

MANUSCRIPTS & THEIR READERS:
THE *SIRR AL-ASRĀR* & THE CAREER OF A PSEUDO-ARISTOTELIAN TREATISE

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the career of the *Sirr al-Asrār*. Beginning with its composition in the 4th/10th century, it then covers its transmission, reception, influence and readership up until the beginning of the 14th/20th century. One of the overarching questions this thesis seeks to address is what can the materiality of the manuscripts and patterns of manuscript survival reveal about the history and transmission of the *Sirr*, and the contexts in which it was copied? It also includes a descriptive Catalogue of *Sirr* Manuscripts based on the findings of my survey of extant manuscripts, which includes manuscripts not identified in previous lists. The catalogue testifies to the dissemination of the *Sirr* in regions not documented before. The thesis also includes a working edition of the Short Form of the *Sirr*.

Part I of the thesis outlines existing scholarship on the cultural influences on the *Sirr*'s origins and its contents before arguing for a shift in focus to the Arabic-Islamicate context of its character and sources. I consider the intentions of the writer when the authorship of the treatise was attributed to Aristotle framed within the contexts of medieval concepts of authorship and authority, and the learned traditions from which the *Sirr* emerged. Along with internal textual evidence, I examine the contents and the learned traditions from which the *Sirr* emerged, to point to the audiences that the writer sought to engage. In Part II of the thesis, I draw on my survey of an extant corpus of more than one hundred manuscript witnesses and read this against references to the *Sirr* in Arabic works and existing studies to chart the career of the *Sirr* up until the 14th/20th century. Paying attention to the locative provenance of the different recensions of the *Sirr*, I argue that contrary to commonly held assumptions that the *Sirr* was composed in Baghdad or the Islamic East, the Short Form (SF) tradition of the *Sirr* in eight books emerged from the Islamic West, and the SF in seven books and the Long Form (LF)

emerged from Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean. Drawing on the manuscript evidence to map changes in the ways the *Sirr* was read, this study offers new insights on manuscript owners: how widely the *Sirr* was circulated; the types of libraries in which copies were kept; and how a shift to the copying of manuscripts of the *Sirr* for the commercial market, reflects the increasing presence of the *Sirr* in the libraries of scholars and students rather than royal and elite libraries in the latter part of its career. The manuscript evidence builds a picture of heterogeneous reading communities and the multi-faceted ways in which readers engaged with the *Sirr*.

This study makes a broader argument for the incorporation of analysing the materiality of manuscripts as an integral part of any study of the reception history of a work. It is also intended as a contribution to Islamic intellectual history, book history, and the study of pre-modern manuscript cultures.

DEDICATION

*For Mahmoud, Salih, Yusuf, Musa and Ibrahim,
Without whom this thesis would never have been completed.
Your sacrifices, your support and your hands, are in every one of these pages.
— With all my love and my deepest gratitude.*

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NOTES ON MANUSCRIPT REFERENCES

This study includes a large number of references to manuscripts of the *Sirr al-Asrār*. Wherever a specific codex is being described or under discussion, I use the following convention to refer to it: city + library name + MS shelfmark, for example, ‘Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Arabe 2421’. The exception is where the library itself primarily uses the catalogue number instead of the shelfmark, in which case former is given. Any alternative references (the catalogue number of manuscripts referred to by shelfmark, and vice versa) are provided in the Descriptive Catalogue of *Sirr* Manuscripts – **Appendix 2**. In cases where the same manuscript is discussed multiple times in the same section, the name of the city is dropped in the manuscript reference. For ease of reading, I often use an abbreviation for library names after the first mention; this is first noted in parentheses with the full name of the library. A list of the abbreviations used follows in these preliminary pages. It is accepted that using the full reference may strike a reader as obtrusive. However, amongst a sea of manuscript references and the importance of each manuscript retaining its own unique identity, I have maintained this standard convention for the sake of clarity. This will also help any readers to easily locate the manuscript should they wish to do so.

