

<sup>163</sup> Nos. 181-186.

<sup>164</sup> Arab: Jālīnūs. Ibn Abi Uṣāibi'a quotes from Rāzī's *al-Ḥāwī* the statement that in Greek it is Gālīnōs or Kālīnōs. Cf. *IAU*, 87, and the curious discussion of the Greek endings — *os*- and *-a*.

<sup>165</sup> *IAU*, 71, says of him: "No one approaches him in the medical art, let alone equals him." Cf. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetz.*, 651. He is called ראש הרופאים and גדול הרופאים *ib.*, note 7.

<sup>166</sup> Ḥunain b. Iṣḥāk's catalogue (*Die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, ed. G. Bergsträsser) includes not only those listed by Galen in the *πίναξ* but a few additional items.

<sup>167</sup> In his *Ṭibb al-Nufūs*, from which the selections published herewith are taken, ibn 'Aḳnīn advises the student to study 16 works of Galen which he names. Cf. Steinschneider, "Joseph b. Aknin" (*Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 55-56, besides citing several others; idem, *Al-Fārābī*, 163-173). Abu Ṣā'īd, acc. to *IAU*, 309, in telling the story of al-Rāzī concludes with the remark: ופאן מנה נאלינוס אלערב ("he became the Arab Galen.") Maimonides wrote an epitome of 16 of his works, (*Hebr. Übersetz.*, *ib.*), probably the same books which are listed as "the 16" by *Fahr.*, 289, *IAU*, II, 117 f., and Ḳiftī, 129.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. his work *ἄριος ὁ ἀριστος ἱατρος καὶ φιλόσοφος* (Ḥunain's Catalogue, no. 103). A perfect illustration of מִטֵּב הַשֵּׁר כּוּבוּ is to be found in a line in al-Sa'īd b. Sinā' al-Malik's poem in praise of Maimonides (cited *IAU*, *ib.*): ארי טב נאלינוס ללוסם וחרה וטב אבי עמרן ללעקל ואלוסם (I find Galen's medicine [limited] to the body only, and Abu 'Imrān's [i. e. Maimonides'] to the mind and the body.) In the dialogue on the nature of the soul (see above p. 48 and note 99) Socrates says that he calls those men doctors who are capable

care of the mind and the character as with the welfare of the body. His attempt to reconcile the views of Plato and Aristotle was, according to some scholars, one of the chief factors in his popularity in the Middle Ages.<sup>168a</sup> Finally, the affinity between the moral and mental atmosphere of the Medieval world and that of the Age of the Empire in Rome<sup>169</sup> helps to explain the appeal which the second-century doctor had for the medieval Jews, Christians and Muslims. They were fully in sympathy with this statement by Galen:<sup>170</sup> "Ever since my youth I studied the demonstrative method. Then when I began to study medicine, I spurned pleasure and disregarded what he who follows worldly pursuits desires most eagerly. I gave up the troublesome practice of coming early to the gates of the peoples' homes so as to ride with them from their dwelling and of waiting for them at the gates of the king's palace so as to accompany them to their homes. I did not waste my time nor distress my heart with this hopping about people which they call greetings. Instead I occupied myself all my life with the practice of medicine, the observation of, and reflection over it. I stayed up every night pondering over the treasures which were left to us by our predecessors."

The tract of which the sole fragments extant so far are included in our collection is *On Freedom from Grief*.<sup>171</sup> It is listed

of curing the soul as well as the body (Syriac, 160; German, 187). It should be noted, however, that the great medieval philosophers al-Fārābī, Averroes and Maimonides had their quarrels with Galen, cf. Steinschneider, *l. c.*, 32 and note 33, and 134. Jewish thinkers were incensed against him because of his critical attitude to Moses (in his *De Usu Partium*, Book 11, ch. 14 [ed. Kuhn, III, 899-911]). Maimonides condemns him in strong terms (in his Aphorisms; the relevant section was edited, with introd. and notes by Joseph Schacht & Max Meyerhof in *Bulletin of the faculty of Arts* [University of Egypt] vol. v, Part 1, 53-88). Immanuel Ha-Romi finds him in Hell: שם גלינוס ראש הרופאים על אשר שלח לשונו לרבר במשה ארון הנביאים מחברת ההפך והערן. (ed. Lemberg), 221.

<sup>168a</sup> Lübkers, *Reallexikon d. klassischen Altertums* (1914), 397, column 1.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. Sandbach in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, XI, 707 ff.

<sup>170</sup> In his work פ"י מחנה אפצל אלמטבא ("On the test of the most excellent physician") (cf. Ḥunain's *Catalogue*, no. 112), as quoted in *IAU*, 80, where it is called פ"י מחנה אלמטבא אלפאצל.

<sup>171</sup> Greek: *περὶ ἀλυσίας*. For the paraphrase of privative *alpha* by a word see Walzer, *l. c.*, 47, note 1. Its Arabic title, as given by Ḥunain b.

by Galen among his writings in his own Catalogue.<sup>172</sup> The booklet belongs to a genre of literature known by the name of *Consolationes*, which was very common in Greek and Latin, particularly during the Empire.<sup>173</sup> Its object was to seek to dispel the grief which overwhelmed a person after a calamity.<sup>174</sup> The task was undertaken by friends, and sometimes by the victim, either to console himself<sup>175</sup> or someone whom his misfortune affected deeply.<sup>176</sup> It was cultivated by followers of various schools of thought; yet, although the attitude to the evil which was the cause of the grief differed according to the particular philosophic doctrine,<sup>177</sup> the general tenor was quite similar. Moreover, this genre was especially characterized by eclecticism. The range of ideas was of necessity limited,<sup>178</sup> and it was extremely difficult to be original. It became a conventionalized type, and, informal as the author might wish to be, he was limited to originality of expression and illustration rather than of thought.<sup>179</sup> Whether it was good sense which guided the authors,<sup>180</sup> or the ambition to compose as perfect a rhetorical epistle as possible,<sup>181</sup> a considerable period of time was allowed to elapse before the *Consolatio* was despatched. This only stressed its artificial character. But it became a convention,

Ishāk, *l. c.*, no. 120, is: כְּתָב פִּי צָרָף אֶל אַחֲזַמְתָּם ("Book of the removal of worry"). *IAU*, in the catalogue of Galen's works, which is taken from Ḥunain (cf. Bergstrasser, *l. c.*, Introduc., II-V), also calls it by the same name. But in citing it as evidence, (p. 84, bottom line), *IAU* agrees with our author (no. 181) in naming it *פִּי נְפִי אֶלֶם* (with essentially the same meaning).

<sup>172</sup> *περὶ τῶν ἰδίων βιβλίων*, ch. 12 (*Galenis Scripta Minora*, II, 121.)

<sup>173</sup> See Mary Fern, *The Latin Consolatio as a Literary Type*; Martha, *Études morales sur l'antiquité*, 145-46.

<sup>174</sup> E. g. Plutarch, *Ad Apollonium*; Sulpicius to Cicero on the death of Tullia; Seneca, *Ad Marciam*.

<sup>175</sup> So Cicero, *Consolatio* on his daughter's death; Antimachus on the death of Lyde (Plutarch, *l. c.*, [*Moralia*, ed. Loeb, par. 106, II, 130-131]).

<sup>176</sup> Seneca, *Ad Helviam*.

<sup>177</sup> Cicero, *Tusculanes*, III, 76; Martha, *l. c.*, 159 ff.

<sup>178</sup> Evan T. Sage, *Pseudo-Ciceronian Consolatio*, 5. The *topoi* were limited and well-defined, *ib.*, 10; Fern, *l. c.*, 205 ff.

<sup>179</sup> Sage, *l. c.*, 5.

<sup>180</sup> Martha, *l. c.*, 174 ff.

<sup>181</sup> Geffcken, *l. c.*, 15.

and as such won general approval among the people, so that it became a flourishing business.<sup>182</sup>

It is to this type of literature that Galen's tract belongs. Its genesis is related to us by Ḥunain:<sup>183</sup> "This book consists of one chapter which he composed in answer to a person who asked him why he did not see him worried in the least at the time when all of his possessions which he had stored in the large palace perished in the fire of Rome in which it was burned.<sup>184</sup> He explained the reason to him and clarified when worry is necessary and when it is not." It thus differs from the ordinary *Consolatio*, although it is not unique, in that the motive is not death but loss of property and that it is the victim who undertakes to explain to a shocked observer why he ought not to be surprised.

We are not, of course, in a position to determine the range of ideas in Galen's work, as only a few fragments survive. But an analysis of the several ideas contained in these selections will demonstrate the community of topics with works by other men of his time. We may plausibly assume, following Ḥunain's statement of the subject of the tract, that Galen denied the reasonableness of concern over the loss of worldly goods or the failure to satisfy sensual desires. Both the topic and the position taken are familiar from other writers.<sup>185</sup> The conclusion

<sup>182</sup> Martha, *l. c.*, 145-46.

<sup>183</sup> *L. c.*, No. 120 (Arab. 49 and note; German, 40 and note). Ḥunain translated the booklet into Syriac (he reports another Syriac translation by 'Ayyūb al-Rahāwī [Job of Edessa, ca. 760-835. His "Book of Treasures" on natural and metaphysical philosophy was edited with translation and introduction by A. Mingana]). The Arabic version was prepared by Ḥubaish (Brockelmann, *l. c.*, I, 207 and *Supplement*, I, 369.)

<sup>184</sup> For the fire in the Temple of Peace see Ilberg "Über die Schriftstellerei d. Klaudios Galenos", in *Rheinisches Museum*, 44, (N. S.), 211-212. He maintains that Galen's books were not housed in the temple. Cf. our text, No. 181, and *IAU*, 84-85, who relates that among the destroyed books were copies of works in Aristotle's, Anaxagoras' and Andromachus' hand, which he verified and corrected with much effort and labor, and of many of his own works of which he had no duplicates. The same report is available in *Boc.*, 352 (cited *IAU*, *ib.*), which adds that a work by Rufus (see Knust's note *ad loc.*) was also lost.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. Al-Ḳindī (ed. Walzer); al-Rāzī, *Al-Ṭibb al-Rūḥānī*, etc.

drawn by Galen is that a man's anxiety is justifiable if he remains destitute.<sup>186</sup>

The anecdote of Aristippus<sup>187</sup> is related by Plutarch in his *De Tranquillitate*,<sup>188</sup> and the lesson drawn by Galen, that one should feel gratified by what has remained rather than grieve over what has been lost, is taught by him also.<sup>189</sup> Plutarch also urges, as our author does, that we should rather draw comparisons between ourselves and those who are less fortunate than between ourselves and those who are more fortunate.<sup>190</sup> Like our author he warns us against the effort to satisfy our desires on the ground that they are insatiable and that we only excite our passions.<sup>191</sup>

Galen's booklet was undoubtedly well-known in an age in which this subject interested many.<sup>192</sup> In addition to ibn-'Aḳnīn and ibn Abi Uṣāibi'a whose use of it has been discussed, the Nestorian Metropolitan Elia b. Shināya<sup>193</sup> mentions "the

<sup>186</sup> No. 183.

<sup>187</sup> No. 182.

<sup>188</sup> *Moralia*, par. 469 (ed. Loeb, VI, 192-95).

<sup>189</sup> This advice is offered by many. Cf. Plato: לא נכון לאדם להטריד לבו במה (Musre, II, 20; Boc., 206 [IAU, 53]; IM, 52); בהמורה, 16. Rāzī, *l. c.*, 68, argues that since everything in the world is perishable it is inevitable that what we have should pass and that whoever would have it otherwise is asking for the impossible. This thesis is also maintained by al-Kindī in his tract (ed. Walzer.) *l. c.*, 32 (Arab.), 48 (Ital.).

<sup>190</sup> *Ib.*, par. 470 (pp. 196-197) and 471 (pp. 202-203). In the latter section, Plutarch calls our attention to the fact that those who are seemingly more fortunate suffer from other difficulties and evils from which the envious person is exempt. In Seneca's *De Tranquillitate animi* (ed. Loeb, 1.3-9) the dialogue opens with Serenus' plaint that the sight of the achievements of others in various fields makes him envious and disturbs his equanimity despite an earlier conclusion that he has all he needs.

<sup>191</sup> *Ib.*, par. 471-472 (pp. 204-213). This reasoning is extremely common. Cf. Rāzī, *l. c.*, 52-54 and 185 ff.; Maimonides, *Guide*, III, ch. 12, part 3 (ed. Munk, 75). Abraham Maimonides cites the Biblical verse אהב כסף לא ישבע כסף (Eccl. 5.9) and in conjunction with it recalls a remark by his father to the same effect (*Kifāyat al-'Ābidīn*, [ed. Rosenblatt], II, 216-217.).

<sup>192</sup> Among those who wrote on the subject we may mention ibn Sīna, כתאב אלים ואלהם (Brockelmann, *Supplement*, I, 815, No. 14c) and his כתאב אלתו (published by Mehren, *Traitées mystiques*).

<sup>193</sup> Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syrischen Literatur*, 287-288.



learned Galen"—undoubtedly our tract — among his sources in his work *On Dispelling Worry*.<sup>194</sup> It appears that Maimonides made use of Galen's tract.<sup>194a</sup> It was probably also utilized by Shemtob b. Falaquera in his *צדי היגון*, a work which, as its title implies, sought to provide a remedy against grief.<sup>195</sup> In the course of his discussion he cites the story of Aristippus and derives the same moral from it as Galen.<sup>196</sup> The latter is the most likely source of Shemtob. It is also very likely that for his distinction between worldly goods which ought not to be the cause of worry, and the loss of spiritual values which we ought rightly to mourn<sup>197</sup> he similarly turned to our author.<sup>198</sup>

<sup>194</sup> כחאב דפע אלהם (published by Constantine Basa, Cairo). The work is unfortunately inaccessible to me. Cf. Walzer, *l. c.*, 9 note 2.

<sup>194a</sup> In his *הנהגת הבריאות* (Kerem Ḥemed, III, 9–31), Maimonides, as is known, discusses mental, in addition to physical hygiene. His argument (p. 22) that the less acquainted one is with morals and philosophy the more violently one reacts to both fortune and misfortune is concluded with the comment *שזכר ואליוס כמו*. It is a plausible conjecture that the reference is to our booklet, not only because it seems to be the most appropriate place for the subject discussed, but also because the argument is echoed in the extant fragments nos. 184–186. Cf. also no. 180 with the following excerpt from Maimonides (p. 23): *ודע כי כל מה שיחשוב האדם ויכאב למחשבתו ויהרש לו יגון ואנחה . . . . או שיחשוב בעיניו ואבל לא ימנע מהיות אחד משני דברים אם שיחשוב בדבר שעבר . . . . עתידים ליפול . . . .* If the assumption is true that Maimonides utilized Galen, we may perhaps be justified in claiming for the latter Maimonides' exposition of the transitory character of worldly goods (23), and the contention that grieving over the past is like grieving over not being an angel, and that worry about the future is unreasonable because the future is possible but not certain. One should not, however, overlook the possibility that Maimonides may have read more than one book on the subject, or that he may have contributed some original ideas on it.

<sup>195</sup> This is not meant to contradict Walzer, *l. c.*, 8 note 7, who is quite right in recognizing the influence of al-Kindī in large portions of the *צדי היגון*. (To the list of authors who utilized al-Kindī, Walzer, *ib.*, may be added Joseph b. Naḥmias, *Commentary on Proverbs* [ed. Bamberger], p. 66 where a passage from ch. 1 of the tract is excerpted). But the author undoubtedly drew from several sources.

<sup>196</sup> *צדי היגון* (ed. Warsaw), 12. No other medieval work is known to me in which this anecdote is related.

<sup>197</sup> *ib.* 16.

<sup>198</sup> See above p. 63.

## TEXT

1. קאל בעץ אלמרתאצין מן אצחאב אלכלק אלמשהורין f. 16b

באלורע מניבא לסאיל סאלהא<sup>א</sup> אסר יום מר עליך מן עמרך  
 פקאל אני כנת יומא מסאפרא<sup>ב</sup> פי ספינה וכנת פי אכס ואחט  
 מוצע פיהא ועלי אטמאר וכנת מסתלקי פי מוצעי פקאם בעצהם  
 ליבול פוצל בה מן אסתחקארי ואסתנקאץ חאלתי אן באל פי  
 וגהי פענבת פי שרה אלקחה פי נפסה ועמאהא ען מערפה  
 אלחקאיק<sup>א</sup> וסררת בנפסי גרא אלדי לם תאלם מן פעלה בי  
 ולא תארת מני קוה גצביה להדא אלפעל אלמחרג ללנפוס  
 פסררת גאיה אלסרור אלתי בלגת נפסי מן אלריאצה להדא  
 אלקדר.

2. קאל בטלמיוס אשר אלעלמא תואצעא<sup>ב</sup> אכתרהם

עלמא כמא אן אלמכאן אלמנכפץ אכתר אלבקאעי<sup>א</sup> מאא.

3. ומן ארב פלאספה אלגן מן סאת כלוקה ערב נפסה. f. 17b

4. וקאל אבקראט מן אפרט עליה אלנצב ישבה אלאהגדי

אלהאים.

א) Insert מ.

א\*) Marg.: אלפצאיל.

ב) *Mul*, 115; אלמחואצע פי טלאב אלעלם; *Nihāya*; מחואצע אלעלמא.

ג) *Nihāya*, ib.: אלמאכן.

ד) Read: אלוחו.

## TRANSLATION

1. When one of the trained moralists,<sup>1</sup> who are famous for their piety, was asked: "What was the happiest day in your life?", he replied: "Travelling on a boat one day, dressed in shabby clothes, I was seated in the lowest and most unpleasant part of the boat. I was lying on my back when a passenger stood up to pass water, and directed the urine at my face because he despised me and regarded my state with contempt. I was shocked by the extreme insolence and the ignorance of the realities<sup>2</sup> of his soul, but I was very pleased with my soul for not being pained by his deed and that no anger stirred within me in response to this act which generally excites souls. I was extremely happy that my soul had attained such a degree of training".

2. Ptolemy said: The scholars who are most outstanding for their humility are the richest in learning, just as the lowest place is the richest in water of all the valleys.<sup>3</sup>

3. One of the aphorisms of the Stoics is: He who has a mean character tortures his own soul.

4. Hippocrates said: When a person's anger rages beyond control, he is like a violent blaze.

<sup>1</sup> This is an epithet employed both here and in No. 16 to designate the Ṣūfī whom our author apparently hesitated to identify too clearly. Maimonides, from whom our author probably took this anecdote, refers to his source as *Kitāb min kutub al-akhlāk* in his commentary on Aboth IV.4 (ed. E. Baneth), 29, and describes the hero of the story as *aḥād al-ṣuḍalā'*. But in his Letter to Ḥisdai Ha-Levi (ed. Warsaw, p. 16), he does not give his source, merely identifying the hero as *הכב אהר ופילוסוף גדול*. The incident, acc. to al-Ḥujwiri, *Kashf al-maḥjūb* (tr. Nicholson), 68, happened to the famous Ṣūfī Ibrāhīm b. Adhem. (On the duty of traveling in the Ṣūfī doctrine see *Kitāb al-luma'* by al-Sarrāj (ed. Nicholson), 189-190). In the biography of Ibrāhīm ibn Adhem in *Tedhkiret el-ewliya* by Farīd-el-Dīn 'Aṭṭar, translated by Jacob Hallauer (Türkische Bibliothek, 24), this incident is one of several which brought joy to the Ṣūfī, but in this particular case he suffered indignities from a buffoon who pulled his hair and struck him, 51.

<sup>2</sup> A common Ṣūfī term. For its definition see Massignon, *La Passion d'al Hallāj*, 565.

<sup>3</sup> *Musre* II, א, 14; *Boc.*, 317-318; *Mu'tazz*, 115; Al-Ḥuṣri, *Zahral-Adab*, I, 342; Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, in the name of ibn al-Mu'tazz, but with variants.

5. וקאל גאלינוס מן אכרנה אלגצב אלי אלטיש פקד דהב  
חיאה וצאר אלי אלקחה.

6. וקאל אפלאטון אלגצב ואלשהוה פיה) כלה) כלק מן  
אכלאק אלנפס פלה) מקדאר יצלח בה) חאל אלשכץ אלדי  
יכון פיה פאן) זאר עלי דלך אכרנה אלי אלשר פאן אלגצב  
ישבה אלמלח) פי אלטעאם) פאן כאן בקדר מואפק אצלחה)א  
ואן כאן זאידא אפסדה)ב) ואכרנה)ג) אלי גיר אלאסתטאבה.)ד)

7. קאל גאלי פי כתאבה פי אכלאק אלנפס אמא מנע  
אלנפס אלנאטקה ללשהואניה מן אלאפראט פי אלחרכה פלא  
ימכנהא דון אן תסתנגד בקוה מן אלנפס לאן אלגלד ואלקוה  
אנמא המא להדה אלנפס וקיאס אלנפס ענד אלנאטקה כקיאס  
אלכלב ענד אלקנאס ורבמא תחרך אלכלב פי גיר אלוקת  
אלדי יחתאן אליה ועלי גיר אלמקדאר אלדי ינבגי ותחדיר  
אוקאת הדה אלחרכא)ה) הי) אלקנאס עלי קדר חדקה בצנאעה  
אלתקנים וסהולה אנקיאד אלכלב לה.

8. קאל אפלאטון אן כיל אעתדאל כל ואחד מן אגוא  
אלנפס ליס הו פי טביעה כל אנסאן לאנה אן כאנת אלנפס  
אלנאטקה בלידה קלילה אלפהם ואלחפט גיר משתאקה  
ללאפעאל אלגמילה וכאנת אלנפסאן אלבהימיתאן קויתין עסירתי  
אל אנקיאד לס ימכן אן יעתרל.

ה-ה) Read וכל with *Amihāl*, 143.

ו) Ib.: לה.

ז) Ib.: פיה.

ח) Ib.: לאן.

ט) Ib.: + אלדי ישרח.

י) Ib.: אלטעמ)ה).

יא) Ib.: אלטעאם.

יב) Ib.: + וכדלך סאיר אלקוי.

יג-יד) Ib.: wanting.

יד) So Ms. Read ללקנאס.

5. Galen said: A man whom anger makes unsteady loses his modesty and becomes insolent.<sup>4</sup>

6. Plato said: Anger, covetousness, and all the characteristics of the soul are useful up to a point for the welfare of the individual in whom they are to be found. But if they exceed that point the consequences are evil. For anger is like salt in foods; if the proper proportion is added, it improves the food; if an excessive amount, it spoils it and renders it unpalatable.<sup>5</sup> [The same holds true of the other characteristics].

7. Galen said in his *Book of the Faculties of the Soul*: The rational soul is not capable of restraining the appetitive soul from going to excess in its activities unless it seeks assistance from the strength of the latter. For firmness and strength belong only to the [appetitive] soul. The relations between the appetitive and the rational soul are like those between the dog and the hunter. Generally, the dog starts neither at the right time nor with the required speed. The determination of the time of these actions rests in the hands of the hunter in proportion to his skill in the art of hunting and the readiness with which the dog obeys him.