The full list of manuscripts in the survey can be found in **Table 1**, where they are listed alphabetically by city. Further information on the manuscripts can also be found in Appendix 2, which includes codicological information taken from the database created during my survey of the manuscripts. Appendix 2 documents much of the information gathered during my survey, but it has not been possible to translate all observations into this catalogue and there are some aspects that were noted as I wrote the chapters that were not retrospectively added to the catalogue.

NOTES ON transliteration

Throughout this study I use the transliteration system of the International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES) to latinize the Arabic script, which is given below. The exceptions to this are where the author uses a specific spelling, and common names and terms, which have been spelt according to their usage in the secondary literature.

IJMES transliteration system for Arabic, Persian, and Turkish

CONSONANTS

A = Arabic, P = Persian, OT = Ottoman Turkish, MT = Modern Turkish

	A	P	OT	MT		A	P	OT	MT		A	P	OT	MT
ء	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	—	ز	z	z	z	z	ك	k	k or g	k or ñ	k or n
ب	b	b	b	b or p	ژ	—	zh	j	j	گ	—	—	or y	or y
پ	—	p	p	p	س	s	s	s	s	گ	—	g	or ğ	or ğ
ت	t	t	t	t	ش	sh	sh	ş	ş	ل	l	l	l	l
ث	th	ṯ	ṯ	s	ص	ṣ	ṣ	ş	s	م	m	m	m	m
ج	j	j	c	c	ض	ḍ	ḍ	z	z	ن	n	n	n	n
چ	—	ch	ç	ç	ط	ṭ	ṭ	t	t	ه	h	h	h ¹	h ¹
ح	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	h	ظ	ẓ	ẓ	z	z	و	w	v or u	v	v
خ	kh	kh	h	h	ع	ʿ	ʿ	—	—	ي	y	y	y	y
د	d	d	d	d	غ	gh	gh	g or ğ	g or ğ	ا ²	a ²			
ذ	dh	ḏ	ḏ	z	ف	f	f	f	f	آ ³	ā ³			
ر	r	r	r	r	ق	q	q	q	k	ال	al			

¹ When h is not final. ² In construct state: at. ³ For the article, al- and -l-.

Vowels

	ARABIC AND PERSIAN	OTTOMAN AND MODERN TURKISH
Long	ا or َ ā	ā
	و ū	ū
	ي ī	ī
Doubled	ئِ iyy (final form ī)	iy (final form ī)
	ؤ uww (final form ū)	uvv
Diphthongs	أ au or aw	ev
	إ ai or ay	ey
Short	ا a	a or e
	و u	u or ü / o or ö
	ي i	i or i

For Ottoman Turkish, authors may either transliterate or use the modern Turkish orthography.

ABBREVIATIONS

AML	Alexandria Municipal Library, Alexandria
BL	British Library, London
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BNRM	Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc
CBL	Chester Beatty Library, Dublin
CHAL	<i>Cambridge History of Arabic Literature</i>
CUL	Cambridge University Library, Cambridge
DAK	Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo
El	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> ; <i>El</i> ² = 2 nd Edition, <i>El</i> ³ =3 rd Edition
GRL	Erfurt-Gotha Research Library (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha)
HAS	Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
IOS	Institute of Oriental Studies, St Petersburg
JRL	John Rylands Library, Manchester
JTS	Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York
LU	Bibliotheek Universiteit Leiden, Leiden
MH	Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah, Rabat
MS	Manuscript
NLM	US National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Montgomery County
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna
PUL	Princeton University Library, Princeton
RAS	Royal Asiatic Society, London
SBB	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin
SK	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul



INTRODUCTION

METHODOLOGY & FRAMEWORK OF ENQUIRY

The *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī tadbīr al-riyāsah* was a popular and widely read pseudo-Aristotelian Arabic treatise composed in the 4th/10th century. Known more generally as the *Sirr al-Asrār* (referred to hereafter as the *Sirr*), it purports to be an epistle from Aristotle to Alexander the Great, dispatched to the latter during his conquest of Persia. Beginning with an exchange of letters between Aristotle and Alexander, the body of the text is then split into a varying number of books dealing with statecraft and governance as well as a diverse range of topics from health, diet and herbal remedies to alchemy, astrology, numerology and physiognomy. With a career spanning almost a millennium, the *Sirr* has a remarkably long history, during which it continued to be copied, while many other texts had peaked and lost favour. Considering a corpus of more than one hundred extant manuscripts attesting to its popularity, the reception history of the *Sirr* is an area that has received surprisingly scant attention, perhaps due to a perception that it was a marginal text in terms of significance to scholarship. This thesis traces the career of the *Sirr* from its composition in the 4th/10th century to its transmission, reception and influence on writers and those who engaged with it up until the beginning of the 14th/20th century, drawing throughout on my survey of extant manuscripts to interrogate a number of issues: if there is evidence that the *Sirr*'s contents reflect an Arabic-Islamic character of that period; what insights the materiality of the manuscript corpus can add to the study of reception history and how readers engaged with the text; and, since the earliest citation of the *Sirr* came from the

Islamic West and it was widely circulated there, consider whether it is possible that the *Sirr* emerged from there.

أما بعد

Part I of the thesis (Chapters 1 and 2) examines the cultural, literary and intellectual context in which the *Sirr* was composed, considering whether there is evidence that its contents reflect an Arabic-Islamic character. There has been much scholarship already on the origins and formation of the *Sirr al-Asrār*, which has largely focused on a positivist search to identify the textual origins of certain sections of the *Sirr* within Greek, Persian, or Indian traditions.¹ This

¹ The complexity of the issues raised in previous scholarship and the various arguments that have been put forward on the origins and formation of the *Sirr* make it difficult to summarise for the present purposes, particularly as they do not have a direct bearing on the questions addressed in most of this thesis. They will, therefore, be discussed in Chapter 1 instead, where the appropriate space can be given. The main studies on the *Sirr al-Asrār* include: Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse, Die arabischen und deutschen Fassungen des pseudo-Aristotelischen Sirr al-asrār/Secretum Secretorum* (Wiesbaden; 2006) whose work is the most comprehensive account of the Arabic tradition; and *Idem*, 'Physiognomy as a Secret for the King: The Chapter on Physiognomy in the Pseudo-Aristotelien 'Secret of Secrets'' in J. Cale Johnson and Alessandro Stayru (eds.), *Visualising the Invisible with the Human Body* (Berlin/Boston; De Gruyter, 2019), pp.321-45; Mario Grignaschi 'Les Risā'il Aristāṭālīsa 'ilā-l-Iskander de Sālim Abū al-'Alā' et l'activité culturelle à l'époque omayyade,' *Bulletin d'études orientales* 19 (1965-1966) pp.7-8; *Idem*, 'Le Roman épistolaire classique conserve dans la version arabe de Sālim Abū-l-'Alā', *Le Muséon* 80 (1967) pp.211-253; *Idem*, 'La 'Siyāsa al-'āmmiya' et l'influence iranienne sur la pensée politique islamique,' in J. Duchesne-Guillemin (ed.), *Momentum H.S. Nyberg III, Hommages et opera minora*, vol. III, Acta Iranica 6 (Tehran/Liège: Leiden, 1975); *Idem*, 'L'Origine et les metamorphoses du *Sirr al-asrār*', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 43 (1977), pp.7-112; *Idem*, 'Remarques sur la formation et l'interprétation du *Sirr al-asrār*' in W.F. Ryan and C.B. Schmitt (eds), *Pseudo-Aristotle: The Secret of Secrets: Sources and Influences* [PASS], (London: Warburg Institute Surveys 9, 1982); Mahmoud A. Manzalaoui, 'The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb Sirr al-Asrar*: Facts and Problems,' *Oriens*, 23/24 (Brill: 1974), pp.147-257; Shaul Shaked, 'From Iran to Islam: Notes on Some Themes in Transmission. 1. 'Religion and Sovereignty are Twins' in Ibn al-Muqaffā's Theory of Government. 2. The Four Sages,' *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 4, pp.31-67; W.F. Ryan and C.B. Schmitt (eds.) *Pseudo-Aristotle, The Secrets of Secrets: Sources and Influences* [PASS] (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1982); Aḥmad al-Turaykī, *Sirr al-Asrār li-Ta'sīs al-Siyāsa wa-Tartīb al-Riyāsa, li-Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa Khillān al-Wafā'*, 2nd Edition (Beirut; 1983); Kevin van Bladel, 'The Iranian Characteristics' in *The Greek Strand in Islamic Political Thought: Proceedings of the Conference held at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, 16-27 June 2003* (Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph; Vol. LVII, 2004); Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets: The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (USA: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Stig Wikander, "De l'Inde à l'Espagne: l'origine de la 'Poridat de las Poridas.'" In *Actas IV Congresso de Estudos árabes e islâmicos, Coimbra-Lisboa 1 a 8 de Setembro 1968*, (Leiden; 1971).