8. Plato said: The harmonious balance of each of the parts of the soul is not naturally attained by every individual. If the rational soul is foolish and silly, and does not aspire to virtuous deeds, while the two animal souls are strong and unwilling to be guided, a harmonious balance is not possible.

<sup>4</sup> The idea expressed in this sentence is found in Galen's *Kitāb al-Aḥlāk* (ed. Kraus, in *Bulletin of the University of Egypt*, vol. V, part I, Arabic section), 32-33. A short proverb: כִּן אִשְׁתָּע וְצָבְרוּ צִמְעַ אֲדָרְבָהוּ (whoever obeys his anger loses his training) is found עֲנָאב אֶל-עֵינֹב, 5. Cf. Plutarch, *de ira cohibenda* (ed. Loeb), 114-115.

<sup>5</sup> *Boc.*, 224; *Amthāl*, 143 (bottom). The sentence in brackets is from these parallels.

f. 18a 9. קאל נאלינוס פי מקאלתה פי תערף אלנאסאן עיוב  
 נפסה<sup>טו</sup>) אנה תהיאת לי סעארה עטימה עניבה מנד צבאי  
 ודלך אן ואלדי כאן מן אפצל אלנאס<sup>טז</sup>) ואכירהם ואכתרהם  
 עדלא<sup>א</sup> וכאנת אמי נצובה כתירה<sup>א</sup> אלחרר יבלנ בהא דלך אן  
 תעץ גאריהא ותצרבהן ותכאצם ואלדי ותציח עליה דאימא<sup>א</sup>  
 פוצעת אכלאק ואלדי אלמחמורה באזא אכלאק אמי אלמדמומה  
 פעלמת פצל אבי עליהא פאחבבת אכלאק אבי ואל תשבה  
 בה פיהא ואבנצת אכלאק אמי ואנתנבתהא.

10. ומן תמתל אלאסכנדר מן צאק כלוקה<sup>יז</sup>) מלה אהלה.

11. קאל אלשאער בעת תקצוף היה זוכר אלוה אשר כחך  
 ורוחך בידו

ושובה מחרון אפך ודע כי גבה לבב אדון ערץ ינידו.

12. וקאל אפלאטון גיא<sup>א</sup> אלמרוה<sup>יח</sup>) אן יסתחי אלנאסאן<sup>יט</sup>)

f. 18b 13. מן נפסה<sup>י</sup> ודלך<sup>יט</sup>) אנה ליסת אלעלה פי אלחיאה מן אלשיך כבר  
 סנה ולא ביאץ שער לחיתה ואנמא עלה<sup>א</sup> אלחיאה מנה אשראק  
 נוהר אלעקל עליה פינבני אדא כאן דלך אלגוהר משרקא  
 פינא אן נסתחי מנה ולא נחצר קביחא מנאי<sup>יט</sup>.)

13. וקאל איצא אלקחה פי אלנאסאן אנמא הי עמי פכרה

ען אכתר צור מא יטרא עליה פהו ימציאה מסתהינא בה פאנה<sup>כ</sup>)

9) *Führ.*, 291; כיף יתערף אלנאסאן דנוכה ועיובה: *Hunain's Catalogue*, No. 118; כחאב פי תערף אלנאסאן עיוב נפסה: *Qifti*, 131, 15; כחאב פי תערף אלמרה עיובה: *Rāzi, Al-tibb al-rūhāni*, 35; עיוב נפסה.

טו) From margin.

יז) Read: ללקה.

יח) *IAU*, 51; אלארב.

יט) *Ib.*: אלמרה.

יט-יט) *Ib.*: wanting.

כ) לאנה: *Kalim*, 27 and *Amthāl*, 145.

9. Galen said in his treatise *On Man's Acquaintance with His Faults*:<sup>6</sup> In my youth I was favored with a wonderful and unique stroke of fortune. My father was one of the most excellent, most balanced and most amiable people, whereas my mother was a hot-tempered, excitable woman, to the extent that she would bite and beat the maids, and would always quarrel with, and scold my father. I weighed the commendable qualities of my father against the hateful traits of my mother, and I realized his superiority over her. I cherished and emulated his character, but hated and guarded myself against my mother's.

10. One of Alexander's proverbs was: He who is of mean character is despised by his people.<sup>7</sup>

11. The poet said:

When 'angry, do remember God, the Master  
of thy strength and soul.

Relent; you know the Lord of heaven can  
make the haughty shake and roll.

12. Plato said: The high mark of virtue is for man to feel modest in his own presence. The reason is that man's sense of shyness before an old man is not due to the latter's advanced age or to his gray beard, but to the light of the substance of intellect upon him. It therefore behooves us, when that substance shines within us, to have a sense of shame before it and not to do anything ugly.<sup>8</sup>

13. He also said: Insolence in a person means that his thinking-faculty is blind to the shape of most of the things that come his way, so that he scornfully allows them to pass because he does not realize their consequence. Its counterpart is the weak-eyed

<sup>6</sup> The passage is a faithful translation of the Greek original, *περὶ ψυχῆς παθῶν καὶ ἀμαρτημάτων* (ed. Kühn), 40-41, except that it omits the comparison of his mother's treatment of her father to Xanthippe's treatment of Socrates (*μᾶλλον ἢ Ξανθίππη Σωκράτει*). Rāzī also refers to Galen's characterization of his mother, adding the further bit of information that she would seize the lock and bite it when she was unable to open it. *Al-ṭibb al-rūḥānī*, 55.

<sup>7</sup> *Musre*, II, ה, 7: חסר הסופר יקל וזם הוא עשיר ככלב

<sup>8</sup> This sentence is a combination of two. The first ends with "presence," cf. *Boc.*, 232 and *IAU*, 51. The second occurs in *Boc.*, ib.

לא יתאמל מקאדירהא ונטירהא (כא) פי דלך אלאכפש ואלאגהר  
אלדי יתוטא מן צנאר אלאשיא מא לא יראה ואלחיאה תאמל  
אלפכר להלך אלצורה ותוקף אלנפס ען תכטיהא. (כא)

14. וקאל ארסטו מן אסתחיא מן אלנאס ולם יסתחי מן  
נפסה פלא קדר לנפסה ענדה ולא (כב) קימה. (כב)

15. וקאל גא' פי כתאב אצלחא אלאכלאק כאנת אלפלאספה  
אלקדמא יתפקרון טבאייע אלצביאן והם אטפאל לאן (כג) מנהם  
שריד אלשרה ואלנהם לא ישבע שריד אלקחה ומן כאן כדלך  
ינבגי אן יאיס מן פלאחה ומן כאן מנהם שרהא נהמא ולם יכון  
וקאחא פלא ינבגי אן יקטע אלפלאחה לאן אלחיאה אנמא תכון  
מן נפס בצירה תרי' אלגמיל ותקף עליה ואמא מן לא יסתחי  
פאן נפסה עמיה לא תרי' גמילא ולא יכון פיהא כירא' ולדלך (כד)  
יכון אסתחיאנך (כה) מן נפסך אכתר מן אסתחיאנך מן גירך.

15a. וקאל איצא פי הדא אלכתאב אן נפס אלוקאח אל  
נאטקה לא תרי' אלאמר אלגמיל אלדי הו ענד אל נפס נאפעא  
להא במנולה חסן אל בדרן ענד אל בדרן' ואמא נפס אל חיי  
פאנהא תרי' אל גמיל' פכמא אן יולד מן אל צביאן אעמי' או  
צעף אל בצר לא ירא גמאל אל בדרן וחסנה או יראה רויה  
צעפה פכדלך מן כאנת עין נפסה אל נאטקה עמיה באל טבע  
לא תרי אל גמאל אלדי הו ללנפס וכמא אן אעתדאל אלאעצא  
יולד אל גמאל פי אל אבראן כדלך אעתדאל אלנפס יולד אל  
גמאל אלדי ללנפס ואל כיר ואל שר ענד אל נפס במנולה  
אל צחה ואל מרץ ענד אל בדרן וכמא אן אלקבח ללבדרן מכרוה  
פכדלך הו ללנפס וקבח אלנפס הו אל גור לאן אל גור קבח  
אל אנפס אל ג'.

*Ll. cit.*: wanting. (כא-כא)

Wanting in *Musre*, II, יט, 10; *Kalim*, 77; *IM*, 64.

Add: מן כאן. (כג)

From margin. (כד)

So Ms. Read: אסתחיאנך. (כה)



person or the one affected with nyctalopia who tread under foot all small things which they do not see. Modesty directs the thinking-faculty to investigate the shape of events, and spares the soul from failure to appraise them.<sup>9</sup>

14. Aristotle said: He who is shy of others and does not feel shy of himself shows neither esteem nor appreciation of himself.<sup>10</sup>

15. Galen said in the *Book of the Improvement of the Character*: The ancient philosophers were in the habit of analyzing the character of young people while they were still children. Some of them are extremely greedy, insatiably gluttonous and violently insolent. One must despair of training children of such character. Those, however, who are greedy and gluttonous but are not impudent one ought not to despair of training. For modesty springs from an enlightened heart which perceives the virtuous and dedicates itself to it. He who does not possess a sense of modesty has a blind soul which does not perceive the virtuous and has no good within itself. Therefore, let your modesty before yourself be greater than your modesty in the presence of someone else.<sup>11</sup>

15a. He also stated in the same book: The rational soul of the insolent person is not aware that the virtuous portion which the soul possesses is of benefit to it in the same manner as the beauty of the body is to the body. But the soul of the modest person discerns it. Just as a child who is blind or weak-eyed will not see the beauty of the body or will see it only vaguely, so, if the eye of the rational soul is naturally blind, it will not perceive the virtue which the soul has. As the symmetry of the organs makes the body perfect, so the harmony of the soul results in the perfection of the soul. Good and evil play the same role in the soul as health and sickness in the body. As bodily ugliness is hateful so is ugliness of the soul. This means injustice, because it makes the soul ugly.

<sup>9</sup> *Kalim*, 27 and *Amḥāl*, 145, have only the first part. *Boc.*, 225, seems to paraphrase the entire passage: ". . . asi como aquel que ha flojo viso, que las pequennas cosas veelas otro e non las vee el."

<sup>10</sup> *Musre*, II, יט, 10; *Kalim*, 77; *Boc.*, 358; *IM*, 64, reads: מי שאינו מחביש ומי שאינו מחביש מנפשו אין לו מעלה אצלו מעצמו לא יתביש מהאל ומי שאינו מחביש מנפשו אין לו מעלה אצלו.

<sup>11</sup> In *Boc.*, 355, this statement is paraphrased. The last phrase occurs in Mawerdi, *Adab al-Dunva wal-Din* (ed. Miṣr<sup>2</sup>), 163.

f. 19b 16. וקאלוא אלמתקדמון אלמחב לא יציע אמר ואל כאיף לא יקדם עלי נהי.

f. 20a 17. וקאל כו) גירנא מן אלמרתאצין פי אלכלקיאת אן בעץ אלעלמא אלעאלמין כו) ראי יכתר אלצמת חתי כו) לא יכאד יתכלם כו) פסיל כח) ען עלה דלך כח) פקאל אעתברת אלכלאם פונדתה ינקסם ד' אקסאם אלקסם אלאול כלאם אדיה דון מנפעה מתל שתם אנסאן כט) וקול פחשא תחוהמא פקול הדא גנון מחץ אלקס' אלחאני כלאם פיה אדיה מן גהה ל) ומנפעה מן גהה מתל מרח אנסאן ליסתנפע בה ויכון פי דלך אלמרח מא יחרג עדוה פיאדי אלדי מרחה פילום תרך הדא לאגל הדא פלא לא) יבני אלכלאם פי הדא לא) אלקסם לכ) אלחאלת כלאם לא מנפעה פיה ולא אדיה מתל אכתר כלאם אלעאמה כיף בני סור אלמדינה אלפלאניה ל) ואלקצר לר) אלפלאני ווצף חסן דאר פלאן וכתרה אהל לה) אלמדינה אלפלאניה ונחו הדא מן אקאויל אל פצול קאל פאלכלאם לו) איצא פי הדא פצל לו) לא פאידה פיה אלקסם אלר כלאם הו כלה מנפעה מתל אלכלאם פי אלפצאיל ואלעלום וכלאם אלאנסאן פי מא יכצה ממא בה קואם חיאתה ואסתמראר וגודה פהדא לח) יבני אן יתכלם פיה לט) קאל פכלמא סמעט כלאם ט) אעתברתה פאן

קיל פי כתאב Maimonides' *Commentary on Abot* (ed. Baneth), 9: (כו-כו) אלאלכלאק אן בעץ אלמרתאצין.

חתי אנה לא יתכלם אלא קלילא *Ib.*: (כו-כו)

פקיל לה מה עלה אפראט סכוור *Ib.*: (כח-כח)

אלאנסאן *Ib.*: (כט)

וגה *Ib.*: ל)

ולא יתכלם בהדא אלקסם מן אלכלאם איצא *Ib.*: (לא-לא)

ואלקסם *Ib.*: לב)

*Ib.*: wanting. (לג)

וכיף בני אלקצר *Ib.*: לד)

פאכהה *Ib.*: לה)

פי אלכלאם *Ib.*: לו)

פצול *Ib.*: לז)

ובהדא *Ib.*: לח)

wanting. *Ib.*: (לט)

*Ib.*: + אנה מ)

16. The ancients said: One impelled by love will not fail to do a prescribed deed, and one prompted by fear will not venture upon a forbidden act.<sup>12</sup>

17. One of the trained moralists<sup>13</sup> of another faith<sup>14</sup> said: One learned man chose to maintain silence so consistently that he almost lost his power of speech. Asked for the reason, he replied: I have analyzed speech and found it divisible into four parts. One part consists of such speech as vilification, immoral talk, etc., which is entirely injurious, devoid of any beneficial element. Such talk is pure insanity. The second part is made up of speech which is partly harmful and partly beneficial. A man may praise a person for the purpose of deriving some benefit from it. But there may be something about this praise which will provoke his enemy to injure the one he praised. The one part must therefore be avoided because of the other. The third part is neither injurious nor helpful. Such is the character of the conversation of the common people. [They discuss] how the wall of this or that city was constructed, or this castle; or they describe that pretty home, figure out the population of that city, or chatter about similarly useless stuff. This too is superfluous speech, devoid of all advantage. The fourth part consists of speech which is entirely useful, such as conversation about virtues and sciences, or about the distinctive features of man, which are the mainstay of his life and the preservative force of his existence. This talk ought properly to be cultivated. Now, whenever I heard a conversation, I weighed it. If I could classify it in the

<sup>12</sup> Maimonides' Commentary on Aboth I, 3 (ed. Baneth, 4); Joseph b. Judah (ibn 'Aḳnīn), ספר המוסר, 8.

<sup>13</sup> See note 1.

<sup>14</sup> This is ibn 'Aḳnīn's manner of referring to a Muslim. See No. 107.

וגדתה מן הדיא אלקסם אלראבע תכלמת בה ואן כאן מן תלך  
אלאקסאם (מא) אלאכר (מא) סכתת ענה פקאלוא אצחאב (מב)  
אלכלק (מב) אעתברנא (מג) הדיא אל שכץ אל (מד) פאצל ובראעתה  
פי אלפצל במא אוגבתה אלחכמה (מה) פאנה אסקט תלאת ארבע

f. 20b אלכלאם והדיה חכמה בליגה (מה) נאפעה. (מה)

f. 21a 18. וקאלוא אלחכמא בין ידי אפצל עלם אלעלמא צמת

אלצאמת.

19. וראי אפלאטון רגלא יכתר אלכלאם ויקל אל אסתמאע  
פקאל לה יא הדיא אנצף אדניך מן פיך אן אלכאלק גל תנאווה  
אנמא נעל (מו) לנא אדניין ולסאנא ואחדא לנסמע צעף מא נכתלם  
פיה (מו)

20. וקאל סקראט מן אתכד אלצמת גנה וקי סהם אללסאן.

21. וקאל (מו) נפע אל סכות אכתר מן נפע אלכלאם וצרר

אלכלאם אכתר מן צרר אלסכות.

22. וקאל אלעאקל יערף בכתרה צמתה וקלה (מח) נטקה (מח)

*Ib.*: wanting. (מא-מא)

*Ib.*: אלפלקיין. (מב-מב)

*Ib.*: אעתבר. (מג)

*Ib.*: וחכמתה. (מד-מד)

*Ib.*: יגבוי אן יחארב ברה. (מה-מה)

נעל לך אדנאן אתנאן ופס ואחד (כרו) לחסמע אכתר סמא תקול: *Ikd*, II, 15: (מו-מו)

נעלה לנא אדנאן ולסאן ואחד ליכון אסתמאעך צעפי כלאמך: *Jamharat*, 6:

From margin. (מו)

Wanting in Müller, *ZDMG*, XXXI, 513. (מח-מח)

fourth category, I joined it; if it belonged with the other groups, I held my peace.

Students of character have stated: We have analyzed this virtuous man and his excellent attitude to virtue as wisdom dictates, and have found that he gave up three quarters of his speech. This is superb and useful wisdom.<sup>15</sup>

18. The philosophers said: The reticence of the silent person ranks foremost among the achievements of the learned.

19. Plato saw a man who did much talking and little listening, and he said to him: Pay with your mouth for your ears. Verily, the Creator, exalted be His praise, provided us with two ears and one tongue that we might hear twice as much as we say.<sup>16</sup>

20. Socrates said: Whoever takes silence as armor is secure against the arrows of the tongue.

21. He said: The profit from silence is greater than the profit from speech, and the injury from speech is greater than the injury from silence.<sup>17</sup>

22. He said: The wise person is recognized by his prolonged silence and his infrequent speech and the foolish person is

<sup>15</sup> The anecdote is probably taken from Maimonides' commentary to Mishna Abot, I, 16 (p. 9 ff.), whose text is repeated here almost verbatim. But instead of the vague source in our text, we find in Maimonides' work *כִּיל פִּי כְּחַמֵּי אֵלֶּיךָ לֹא מֵלֵאמָר*. Acc. to Steinschneider, who cites this reference, it is Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics (*Hebr. Übersetz.*, § 112 [p. 215]), but the incident is not related there. The story is also told in Menaḥem Ha Meïri, Commentary on Proverbs, ad 10, 19 and in Israel al-Nakawa's *Menōrath Ha-Māor* (ed. Enelow), IV, 368. The editor's assertion that the story's "origin, no doubt, is ibn Gabirol's Mibhar Hapenīnīm (שַׁעַר הַשְּׂחִיקָה) (ed. Asher, p. 68), though Maimonides quotes it as from *סֵפֶר הַמִּדְוָה*" is probably due to a misunderstanding, for he states that "Maimuni's reference to *סֵפֶר הַמִּדְוָה* (ed. Mantua, 1560, f. 746) appears in later editions as *סֵפֶר הַמִּדְוָה*, causing confusion." In view of the Arabic title, *סֵפֶר הַמִּדְוָה* is the correct rendering. — For Secundus, who imposed silence on himself, see Knust, *l. c.*, 498–506 and 602–612.

<sup>16</sup> *Musre*, II, ב, 17; *Boc.*, 154, in Diogenes' name; *בהמרה*, 48, in the name of "a man"; *IM*, 58; *'Ikd*, II, 15, in name of Abu Dardā'; *Jamhara*, 6, in name of a Beduin (cf. Merkle, 32). Usāmah, *Lubab al-Ādāb*, 465.

<sup>17</sup> *Boc.*, 184.

- f. 21b ואלגאהל יערף בכתר<sup>ה</sup> נטקה וקלה<sup>ט</sup> צמתה ומא אבעד אלכטא  
 ממן טאל צמתה ומא אבעד אלצואב ממן כתר כלאמה. <sup>ט</sup>  
 23. וקאל אלצמת ינסב אלי אלנע<sup>י</sup> ויסלם ואלמתכלם ינסב  
 אלי אלפצול וינדם.  
 24. וקאלוא לו לם ירבח אל צאמת אלא קלה אל מדאגלה. <sup>נא</sup>  
 ותעב אלמקאולה לכאן ראבחא פכיף והו מע דלך ירבח חסן  
 אלעאקבה וראחה אלעאגלה.  
 25. וקאל מן לם יסתעמל אלצמת מן נפסה ואלא <sup>נא</sup> אסכתה  
 גירה וכאן עאר<sup>א</sup> עליה.  
 26. וקאל מן סכת חתי יסתנטק כאן ארבח ממן נטק חתי  
 יסכת.  
 27. וקאל אלסכות ען מא לא יעני אמאן פי אלעאקבה  
 חין פי אלעאגלה ואלכלאם פי מא לא יעני סבב לשין פי  
 אלעאגלה ונדאמה פי אלעאקבה.  
 28. וקאל עז אלסכות אכתר מן עז אלכלאם ודל אלכלאם  
 אכתר מן דל אלסכות.  
 29. וקאל אלכלאם ממלוך מא לם ינטק בה צאחבה פאן  
 נטק בה כרנ ען מלכה לה.  
 30. וקאל אלכלאם יבדי מכביאת אלקלוב ואלסכות  
 יסתרהא.  
 31. וקאל מן קוי עלי אמסאך אלכלאם אלא פי מוצעה כאן  
 אלפעל אקוי.

Wanting in Müller, *ib.*, and *Boc.*, 184. (ט-ט)

נ) Missing in Ms.; Supplied from *IAU*, 48.

נא) Read מנאדלה.

נא) So MS. Omit.

recognized by his steady talk<sup>18</sup> and his rare silence. How seldom the steadily silent person is in error, and how rarely the talkative person is right!<sup>19</sup>

23. He said: Silence is regarded as a mark of deficiency but earns men's gratitude, and speech is considered a mark of quality but is regretted.<sup>20</sup>

24. He said: If the reticent person earned [by his silence] only a reduction of debate and of the weariness of discussion, he would be the gainer. How much greater is his profit when together with it he secures a pleasant future and a comfortable present!<sup>21</sup>

25. He said: He who does not impose silence on himself will have it imposed [on him] by others and will be disgraced.<sup>22</sup>

26. He said: He who holds his peace until he is asked to speak profits more than he who speaks until he is told to keep quiet.<sup>23</sup>

27. He said: Silence in a matter which does not concern one provides security in the future and adornment in the present, but speech about something which does not concern one results in disgrace in the present and regret in the future.

28. He said: The honor of silence is greater than the honor of speech, and the humiliation resulting from speech is deeper than the humiliation from silence.

29. He said: Speech is a slave as long as its master has not uttered it, but as soon as it has been uttered it is released from slavery.<sup>24</sup>

30. He said: Speech reveals the secrets of the heart and silence conceals them.

31. He said: He who is able to hold his peace except in the proper place is even more able to do the proper thing in its place.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Ib.*; Müller, *ZDMG*, xxxi, 513; cf. Plato's statement in *Asrār*, 115 and *Boc.*, 217: יערף נהל אלטר- בכחרה כלמסה פיסא לא ינפעח ואכבארה עמא לא ינאל ענה.

<sup>19</sup> *Musre*, II, ט"ו, 6 in name of אַנינוס (cf. Loewenthal, 148); *Mibḥar*, 354; *Asrār*, 115; *Boc.*, 183.

<sup>20</sup> *IAU*, 48; cf. Freytag, II, 111 and 118.