The Arabic text has previously been edited by Abdel Rahman Badawi, which is essentially based on the Long Form of the *Sirr*: 'Abdurrahman Badawi (ed) 'Sirr al-Asrār' in *al-Uṣūl al-Yūnāniya li al-Nazarīyāt al-Siyāsa fī al-Islām*, Part 1 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahda and Masriyyah, 1954). An English translation of the Long Form Arabic text was prepared by Isma'īl 'Alī and is included in Robert Steele's edition of the Roger Bacon's Latin version: Robert Steele (ed) *Opera Hactenus Inedita Rogeri Baconi*, Vol. V (Oxon: Oxford University Press, 1920), pp.176-276. However,

focus on disparate parts of the *Sirr* has generally been at the expense of a closer examination of the character of the treatise as a whole and the internal evidence that reflects the Arabic sources, its influences and the setting in which it was compiled. I examine the Arabic sources of the *Sirr* and consider questions about the dating of its composition and the intentions of the writer when the authorship of the treatise was attributed to Aristotle. This is framed within the contexts of medieval concepts of authorship and authority and the learned traditions from which the *Sirr* emerged.² I draw on textual evidence and studies of these contexts to propose the types of audiences that the writer of the *Sirr* sought to engage. To address questions of dating, I examine the Arabic sources of the *Sirr* alongside an examination of the codicological and palaeographical features of the supposedly earliest dated manuscript witness to propose a narrower timeframe for the *Sirr*'s composition than previously existed. I also examine the codicological features of the otherwise undated manuscripts that were surveyed to provide an approximate date of copying.

Whilst comparing the text with potential sources, it became clear that the lack of an edited text of the earliest Short Form (SF) recension of the *Sirr*, was a major challenge. Although the Arabic text has previously been edited by Abdurrahman Badawi, his edition is essentially based on the

as the base text for this was Gotha, GRL, MS Arab.1869, it varies in places from the Arabic text of Badawi's edition of the LF.

The English translations provided throughout this thesis are derived wholly or partially from Isma'īl 'Alī's translation but has been adapted or modified, as required, where it diverges from the Arabic text of the Short Form of the *Sirr* in eight books (SF8) that is used throughout the thesis. The Arabic text of the SF8, based on Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2421, can be found in Appendix 1 – it is a working edition of the text, produced for this thesis. Any references to the *Sirr* are based on this edition and given by the folio number as replicated in the edition (unless otherwise indicated). For convenience, they will appear in parentheses within the main body of the chapter. The rationale for this edition is provided in the Introduction and the beginning of Appendix 1.