<sup>21</sup> *Boc.*, ib. cf. *Ījāz*, 12.

<sup>22</sup> *Ib.* <sup>23</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ib.*; *Musre*, II, א, 38 (הלשון משרה הלב); *Mibḥar*, 338; *IM*, 58; *Budge*, clxvii, (in name of a Hebrew).

<sup>25</sup> *Boc.*, ib.

32. וקאל אלכלאם מפתאח אלסכות<sup>נב</sup> ואלסכות מגלאק  
אלשר.
33. וקאל מן כתר כלאמה כתר סקטה ומן כתר סקטה כתר  
עתרה.<sup>נב</sup>
34. וקאל אלסכות יחקן אלדס ואלכלאם יריקה.
35. וקאל גנימ<sup>ה</sup> אלסכות אכתר מן גנימ<sup>ה</sup> אלכלאם ונדאמ<sup>ה</sup>  
אלכלאם אכתר מן נדאמ<sup>ה</sup> אלסכות.
36. וקאל תמר<sup>ה</sup> אלצמת אלמדריחה ותמר<sup>ה</sup> אלכלאם  
אלמ<sup>ד</sup>מ<sup>ה</sup>.
37. וקאלוא לו כאן אל כלאם דהבא לכאן אל סכות גוהרא.
38. וקאל אלסכות יחיי ואלכלאם יפני.
39. וקאל מן סכת אסתר<sup>ח</sup>י<sup>ד</sup> מן אלגואב ומן תכלם אחתאן  
אלי אלגואב.
40. וקאל מן קדר עלי אסתעמאל אלצמת מן נפסה כאן עלי  
גירה אקדר.
41. וקאל ראס אלחכמה אלצמת.
42. וקאל אדא כאן אלעאלם צאמתא כאן עלי חכמתה  
דליל<sup>א</sup>.
43. וקאל אלצאמת מחבוב ואלמתכלם מסבוב.
44. וקאל אלצמת מחבוב פי אכתר אלמואצע.
45. וקאל מן כתר צמתה כתר<sup>ת</sup> סלאמתה ומן כתר כלאמה  
קלת סלאמתה.

<sup>נב</sup>) Read אלשר with *Boc.* 185.

<sup>נב</sup>) *Jamharat*, 5: חיאוה or כדבה.

<sup>נד</sup>) So Ms.; Read: אסתרואח.



32. He said: Speech is the key of evil<sup>26</sup> and silence is the lock of evil.

33. He said: He who speaks much meets many pitfalls and he who falls often makes many slips.<sup>27</sup>

34. He said: Silence prevents bloodshed and speech brings it on.

35. He said: The spoils won from silence are richer than the spoils of speech, and the regrets following speech are deeper than the regrets following silence.<sup>28</sup>

36. He said: The fruit of silence is praise and the fruit of speech is blame.

37. It was said: If speech were gold silence would be a diamond.<sup>29</sup>

38. He said: Silence grants life and speech brings death.

39. He said: He who maintains silence is relieved of the duty of replying, but he who speaks is required to answer.

40. He said: He who is able to impose silence on himself has greater power to do other things.<sup>30</sup>

41. He said: The beginning of wisdom is silence.<sup>31</sup>

42. He said: When a learned man keeps quiet it is an indication of wisdom.

43. He said: The reticent person is commended and the loquacious is condemned.

44. He said: Silence is commended in most places.<sup>32</sup>

45. He said: He who is regularly silent generally feels secure, but he who always talks is rarely safe.

<sup>26</sup> MS.: of silence. cf. *Boc.*, 185: el hablar es llave *del mal* e el callar es ceradura del.

<sup>27</sup> *Ikd.*, II, 15 (only first half); *Jamhara*, 51, in name of Muḥammad (or of 'Omar) adds two other phrases (in two versions).

<sup>28</sup> For the second half see *Boc.*, 330 (in name of Luḳmān) and note; משלי 441, חכמים וידידותם, בהמרהו, 56.

<sup>29</sup> A very common saying, although the comparison is usually between silver and gold.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Earl Rives, *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*, 50: "He that hath no power to refrayne his tonge hath no myght to resiste all his other delectaciones."

<sup>31</sup> *Mib.*, 39; *IM*, 57; Meiri ad Prov. 17.29; Naḥmias ad Prov. 8.33.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. טהרת הקדש. הדבור הרב בכל מקום מניקה ולעולם טובה ממנו השתיקה. ר.

46. וקאל לו לם ירבח אלסאכט אלא תעב אלגואב לכאן  
ראבחא ולו לם יכסר אל מתכלם אלא תעב אלגואב לכאן  
כאסרא.

47. וקאל אלצמת אנפע מן אלכלאם פי אכתר אלמואטן  
ואלכלאם אנפע מן אלצמת פי אקל אלמואצע.

48. וקאל מן דרײַ עלי רבח אלצמת דאם עליה ומן ערף  
כסארה אלכלאם חדר מנה.

49. וקאל כתרײַ אלכלאם<sup>(נ)</sup> דליל עלי נקץ<sup>(ו)</sup> אלעקל  
וקלה<sup>(ט)</sup> אלפכר וכתרה אלצמת דליל עלי כמאל אלעקל וכתרה  
אלדכר. <sup>f. 22a</sup>

50. וקאל אלכלאם יבדײַ מן מכנון אלעקל ואלסכות יסתרה.

51. וקאל אן תכלם אלמר יערף תמאמה מן נקצה ואדא סכת  
שך פי אמרה ולא<sup>(ח)</sup> יקצײַ עליה לא בנקץ ולא בתמאם.<sup>(יח)</sup>

52. וקאל מן אטהר כלאמה ללנאס פקד אטהר עקלה  
ללתצפח ומן תצפח עקלה כאן גדירײַ בטהור אל זלל<sup>(ט)</sup> עליה.

53. וקאל מן כאן אלצמת לה ושייײַ כאן מן אל סלאמה  
קריבא ומן אלנדאמה בעידא ומן כאן אל כלאם לה מרכבײַ כאן  
מן אלסלאמה בעידא ומן אלנדאמה קריבײַ.

54. וקאל אלכלאם יזרע אלחקר ואלסכות יחצדה.

55. וקאל מא אקל מן נדס מן אלצאמתין ומא אכתר מן נדס  
מן אלמתכלמין.

אלקול: 154, *Ahāsīn*, (נ)

נקצאן: *Ib.*, (ו)

*Ib.*: wanting, (ו-ז)

Wanting in *Boc.*, 185, (ז-ח)

אלדלל: *Read*, (ט)

46. He said: If the reticent person gained only relief from the task of making answer, he would be the gainer, and if the talkative person brought upon himself only the burden of making a reply, he would be the loser.<sup>33</sup>

47. He said: Silence is more profitable than speech in most places, and speech is more profitable than silence in very few places.<sup>34</sup>

48. He said: He who is acquainted with the gain of silence persists in it, and he who knows the losses of speech beware of it.

49. He said: Talkativeness is an indication of a defective intelligence and inadequate reflection, and continuous silence is an indication of a perfect intelligence and of sound reflection.<sup>35</sup>

50. He said: Speech bares some of the carefully kept secrets of the mind and silence conceals them.

51. He said: When a person has spoken a conclusion can be drawn regarding his perfection or his deficiency, but when he keeps quiet his capacity is unknown and no decision can be made regarding either deficiency or perfection.<sup>36</sup>

52. He said: He who has made his words public has exposed his intelligence to examination, and he whose intelligence has been examined is subject to criticism.

53. He said: He who makes silence his treading-ground is within reach of security and far from regret, and whoever employs speech as his vehicle is far from security and close to regret.

54. He said: Speech sows disdain and silence destroys it.

55. He said: How few are the regretful ones among the reticent, and how many among the talkative.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See No. 24.

<sup>34</sup> *Boc.* 185: el callar es bueno . . . e el hablar es malo en los mas de los lugares. Jāhiz., *Fī Tafḥūl el Nuḥ 'ala 'l-Ṣamat*, 148: You find silence of greater advantage than speech in many places, even if it be true.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Aḥāsīn al-mahāsīn*, 154: כחרה אלקול דליל עלי נקסאן אלעקל.

<sup>36</sup> *Boc.* 185; *Dicts.* 50.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *ib.*, 330 (Luḡmān). In statements on the advantages of silence pronounced by the kings of Persia, Rome, China and India, Jāhiz., *al-Mahāsīn wal-'Aḡḡād*, 25, Baihaḡi, *al Mahāsīn wal-Masāwi*, 434, ibn 'Abd al-Rāziḡ al Muḡaddasi, *al-Ṭharā'if wal-Laṭā'if*, 73; *Mibḡar*, 337-340; בהמיונו. 48, one

56. וקאל מן חדר לסאנה חקן דמה ומן אטלק לסאנה אראק דמה.
57. וקאל צבט אללסאן מלך ואטלאקה הלך.
58. וקאל מן שגן<sup>ס</sup> לסאנה אמן עלי נפסה ומן אטלק לסאנה כאף עלי נפסה.
59. וקאל אלכלאם מלך לצאחבה מא לם יכרנה פאדא אכרנה זאל ען מלכה.
60. וקאל מן כאן אלסכות גנתה וקי סהאם אלאלסן.
61. וקאל מן אתכד אלצמת לבאסא זאנה ומן אתכד אלכלאם דתאר<sup>א</sup> שאנה.
62. וקאל מא נדם סאכת אלא קלילא ולא אנתבט מתכלם אלא יסירא.
63. וקאל נעים אלקרין אלצמת וביס אלצאחב אלכלאם.
64. וקאל אלסכות ימחו אלצגאין ואלכלאם ירסמהא.
65. וקאל מן עלם אן כלאמה מתצפח עליה פליתצפחה עלי נפסה קבל אן יתצפחה עליה גירה.
66. וקאל לתלמיד לה יא בני כל כלאמך יחצי עליך פאחרם אן יכון צואב<sup>א</sup> ואלא פאלאמסאך ענה אולי.
67. וקאל אלכלמה אלסביחה אשר מן אלנאר ואקטע מן אלסיף.

56. He said: Whoever guards himself against his tongue spares his blood, and he who lets his tongue loose sheds his blood.<sup>38</sup>

57. He said: Control of the tongue spells sovereignty and release of it spells ruin.

58. He said: He who imprisons his tongue provides security for himself, and he who sets his tongue free fears for his life.<sup>39</sup>

59. He said: Speech is its master's property as long as he has not uttered it. When uttered it is no longer his.<sup>40</sup>

60. He said: Whoever employs silence as his armor is protected against the arrows of tongues.<sup>41</sup>

61. He said: He who assumes silence as his cloak is adorned, but he who takes speech as his garment is disgraced.

62. He said: A reticent person rarely regrets and a talkative person is rarely at ease.

63. He said: The most pleasant companion is silence and the meanest friend is speech.

64. He said: Silence wipes away grudges, and speech emphasizes them.

65. He said: If a person knows that his speech is scrutinized, he had better examine it himself before someone else examines it for him.<sup>42</sup>

66. He said to a disciple of his: My son, all your words are counted. Take care, therefore, that they are correct. If not, better repress them.<sup>43</sup>

67. He said: A harmful remark is more consuming than fire and more killing than the sword.<sup>44</sup>

of them (Caesar or Khosrau) declares: I have not regretted what I did not say, but have many times regretted what I did say. In the Syriac *The Laughable Stories* (ed. Budge), no. CLXVI, this saying is credited to a Hebrew.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. לעונך סבע אן עקלחהו חרסך ואן אטלקחהו אפחרסך; עוב אלעונב, 11; (Your tongue is a beast; if you bind it it protects you, but if you set it loose it devours you). See no. 34.

<sup>39</sup> *Boc.*, 335 (in name of Luḳmān).

<sup>40</sup> See No. 28.

<sup>41</sup> See No. 20.

<sup>42</sup> *Boc.*, 185; *Dicts*, 50.

<sup>43</sup> *Boc.*, ib; *Dicts*, ib.

<sup>44</sup> *Ijāz*, 13: "... there is a variety (of speech) which is sharper than the sword."

68. וקאל מן כאן אלכלאם לה מונעא פאלצרב לה מונעא  
ומן כאן אלכלאם לה גיר מונע פאלצרב לה גיר מונע.
69. וקאל עקובה אלכלאם יולם אלנפס ועקובה אל צרב  
יולם אלנסר.
70. וקאל מן קל כלאמה רני כירה ומן כתר כלאמה כאף  
שרה.
71. וקאל אלצמת דליל עלי אלחסני ואלכלאם דליל עלי  
אלשר.
72. וקאל אלצאמת מתצפח עלי גירה ואלמכלם גירה  
מתצפח עליה.
73. וקאל סקראט כתמאן אלסר ואגב פי אלעקל פמציעה סא  
לא יחל לה.
74. וקיל מן כתם סרה חפט נפסה ומן אצאע סרה צייע נפסה. f. 22b
75. וקאל כתמאן אלסר כרם פי אלנפס וסמו פי אל המה  
ואדאעה אלסר לום פי אלנפס וציעה פי אלהמה.
76. וקאל מן כתם סרה ארתפע קדרה ומן אדאע סרה  
אתצעק סא קדרה.
77. וקאל כאתם אלסר אמין עלי מא אסתודע ומדיע אלסר  
כאין פימא אסתודע.
78. וקאל כתמאן אלסר יחמד אלסר סא ואדאעה אלסר  
יסייה.
79. וקאל כתמאן אלסר דליל עלי סעה אלצדר ואדאעתה  
דליל עלי ציק אלצדר.

Our text confuses correct אדאע (cf. nos. 75, 76, etc.) and אצאע (no. 73, 74, etc.). See אצאעה in place of אדאעה in Usāma, 239 and 243.

So MS.

Read: אלסר.

68. He said: He whom speech pains will be pained by a blow, and he whom speech does not pain will not be pained by a blow.<sup>45</sup>

69. He said: The consequence of speech is pain to the soul, and the result of a blow is pain to the body.

70. He said: He who speaks little may hope for the best, and he who speaks much can fear the worst.

71. He said: Silence is an indication of good character, and speech is an indication of evil.

72. He said: The reticent person analyzes others, and the loquacious person is analyzed by others.<sup>46</sup>

73. Socrates said: It is the duty of an intelligent person<sup>47</sup> to conceal a secret. He who reveals it can not be excused.<sup>48</sup>

74. It has been said: He who conceals his secret protects himself, and he who reveals it destroys himself.

75. He said: Concealing a secret ennobles the soul and elevates the mind. But revealing a secret is a rebuke to the soul and a loss of the mind.<sup>49</sup>

76. He said: The dignity of one who conceals a secret increases, and the dignity of one who reveals a secret shrinks.<sup>50</sup>

77. He said: He who hides a secret keeps faith with his trust, and he who reveals it betrays his trust.<sup>51</sup>

78. He said: Concealment of a secret wins praise for a man, and disclosure brings condemnation.

79. He said: Concealment of a secret is an indication of a broad heart, and its disclosure is an indication of a tight heart.

<sup>45</sup> *Boc.*, 185: el que se duele par la palabra es seguro de seer ferido. The meaning of this sentence is not certain. Perhaps its purport is that one should be as sensitive to speech as to physical pain.

<sup>46</sup> *Boc.*, 186; *Dicts*, 50.

<sup>47</sup> The original Arabic is "in the intellect." The translation conforms to the parallels. See next note.

<sup>48</sup> *Boc.*, 187; *Musre*, II, א, 80; *IM*, 74. These parallels agree in reading the second half: "He who reveals it has no sense." This is probably right, and requires the change of יחל to עקל in our text.

<sup>49</sup> In *Boc.*, 187, we find only: Encobrir la poridad es noblesa del anima. Usāma, *Lubab al-ādāb*, 246, gives an expanded version of the first half. No parallel to the second half is known to me.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *Musre*, II, א, 85: והעלמת הסוד סבת האהבה ומניע אל המעלה העליונה.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *ib.*: וכל המעלים סודו יהיה מקום למצפוני הלבבות.

80. (ומן סב) כתם סרה בלג מא ירדה מן אמרה.
81. וקאל כתמאן אלסר סבבא לציאנתך וכתמאן סר גירך  
ואגב עליך.
82. וקאל אלמשכור מן כתם סרא לם סו) יסתכתם סו) ואמא  
מן אסתכתם מא סו) אסתכתם פדלך ואגב עליה.
83. וקאל סרך מן דמך פאנטר ענד סו) מן תגעלה. סו)
84. וקאל אכתם סו) סר גירך כמא יגב סו) אן יכתם סרך גירך.
85. וקאל אדא כנת כאין פי אלסר פאנת פי גירה אכין.
86. וקאל מן כאן לסרה כתימא פהו פי עקלה בליגא ומן כאן  
לסרה מדיעא כאן לנפסה כינא.
87. וקאל כתמאן אלסר סבב ללמחבה.
88. וקאל מא אסתכתמה סו) גירך פקר אדעתה מן נפסך פלא  
תלומן גירך בדיעתה ומן לם יחפט סר נפסה פהו לסר גירה אציע.
89. וקאל האפט אלסר אמין ומדיעה כין.

וקאל מן אדאע סרה צייע מא עודה מן אמרה: Lacuna; perhaps: (סב)

למן אסתכתמה: *IAU*, 48: (סג-סו)

סרא: *Ib.*: (סד)

מן חמלכה: *Jāhiz, Mahāsin*, 29: (סה-סו)

כתם: *IAU*, 48: (סז)

(כאשר חרצה) *Musre*, II, א, 83, and *IAU*, *ib.*, and *Musre*, II, א, 83: (סח)

אסתכתמה: *Read*: (סח)



80. [He said: He who reveals a secret destroys what he has],<sup>52</sup> and he who hides it attains what he seeks.<sup>53</sup>

81. He said: Keeping your secret is your protection, and keeping another's secret is your duty.<sup>54</sup>

82. He said: The laudable person is he who keeps a secret which he has not been asked to conceal. But he who conceals what he has been asked to simply fulfills a duty.<sup>55</sup>

83. He said: Your secret is of your blood, therefore take care to whom you confide it.<sup>56</sup>

84. He said: Keep another's secret as you would like another to keep your secret.<sup>57</sup>

85. He said: If you betray [your] secret, you will betray another man's secret more readily.<sup>58</sup>

86. He said: He who keeps his secret is intellectually mature, but he who reveals his secret betrays his soul.<sup>59</sup>

87. He said: Concealment of a secret is a cause of love.<sup>60</sup>

88. He said: If you have confided something to another you yourself have revealed it. Do not, therefore, blame the other for its disclosure.<sup>61</sup> He who cannot keep his own secret is even less capable of keeping another's secret.<sup>62</sup>

89. He said: He who keeps a secret is faithful, and he who reveals it is a traitor.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>52</sup> See note to Arabic text.

<sup>53</sup> *Musre*, II, n, 81; Freytag, 2591.

<sup>54</sup> *Musre*, *ib.*

<sup>55</sup> *L. c.*, 82; *Boc.*, 187; *IM*, *ib.*; *IAU*, 48.

<sup>56</sup> *Jamharat*, 115; *Mahāsin*, 29 and *Baiḥaḳi*, 402 (in the name of al-Manṣūr); *'Ikd*, I, 36 and Nuwairi, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, II, 81 (explaining that "often bloodshed is the result of revealing a secret"); Usāmah, 241.

<sup>57</sup> *Musre*, *ib.*, 83; *IAU*, 48. See Arabic text.

<sup>58</sup> *L. c.*, *ib.*, 84 (second half).

<sup>59</sup> *Ib.*, (first half); *Boc.* *ib.*

<sup>60</sup> See note 50.

<sup>61</sup> This saying is credited to 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ by ibn Ḳutaiba, (*'Uyūn*, I, 40), ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (*'Ikd*, I 36), and Nuwairi (*Nihāyat al-Arab*, II, 81). Cf. also *Mibḥar*, 319, Naḥmias ad Prov. 11.13, and *Boc.* 187 note f.

<sup>62</sup> The relation of this sentence to the first is not clear. It is evidently an unsuccessful paraphrase of the statement in the Arabic sources (cf. preceding note): "for I had a narrower heart than he when I entrusted it to him so that he disclosed it."

<sup>63</sup> See No. 77.

90. וקאל חפֿט אלסר מרוה ואדאעֿתה גֿדאלה. (סט)
91. וקאל חפֿטֿך לסרֿך אולֿיעֿ מן חפֿטֿ גירֿך לה.
92. וקאל אדא צאק צדרֿך בסרֿך פצדרֿ גירֿך אציקֿ בה.
93. וקיל מא צאק צדרֿ אחרֿ לסרֿ נפסהֿ אלא כאן בסרֿ גירה  
אציקֿ.
94. וקיל אדא צאק צדרֿ אלמרֿ ען סרֿ נפסהֿ פצדרֿ אלדיֿ  
יסתודעֿ אלסרֿ אציקֿ.
95. וקאל מן אסתעֿ עאֿ צדרהֿ לסרֿ נפסהֿ פהוֿ לסרֿ גירה  
אוסעֿ.
96. וקאל מן סעאדֿה עבֿ אלמרֿ עבֿ כתמאנהֿ לסרהֿ.
97. וקאל מן כתםֿ סרהֿ אנתבטֿ ומן אדאעֿ סרהֿ נדסֿ.
98. וקאל כאתםֿ סרהֿ מסתורֿ ומדיעֿ סרהֿ מהתוךֿ.
99. וקאל אדאעֿהֿ אלסרֿ סבבֿ לאראקהֿ אלדסֿ וכתמאןֿ אלסרֿ  
סבבֿ לחקןֿ אלדסֿ.
100. וקאל חפֿט אלסרֿ יגמעֿ חאלאתֿ מן אלכירֿ מנהאֿ חפֿטֿ  
אלאמאנהֿ וצמתֿ אללסאןֿ ואסבאלֿ אלסתרֿ ותגמילֿ אלאמורֿ עֿ)  
וקלהֿ אלגררֿ וסבבֿ לעלוֿ אלקדרֿ ויסלםֿ אנתמאעֿ אלאמרֿ.

גדאלה So MS.; Read (סט)

אוֹב; Freytag, I, 639; (ע)

אחסעֿ So MS.; Read (עא)

חמאם מרוֹה: Kalim, 53; Amthāl, 159; Asrār, 115; חמאם אסאנהֿ אלרזל (עב-עב  
אלרזל.

(ענ) From margin.

90. He said: Keeping a secret is a virtue, and revealing it is folly.<sup>64</sup>

91. He said: It is better to keep your own secret than to have another keep it.<sup>65</sup>

92. He said: If your heart is too small for your secret, the other person's heart is even smaller.<sup>66</sup>

93. He said: No man's heart is too narrow for his own secret but it be still narrower for another man's secret.<sup>67</sup>

94. He said: If a man's heart is too small for his secret, the heart of his confidant is even smaller.<sup>68</sup>

95. He said: He whose heart is wide enough for his own secret has even more space for the other man's secret.<sup>69</sup>

96. He said: Part of a man's good fortune is his concealment of his secret.<sup>70</sup>

97. He said: He who conceals his secret is content, and he who reveals it repents.<sup>71</sup>

98. He said: He who conceals his secret is covered, but he who reveals it is disrobed.

99. He said: Disclosure of a secret causes the shedding of blood<sup>72</sup> and the concealment of a secret prevents it.

100. He said: Keeping a secret comprises several virtues, to wit: maintenance of loyalty, silence of the tongue, propriety, correct action, reduction of peril, and an increase of dignity. It assures the achievement of understanding.

<sup>64</sup> This is credited to Plato in Diez, *Merkwürdigkeiten aus Asien*, I, 82. Cf. *Boc.*, 223 and Freytag, II, 171 and III, 2590-2593.

<sup>65</sup> *Musre*, II, n, 85; *IM*, 74; Freytag, III, 639.

<sup>66</sup> *Boc.*, 187; *IAU*, 48.

<sup>67</sup> *Boc.*, 166.

<sup>68</sup> This is a line from a longer poem by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah al-'Utbi (cf. *Hamāsa* (ed. Miṣr), I, 451). See Maḥāsin, 33. It is quoted anonymously in *Jamharat*, 130 and '*Unwān al-Bayān*, 39. Cheikho, *Majānī-l-adab*, I, 44, cites it in the name of al-Fakhri.

<sup>69</sup> *Boc.*, ib.

<sup>70</sup> With a slight variant, this is ascribed to Plato in *Kalim*, 53; *Amthāl*, 159; *Asrār*, 115.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *Maḥāsin*, 31.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. *Boc.*, 322 (in Ptolemy's name).

101. וכאן מרקומא עלי' כסא סקראט אלכלמה אסירה פי ותאק אל קלב ע"ד) פאדא תכלם בהא צאר אל ע"ה) קלב אסירא ע"ה) פי ותאקהא.

102. וקאל בטלמיוס קלוב אלאחראר ע"י) חצון ע"י) אלאסדאר.

103. וקיל מן כתם סרה כאן אלכירה ע"ה) בידה.

104. וקיל מן ארב פלאספּה אלגן ציע מן אסתודע אל אחמק.

105. וקאל אפלאטון אלעאקל לא יכדב פי מקאלה. f. 23a

106. וקאל עאקבה אלכדב אללוס ופי אלצדק אלסלאמה.

107. וקאל גירנא אלמאית ואלכדאב ואחר ע"י) -לאן פצילה

אלחי אלנטק פאדא לס יותק בכלאמה פ"י) בטלת חיאמה.

אלרול: 115, III, *Majāni al-adab* (עד

*Ib.*: Wanting. (ע"ה-ע"ה)

(המסכילים: 58, בהמורה) אלעקלא- 86, *Mut.* (ע)

קבור: 2527, III, *Freytag* (ע)

כאנח אלכירה. 31, *Mahāsīn*, 5, III, *Nihāyat*, 8; *Ijāz*, 36; *Ikd.*, I, 625; *Ib.*, אלכזיאר (ע)

14, בהמורה; 27, *Husri*; 2631, III, *Freyt.*, טוא- (ע)

*Ib.*, פקר + פ)

101. The following was embroidered on Socrates' garment: The word is confined within the heart's prison, but when it has been spoken the heart is confined within its prison.<sup>73</sup>

102. Ptolemy said: The hearts of the noble are the castles of the secrets.<sup>74</sup>

103. It has been said: When a man conceals his secret he retains the choice.<sup>75</sup>

104. One of the epigrams of the Stoics is: The loss of one who intrusts [a secret] is the stupidest.

105. Plato said: The intelligent person does not lie when he speaks.

106. He said: The consequence of lying is condemnation, but in truthfulness one finds security.<sup>76</sup>

107. A member of another religion said: The dead and the lying persons are alike, for the virtue of the living being is speech, and when a person's speech cannot be relied upon his life is reduced to nothing.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *Boc.* 184, and *Majānī*, III, 115; the same saying is in relation to a secret in *Majānī*, I, 44 and *Usāma* 239 (in the name of 'Ali), *Mibḥar*, 321, and *Nah-mias*, ib. David b. Abraham Maimonides in his Judeo-Arabic commentary on Pirkē Aboth (ed. נא אמן, 1901), quotes this saying in Hebrew in the name of רבוותיו ע"ה and translates it into Arabic (24a).

<sup>74</sup> *Musre*, II, א', 38; Freytag, III, 2527; *Boc.*, 318 (reading buenos, perhaps by misreading \**el-aḥsān* for *el-aḥrār*); *IMu*, 86 & בהט"ה 58: el'uḳalā' = המטכילים.

<sup>75</sup> This saying is given in Muḥammad's name in *Mahāsīn*, 31; in 'Omar's name, in Freytag, III, 625, 'Ijāz, 8, Nuwairi, *Nihāyat-al-Arab*, III, 5; Sha-brāwī, 'Unwān *al-Bayān*, 38, Usāma, 12; in 'Ali's name in *Nahj al-Balāgha*, II, 96; in Mu'āwīya's name in Balādhuri (translated by G. Levi della Vida, *Moawīya*, No. 37). It is credited to 'Utba b. abu Sufyān, in an anecdote involving his son Walīd (governor of Medina in 57 and 61 A. H.) by 'Uyūn, I, 40 and *Ikd*, I, 36. In Balādhuri and 'Uyūn the saying is expanded to read: but when one reveals his secret the choice passes to others (lit. against him). In this longer form, it is again cited by Usāma in the name of an 'Adīb. Merkle, 40, cites it in the name of Maharārīs (cf. ib., 9-10), in his additions to *Musre*.

<sup>76</sup> *Musre*, II, טו, 24 (אנינוס).

<sup>77</sup> Al-Ḥusri, *Zahr al-Adab*, II, 27; Freytag, III, 2631; בהט"ה, 14; *IM*, 39; המטכוב והמט שויב.

108. וקאלו אלכדאב לץ פאן פא) אללץ יסרק מאלך ואל כדאב יסרק עקלך.

109. וקאלוא לא תאמן מן כדב פב) לך אן יכדב עליך.

110. וקאלוא עלאמה אלכדב פג) גודה באלימין לגיר מתחלף. פג) f. 23b

111. וקאלוא אנתנב מצאחבה אלכדאב ואן פד) אצטררת פה) פלא תצדקה ולא תעלמה באנך פי) תכדבה פינתקל ען ודה ולא ינתקל ען טבעה ויעתרי פי) חדית אלכדאב מן אלאכתלאף מא פח) יעתרי אלגבאן ענד אלחרב מן אל ארעעאר.

112. וקאלוא לא פח) תצח לכאדב פט) רויה לאנה יכפר ען נפסה פי אליקטה במא לם יר' פתריה פי אלנום מא לא יכון.

113. וקאלוא צ) עגב צ) מן אלכדאב אלמשיד בכדבה ואנמא יזל אלנאס צא) עלי עיבה ויתערץ אל צא) עקאב מן רבה צא) פאלאתאם לה עאדה ואל אכבאר ענה מתצאדה אן קאל חקא לם יצדק ואן קאל צא) כירא לם יופק פהו אל גאני עלי נפסה באפעאלה צא) אלדאל עלי פציחתה במקאלתה פמא צח מן צדקה נסב אלי גירה ומא צח מן כדב גירה נסב אליה.

לאן: Husri, ib.: פאן) פט)

כאדב: Ib.: פב)

אלכדאב: Ib. and Mut., 74: פג)

מסחחלף: Ib. and Mut., 74: פד)

פאן: Ib.: פה)

אליה +: Ib.: פי)

אנך: Ib.: פו)

יעתרי: Ib.: פז)

לא +: So MS. and Mut., 83; Husri, 28: פח)

תכאד +: Mut., 80: פח\*)

ללכדאב: Mut. & Husri, ib.: פט)

וקאל אעראבי לאבנה וסטעה יכדב יא בני ענב: Ib.: צ-צ)

wanting: Ib.: צא)

ללעקאב: Ib.: צא-צא\*)

ארעד: Ib.: צא\*)

בפעאלה: Ib.: צא\*)

108. They said: The liar is a thief, for the thief steals your wealth and the liar steals your understanding.<sup>78</sup>

109. They said: Have no faith in one who lies to you, for he will lie about you.<sup>79</sup>

110. They said: The mark of the liar is his readiness to swear when he is not asked to.<sup>80</sup>

111. They said: Avoid the company of the liar; if you are compelled to be with him do not believe him. Do not, however, inform him that you think him a liar, for he will give up his friendship but not his nature.<sup>81</sup> The tale of the liar cannot be stripped of contradictions anymore than the coward of his fear on the field of battle.<sup>82</sup>

112. They said: A liar's dream cannot be true, for, while awake he relates out of his head what he did not see, and that makes him see in his sleep what will not happen.<sup>83</sup>

113. They<sup>84</sup> said: One wonders at the liar who is made conspicuous by his lie. For he only directs the attention of people to his defect and exposes himself to punishment from God. His sins are habitual, and stories told in his authority are mutually contradictory. When he tells the truth no one believes him, and when he suggests something useful no one agrees. He thus injures himself with his actions, and points to his shame with his statements, what is true in his words is credited to another, and another's lie is blamed on him.

<sup>78</sup> Al-Ḥuṣṣri, *l. c.*, 28 (in the name of al-Hasan b. Sahl); בהמרהו, *ib.*; *IM*, *ib.*: המכוכ נוב.

<sup>79</sup> Al-Ḥuṣṣri, *ib.*; *Boc.*, 339 (Luḳmān); 'Ījāz, 12 (in the name of "Aḫḳur, one of the kings of the Ṭaifas"); Freytag, III, 114.

<sup>80</sup> Mu'tazz, 74; al-Ḥuṣṣri, *ib.*

<sup>81</sup> Mu'tazz, 76; al-Ḥuṣṣri, *ib.*; Shabrāwi, 'Unwān al-Bayān, 38; *Musre*, II, ב', 18 (in name of Luḳmān).

<sup>82</sup> Mu'tazz, 83; al-Ḥuṣṣri, *ib.*

<sup>83</sup> Mu'tazz, 80; al-Ḥuṣṣri, *ib.*

<sup>84</sup> Al-Ḥuṣṣri, *ib.*, relates this statement as an anecdote: When a Beduin heard his son lying, he said: O, son, I wonder . . .

114. פהו כמא קאל אלשאער חסב אלכדוב מן אלמהאנה צב)  
בעץ מא יחכי עליה  
מן אן סמעת בכדבה מן גירה נסבת אליה.
115. וקאל מא אסרע כיאנה אלדניא למן אתמנהא ואקלאבהא  
למן אטמאן אליהא. f. 30b
116. וקאל מא אנהל מן אטמאן אלי אלדניא והו ירִי תצרמהא  
ען מן תקדמה פיהא.
117. וקאל מא אגפל מן תיקן באלרחיל ען אלדניא והו דאים  
מנתהר פי עמארטהא.
118. וקאל חק עלי אלעאקל אן לא יגִר פי עמארֶה שי יתרכה  
לגירה וחק עלי אלעאקל אן לא תסכן נפסה אלי מא ראִי מן קלה  
בקאיהא עלי גירה.
119. וקאל מן טֶן אן אלדניא באקיה עליה פקד אטמע פי  
נפסה פי מא לא יצח.
120. וקאל אקלוא צב) אלקניה תקל המומכם צד) ותשיב  
נפוסכם.
121. וקאל לכל עמל צה) תמרה ותמרה קלה אלקניה  
אלראחה צב) וטיב אלנפס. צי)
122. וקאל מן אקל אלקניה לם יכון לה חאסר ולם יכון לה  
אלדהר מנאר.
123. וקאל אלדניא כנאר מצרמה עלי מחנה פאן צב) אקתבם  
מנהא מא יסתצי בה פי טריקה סלם מן שרהא ומן גלם  
ליסתחרר צח) מנהא אצאבה צט) חרהא. צט)

צב) *ib.*; *Maḥāsīn*, 42; 1 Kut., II, 28.

צג) *IAU*, 49; קללוא.

צד) *Ib.*: מצאיבכם. Remainder of sentence wanting *ib.*; בהמרה; 8; *IM*, 53.

צה) *IAU*, 47; שי; *Boc.* 169: cosa.

צו-צז) *Ib.*: אלנפס אלזביה.

צח) *IAU*, *ib.*: פטן.

צט) *Ib.*: ליחחקר.

צפ-צש) *Ib.*: אחרקה בחרהא.



114. It is as the poet stated:

There is sufficient disgrace for the liar in some of the  
slander to which he is subject.

That if someone hears a lie from another it is attributed  
to him.<sup>85</sup>

115. He said: How quickly the perfidy of the world appears  
to one who confides in it, and its reversals to one who relies  
upon it.

116. He said: How foolish is the man who relies upon the  
world, although he sees that it was snatched away from the  
one who preceded him in it.

117. He said: How heedless is he who is certain of his depart-  
ure from the world yet steadily exerts himself in cultivating  
it.<sup>86</sup>

118. He said: The intelligent person must not exert himself  
in acquiring something which he will leave to another, and he  
must not trust in something which he has observed to be fleeting  
in [the lives] of others.

119. He said: He who thinks that the world will endure for  
him covets something which is not real.

120. He said: Possess little property, so your cares will be  
reduced and you will be content.<sup>87</sup>

121. He said: Every act bears fruit. The fruit of little property  
is comfort and contentment.<sup>88</sup>

122. He said: He who possesses little property has none to  
envy him and he does not find his final destiny remote.

123. He said: The world is like a fire burning on a thoroughfare.  
He who takes enough of it to have his road lighted escapes its  
evil, but he who sits down to warm up by it is smitten by its  
heat.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>85</sup> 'Uyūn, II, 28; Maḥāsīn, 46; Al-Ḥuṣṣri, 29.

<sup>86</sup> Boc., 169.

<sup>87</sup> IAU, 49; IM, 53; בהמורה, 8; Moses b. Ezra, שירת ישראל, 86; Naḥmias ad Prov. 23.4. cf. al-Ḳīndī (ed. Walzer), ix, 1. 25 (p. 41).

<sup>88</sup> Boc., 169; IAU, 47; IM, 53; שירת ישראל, 85; Miḥbar, 170.

<sup>89</sup> Boc., ib.; IAU, ib.

124. וקאל מן אהתם באלדניא ציע נפסה ומן אהתם בנפסה  
זהד פי אלדניא.

125. וקאל מן כאנת אלדניא המה כתר תעבה ומן כאנת  
אלאכריִ טלבה אסתראח קלבה וינאל מא יסרה.

126. וקאל מן טלב אלדניא לם יכון לה בד מן כלתין יהסד  
מן פוקה ויחסדה מן דונה.

127. וקאל מן טלב מא יחסד עליה עאדאה מן כאן יטלב  
מתל טלבה ומן עאדאה אלרנאל כאן גִדירא בשרה אלצבר מנה.

128. וקאל מן זהד פי אלדניא אחבה אהלהא ומן רגב פי  
אלאכרי נאלה כירהא ווגד חסן עאקבתהא.

129. וקאל טאלב אלדניא אן נאל מא אמלה תרכה ק) ואן לם,  
ינאל מא אמל קא) בגצתה.

130. וקאל מן טאלב אלדניא מבגוץ מחסוד ותארך אלדניא  
מחבוב מגבוט.

131. וקאל אלדניא מתל אלגיפה אלמיתה מן קל תנאולה  
מנהא כתר סלאמתה מן צררהא ומן אכתר מנהא עאדת עליה  
סו עאקבתהא.

132. וקאל אלדניא מעבר לגירהא פמן אסתעד זאר ספרה  
אמן פי אלמפאוז אלתי יכאף מנהא גירה ומן קצר פי אסתעדאדה  
זאדה קטע בה פי טריקה וענו ען אללחק במן סבקה.

133. וקאל איצא סקראט ינבגי ללעאקל ישיר מוצעא ידום f. 31a  
פיה מקאמה ויקל אכתראתה במוצע ידכל מנה אלי גירה.

לנידה + : 48, IAU, p)

אמלה מאח : Ib., p)



134. וקאל מן אכד מן אלדניא פוק אלבלגה פקד אכד מא  
ליס לה פיה מנפעה ומן אכד מנהא מקדאר אל כפאיה כאן דלך  
סבבא אלי אלסלאמה.

135. וקאל ליס מן קב) טאלב ק) אלדניא מן קד) אכד קד) אלקות  
מנהא ואנמא טאלבהא קה) אלמחתכרון מן חטאמהא.

136. וקאל לתלאמידה יומא לא תשנלוא אנפסכם פי אל דניא  
באל אקבאל עלי עמאר׳ אלדניא אלדני׳ וכונוא מתל אלטאיר  
פי ןו אלסמא תגרו מן אוכארהא ליס להא הם גיר תחציל  
אטעמתהא פאדא חצלתה עאדת אלי אוכארהא לא תהתם באכתר  
מן שבעהא וכונוא מתל אלוחש אלתי תנחדר מן אוטאנהא ורווס  
גבאלהא פאדא מלת בטונהא עאדת אלי כהופהא לא ק) תורע ולא  
תחצר בל תעלם אן כאלקהא כלק רזקהא. ק)

137. וקאל מא אנפל מן תיקן בזואל שי פעמרה ומא אעגו מן  
איקן בדואם שי פנפל ענה.

138. וקאל עמאר׳ אלאכר׳ אלראחה פי אלדניא ואל נעמה  
פי אלאכר׳ ועמאר׳ אלדניא אלחעב פיהא ואל שקא בעד  
מפארקתהא.

139. וקאל מן צדק בפנא אלדניא זהד פיהא ומן צדק פי יקינה  
בבקא אלאכר׳ רגב פיהא.

140. וקאל מן עקל זואל אלדניא ען גירה הגר אל רגבה פיהא.

141. וקאל מן קנע באלקות אסתגני ען אלאחתכאר ומן לם  
יחתכר קלה מכאלבתה עליהא.

Wanting in *Kalim*, 31 and *Amthāl*, 148.

טלאב: *Ib.*: ק)

אלדין יאכדון: *Ib.*: (קד-קד)

טלאבהא: *Ib.*: קה)

*Boc.*, 170: Wanting. (קו-קו)

134. He said: He who takes from this world more than his means of subsistence takes what is of no use to him, but he who takes an adequate measure has reason to feel secure.<sup>97</sup>

135. He said: The man who takes victuals from this world is not one of its seekers. But those are its seekers who monopolize some of its vanities.<sup>98</sup>

136. One day he said to his disciples: While in this world do not engage yourselves in undertaking the cultivation of this lower world. Behave like the birds in the air who fly from their nests in the morning having no care other than procuring their food. When they have obtained it, they return to their nests without worrying about more than filling themselves. Or behave like the beasts who descend from their lairs and their mountains, and when their bellies are full they return to their dens. They neither sow nor reap, for they know that their Creator has provided for their sustenance.<sup>99</sup>

137. He said: How heedless is he who is certain of the passing of something yet cultivates it, and how weak is he who is certain of the endurance of something yet neglects it.

138. He said: Pursuit of the world-to-come makes for rest in this world and delight in the next, but striving after this world causes weariness in it and distress after departing from it.<sup>100</sup>

139. He said: He who is sure of the passing of this world abstains from it, and he who acts according to his conviction of the endurance of the world-to-come covets it.

140. He said: He who understands the passing of the world for others shuns all desire of it.

141. He said: He who is content with victuals is free from greed, and he who is not greedy finds it easy to hate this world.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>97</sup> *Boc.*, 170; *Mibḥar*, 155: שירת ישראל; מי שמבקש יוחר מצרכו טורד נפשו מחועלתו; 86, combining our Nos. 151 and first half of this.

<sup>98</sup> *Kalim*, 31 and *Amthāl*, 148 (in Plato's name). Cf. Mawerdi, *Adab al-Dunya wal-Dīn*, 96, in Muḥammad's name: פליס טלב אל מעאש מן טלב אלרניא and other sayings.

<sup>99</sup> *Boc.*, 170, up to "their dens."

<sup>100</sup> Cf. *l. c.*, 166.

<sup>101</sup> *L. c.*, 130; Cf. אלוהים (6, עוב אל-ענאב) מן קנע ברזקהו אסתנא.

142. וקאל חקאָ עלי אלעאקל אן ינתנם אוקאתה פי אלדניא  
באחד חאלין אמא בסבב יתמר נעם פי אל אכרי או בסבב יתמר  
חמרא פי אל עאגלה.
143. וקאל מא אעליִ חט מן באע אלפאני באלבאקי ואלעאגלה  
באלאכריִ ומא אבכס חט מן באע אלבאקי באלפאני ואלאכריִ  
באלעאגלה.
144. וקאל מן כמל עקלה אסתגנם פי אלדניא וקתה ועמל  
פיהא מא יחסן אלחנא עליה מן בעד ופאתה ומא יטיב אלחמרה  
פי אכרתה.
145. וקאל מן אסרקחה לדה פאניה כאן גריראִ יקוֹ אן יחרם  
לדה באקיה.
146. וקאל מא אבין אנתקאל אלדניא ען אהלהא ואסרע  
זואלהא.
147. וקאל תנקל אלדניא דליל ללעאקל אן לא ירגב פיהא  
ולא יסכן אליהא.
148. וקאל אלמיל אליִ אלדניא עגוֹ ואלתכאלב עליהא גהל.
149. וקאל מא ארני אלסלאמה למן תרך אלדניא ומא אקרב  
אלנדאמה ממן טלבהא.
150. וקאל טאלב אלדניא לא יכלו מן אלחון פי חאלין חונאִ  
עליִ מא פאתה כיה לם ינאלה וחונאִ עליִ מא נאלה כיה יכאף  
f. 31b סלבה ואן אמן סלבה איקן בתרכה לגירה בעד מותה פהו מנצוין  
פי גמיע אחואלה.
151. וקאל יכפִ אלעאקל מן אלדניא כסרה יבלג בהא קותאִ  
וכרקה יסתר בהא גסמאִ ושרבה יברד בהא צמא.

142. He said: The intelligent person must employ his time in this world in one of two ways; either in a manner which will produce delights in the world-to-come, or in a manner which will win praise in the present world.<sup>102</sup>

143. He said: How glorious is the share of him who sells the transitory for the enduring and the present for the future, and how bad is the fortune of him who sells the permanent for the transitory and the future for the present.<sup>103</sup>

144. He said: He whose intelligence is mature employs his time and acts in this world in such a way that he will be generously eulogized after his death and will enjoy a good reward in the future world.

145. He said: He who is beguiled by a fleeting pleasure is very likely to be deprived of an enduring pleasure.

146. He said: How obvious the departure of this world from its clients is and how quickly it ceases.

147. He said: The departure of this world is an indication to the intelligent person that he is not to covet it nor to put his trust in it.<sup>104</sup>

148. He said: To be attracted by this world is weakness and to struggle for it is foolishness.<sup>105</sup>

149. He said: How attainable peace of mind is to one who has forsaken this world, and how close regret is to one who seeks it.

150. He said: He who seeks this world will not escape grief in two cases: grief over what he missed, because he did not procure it, and grief over what he procured because he fears its loss. If he is fortunate enough not to lose it, he is certain that he will leave it to another. He is thus overwhelmed by sorrow under all circumstances.<sup>106</sup>

151. He said: The intelligent person is satisfied with the gift from this world of a slice of bread to serve him as food, tatters to cover his body, and a drink to quench his thirst.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>102</sup> *Boc.*, 171.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. *Mibḥar*, 529; *Boc.*, 327 (in name of Loḳmān); Rāzī, "al-Sīrat al-Falsafīyya" in *Orientalia* (N. S.), iv, 312; *Aḥāsīn*, 150.

<sup>104</sup> *Musre*, III, π, 5, in the name of a philosopher.

<sup>105</sup> *L. c.*, II, 8, 92. Cf. Freytag, III, 639, in the name of 'Alī.

<sup>106</sup> *Boc.*, 179.

<sup>107</sup> Moses b. Ezra, שירת ישראל, 86.

152. וקאל לתלמידה יא בני אקנע מן אלדניא במא בלגך  
 וקתך קי) מן אלמאכול ואכתף במא כסר צמאך מן אל משרוב  
 וארץ במא יסחרך מן אלמלבס ואסתגן קי) במא יכנך מן  
 אלביות קי) וכן כאדם נפסך תהדי ותסתגני ען מדארתיך לגירך  
 ואנעל קי) בקלבך צל אלארץ מהארך ואל קמר ואלנגום  
 סראגך קי) ואלעלם טלבתיך ודאבך ותעלם אלחכמה שאנך תכון  
 אפצל זמאנך ותלחק קי) במן תקדם מן מחמודי אכואנך קי) ואיאך  
 ואלפך אלמנצוב עלי אל ארץ מן אלרגאל ללנסא פאנה מפסד  
 ללחכמה מגיר קי) ללפלספה מהלך ללמחנה קי) מסקט ללר'תבה  
 מורת קי) ללבנצה מודי אלי נקץ אלהמה. קי)

153. וקאל אלדניא תרפע אלוציע ותצע אלרפיע.

154. וקאל ענבא למן ערף אלדניא ותקלבהא ען אהלהא כיה  
 יחרץ עליהא.

155. וקאל חקא עלי מן ערף קלה ופא אלדניא אן יהגרהא  
 וחקא עלי מן ערף תמרה אלזהד פיהא אן יתרכהא לאהלהא.

156. וקאל אלדניא לדה סאעה יתבעהא חונא טוילא ואלאכרי  
 צברא קלילא וסרורא טוילא.

157. וקאל אלדניא חלוח תעקב מרארה ואלאכרי מרה תעקב  
 חלאוה.

קי) So MS. Read: קותך.  
 קי-ק) Boc. 179: wanting.  
 קט-קט) Ib.: Wanting.  
 קי-קי) Ib.: Wanting.  
 קיא-קיא) Ib.: Wanting.  
 קיב-קיב) Ib.: Wanting.



152. He said to his disciple: My son, be content in this world with food sufficient to feed you; be satisfied with drink sufficient to slake your thirst; be pleased with a cloak which covers you, and get along with a house which shelters you. Be the servant of your soul; you will be guided and will be relieved of taking care of others. Make the shade of the earth your bed, the moon and stars your light, knowledge your quest and occupation, and the acquisition of wisdom your trade. You will be the most excellent of your generation, and will join the company of your praiseworthy fellow-men who preceded you. Beware of the trap which the women set up for the men on this earth, for it spoils wisdom, corrupts philosophy, demolishes the highway, lowers the rank, bequeathes hatred, and brings about a destruction of the mind.<sup>108</sup>

153. He said: This world raises the humble and humbles the noble.<sup>109</sup>

154. He said: One wonders how a person who knows this world and its fickleness towards its clients can covet it.<sup>110</sup>

155. He said: He who knows how rarely the world lives up to its promises must shun it, and he who is aware of the reward of abstaining from it must leave it to its clients.<sup>111</sup>

156. He said: This world is a pleasure of an hour which is followed by a prolonged grief and the world-to-come is a brief period of pain and a long period of joy.<sup>112</sup>

157. He said: This world is sweetness followed by bitterness, and the world-to-come is bitterness followed by sweetness.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>108</sup> *Boc.*, 179, minus the following phrases: "and get along . . . shelters you"; "make . . . your light"; "and will join . . . preceded you"; "bequeathes . . . . mind."

<sup>109</sup> ובאמת המסילו בעלי החירות והמשלים הוּסַן הרע עם בני הנבלים בדמותם: 26, בהמורה"ג. אותם למאונים אשר ירימו החסרים וישפילו השלמים היתרים.

<sup>110</sup> *IAU*, 47. cf. *Musre*, II, א, 97: וכאשר כן יאבירך, וכאשר: 97, *Boc.*, 165 (*IAU*, 47): so maravillado del que olvida por este mundo que ha fyn el otro mundo que non ha fyn.

<sup>111</sup> For the second half cf. *REJ*, XLV (1902), 300: . . . המבקש עולם הבא . . . ראו לי לבנות עולם הזה.

<sup>112</sup> *Boc.*, 171; *REJ*, *ib.*, 299: שמחת עולם הזה ואחריתה תונה: *IM*, 57.

<sup>113</sup> *Nahj al-Balāgha*, II, 103; *Amthāl*, 145 (in name of Plato).

158. וקאל מן לם יִכֶן מן אלדניא חדרָאָּ פּהו גִרירָאָּ יִקִיב) באלסקוט פי אפאתהא ומן חדרהא כאן גִרירָאָּ יִקִיב) באל סלאמה.
159. וקאל מן אחב נפסה כֶרֶה אלדניא ומן קִיב) אבגץ נפסה אחב אלדניא. קִיב)
160. וקאל אן קִיב) טאלב אלדניא כראכב אלבחר אן סלם קיל מכאטר. ואן עטב קיל מגרר. קטו)
161. וקאל טאלב אלדניא קציר אלעמר כתיה אלפכר מגוץ קטו) אלצדר. קטו)
162. וקאל טאלב אלדניא כנאטר אלסראב יחסבה סבבָּאָּ להא פיתעב נפסה פי טלבה פאדא גָּאה כאב טָנה ופאתה אמלה ובקא בעטשה ודאמַתְּ חצרתה.
163. וקאל עמר אלאנסאן פי אלדניא מתל אלפי אלדי לא חקיקה לה יזול ען מוצעה אלי גִירה פאדא קִיב) אלתמסה לם יגד שִיָּאָּ קִיב)
164. וקאל אלאנסאן מְעֵדב פי אלדניא בגמיע אחואלה גִיר באקי עליה מא יסיר אליה מן אסבאבהא קליל אל תהניה במא יגד מן מלאדהא דאים אלגָּצִץ במפארקה אחבאבה פיהא.
165. וקאל מחב אלדניא צִמְתָּהָּ קִיב) אלאסמאע ען אלחכמה וְעִמְתָּהָּ קִיב) ען נור אלבצירה.
166. וקאל חב אלדניא סבב לתלף אלמהג וסבבָּאָּ אלי אראקה אלדמא.
167. וקאל חב אלדניא יורת אלצנאין ויזרע קִיב) אלאחקאר וימכן אלשר קִיב) וימנע מן אלבר.

<sup>a</sup> See note 1קו) יִקִיב)

Wanting in *Musre* II, א, 30; *Boc.*, 169; *Mibḥar*, 506.

קִיב) Wanting in *Amihāl*, 148.

*Ib.*: טרוד. קטו)

Wanting in *Boc.*, 179 and *IAU*, 48. (קטו-קטו)

*Boc.*, 180: Wanting. (קִיב-קִיב)

*Kalim*, 31 and *Amihāl*, 148: נפס. (קִיב)

*Ib.*: ועמיה. (קִיט)

*Boc.*, 180: Wanting. (קִיב-קִיב)

158. He said: He who does not beware of this world is sure to be tried by its misfortunes, and he who guards against it will surely be safe.<sup>114</sup>

159. He said: He who loves his soul hates this world, and he who abhors his soul loves this world.<sup>115</sup>

160. He said: He who seeks this world is like a sea-farer. If he returns safely, he is called an adventurer, but if he perishes, he is called a dupe.<sup>116</sup>

161. He said: He who seeks this world has a short life, much care, and a grieving heart.<sup>117</sup>

162. He said: He who seeks this world is like one looking at a mirage. Thinking it is water, he exhausts himself in search of it. But when he comes to it his expectation fails and his hope is blasted, while his thirst continues and his anguish endures.<sup>118</sup>

163. He said: Man's life in this world is like a shadow which has no reality. It retires from one place to another, and when one seizes it one finds nothing.<sup>119</sup>

164. He said: Man suffers in this world in all his states. Nothing of what he strives for remains with him permanently; he derives but little satisfaction from its acquired pleasures; and he is always mourning the departure from it of his beloved ones.<sup>120</sup>

165. He said: The ears of the lover of this world are deaf to wisdom and [his eyes] are blind to the light of intelligence.<sup>121</sup>

166. He said: The love of this world causes the loss of life and the shedding of blood.

167. He said: The love of this world engenders rancor, sows meanness, makes evil possible, and hinders acts of piety.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Cf. *Boc.*, 169.

<sup>115</sup> For the first half see *Musre*, II, א, 30; *Boc.*, ib.; *Mibhar*, 506; *Ījāz*, 9; *Nahj al-Balāgha*, II, 128 (in name of 'Ali).

<sup>116</sup> *Boc.*, 179-180; *Kalim*, 31, and *Amthāl*, 148 (in the name of Plato).

<sup>117</sup> *Boc.*, 179 and *IAU*, 48 (the last phrase is missing in both.).

<sup>118</sup> *Boc.*, 180.

<sup>119</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>120</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>121</sup> *Ib.*; *Kalim*, 31 and *Amthāl*, 148 (in name of Plato). Cf. the saying ascribed to Muḥammad: חבך אלשי יעסי ייצם (your love of something blinds and deafens [you]), *Jamhara*, 92, and Usāma, *Lubab al-Ādāb*, 331.

<sup>122</sup> *Boc.*, 180 (omits the two middle consequences).

168. וקאל מא אצדק נציחה אל דניא למן טלבהא כיה יבין לה סו גאילתהא וסרעה זואלהא ותפרקהא באהלהא ותקלבהא באלרוזאיר עדי מחביהא פאלקאבל לו עקלהא עאקל ואלתארך ללקבול מנהא עאמל. (קד)
169. וקאל מן זעם אן אלדניא תכפי עיבה פקד כדב עליהא למא ירי פי אלשהאר עליהא מן גירעה (קד) ויעאין מן תצרמהא.
170. וקאל מא אכתר חביין אלדניא ען עואדהא ומא אקל אלקאבלין מנהא.
171. וקאל אלדניא תנצח תארכהא ותעין טאלבהא פנציחתהא לתארכהא מן (קד) תריה מן תגירעה באהלהא ועונהא לטאלביהא מא תדיקה מן לדה סאעתהא תם תעקבה במרארה טעמהא.
172. (וקאל קבא) רגל קבא) לסקראט מא ראיך קב) קט מגמומא קאל קב) לה קב) ליס לי שי מת' צאע מני ועדמתה אנממת עליה. (קד)
173. פקאל לה בעץ אלספסטאניון קבה) פאן אנכסר אלגב קבו) וכאן לה גבא יכנה מן אחר ואל ברר פקאל לה אן אנכסר אלם קבו) ינכסר אל מכאן.
174. וקאל לה אבן אלמלך אני למנמוס בך קאל לה ולם קאל לה למא ראי' מן שרת פקרך. קאל לה סקראט לו עלמת אלפקר מא הו לשגלך גמך בנפסך ען גמך בי.

Read (קד) (?). נאמל (קד)

גירעה Read (קד)

מא Read (קד)

וקיל: 48: IAU (קבא-קבא)

רמינאך: Ib. (קב)

פקאל: Ib. (קב-קב)

קיל לה מא באלך לא חזון קאל לאני לא אקתני מא: Kindi (ed. Walzer), 40: (קב)

וקיל לה כיה לא נרי אחר חזון פיד קאל לא אמלך מן: Kalim, 79: אדא פקדחה חונה עליה

וקד קיל לסקראט לס לס נר עליך אחר: Islāh al-aḥlāk, 33: אלדניא שיא אן ערמתה אחונני

הם קט פקאל אנה לס אמלך שיא וערמתה פאחונני

אלקתאנין: Kindi, 41: (קב)

So Ms. Read: אלהב. The mistake is the result of transcribing Arabic into Hebrew characters.

לם Read (קב)

168. He said: How obvious the admonition of this world is to one who seeks it. How clearly it shows its evil misfortunes, its rapid passing, its abandonment of its clients and its regular betrayal of its lovers. He who accepts its advice is wise, and he who fails to accept it is careless.

169. He said: He who believes that the world will satisfy his vices lies about it, for he sees the evidence regarding it which others give, and observes its passing.

170. He said: How much this world admonishes its visitors, and how few of them heed it.

171. He said: This world admonishes him who renounces it and assists him who seeks it. Its admonition consists in showing him how it changes [the fortunes] of its clients. Its assistance consists in allowing him to taste of a brief pleasure, after which it serves its bitter taste.<sup>123</sup>

172. A man said to Socrates: "I have never seen you sad." Socrates replied: "I own nothing which, if it perished and I were deprived of it, would make me feel sad."<sup>124</sup>

173. Then one of the Sophists said: "Suppose the barrel breaks?" (he had a barrel which provided him shelter against heat and cold). He replied: "If it breaks, its place will not break."<sup>125</sup>

174. The prince said to him: "I feel sad for you." Said Socrates: "Why?" The prince replied: "Because of your extreme poverty which I have noticed." Socrates answered: "If you knew what poverty was, you would be too busy feeling sorry for yourself to feel sorry for me."<sup>126</sup>

<sup>123</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>124</sup> *Musre*, II, א, 64; *Boc.*, 171; *IAU*, 48; *Mibhar*, 118; תקון מדות הנפש (ed. Wise), 33 (English: 82); *Kalim*, 79; Kindi, *l. c.*, 26; ibn Falaquera, צרי הינון (ed. Warsaw), 17; Budge, I.

<sup>125</sup> *Musre*, II, א, 65; Kindi. *ib.*; צרי הינון, *ib.*; Budge, II.

<sup>126</sup> *Musre*, II, א, 66; *Boc.*, 180-181 (the conversation is between Socrates and a nameless individual); *Mibhar*, 550; *IM*, 52 (the sage is not identified in the last two sources); Usāma, *l. c.*, 464; Budge, LVI.

175. ומן אדאב פלאספּהּ אלגן אלוהד פי אלדניא ראהה  
אלקלב.
176. וראי ארסטו רגלאּ מהמומאּ פקאל לה דע אלפכר פאנה  
ידעו אלי עטב אל דהן.
177. וקאל בטלמיוס אלמרץ חבס אלברדן ואלהם חבס  
אלרוח.
178. וקאל אבקראט ללקלב אפתאן והמא אלגם ואלהם  
פאלגם יערץ מנה אלגום ואלהם יערץ מנה אלסהר ודלך אן קכח)  
אלהם פיה פכר קכט) אלכוף ממא קל) יכון קל) פמנה יכון אלסהר  
ואלגם לא פכר פיה לאנה אנמא יכון במא קד מצא ואנקצא.
179. וקאל גא' אלהם פנא אלקלב ואל מרץ קל) גם קל)  
אלקלב קלא) ואלגם במא כאן ואלהם במא יכון.
180. וקאל איצא אלגם במא פאת ואלהם במא יאתי קלב)  
פאיאך ואלגם פאן אלגם דהאב אלחיאה אלא תרי מן קל) גם  
וגהה קל) תלאשי מן אלגם.
181. וקאל גא' פי נפי אלגם קד גרַת עליה מצאיב מן דהאב  
מאלה וחרק כתבה פי אלהיכל אלדי סקטת פיה אלנאר מע  
דכאיר ואלאת ודויה ומעאנן קל) כבאר כאן צנעהא פלם יגתם  
לדלך וחת עלי תרך אלגם ואסתעמאל אלראחה ללנפס ען אלגם  
ודלך ראי אלחכמא אלמתקדמין.

f. 33a

באן: *IA U*, 29; (קכח)

פי: + *Ib.*: (קכט)

במא סיכון: *Ib.*: (קל-קל)

Read with *IA U*, 88 and *Iṣlāḥ*, 34, ואלגם מרץ קל) (קל-קל)

*IA U* and *Iṣlāḥ*, ib. חס בין דלך פקאל (קלא)

הו אח: *IA U*, ib.: (קלב)

אן אלחי אדא גם וגהה: *Iṣlāḥ*, ib.; אן אלחי אדא גם וגהה: *Ib.*: (קל-קל)

מעאנין Read (קלג)

175. One of the aphorisms of the Stoics is: Abstinence from this world provides rest for the heart.<sup>127</sup>

176. Aristotle saw a preoccupied person and said to him: "Cease your reflecting, for it leads to a loss of reason."<sup>128</sup>

177. Ptolemy said: Sickness is the prison of the body, and worry is the prison of the mind.<sup>129</sup>

178. Hippocrates said: The heart suffers from two illnesses, to wit: grief and care. Now grief brings on sleep and care brings on sleeplessness. The reason is that care means thinking of the fear of what will happen, and this results in sleeplessness. But grief involves no reflection, since it results only from what has happened and is over.<sup>130</sup>

179. Galen said: Care is destruction of the heart and grief is sickness of the heart, for grief is about what has happened and care is regarding what will happen.<sup>131</sup>

180. He said further: Grief is about what has passed and care is regarding what will come. Beware of grief, for it causes loss of life. Note that when a person's face is overclouded he will perish of grief.<sup>132</sup>

181. In his *On Freedom from Worry*, Galen relates that several calamities befell him, such as the loss of his wealth, the burning, in the palace where the fire broke out, of his books as well as stores, vessels, and many medicines and pastes which he had prepared. Yet he did not grieve but urged [others] to dispel grief and to attain relief from it. This is the opinion of the ancient philosophers.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>127</sup> *Musre*, II, כ"א, 58 (anonymously).

<sup>128</sup> *L. c.*, II, ט"ז, 4.

<sup>129</sup> *L. c.*, II, ו, 17 (in name of Diogenes) and II, א, 12 (in name of Socrates, in inverted order); *IM*, 52 (inverted and anonymous); *Boc.*, 151 (Diogenes); *IMut*, 75; ענב אליעזר, 4.

<sup>130</sup> *Musre*, II, ח, 2; *Boc.*, 129; *IAU*, 29; Shahrastāni, *Al-Mīlāl wal-Niḥāl*, 282 (Haarbrücker, II, 116) in name of Socrates, not including the reason.

<sup>131</sup> *Musre*, II, ט, 8; *IAU*, 88; תקון סרור הנפש, 34 (Engl. 83).

<sup>132</sup> *Musre*, *ib.*; *Boc.*, 353, up to "what will come"; *IAU*, *ib.*; תקון סרור הנפש; *ib.*; Naḥmias ad Prov. 12.25.

<sup>133</sup> See *Introd.*, 63.

182. וחכ' ען אסטקיוס קלד) אנה כאנת לה ד' קריאת פערץ  
 עארץ דהבת מנה בסבבה ואחדה מנהן ובקית לה ג' פלקיה רגל  
 מן אהל קלה) מדינתה קלה) וגעל יטהר לה אנה קד אגתם מן  
 אגלה קלו) במא נאלה מן אלכסארה פצחך מנה קלו) קאל לה מא  
 באלך אנת באלאנתמאם לי ואנא לי ג' קריאת לים לך מתל ואחדה  
 מנהן ולא אכון אנא אלמגתם לך.

183. קאל גאלי' לקד אנאד פי דלך פאקול אנה לים ינבני  
 ללאנסאן אן ינטר אלי' מקדאר מא דהב בל ינטר אלי' מקדאר מא  
 בקי' ויתפכר ויכטר בבאלה אן אלדין ורתון קלה) ען אבאיהם ג' קרי'  
 לא יצברון ולא יחתמלון אן יכון קלט) ינטרון קומא להם תלאתון  
 קריה ואן צארת להם ל' קריה נטרוא אלי' קום אכר להם סבעון  
 קריה ואן צאר להם איצא מתל דלך מדוא אבצארהם אלי' קום  
 אכר להם אכתר מן מאיה קריה חתי' אדא תפאקס בהם אל אמר  
 אשתהאוא קס) והאקת אנפסהם אן יכון להם אכתר מן גמיע אלנאס  
 פיכונון לדלך דהרהם אנמע פקרא אלא אן שהותהם לא תנקצי  
 פאן לס ינטר אלאנסאן אלי' מבלג מא לגירה מן אלמאל וגעל נטרה  
 הל יקום מאלה בנפקאתה סהל דהב קס) מאלה מן אל פצל ודלך  
 אנה אן כאנת ללאנסאן קריה ואחדה ודהבת מנה פאנה יבקא  
 מסלובא מפלסא פהו לדלך אן אגתם כאן גמה באלחק.

184. וקאל גא' איצא פי מקאלתה פי נפי אלגם אן אבי כאן f. 33b  
 יסתכף באלאמור אלאנסאניה כלהא ויסתסנדהא קס) והדא אמר  
 קד ערץ לי פי כברי.

Read ארטיפוס קלד) The mistake can be readily accounted for in Arabic characters; אחר מהפילוסופים: 12, צרי הינון;

מאחביו: *Ib.*: (קלה-קלה)

וצר לו + *Ib.*: (קלו)

הפילוסוף ויתהל בו + *Ib.*: (קלו)

ירתון Read (קלח) ירתון Read (קלט)

So MS. (קס)

דהאב Read (קס)

יסתכרהא Read (קס) The error crept in in the transcription of Arabic to Hebrew.



182. It is told that Aristippus owned four villages. Some accident occurred because of which he lost one village, so that three remained. One of his fellow-townsmen, met him and began to manifest his grief over the loss which had befallen him. But Aristippus laughed and said: "Why do you grieve over me when I have three villages while you do not even own one like them? Ought not I to be the one to grieve over you?"<sup>134</sup>

183. Galen said: He spoke well, indeed. I declare that it does not behoove an intelligent person to reckon what he lost but what has remained.<sup>135</sup> He ought to reflect and consider in his mind that those who inherit three villages from their fathers do not stop and do not refrain from looking enviously at people who own thirty villages. If they have thirty, they look enviously at other people who own seventy, and if they also acquire seventy they turn their eyes to others who own more than a hundred, so that, as the matter gets out of hand, they long and strive to possess more than all people. As a result, they are poor all their life and their passions are not satisfied.<sup>136</sup> If, however, a man does not look at the other person's accumulation of wealth, and concentrates his attention on whether his wealth is adequate for his expenses, the loss of superfluous wealth is easy to bear. It follows that if a man owns one village and loses it, so that he remains stripped and penniless, his grief, if he grieves, is reasonable.

184. Galen also said in his treatise, *On Freedom from Worry*: My father was wont to make light of, and scoff at all human affairs, and this is an attitude which I acquired in my advanced age.

<sup>134</sup> Plutarch, *de Tranquillitate* (ed. Loeb), 469 (192-195); צרי הינון, 31-32.

<sup>135</sup> *Musre*, II, ב, 20; *Boc.*, 206; *IAU*, 53 (all in name of Plato); Usāma, *l. c.*, 441 (in name of Diogenes), and 464, (in name of Socrates); *IM*, 52, (anonymously). Cf. בהטור'הנ, 16; Rāzī, *Al-Ṭibb al-Rūḥānī*, 68.

<sup>136</sup> For parallels to this elaboration of the principle that מן שיש לו מנה רוצה, cf. Rāzī, *l. c.*, 26 and 85; Maimonides, *Guide*, III, ch. 12; and his son Abraham, *Kifāyat al-'Abidīn* (ed. Rosenblatt), 216

185. וקאל איצא אן אלדי יטן אנה סלב אמוראָ נסמיה גלילה  
 ילזמה אל אנתמאם ואלפכר אלדאימה ואמא אלדי יטן אנה אנמא  
 סלב אמוראָ כסיסה דניה פאנה ילבת גיר מגמום.

186. וקאל אן אלנטר פי טיב אלמטעם ואל משרב ואלגנייד  
 מן אלכסוה ואלנגמאע יצטר אלמדענין להא אלי אלחאנה אלי נמע  
 אלמאל אלכתייר פאנהם קמא) לא ישבעוא אכדוא אולא פי אל נחיב  
 ואלזפיר באלנהאר ואל ליל ומן בעד דלך אדא תפכרוא כיף  
 יסתמרון שהואתהם במא וקע פי אידיהם אצטרהם דלך אלי סהר  
 אלליל אנמע ואן הם לא יצלוא אלי דלך אנתחבוא ובכאוא קמא)  
 ואן וצלוא אליהם איצא לס ישבעוא ואשד מן האולא איצא מן  
 כאנת שהותה גיר מנקציה ודלך אן כתזרא מן אלנאס יענון  
 באלכראמה ואל מדחה ואלנגא ואלקוה ואלסלטאן ענאיה גיר  
 מעתדלה פמן אהב בעץ הדה חבאָ מפרטאָ אצטרה דלך אלי נאיה f. 34a  
 אלבחת פי אל עיש חתי לא יעלם אן ללנפס פצילה וינסא מא  
 פיהא מן אל שרור וינתם מע הדא אנתמאמא שדידא דאימא פאנה  
 לס יצל אלי מא קד נוואה ודלך לאן אלשהואת אלצעבה אל  
 מפרטה ליס ינקצי אלגרץ פי אלשהוה להא.

187. קאל בעץ אלחכמא אלמתקדמין מן איקן באלמות האנת  
 עליה אלרוזיא לאן אעטם אלרוזיא ואן גלת פהי אקל כטראָ מן  
 אלמות.

188. קאל אלשאער פתבסרוא צרע אלזוגאנה לא יטאק להא  
 גבור. f. 35a

189. קאל סקראט אלמות מריח מן נהד אלדניא ובלאיהא  
 ומוצל אלי טיב אלאכרי וחיאתהא. f. 35b

190. וקאל אלמות כאס לא יפרח בשרבה אלא מן זכאת קמב)  
 נפסה וחסנת אפעאלה.

אד. Add (קמא)

So MS. (קמא)

So MS. (קמב)

185. He said further: If a person thinks that he has been deprived of costly material goods, he will necessarily grieve and care continually; but if he thinks that he has been deprived of only simple, temporal goods, he will remain free from grief.<sup>137</sup>

186. He said: Attention to good food and drink, to costly garments, and to the delights of sexual life compels those who yield to these wants to undertake the task of accumulating great wealth. For since they are not satisfied, they at first weep and groan — both night and day. Afterwards, when they reflect on how they can continue their passions with what they have gained, they are forced to lie awake all night. If they do not find a way, they wail and weep. Even if they achieve it, they are not satisfied. Those whose appetites are insatiable find themselves in an even more precarious situation than this. The reason is that many people manifest an unwholesome interest in honor, praise, wealth, power and authority. Now, any one who loves any of these excessively is forced to seek unceasingly all his life, until he loses sight of the excellent virtues of the soul and forgets its evil aspects. In addition, he is always deeply grieved. If he does not attain his aim, it is because an unruly, excessive appetite can never be satisfied.<sup>138</sup>

187. One of the ancient philosophers said: He who is certain of death finds misfortune easy [to bear], because the gravest misfortune, even if it is singular, is a lesser danger than death.

188. The poet said: Anticipate the going-out of the lamp; prolongation of it is not possible.<sup>138a</sup>

189. Socrates said: Death frees a person from the strain and afflictions of this world and brings him to the delights and life of the next.

190. He said: Death is a cup which only he is glad to drink whose heart is pure and whose deeds are good.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Cf. Rāzī, *l. c.*, the chapter On Worry, and the well-known exclamation of Zeno, after his last merchant-ship was lost at sea: "Much obliged, Fortune! You also drive me to the philosopher's cloak", Plutarch, *l. c.*, § 467 (182-183).

<sup>138</sup> Cf. ברהטו'הו, 15.

<sup>138a</sup> From the context the meaning seems to be that man must perform good deeds during his life, and not postpone that duty.

<sup>139</sup> *Boc.*, 181, which adds: e es seguro del mal que ha de rescebir despues de la muerte.

191. וקאל אלמות ואַנב לים יכרהה אלא מן כתר גורה וקל  
עדלה. f. 36a

192. וקיל מן כרהה אלמות כאן דלילאָ עליִ סו מקדמאתה  
ומן פרח בה כאן דלילא עלי חסן צנעה.

193. וקאל אלמות סביל לא בד מנה ומן סלכה פלא  
יכרהה קסו) בקבח מא ירד עליה.

194. וקאל אלמות סביל אלראחה בעד אלתעב וסבב אל  
סעה בעד אלציק.

195. וקאל מא אבין פצילה אלמות אד קסד) כאן סבב קסה)  
אלנקלה קסה) מן קסו) עאלם אלדל אליִ עאלם אלעז ומן עאלם  
אלגהל אליִ עאלם אלעקל קסו) ומן עאלם אלתעב אלי עאלם  
אלראחה ומן עאלם אלפנא אלי עאלם אלבקא ולו קסו) לם יכון  
ללמות פצילה אלא ראחה ממן לא ינצף מן אצדאדך ולקא אהל  
אלעדל מן אשכאלך. קסו)

196. וקאל אלמות יפרק בינך ובין אהל אלגור ויגמע בינך  
וביו אהל אלנצאף.

197. וקאל גדירא למן קדם כיראָ אלא יצל אליה אלא בעד  
נזול אלמות בסאחתה וגדירא למן קדם שרא אן יתעגל אלראחה  
באלמות מן סו עשרתה.

198. וקאל אלמות יריחך מן ערוך ויסתנקדך ממן לא ינצפר  
וימנעך ממן יריד טלמך ויחול בינך ובין כצמך.

אלא Add (קסו)

אדא: 31, *Kalim*, 148, and Müller, 521: קסד)

סבבא ללנקלה: *Ib.*: (קסה-קסה)

Wanting in *Kalim*, *ib.* and *Athāl*, *ib.* (קסו-קסו)

Wanting in *Kalim*, *Athāl* and Müller, *ib.* (קסו-קסו)

191. He said: Death is a necessity; only he who did much wrong and little justice hates it.

192. It has been said: A person's dislike of death is an indication of his evil past, and a person's happiness to die is an indication of his good works.

193. He said: Death is an unavoidable road. He who walks it hates it only because of the evil nature of what will befall him.<sup>140</sup>

194. He said: Death is the road to rest after fatigue and the cause of relief after distress.

195. He said: How manifest is the excellence of death! For it causes the transfer from the world of humbleness to the world of nobility, from the world of ignorance to the world of intelligence, from the world of weariness to the world of rest, from the world of transitoriness to the world of permanence. Even if death offered no other advantage than relief from those of your antagonists who do injustice and the company of those of your equals who act equitably [it would be good].<sup>141</sup>

196. He said: Death separates you from the men of iniquity and reunites you with the people of equity.<sup>142</sup>

197. He said: One who has done good [during his life time] is likely not to attain it until death has alighted in his courtyard, and one who previously has done evil is likely through death, to find quick relief from his evil company.

198. He said: Death rids you of your enemy, redeems you from him who has been unjust to you, spares you from him who wishes to wrong you and intervenes between you and your adversary.

<sup>140</sup> For the first half cf. *Musre*, II, 2, 18 (in name of Plato) and II, 1, 7 (Pythagoras); Knust, 505 (in name of Segundo).

<sup>141</sup> *Kalim*, 31, and *Amthāl*, 148 (in name of Plato); Müller (*ZDMG*, XXXI, 521; *Boc.*, 181. In all these parallels the passage "Even if death . . ." to the end is missing, and the order of the phrases varies. *Boc.* adds: e del mundo de todo mal al mundo de todo bien.

<sup>142</sup> *Boc.*, ib. as part of the previous saying.

199. וקאל אנמא יכרה אלמות מן רנב פי אלדניא ואתעב  
 בנמע חטאמהא אספאָ עלי מא גמע מנהא פאמא מן כאן זאהדאָ  
 פיהא תארכאָ לשהואתהא מנאנבאָ לאהלהא פאל מות סבב  
 ראחתה ממא יקאצי מן אהלהא ומוצל אליִ אַלראחה בעד  
 מפארקתהא.

200. וקאל אלף מותה אסהל מן מותהִ מן יסוך חיאתה.

201. וקאל אלמות סבב ילחקך במחמודי מן תקדמך מן  
 אכואנך ויפרק בינך ובין מן תכרה מן מעאשרהִ אַצראדך.

202. וקאל מא אסהל אלמות עליִ מן איקן במא בעד ומא  
 אצעב אלמות עליִ מן ישך פימא בעדה.

203. וקאל מן קדם כיראָ יוקן בתואבה אַחב קסחִ למא יוקן מן  
 וצולה אליִ תמרה כירה.

204. וקאל מא אטיב אלמות למן תרך אל דניא לאהלהא.

205. וקאל מן כרה אלמות פלסו מא קדמת ידאה יכרהה ומן  
 אַחב אלמות פלחסן מא קדמת ידאה יחבה.

206. וקאל אלמות סבב אַלראחה מן אלדניא ותקלבהא  
 באהלהא ומריח מן סאת עשרתה ולם תצף מורתה.

207. וקאל מן טן אן אל מות לא עאקבה בעדהא פקד מניִ  
 נפסה ומן איקן בעד אלמות לעאקבתה עמל מא לא ירד עליה  
 ואחסן אלנטר לנפסה.

199. He said: Only he dislikes death who has coveted this world and wearied himself in collecting its vanities, since he is grieved over [the loss of] what he has accumulated. But he who has abstained from it, withstood its temptations and shunned its clients, finds death a cause for his relief in removing him from its clients and bringing him rest after departing from it.<sup>143</sup>

200. He said: A thousand deaths are easier than the death of one whose life distresses you.<sup>144</sup>

201. He said: Death brings about your reunion with those of your praiseworthy brethren who preceded you, and your separation from those you dislike of the company of your adversaries.<sup>145</sup>

202. He said: How easy death is to one who is certain of what follows it, and how difficult death proves to one who has doubts regarding what follows it.<sup>146</sup>

203. He said: He who has performed good deeds of whose reward he is certain is glad [to die] since he is sure of reaping the fruits of his good deeds.

204. He said: How delightful death is to him who relinquishes this world to its clients.

205. He said: If one hates death it is on account of the evil acts committed by him,<sup>147</sup> and when one loves it, it is because of the good deeds performed by him.

206. He said: Death brings relief from this world and from its perfidy towards its clients. It helps those whose friends were evil and their love insincere.

207. He said: He who believes that death has no sequel has decided his soul's fate, but he who is certain of a sequel after death does what will not revert against him and takes good care of his soul.

<sup>143</sup> *L. c.*, 372 (in name of Pīramus).

<sup>144</sup> This saying, which in its present form is far-fetched, is almost certainly a corruption of the popular epigram: Better that a noble person die than that a vile person become ruler. See *Boc.*, 341 (in name of Enuḡio); *Musre*, II, ט, 4 (אנינוס); *Aṡḡāl*, 144 (Plato); *Zabara*, ששעשועים 'ס, ch. 7, p. 71. Perhaps מלך in text is somehow related to מלך in the last source.

<sup>145</sup> *Boc.*, 181, in inverse order.

<sup>146</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>147</sup> See *Ḳur'ān* (ed. Miṡr), 2. 94.

208. וקאל מן תנכר פי אלדניא עישה פאן אלמות ראחתה.
209. וקאל אלמות טריק לא יאמן פיה אלא מן אהב סלוכה  
 ולא יסלכה אלא מן אסתעד למפאחה. f. 36b
210. וקאל פאלמות ראחה אלנפוס אלטאהרה ותעדב אל  
 נפוס אלדנסה.
211. וקאל אלמות סבב לבקא אלנפוס פי מערן אלחיאה  
 וסבב לפנא אלאגסאר.
212. וקאל מן טאבת חיאטה טאבת מניתה.
213. וקאל אלמות אמאן מן אלמוה ומוצל אלי אלנעים  
 ואלפוח.
214. וקאל אלמות מנצף בין אלכלק פי תרך אלמעציה פליס  
 יכרהה אלא מחבא ללטלם או כארהא ללחק.
215. וקאל אלמות ואנב עלי כל חי באלכלקה פאלכארה לה  
 מסכט עלי אלבארי פי צנעתה.
216. וקאל לא יכרה אלמות אלא מיית אל קלב ען אל עלם  
 ולא יחבה אלא מיית אלנפס ען אלשהואת.
217. וקאל מא אצלח אלמות למן כאנת נפסה פי ענא.
218. וקאל נפוס אלאבראר משתאקה אלי אלמות כמא אן  
 נפוס אלפנאר מחבה ללחיאה.
219. וקאל מן תנכרת חיאטה תנכרת מיתתה.
220. וקאל אלמות סבב לכלאץ אלנפס מן אלגסר.
221. וקאל אלמות כיר מן אלמקאם פי דאר אלהואן.
222. וקאל מן כאן אלמות סבב ראחתה פתעגלה לה כיר מן  
 תאכירה.



208. He said: He whose life in this world has changed for the worse finds his relief in death.<sup>148</sup>

209. He said: Death is a road on which only he is safe who likes to travel it, and only he can travel who has prepared for its wildernesses.

210. He said: Death brings rest to the pure souls and suffering to the defiled souls.

211. He said: Death brings about the survival of the souls in the storehouse of life and the destruction of the bodies.

212. He said: He who lives a good life dies a good death.<sup>149</sup>

213. He said: Death is a guarantee against cares and leads to pleasure and triumph.

214. He said: Death helps all men alike to abandon sin, and only he hates it who loves injustice or hates righteousness.

215. He said: Death becomes necessary by birth for every living being,<sup>150</sup> and he who hates it is angry with God about His handiwork.

216. He said: Only he hates death whose heart is devoid of learning, and only he loves death whose heart is devoid of passion.<sup>151</sup>

217. He said: How agreeable death is to him whose soul is in distress.

218. He said: The hearts of the pious crave death, just as the hearts of the wicked love life.

219. He said: He who leads an evil life suffers an evil death.

220. He said: Death brings about the redemption of the soul from the body.

221. He said: Death is better than residence in the contemptible abode.<sup>152</sup>

222. He said: When death brings one relief, it were better that it came sooner than later.

<sup>148</sup> *Boc.*, *ib.*

<sup>149</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>150</sup> *Musre*, I, טו, 6; בהסו'הנ, 14.

<sup>151</sup> בהסו'הנ, 82.

<sup>152</sup> *Boc.*, *ib.*

223. וקאל אלמות ראהה למן כאן עבד שהותה וממלוך הואה  
לאנה כלמא טאלת היאהה כתררה סיאהה ואנבתת פי אלעאלם  
כינאאהה.

224. וקאל מן כאן שרירא פאלמות סבב ראהה אלעאלם מן  
שרה לראחהה קסט) מן הואה. קסט)

225. וקאל אלמות מחמורא עלי כל חאל ללבר ואלפאנר  
פאמא אלבר פיצל אלי מא קדם מן גמיע אפעאלה. וילחקי מע  
מחמורי אכואנה. ואמא אלפאנר פיסתריח אלעאלם מן פנורה.

226. וקאל אלמות בשרי ללעאקל ועטה ללגאהל.

227. וקאל מן כאן ללמות כארהא פהו ללחיאה פי אלדניא  
מחבא ומן כאן ללחיאה מחבא פהו ללחסראת מכתסבא.

228. וקאל מן טאלת היאהה אנתכסת קו) כלקתה ואנהרמת  
קותה וקלה שהותה וכאן פי אלמות ראההה.

229. וקאל אלחיאה יגור פי אלקצא בין אלאחיא ואלמות  
יסאוי פי אלקצא בין אלאמואת.

230. וקאלוא לו לם יכון פי אלמות ראהה ופצילה אלא  
מסאותה בין אלמות קו) ואלסוקה ותשפיה אלטאלם מן  
אלמטלום. קנא)

231. וקאל אלמות ראהה מן אנקצאת קנא) פי אלדניא שהותה.

232. וקאל אלמות סבב אלראהה מן אלמות ואמאן מן פוע  
אלפות.

Wanting in *Boc.*, 182 and *IAU*, 48. (קסט-קסט)

So MS. Read אנתכסת. (קן)

Read: אלמלך. (קנ)

Read: מן אלטאלם. (קנא)

So MS. (קנא)

223. He said: Death brings relief to him who is a slave of his passion and a servant of his lust, because the longer his life lasts the more numerous are his evil actions and the more notorious his treachery.<sup>153</sup>

224. He said: When a person is evil, death rids the world of his evil because he is rid of his lust.<sup>154</sup>

225. He said: Death deserves praise under all circumstances, whether it takes a virtuous or a wicked person. For the virtuous person is rewarded according to all his previous works, and is reunited with his praiseworthy brethren. As for the wicked, the world is rid of all his wickedness.<sup>155</sup>

226. He said: Death brings good tidings to the intelligent and a warning to the ignorant.

227. He said: He who hates death loves life in this world, and he who loves life acquires sorrows.

228. He said: When a man has lived long, his constitution weakens, his strength is exhausted, his passions diminish, and he finds his relief in death.

229. He said: Life judges the living unjustly, but death judges the dead equitably.<sup>156</sup>

230. He said: If death offered no other comfort and advantage than that it makes king and subjects equal and relieves the wronged one from the wrong-doer [it would be good].

231. He said: Death is the comfort of him whose passions in this world have passed.

232. He said: Death brings relief from [the fear] of death and freedom from the dread of passing away.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>153</sup> *L. c.*, 182; cf.: כשיהיה הנפש בחולי סכלות יהיה המות רפואה, ibn Falaquera, *המבקש*, 32.

<sup>154</sup> *Boc.*, *ib.*; *IAU*, 48 (the phrase "because he is, etc." is missing in both); Freytag, III, 3009.

<sup>155</sup> *Boc.*, *ib.*, but from the words "as for the wicked" it continues: *por non crescer en sus pecados*; *בהמורה*, 82.

<sup>156</sup> *Boc.*, *ib.*

<sup>157</sup> Freytag, III, 618.

233. וקאל מא אשד שוק עאמל אלחסנאת אלי אלמות  
 יגני תמרה מא עמל ומא אשד עאמל אלסיאת כראהה ללמות  
 לקבח תמרה מא עמל.

234. וקאל מן קתל מטלומא כאן דלך קנב) למא ינאלה פי f. 37a  
 עאקבתה ומן קתל טאלמא כאן קנב) גדירא קנב) באלכוף פי  
 עאקבתה.

235. וקאל מא אקבח אלבכא עלי מן קתל מטלומא ומא  
 אחסנה עלי מן קתל טאלמא לאן אלמטלום יפרח לה בחסן מא  
 ירד עליה ואל טאלם יחון לה לסו קנב) מא ירד עליה.

236. וקאל מן כאן במא קדם ואתקא כאן ללמות מחבא ומי  
 כאן במא קדם וגלא כאן ללמות כארהא.

237. וקאל יום אמר בקתלה וקד נטר אלי בכא תלאמידה  
 עליה פקאל מא יבכיכם פקאלוא לאנד תקתל מטלומא פקאל  
 אלן חק לכם תצחכוא ואנמא כנחם תבכוא לו קתל סקראט  
 טאלמא.

238. וקאל ינבגי למן כאן ללמות כארהא אן לא יכון לגירה  
 קאתלא.

Add with Müller, 515. אמנא לה (קנב)

. כאן דלך גדירא לה: Ib. (קנב-קנב)

. בסוי: Ib. (קנב)

233. He said: How intensely the doer of good deeds longs for death so that he may gather the fruit of his labors,<sup>158</sup> and how violently the doer of evil hates death because of the vile fruits of his labors.<sup>159</sup>

234. He said: He who is unjustly killed thereby receives a guarantee of his subsequent reward, but he who is justly killed may well fear the consequences.<sup>160</sup>

235. He said: How stupid it is to weep for one who has been unjustly killed, and how proper it is [to weep] for one who is justly killed. For the wronged one should be cheered by the lovely rewards which will come to him, and the wrong-doer should be grieved by the evil which will befall him.<sup>161</sup>

236. He said: He who feels confident of his past performance loves death, but he who is frightened by his past actions hates death.

237. On the day when his execution was ordered, seeing how his disciples were weeping, he asked: "Why are you crying?" They replied: "Because you are being unjustly slain." He retorted: "You ought much rather to laugh, but should have wept had Socrates been justly executed."<sup>162</sup>

238. He said: It behooves him who hates death not to slay another.

<sup>158</sup> *L. c.*, 619; בהטר'הו, 17.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Abu Huraira's explanation of his weeping when he was ill: I am not weeping for your world, but because of my long journey and my inadequate provisions ('*Uyūn*, II, 309), and the well-known statement of Rabban Yoḥānān b. Zakkai, *Berakhot*, 28b.

<sup>160</sup> Shahrāzūri, as cited by Müller, *ZDMG*, XXXI, 515.

<sup>161</sup> *Ib.*; *Boc.*, 182.

<sup>162</sup> This anecdote, which is between Socrates and a disciple in Xenophon's *Apology*, 28 (ed. Loeb, 504-505), and Socrates and his wife in Diog. Laert., *Lives*, II, 35 (ed. Loeb, I, 64-65), is very popular. It is between him and his wife in *Boc.*, 198 (cf. note *ad loc.*); *Kalim*, 82; Budge, V; Baihaki, *l. c.*, 425; Jāḥiẓ, 27; Tertullian, "On the Soul" in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, III, 181; *Mibhar*, 374, who does not mention Socrates' name. It is between him and his disciples, as in our text, in Chrysostomus, "Homily 14 on Acts" in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, XI, 93-4, but without reference to Socrates. In *Musre*, II, 8, 68 it is with an anonymous person. In Müller, *ib.*, it is ascribed to Diogenes.

239. וקאל מן כאף מן שי עמל מא יומנה מנה ומן כאף אלמות  
עמל מא ירגו בה אלסלאמה מנה.

240. קאל אבו נצר פי אל פצול אל מנתזעה . עסיר ובעיד  
f. 40b  
אן יוגד מן הו מעד באל טבע ללפצאיל כלהא כלקיה קנה)  
(ונטקיה קנה) אעדאדא תאמא כמא אנה קני) עסיר ובעיד קני) אן יוגד  
מן הו מעד באל טבע נחו אל צנאיע כלהא וכדלך עסיר ובעיד  
אן יוגד מן הו מעד באל טבע נחו קני) אפעאל אלשרור כלהא אלא  
אן אל אמרין גמיעא ממתנעין ואלאכתר אן כל ואחד מעד נחו  
פצילה מא או פצאיל דואת עדר קני מעדודה או צנאעה קני) או קס)  
צנאיע מא מחדודה פיוון הדיא מעד קסא) נחו שי קסב) אול קסב) ואכר  
מעד קסא) נחו שי אכר ותאלת מעד קסא) נחו שי תאלת מן פצילה  
או צנאעה.

241. וקאל איצא פי אלפצול אל מדכורה מתי קסו) וגד פי וקת  
מן אל אוקאח מן הו באל טבע מעד קסד) נחו אל פצאיל כלהא  
אעדאדא תאמא חם תמכנת פיה באל עאדה פאן קסה) הדיא אל  
אנסן קסו) פאיזא קסו) פי אל פצילה ללפצאיל אל מוגודה פי אכתר  
אל נאס חתי קסח) יכרנ מן קסט) אל פצאיל אל אנסאניה אלי מא הו  
ארפע טבקה מן אל אנסאן וכאן אל קדמא יסמון הדיא אל אנסאן  
אל אלאהי ואל קע) מצאד לה והו קעא) אל מעד קעא) לאפעאל  
אלשרור כלהא קעב) באל עאדה יכאד קעו) יכרנונה ען אל שרור

אלכלקיה ואלנטקיה: Bodleian MS. or. Hunt, 307, f. 946. (קנה-קנה)

עסיר: *Ib.*: (קנו-קנו)

ל: *Ib.*: (קנו)

עדה: *Ib.*: (קנה)

מא +: *Ib.*: (קנט)

עדה +: *Ib.*: (קס)

מערא: *Ib.*: (קסא)

דא: *Ib.*: (קסב-קסב)

ומתי: *L. c.*, f. 95a. (קסו)

מע (sic!): *Ib.*: (קסד)

כאן: *Ib.*: (קסה)

אנסאן: *So MS. Read*. (קסו)

פאיזא: *Ib.*: (קסו)

יכאד אן +: *Ib.*: (קסח)

ען: *Ib.*: (קסט)

ואמא אל: *Ib.*: (קע)

ואלמעד: *Ib.*: (קעא-קעא)

אלדי יתמכן פיה הייח תלך אלשרור +: *Ib.*: (קעב)

יכאדון: *Ib.*: (קעג)

239. He said: When a person is fearful of something, he ought to do that which will insure him against it, and when a person fears death, he ought to do that which will enable him to expect peace from it.<sup>163</sup>

240. Abu Naṣr said in his *Stray Chapters*:<sup>164</sup> It is unlikely and rare that a person exist who is naturally fully endowed with all virtues, both moral and intellectual, just as it is unlikely and rare that a person exist who is naturally equipped with all the arts. Similarly, it is unlikely and rare that a person exist who is naturally disposed towards all the evil deeds. Both possibilities alike are to be excluded. Most commonly, each one is endowed with one or several specific virtues or with one or several specific arts, so that one is qualified for one virtue or art, a second for another, and a third for still another.

241. He said further in these Chapters:<sup>165</sup> If at some time some one should exist who is naturally fully equipped with all the virtues, which are later firmly rooted within him through habit, the virtues of such a person are so superior to those possessed by most people that he almost rises from the level of human virtues to a rank nobler than the human. The ancients used to call this man divine.<sup>165a</sup> His opposite, i.e. one who is naturally disposed toward all the evil deeds which are later firmly rooted within him through habit almost remains outside

<sup>163</sup> *Boc.*, 182.

<sup>164</sup> MS. Bodl. or Hunt., 307, f. 94b. I wish to thank Dr. Franz Rosenthal for giving me this and the two foll. MS. references, and for sending me copies of these extracts.

<sup>165</sup> *L. c.*, f. 95a.

<sup>165a</sup> Cf. Maimonides, *Letter to Hisdai Ha-Levi* (ed. Warsaw), 16: והנה הפילוסופים אמרו שרחוק הוא שימצא אדם מלא ושלם במדות ובחכמה, ואם ימצאו אותו קוראים אותו איש אלהי. ובוראי כגון זה הוא במעלה העליונים.

אל אנסאניה קער) וליס לה ענדהם אסם לאפראט שרורה ורבמא  
 סמוה אל סבע ואשבאה דלך מן אל אסמא והדאן אל טרפאן  
 ונודהמא פי אל נאס קליל ואל אול מת' ונר כאן ענדהם ארפע  
 מרתבה מן אן יכון ידבר קעה) מדינה ואחדה בל קעה) אל מרן כלהא  
 והו אל מלך פי אל חקיקה . ואמא אל תאני אדא אתפס אן יוגד  
 לם ידבר קעו) מדינה אצלא ולא קעו) יכל קעו) פיהא בל יכרן ען אל  
 מרן כלהא.

242. וקאל אבו בכר בן אלצאיג מן אלנאס מן תגלב עליה אל f. 41a

נסמיה קעה) פקט והאולא הם אכס אלנאס . ומן קעט) אלנאס קעט) מן  
 תגלב עליה אלרוחאניה אללטיפה נדא ומנהם קר) מן תוגד פיה  
 אלרוחאניה קסא) אללטיפה נדא ומנהם מן תוגד פיה קסא) כל ואחדה  
 מן הדיה קסב) ותכתלף קעט) באלאכתר קסר) ואלצנפאן קסה) אלאולאן  
 קלילאן קסו) אלונוד אלא אן אלנסמאני אכתר פאמא קסו) אל טרף  
 אלאכר והו אל רוחאני אל אכמל פהו קסח) אקל קסח) ונודא ופי  
 הדא אל צנף יעד אויס אלקרני ואברהם בן אדהם פאמא הרמס  
 פאנה פי קסט) אלטרף אלאקצא עלי מא יקולה ארסטו פיה קצ) פי  
 כתאב ינקומאכיא. קצא)

243. וקאל סקראט אלנאס פך מנצוב פליס יקע פיה אלא מן f. 66b

אנתר בה.

ואלי מה הו אכתר שרא מנה + *Ib.* (קער

אלמרן Dr. Rosenthal notes that *Ib.* (קעה-קעה) is an error which he may have introduced in copying.

ירוס: *Ib.* (קעו)

ולם יכרסהא: *Ib.* (קעו-קעו)

Bodl. MS. or. Pocock 206, f. 174a: אלנסמאני: *Ib.* (קע)

ומנהם: *Ib.* (קעט-קעט)

פמנהם: *Ib.* (קף)

Dittography; wanting *ib.* (קסא-קסא)

והדיה + *Ib.* (קסב) תכתלף: *Ib.* (קסנ)

ומלאקל + *Ib.* (קסד)

קלילא: So MS. *Ib.* (קפו)

ואמא: *Ib.* (קפז)

מאקל: *Ib.* (קסח-קסח) *Ib.* (קסט) Wanting.

ניקומאכיא: *Ib.* (קצא) *Ib.* (קצ) Wanting.



the category of human evils. But they have no term for him when his evils are excessive, although they usually call him beast or some similar name. These two extreme are found very rarely among people. When the former exists he is of too noble a rank to rule one city but should rule all the cities, for he is the true king.<sup>166</sup> If it happens that the second type of person exists, he cannot rule any city nor hold any post in it, but should be excluded from all cities.

242. Abu-bekr ibn al-Ṣaig said:<sup>167</sup> There are some people over whom the physical [element] gains complete mastery. These are the vilest of the human race. There are others over whom the very fine spiritual element gains mastery, and still others in whom both are found but vary in degree. The first two groups are small. The physical is more numerous, whereas the other extreme, namely, the perfectly spiritual is rare to find. In this group we count Uwais al-Karani<sup>168</sup> and Ibrahim ibn Adhem.<sup>169</sup> Hermes is an extreme case even in this group, as Aristotle states in his Nicomachean Ethics.<sup>170</sup>

243. Socrates said: Women are a set-up trap in which only he falls who is duped by it.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>166</sup> For the qualifications required of the ruler of *one* city, see his *Al-Madīna al-Fāḍila* (ed. Dietrici), 59–61, and, in an abridged Hebrew trans., ibn Falaguera, המעלות, ס' 16–17.

<sup>167</sup> MS. Bodl. or Pocock 206 (ibn Bājjah), f. 174a. The ideas of this paragraph are also to be found in his הגהות המתבודד (ed. Meḳiṣē Nirdāmim), chs. 4 & 5.

<sup>168</sup> One of the followers of Muḥammad who fell in battle at Ṣiffīn in defense of 'Ali in the war between the latter and Mu'āwiya. He is known as *Sayyid al-Tābi'in*, and is celebrated in legend, cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 147. He is highly respected by the Ṣūfīs, Ḥujwīrī, *Kashf al-Mahjūb* (tr. Nicholson), 83–84. Steinschneider's suggestion to change מלקרטי (Arab. Liter. d. Juden, § 4, p. 5) is of course to be ruled out.

<sup>169</sup> A highly venerated Ṣūfī, Ḥujwīrī, *l. c.*, 103 sqq.

<sup>170</sup> Book VII, i (ed. Loeb, 374–375). Hermes is a mistaken reading for Hector.

<sup>171</sup> *Musre*, II, א, 73; *Boc.*, 191.

244. וקאל סקראט לא צר אצר מן אלנהל ולא שר אשר מן אלנסא.
245. וקאל מן כלא מע מראה תדברה כאן דלילא עליו עגזה וסבבא אלי חתפה.
246. וקאל אלנסא סם קאתל מן חרכה לם יצרה ומן תנאולה קתלה.
247. וקאל אלכיס מן לם יצטאדה קצב) אלנסא פאן הו וקע קץ גנאחה ולם ינבת אברא.
248. וקאל אלמראה אשר חרארה מן אלנאר ואשר לסעא מן אלעקרב תנאל שהותהא חם לא תבאלי אן תקתל.
249. וקאל מן אראד אלנאא מן מכאיד אלשיטאן פלא יטיען אמראה. פאן אלנסא סלם מנצוב לים באלשיטאן קצב) חילה אלא באל צעוד עליה.
250. וקאל אלעגו יערף מן אלרגל פי ג' כצאל קלה אכתראתה במצאלח נפסה. וקלה מכאלפתה למא ישתהיה. וקבולה מן אמראה.
251. וקאל מן אראד יקוי אלי טלב אלחכמה פליכף מן תמלך אלנסא עלי נפסה. קצד)
252. ונטר אלי מראה חתעטר פקאל נאר יכתר חטבהא חתי ישתר והגהא וינמו צררהא.
253. וקאל לתלמיד לה. יאבני אן כאן ולא קצה) בד מנהא קצה) אנעל קצו) לקאיך להא קצו) כאכל אלמיטה לא תאכלהא קצה) אלא ענד אלצרורה פתאכד מנהא קצט) מא תקים ר)

תצטרה: Al-Balawī, *Kitāb Alif-Ba*, I, 395: (קצב)

ללשיטאן: IA U, 49: (קצנ)

מן אחב אן יקוי עלי אלחכמה פלא ימלך נפסה ללנסא: Freyt., III, 517: (קצד)

לא בד לך מן אלנסא: IA U, 49: (קצה-קצח)

פאנעל: Ib.: (קצו)

חאכל מנהא: Ib.: (קצח) להן: Ib.: (קצז)

בקרר +: Ib.: (קצט)

יקים: Ib.: ר)

244. He said: There is no greater harm than ignorance and no worse evil than women.<sup>172</sup>

245. He said: He who remains alone with a woman who dominates him gives proof of his weakness and brings about his death.

246. He said: Women are a fatal poison. He who leaves it is not hurt; he who takes it is killed.

247. He said: The shrewd person is he whom women do not ensnare, for if he is caught, his wings will be clipped and will never grow again.<sup>173</sup>

248. He said: A woman possesses a more violent heat than fire and a more poisonous sting than a scorpion.<sup>174</sup> She satisfies her passion and then does not mind if she slays [the man].

249. He said: Whoever wishes to escape the wiles of Satan should under no circumstances submit to a woman. For women are an upright ladder, and Satan has no power over one except when one is climbing it.<sup>175</sup>

250. He said: A man's weakness becomes evident by three characteristics: paying little heed to self-improvement, offering little resistance to what he covets, and being guided by a woman.<sup>176</sup>

251. He said: Let him who exerts himself in search of wisdom beware of allowing women to gain possession of his soul.<sup>177</sup>

252. He saw a woman perfuming herself and said: A fire on which more wood is piled so that its heat becomes intense and its harm grows.<sup>178</sup>

253. He said to a disciple of his: My son, if you cannot get along without a woman make your contact with her like eating a carcass. Eat of it only from necessity, and take enough to

<sup>172</sup> *Musre*, II, א, 74; *Boc.*, ib.; *IAU*, 49; Müller, *l. c.*, 514 (in name of Diogenes). Cf. Ben-Sira, 25.13: כל רעה ולא רעה אשה.

<sup>173</sup> *Musre*, II, א, 78; Balawī, *Alif-Bā*, I, 395.

<sup>174</sup> *Boc.*, 385.

<sup>175</sup> *L. c.*, 191; *IAU*, 49.

<sup>176</sup> *Boc.*, ib.

<sup>177</sup> *L. c.*, 192; *Musre*, II, א, 79; Freytag, III, 517.

<sup>178</sup> *Musre*, II, א, 103; *Boc.*, ib.

אלרמק. ותתרכהארא) ואןריב) אכדתרי) מנהא פוק אלחאנה  
אסקמתך רר) וקתלתך. רר)

254. וקיל לסקראט כיף ינוז לך דם רה) אלנסא ולולאהן למ  
תכוור). ולא אמתאלך מן אלחכמא פקאל אנמא מתל ר) אלמראה  
מתל אל נכלה דאת אלסלי' אן דכל פי בדן אנסאן עקרהאר) )  
וחמלהא רטברט) אלגני'.

255. וקיל לסקראט מא באלך תנפר מן אלנסא. קאל למא  
אר' מן נפורהן מן אלכיר וסלוכהן פי טרק אלשר.

256. וקאל צאחב אלמראה מתל ראכב אלבחר. אן סלם  
בשר באלנגאה ואן עטב למ ילם אלא נפסה.

257. וקאל כל אסיר ינפך אלא אסיר אלנסא. פאנה גיר  
מפכוך.

258. וקאל מן יריד יבטל נפסה קבל ופאתה פלימלך עלי'  
נפסה מראה פאנה מית אלחיאה.

259. וקאל מן אראד יעיש עיש רגד ויחיא חיאה בלא נכד.  
פלא ישנל נפסה ר) בשהוה אלנסא. ריא)

260. ונטר סקראט אלי מראה תעלם אל כתאבה פקאל עקרב  
יזדאד סמא' עלי' סמהא.

261. וקאל אפלאטון אלמראה הי דא לא בד מנה ועקרב ריב  
חלוה אללסעה. ריב)

262. ונטר סקראט אלי תלמיד לה ינטר אלי' מראה חסנה  
פקאל יא בני' אחרד אן תצירך בשרכהא פתהלך. פקאל לה איהא

אלחכים אנמא אנטר צנאעה אלבארי פיהא פקאל לה סקראט יא  
בני אקלב דאכלהא כארנהא פי המך יתבין לך קבח צורתהא.

אכד אכד: *Ib.*: רנ) פאן: *Ib.*: רב) *Ib.*: wanting. רא)

אסקמתה וקתלתה: *Ib.*: רר-רד)

אן חדם: *IAU*, 49: רה)

עקרה: *Ib.*: רח)

אלרטב: *Ib.*: רט)

ולא יומי אליהן בשרפה ולא ידה: *Ib.*: ריא)

*Boc.*, 152: Wanting. ריב-ריב)

אנת: *Ib.*: רו)

פכרה: *Alif-Bā*, *ib.*: רי)

*Ib.*: wanting. רז)

sustain your breath of life and abandon it. If you take more than you require, it makes you diseased and kills you.<sup>179</sup>

254. It was said to Socrates: "How can you allow yourself to condemn women? Were it not for them, neither you nor your equals among the sages would be alive." He replied: "Indeed, women are like a palm-tree with prickles which hurt a person if they penetrate his body. But it bears delicious fresh dates."<sup>180</sup>

255. It was said to Socrates: "Why do you flee women?" He replied: "Because I see that they flee the good and walk the road of evil."<sup>181</sup>

256. He said: A woman's husband is like a voyager on the high seas. If he arrives safely, he is congratulated upon his escape, but if he perishes, he has only himself to blame.

257. He said: Every prisoner is set free except the captive of a woman; he cannot be released.<sup>182</sup>

258. He said: Whoever wishes to reduce himself to nought before his decease should make a woman master over him, for he will be dead while alive.<sup>183</sup>

259. He said: Whoever wishes to lead an easy life and to pass his time without hardships should not become involved in a passion for women.<sup>184</sup>

260. Socrates saw a woman learning the art of writing and said: A scorpion adding more poison to its poison.<sup>185</sup>

261. Plato said: Woman is an inescapable disease and a scorpion with a sweet sting.<sup>186</sup>

262. Socrates saw a disciple of his looking at a pretty woman and said: "My son, beware lest she catch you in her net and you perish." He replied: "O Philosopher, I am only admiring the handiwork of God in her." Socrates answered: "My son, turn her inside out in your imagination, and her ugly form will become apparent to you."<sup>187</sup>

<sup>179</sup> *Musre*, II, 8, 104; *Boc.*, 171; *IAU*, 49; *IM*, 33.

<sup>180</sup> *Boc.*, 192; *IAU*, *ib.*                      <sup>181</sup> *Boc.*, *ib.*

<sup>182</sup> *Ib.*; Balawi, *l. c.*, 395.                      <sup>183</sup> *Boc.*, 193.

<sup>184</sup> Balawi, *ib.*

<sup>185</sup> *Musre*, II, 8, 48; *Boc.*, 193.

<sup>186</sup> *L. c.*, 152 (in name of Diogenes).

<sup>187</sup> *Musre*, II, 8, 71; Nahmias ad Prov. 6.25, less Socrates' last statement; Zabara, טעשויים, 9.

263. וקאלת אמראה לסקראט יום מא אקבחי' צורתך רי' (פקאל להא לולא אנך מן אלמראיה רי') אלצדיה לכאן חסן ונהי פ'ך. רי')

f. 78b 264. ומן גמלה וצאי' סקראט לאפלאטון כן סי אלטן במן תערף ועלי חדר ממן לא תערף.

f. 79b 264a. וסיל אפלאטון אי גוד ימכן כל אנסאן יגוד בה פקאל אן יחב ללנאס אלכיר.

f. 80b 265. וקאל אפלאטון לא ינבוי ללמלך אן יטלק אל כדב פי אלממלכה אלא דלאכיאר אלמערופין באלאצל'אח בין אלנאס אלמסתעמלין לה ענד תקריב מא בין אלמתבאעדין פאן אלכדב ישבה אלעקאקיר אלקאתלה אלתי תחתאן פי אלארויה אד' אסתעמאל אליסיר מנהא פליס יטלק מתל תלך אלעקאקיר אלא ללצאלחין מן אל ציאדלה אלתי לא יביעונה למן יקתל בהא אלנאס.

266. וקאל גאלינוס פי תלכיצה כתאב סיאסה אפלאטון אן אלכדב קד ימכן אן ינתפע באסתעמאלה אלחכים פי וקת מא מן

אקבחך: *Kalim*, 79: (ריג-ריג)

אלמראיה אלצדיה לא לזבתי (!) צורתי פ'ך: *Ib.*: (ריג-ריג)

263. A woman once said to Socrates: "How ugly your face is!" He answered: "If you were not a rusty mirror, the beauty of my face would be reflected in you."<sup>188</sup>

264. In Socrates' testament to Plato we read: Have a bad opinion of those you know, and beware of those you do not know.<sup>189</sup>

264a. Plato was asked: What excellence is every person capable of? He replied: Wishing people good.

265. Plato said: It does not behoove a king to permit unrestricted lying in his kingdom except to his virtuous officials who are known for their efforts to make peace between people, when they seek to reconcile those who have become estranged. For lying is like the fatal drugs whose use is required in medicines in small doses. But the right to dispense such drugs is granted only to the upright pharmacists who will not sell them to one who will kill people with them.<sup>190</sup>

266. Galen stated in his *Epitome of Plato's Politics*:<sup>191</sup> A lie may be helpful when it is at some time utilized like a medicine or cure by a learned man for the purpose of averting some harm.

<sup>188</sup> *Musre*, II, 107; *Boc.*, 8, 187; *Kalim*, 79; Budge, III.

<sup>189</sup> *Usāmah*, I, c., 466; *Boc.*, 170 (much longer than ours, but not including the second half). Both explain that the occasion was Plato's departure on a journey. Diez, *Merkwürdigkeiten aus Asien*, I, 77, strangely translates: Sei nicht (!) argwöhnisch . . .

<sup>190</sup> Plato, *Republic*, Book II (ed. Loeb, 194-195). A form of the statement approximating ours more closely is found in the following anecdote: A clown told a story in the council of Yezdejird, in which he related a lie about himself in order to make the king laugh. But Yezdejird said to him: Woe to you! Do you not know that we keep our subjects from lying and punish them for it? For the Sages have said: Lying is like the poisons. They kill when used in simple form, but are employed beneficially in the compounding of medicines. It is not proper for a king to allow lying except to one who utilizes it for ensnaring enemies, and for bringing distant men together, just as it is not proper to entrust poisons to any except those who are trustworthy and will withhold them from one who can do damage. Yakut al-Musta'ṣimī, *Asrār*, 99, and *Risālat Adāb wa-Ḥikam*, 65. A much briefer statement on lying, found in Hebrew and Arabic, is: או לאיש . . . או בשלשה מקומות במלחמה . . . לא יאוח הכוב כי אם בשלשה מקומות במלחמה . . . או לאיש ירצה את אשתו 78; *Uyūn*, II, 25, and *Jāḥiḻ*, 44, both in name of Muḥammad. Cf. also the remarks of Sheshet Ha-Nāsi in Marx, *Texts by and about Maimonides*, 420, lines 176-184.

<sup>191</sup> See Bergstrasser, *Hunain b. Ishāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, no. 124.

אלאוקאת רטו) אדא קצר בדלך רפע אלאדא כמנולה אלדוא ואל  
 שפא ואמא גירה פליס ינתפע באל כדב פי וקת מן אלאוקאת רטו)  
 ולא סאיר גיר אלחכמא לאן גמיע דלך כארנְ עמא יחתאנְ אליה  
 אלדי בסבבה יסתעמל אלחכמא אלכדב.

f. 81a 267. קאל אפלאטון אמתחאן רטו) אלמר ריח) בפעלה לא  
 בקולה.

f. 82a 268. מא קאלה אפלאטון כלמן אנתהאן ריח) ללנאס האן  
 עליהם לאן פי טבאעהם אן יהין בעצהם בעץ ולא יוקרונה פכל  
 מן אנבסט אליהם גריִ מגריִ בעצהם מן בעץ.

f. 82b 269. קאלת הרם בנת סנאן יריח) מלכהם לבנת זהיד אלשאער  
 אעטיתמונא מא יבא. ואעטינאכם מא יפנא.

270. יחכיִ ען בעץ אלפצלא אנה מתיִ שַׁמָּה אנסאן פכאן  
 ירסל אליה הדיה ויתחפה בתחפה פסיל ען פעלה הדא פאנאב  
 אנה אהרי אלינא פי מא רבחנא מעה מן אלאנְר עליִ אלאחתמאל  
 ואל צבר פוצלנאה עליִ דלך והל גזא אלאַחסאן אלא אלאַחסאן

From margin. (רטו-רטו)

אסחחן: Freyt. III, 2943 and *Kalim*, 85; רטו)

אלאנסאן. Freyt., ib.: ריח)

אסתהאן So MS. Read ריח)

בנת הרם בן סנאן: Read (ריח)



But apart from such need it can at no time be beneficial, nor may anyone other than the philosopher resort to lying, because all that is outside the emergency which compels the wise men to employ lying.

267. Plato said: A man is tested not by what he says but by what he does.<sup>192</sup>

268. Plato said: Every one who scorns people is despised by them, for it lies in their nature to despise one another, and they will not honor him. And whoever becomes familiar with them exposes himself to the experiences of anyone of them.<sup>193</sup>

269. The daughter of Haram b. Sinān their king, said to the daughter of Zuhair the poet: You have given us what will endure, whereas we have given you what will perish.<sup>194</sup>

270. It is related of one of the distinguished men that when a person reviled him he would send him a gift and make a present to him. When asked about this practice, he replied: He presented us with a gift in the form of the self-control and patience which we have gained as a reward in his company, and we are compensating him for it. Ought not a gift to be paid with a gift?<sup>195</sup>

<sup>192</sup> *Boc.*, 86 (in name of Sed; see note *ad loc.*), and 137 (in name of Pythagoras, with the explanation: que hay muchos omnes, que son malas sus obras e buenos sus dichos); *Kalim*, 85, (in name of Socrates); Freytag, II, 2943; *IM*, 58.

<sup>193</sup> *Boc.*, 225.

<sup>194</sup> Our author adds: ארמדת אן עטיה זהיר לאביהא במקיה סע אל אחקאב וצלח (She meant that Zuhair's gift to her father would endure as long as time, whereas her father's present to Zuhair would perish). The statement, usually ascribed to 'Omar and addressed to Haram's daughter, refers to an exchange in which the king gave the poet beasts of burden and garments, and the poet praised his generosity in some laudatory couplets. In one version of the anecdote (cited in Shānḳīṭī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-'Ashar*, 21-22). 'Omar makes this remark in answer to one of Haram's children who felt that her father's gift was as good as the poet's. In another (apud *Meidanii Proverbia*, ed. Schulthess, 143) 'Omar says it after the daughter describes her father's gift as "a horse that will become emaciated, a camel that will die, a garment that will wear out, and wealth that will perish."

<sup>195</sup> This motif of rewarding a reviler is also found in anecdotes related in ibn Bakuda's חובות הלבבות (ed. צפרוני, 186-187; Arabic, ed. Yahuda, 274) and in the commentary on Abōth by David b. Abraham Maimonides, 13b. It is also recorded in Arabic sources, cf. Yahuda, *Introd.*, 98-99. But the reason

- f. 86b 271. וסיל אפלאטון אי אלכנוז כיר פקאל אלצדיק אלכיר.
272. וקאל אפלאטון לא תצחב אלשריר פאן טבעך יסרק  
מן ריט) טבעה ריט) ואנת לא תשער. (רד)
273. וקאל לא תצחבוא אלאשראר פאנהם ימון עליכם  
באלסלאמה מנהם.
274. ומן אראב פלאספּה אלגן מעאדאת אלעאקל כיר מן  
מצארקה אלאחמק.
275. וקאלוא מעאדאה אלחכים אקל צררא מן מודה  
אלגאהל.
276. וקאל בטלמיוס אנמא סמי אלצדיק צדיקא בצדקה לך  
וסמי אלעדו עדוא בעדוה רכא) עליך. (רכב)
- f. 87a 277. וקאל אפלאטון ינבי אן לא נמנע אלאנפס רכב) מעאשקה  
אלאנפס רכב) ולכנה רכב) ינבי אן נמנע רכב) מעאשקה אלאנסאר  
ללאנסאר.
278. וקאל אלעשק אדא כאן פי אלעאשק ואלמעשוק עקליא  
דאם ובקא. ולם ידתר פי אחרהמא אלא בדתור אלאכר פאדא  
בדא אלעאשק ידתר עשקה בדא אלמעשוק מנה גוּ בּוּ. וכדלך  
אדא בדא באלמעשוק בדא אלעאשק ואל מעשוק דפעה ואחרה.  
פאמא אלעשק אלגסמי לא אצל לה ולא פרע בל אנמא יכון בקדר  
בהיגאן אלשהוה אלבהימיה.

שרא + : 52, *IAU*; 117, *Asrār*; 1633, *Freyt.* III, 10, *Kalim*, 10: מנה. (ריט-ריט)

תעלם: *Freyt. and Asrār*, ib.: חררי: *Kalim and IAU*, ib.: (רך)

לעדוה: 115, *Mut.*, (רכב)

לו ספר בך + : *Ib.*, (רכב)

(חשק הנפשות בנפשות) 5, יט, *Musre I* with מעאשקה אלאנפס ללאנפס Read (רכב-רכב)

(אלא) ב: 5, יט, *Musre I*, (רכב-רכב)

271. Plato was asked: "Which is the choicest treasure?" He answered: "A good friend."<sup>196</sup>

272. Plato said: Do not associate with an evil person, for your nature will steal from his without your knowing it.<sup>197</sup>

273. He said: Do not associate with evil people, for you are benefited by them when you keep away from them.<sup>198</sup>

274. One of the aphorisms of the Stoics is: The enmity of the intelligent person is preferable to the friendship of the stupid person.<sup>199</sup>

275. They said: The enmity of a learned man is less harmful than the friendship if an ignorant person.<sup>200</sup>

276. Ptolemy said: The friend is called a friend only because of his friendship with you, and the enemy is named an enemy only because of his enmity towards you.<sup>201</sup>

277. Plato said: It is not proper to prevent the mutual love of souls, but it is fitting to prevent the mutual love of bodies.<sup>202</sup>

278. He said: When love stirs within a lover and a beloved on an intellectual plane, it endures and remains. It does not die in one except with the death of the other, and when the lover begins to extinguish his love, the beloved begins to do likewise proportionately. Similarly, when it starts within the beloved, the lover and the beloved begin it simultaneously. But bodily love has neither root nor branch, but is merely in proportion to the raging of the animal passion.<sup>203</sup>

in all these cases is that the bearer of evil tales loses some of his reward in the future world to the person reviled. This perhaps is the meaning of the saying תחילה ריח העניו שיעורו אותו בני אדם על הסבל *Mib.*, 47. For an attitude of indifference to slander, see the Socrates incident, *Boc.*, 201.

<sup>196</sup> *L. c.*, 183 (in name of Socrates); בהמורה, 27.

<sup>197</sup> *Musre*, II, כא, 49; *Boc.*, 231; *IAU*, 52; *Kalim*, 10; Freytag, III, 1633; *Asrār*, 117; Usāma, *l. c.*, 449; Moses b. Ezra, שירת ישראל, 119.

<sup>198</sup> *Boc.*, 213; *IAU*, 51; *Kalim*, 8; *Athāl*, 142; Usāma, *l. c.*, 447.

<sup>199</sup> *Musre*, II, כא, 47; *Boc.*, 373; Shahrastāni, *Al-Milal wal-Nihāl*, 305 (in name of Democritus); שיעורים 'ס, ch. 7, no. 39; *IM*, 50; ibn Falaquera, 'ס, המבקש, 60; עוב אל'עוזב, 4.

<sup>200</sup> *Musre*, II, כא, 48; Mawerdi, *Adab al-Dunya wal-Dīn* (ed. 1315), 105.

<sup>201</sup> *Musre*, II, יא, 24; *IMut*, 115; *Kalīla va-Dimna* (ed. Cheikho), 209; Mawerdi, *l. c.*, 101.

<sup>202</sup> *Musre*, I, יט, 5.

<sup>203</sup> *Athāl*, 146; ibn Falaquera, *l. c.*, 69; *Boc.*, 393.

279. וקאל אן אלעאשק באל עקל לא יחתאן ינאני מעשוקה  
 באלנטק אלגְרמי בל ריכוּ) באל לחטֹ ואלחרכאת ריכה) ואלאשארה  
 פאן הדה אנמאע נואטק אלא אנהא רוחאניה בסיטה פאמא אל  
 עאשק אלבהימי פאנה יסתעמל אלמנטק אלגְרמי. רכוּ)
280. וקאל אלעאשק אלעקלי יעקל אלצורה אלבאטנה אל  
 עקליה ואפאעילהא. ואמא אלעאשק אלבהימי פיעשק טאהר  
 אלצור אלגְרמיה.
281. וקאל אלעאשק אלעקלי פי כל יום יזאד חכמה. ואמא  
 אלעאשק אלבהימי פאנה יזאד פי כל יום גהלאֹ.
282. וקאל אלעאשק אלבהימי סכראן אלעקל כתיר אלדלס.  
 פאמא אלעאשק אלעקלי פאנה טאהר אלפכר צאפי אלדהן.
283. וקאל ליס יכסר אלעאקל פי ריכוּ) אלצדיק לאנה אן ריכה)  
 כאן פאצלא תזין בה ואן כאן ספהאֹ ריכטֹ) חמארל) ערצה מן  
 אלספהה. רלא)
284. קאלוא פי אלתאדב מע אלצדיק ותקמם מסרתה. אן  
 אדא צאדקת צדיקאֹ רלגֹ) וגב עליך רלגֹ) אן תכון צדיק צדיקה.  
 וליס רלד) יגב עליך אן תכון עדו עדוה. לאן רלה) הדא אנמא הורלו)  
 שי רלו) יגב עלי כאדמה וליס רלו) יגב עלי ממאתל לה. רלה)
285. וקיל ליס רלה) תכמל חריהֹ רלטֹ) רגֹל רס) חתי יכון צדיקא  
 למתעאדיין.

יעתיק לבו וירמס לו בנלוי שחוק מפיו + 22, יש, *L. c.*, I, רכד)

בגב זה העיין ובעפעף + *Ib.* רכה)

עלי: 45-144, *Athāl*, רכוּ) להלין בעדו ויויף גלוי חשקו החלוש + *Ib.* רכוּ)

אדא. *Ib.* רכה)

חסי בה: *Ib.* רל) ספיהא. *Ib.* רכט)

אלספהא- וראץ בה אחתמאלה. *Ib.* רלא)

רלגֹ) רלנ) *IAU*, *ib.*: wanting. רלנא. *L. c.*, 143 and *IAU*, 52, רלב)

ולא. *Athāl*, *ib.*: רלד)

*IAU*, *ib.*: wanting. רלה-רלה) רלד)

ולא. *Ib.*: רלו) *Athāl*, *ib.*: wanting. רלו-רלו)

לא. *Kalim*, 9; *Athāl*, 143; *IAU*, 51, רלה)

*Kalim*, *ib.*; *Athāl*, *ib.*; *IAU*, *ib.*: כיריהֹ. *Boc.*, 215: bondad. רלט)

אלרנל. *Ib.* רס)

279. He said: An intellectual lover does not have to cajole his beloved with physical speech, but only with a look, gesture, or sign. These are all forms of expression, but they are spiritual and simple. But the brutish lover employs physical speech.<sup>204</sup>

280. He said: The intellectual lover comprehends the inner, intellectual form and its effects, but the brutish lover loves the exterior of the physical form.

281. He said: The brutish lover is intellectually duped and is deceitful, but the intellectual lover has a clear reflection and a pure mind.

282. He said: The intellectual lover grows in wisdom day by day, but the brutish lover grows in ignorance day by day.

283. He said: The wise person incurs no loss through a friend, for if the latter is virtuous he is an ornament to him, but if he is foolish, his honor protects him from folly.<sup>205</sup>

284. They said regarding behavior towards a friend and the height of delight with him: When you have a friend it is your duty to be his friend's friend, but it is not required of you to be his enemy's enemy, because this is something required of his servant but not of his equal.<sup>206</sup>

285. It is said: A man's nobility does not attain perfection until he can be the friend of two mutually hostile individuals.<sup>207</sup>

<sup>204</sup> *Musre*, I, יט, 22.

<sup>205</sup> *Amthāl*, 144-145; בהסו'הג, 32.

<sup>206</sup> *Boc.*, 237; *Amthāl*, 143 (both in the name of Plato). But '*Uyūn*, III, 6 reports reading in *Kitāb al-Hind*: The mark of a friend is that he is the friend of his friend's friend and the enemy of his friend's enemy.

<sup>207</sup> *Boc.*, 215; *IAU*, 51; *Kalīm*, 9; *Amthāl*, 143; *Usāma*, l. c., 448 (all in name of Plato); *Usāma*, 237.

286. ופי הדא אלמעני קלנא f. 87b

ומגידים עלי רע אמונה והחסד עמית צדק אחי שוא  
שאל אותם היתכן בבן איש ואם כן דברו הן דברו שוא. (רס)

287. וקאל אבו הרון פי הדא אלמעני

על מפקד כל נאמן על סוד אקרא נפשי תמיד לך אי  
יאשי לעד משור אותו כי לא נמצא על תבל אי.

288. קאל אבו הרון בן עזרא זל

זנח דודים רמא) עלי אוכל אהבוך ועל בנד  
ועת קמו בך רמב) ימים להרע בגדו בגד.

289. וקאל אבו הרון זל

אהה על יונקים דדי אהבים רמב) ותנמולם רמב) הניקוני מרורות  
וכתבתי לכל צד אהבתם רמב) והמה כתבו עלי מרורות

The version as quoted in *Magazin f. d. Wissenschaft d. Judentums*, XV, 111 is:

והחסד עמית צדק אחי שו  
ואם רק יאמרו הן דברו שוא

ומגידים על בעלי אמונה  
שאל אותם האדם יהיה זה

Kaufmann, *ib.* p. 139 emends על בעלי to read עלי, רק is probably a misreading of כן.

רדוי: (ed. Günzberg, 6, 7 (p. 55): חרשיש רמא.

בני: 8: *Ib.*, 8: רמב.

אהבי: 13: no. 363, I, ed. Brody, and *Diwān*, 6, 28 (p. 57) *L. c.*, 6: רמנ.

ותנמולים: חרשיש רמב).

טוב עליהם: *Ib.*, 29 and Brody, *ib.*: רמה.

286. In this connection we said:<sup>208</sup>

When told a friend is faithful, loyal, a friend of right, of  
truth a brother,<sup>209</sup>

Ask: Can this be true of man? If they say yes, they  
utter lies.

287. Abu Hārūn [Moses ben Ezra] said in this connection:

For the lack of loyal hearts, I cry alas! to you, my soul.  
Despair for e'er of seeing one; there is none such on this  
world-isle.<sup>210</sup>

288. Abu Hārūn ibn Ezra said:

Abandon friends who love you but for food and raiment's  
sake

But hasten to betray you if fortune you forsake.<sup>211</sup>

289. Abu Hārūn said:

Alas! those men who drank my love and requited me  
with pain

Whose love I wrote on all my being whilst they wrote  
venom in return.<sup>212</sup>

<sup>208</sup> A number of verses by our author are still extant. On the basis of a remark on a leaf used in a binding and printed by Steinschneider (Berliner's *Magazin*, XV, 110-111) the latter conjectures (*Die arabische Literatur d. Juden*, § 170, 232, no. 11) that ibn 'Aḳnīn's verses were collected in a volume. The couplet cited here is preserved on that leaf with the superscription: קמל איצא ופי ערם אהל אלפעל ואהל אלחריה קלנא (He also stated: Concerning the want of men of excellence and men of nobility we wrote).

<sup>209</sup> This rendering of שוא was already given by David Kaufmann in his translation of the verse (*Magazin*, ib., 139). Cf. also his discussion of the word in *ZDMG*, XXXVII, 236. Benjamin Klar in לקראוס ס' היובל לקראוס, pp. 5-9, has collected a number of illustrations from medieval writings to prove how widely Saadia's interpretation of שו in Job 15.31 as ססחו (even, just) was accepted.

<sup>210</sup> *Tarshīsh*, 6.2 (ed. Günzburg, 55; ed. Brody, 361).

<sup>211</sup> *L. c.*, 6.4 (Günzburg, 56; Brody, ib.).

<sup>212</sup> *L. c.*, 6.13 (Günzburg, 57; Brody, 363).

290. קאל אבו הרון זל

אחי התרע אל דוב שכול או דור במקום חבר (רמס) אמנה  
ורחק מכל ילדי אדם כי לא תמצא (רסו) בהם אמנה.

291. וקאל פי אלגרבה ענהם

מוסר שמעו מאיש מבין יריע אל אזון רע  
ימצא (רסו) כל אח עקוב יעקוב גם ילך לו רכיל רע

f. 88a

292. וימתל וציה ר יהודה הלוי נע (רסו)

ואמרו לי הלא תזרע אהבים עניתם כן ולא צלחו זרעי  
ואמרו לי התשתעשע ברעים עניתם כן ולא צלחו זרעי

293. וקאל ארסטו אלנמימה תהדי אלקלוב (רסח) אלבנצה (רסט)

ומן נקל אליך רון נקל ענך. (רנא)

גמר: Brody, *l. c.*, 361 no. 3: (רמס)

נסצא: *L. c.*, 6, 6 and Günzberg: (רסו)

יאטר: *L. c.*, 6, 41 (p. 58): (רסו)

*Diwān*, ed. Brody, I, 69 reads: (רסו)

שאלוני הזרעה אהבים עניתם כן ולא צלחו זרעי  
ואמרו לי התשתעשע בלי אח עניתמו כנפשי שעשועי

אלי קלוב: *IAU*, 65; *Asrār*, 119: (רסח)

(... ואזה ... שחם. *Asrār*, ib.: ומן ואזהך פקר שחמך + *IAU*, ib.: (רסט)

אלי אחר. *Asrār*, ib.: (רן)

ענה: *Ib.*: (רנא)



290. In this connection Abu Hārūn said:  
 A bereaved bear's company seek, my friend, or dwell by  
 demon's side indeed,  
 But keep away from sons of man, for you will find no  
 faith in them.<sup>213</sup>
291. Regarding the advisability of forsaking them, he said:  
 Accept advice from one who knows, and ever dins it into  
 ears:  
 He finds no brother but betrays, and every friend  
 calumniates.<sup>214</sup>
292. Let one follow the precept of R. Jehuda Ha-Levi;<sup>215</sup>  
 They said: Have you not planted love? Yes, I replied,  
 but it prospered not.  
 They said: What joy without friend? In me, I said, I  
 find my joy.<sup>216</sup>

#### ADDITIONAL APHORISMS

293. Aristotle said: Slander brings hatred to hearts, and whoever reports to you reports about you.<sup>217</sup>

<sup>213</sup> *L. c.*, 6.3 (Günzburg, 56; Brody, 361). The word *חבר* is to be related either to *חבר חבר* (Dt. 18.11) which is translated in the Talmud *מקטר לשד* (*Kerūthōh*, 3b) or to *חברים* (Job 40.30) which some medieval authorities render magicians. The sense of demon might be an extension of this basic meaning. Prof. Saul Lieberman suggests that the meaning is Parsee, and that the passage alludes to the Talmudic admonition *חחח נכרי ולא חחח חבר* (*Shabbat*, 11a). Saul Joseph (*משבצת החרשיש*, 186), because of his peculiar rendering of *אמנה* as a verb with the meaning of *ילדיה*, and his translation of *חבר* as *חיה רעה*, wonders whether the original was not *נמר*, and Brody in the Schiff Classics ed., 83, actually reads *נמר*. Cf. T. B. *Ḳiddushin*, 72a.

<sup>214</sup> *L. c.*, 6.18 (Günzburg, 58; Brody, 364).

<sup>215</sup> The lines are from the poem *בנרותם בי מירעי ורעי* to Moses b. Ezra (ed. Brody, I, 69).

<sup>216</sup> This hemistich is clearly dittographic in our text. For the correct version see the note to the Hebrew text. Dukes was aware of the divergence from the original of our first line but not of the second (*גוני אקספרר*, 60). The translation of the second line is based on the correct version.

<sup>217</sup> *IAU*, 65; *Asrār*, 119. For the second half see Freytag, III, 3104.

294. וקאל אמירש אלעאקל מן עקל ען אלדס לסאנה.
295. וסעי אלי ארסטאטלים תלמיד לה באכר פקאל לה  
 אתחב אן נקבל רנב) קולך רנב) פיה עלי אנא רנב) נקבל קולה רנב) פיך  
 קאל לא פקאל רנה) כף רנה) ען רנב) אלשר יכף ענך. רנב)
296. וקאל הרמס אלסאעי כאדב אלי מן סעי אליה או כאין  
 למן סעי אליה. רנב)
297. ומן אדאב פלאספה אלגן מן קאל פי אלנאס רנב) קאלו  
 פיה. רס)
298. קאל אלגניד שיך אלטאיפּהּ אלאך אי אלצדיק הו  
 אנת פי אלחקיקהּ אלא אנה גירך באלשכך.

נקבל מנה עליך ומנך עליה: *Ikd*, I, 315; אקבל מנך מא קלח: *IKut*, II, 24; (רנב-רנב)  
 רנב) אן. *IKut*, ib.: רנב)  
 רנב) מנה מא קאל: *Ib.*: רנב)  
 קאל פכף: *IAU*, 65; *IKd*, ib.: רנב-רנה)  
 רנב) *Ikd*, ib.: wanting.  
 רנב) אלשר + *Ikd* and *IKut*, ib.: רנב)  
 עליה: *Mut.*, 85; רנב-רנה)  
 מא יעלס + *Ijāz*, 13; רנב)  
 מא לא יעלמן + *Ib.*: רס)

294. Homer said: He is intelligent who restrains his tongue from blame.<sup>218</sup>

295. A disciple of Aristotle slandered someone before him. Then Aristotle said: Would you want us to believe what you say about him on condition that we believe what he says about you? When he replied, no, Aristotle admonished: Stay away from evil and it will stay away from you.<sup>219</sup>

296. Hermes said: A slanderer either lies to the one he reports to or betrays the one he reports about.<sup>220</sup>

297. One of the sayings of the Stoics is: He who maligns others is maligned by others.<sup>221</sup>

298. Junaid, the Sheikh of the fraternity, said: The brother, i.e., the friend is in reality you, but he is physically someone other than you.

<sup>218</sup> *Boc.*, 115; *Usāma*, *l. c.*, 236. Cf. also the first saying of Ptolemy in *Musre*, II, 8<sup>r</sup>, 1, and *Boc.*, 317.

<sup>219</sup> *Musre*, II, 1, 6; *Boc.*, 266; *IAU*, 65; *Kalim*, 92-93; *Ihd*, I, 315; *Uyūn*, II, 24 (the last three in name of Alexander).

<sup>220</sup> *Musre*, II, 1<sup>r</sup>, 15; *Boc.*, 99; *IMu*, 85.

<sup>221</sup> *Ijāz*, 13.