² For this, I draw on the various studies and discussions included in Lale Behzadi and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (eds), *Concepts of Authorship in Pre-Modern Arabic* (Bamberg: Univesity of Bamberg Press, 2015).

later Long Form (LF) of the treatise; it incorporates some variant readings of the SF but does not sufficiently distinguish between the two versions or note where the expanded passages of the LF begin.³ To overcome this challenge, I have produced a working edition of the SF in eight books (SF8), based on Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2421, which can be found in **Appendix 1**. This manuscript is a 12th/18th century copy selected primarily because it was a complete copy of the *Sirr* in a clear hand and is a collated manuscript that traces its exemplar to the Islamic West, which I argue is the region from which this version emerged.⁴ Any references to the *Sirr* are based on this edition and given by the folio number of the manuscript, which is replicated in the edition (unless otherwise indicated).

In Part II of the thesis (Chapters 3-5), I trace the career trajectory of the *Sirr* up until the 14th/20th century. I draw on my survey of the manuscript evidence of 106 extant manuscripts, which is presented in the Catalogue of *Sirr* Manuscripts (**Appendix 2**), along with literary references to the *Sirr* and edited archival evidence by Konrad Hirschler and Gülru Neciploğlu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher in which the presence of the *Sirr* in medieval and Ottoman libraries can be

³ ‘Abdurrahman Badawi (ed) ‘*Sirr al-Asrār*’ in *al-Uṣūl al-Yūnānīya li al-Nazarīyāt al-Siyāsa fī al-Islām*, Part 1 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahda and Masriyyah, 1954).

⁴ Whilst sufficient for the present purpose, a future edition would benefit from comparing textual variations with other complete manuscripts. An earlier complete copy of the SF8 is: Leiden, Bibliotheek Universiteit Leiden, MS Or.749, dated to the mid-10th/17th century but this was not used for several reasons: I was unable to procure a digitised surrogate in time to begin work on an edition away from the library; it does not have a direct link to the Islamic West – it was copied in Istanbul; it is written in an irregular hand that attempts to imitate the Maghribi script but is illegible in many places. I have, however, made use of comparisons with extracts that are studied in detail with the thesis – any variations have been noted, where relevant (the system of noting variations is explained at the beginning of the edition).

noted.⁵ This study is the first comprehensive attempt to chart the career of the *Sirr*.⁶ To date, there have only been mostly cursory references to the influence of the *Sirr* up to the 9th/15th century in studies that were dedicated to other subjects or works; the exception being Linda Darling's study on various versions of the Circle of Justice in Middle Eastern linguistic and cultural traditions, which notes a number of quotations of the *Sirr*'s version.⁷ I read the findings of my manuscript survey against elements from Darling's study and references to the *Sirr* in other works. I also consider secondary studies on the emergence of public libraries, book history and developments in the book trade along with my analysis of the provenance of *Sirr* manuscripts and use this as a lens through which to understand the patterns of manuscript survival and findings of the manuscript survey.⁸

⁵ Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library – The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016); Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3 – 1503/4)*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill 2019).

⁶ Throughout this thesis I draw on the data I gathered in preparation of the detailed Catalogue of *Sirr* Manuscripts, which is presented in Appendix 2. Although the majority of descriptive features of manuscripts are noted in my Catalogue, there are some details that were noted during additional analysis for the writing of the chapters and are not consistently presented there. Nevertheless, all folio reference are provided and where available images have been included.

⁷ Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2013).

⁸ I primarily draw on the following studies: Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: a social and cultural history of reading practices* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012); *Ibid*, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library – The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016); İsmail E. Erünsal, 'The Establishment and Maintenance of Collections in the Ottoman Libraries: 1400-1839', *Libri*, vol.39, no.1 (1989); İsmail E Erünsal, 'Ottoman Foundation Libraries: Their History and Organisation' in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, XXX (2007); *Ibid*, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey of the History, Development and Organisation of Ottoman Foundation Libraries*, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 84 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2008); *Ibid*, *The Archival Sources of Turkish Literary History*, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures, Turkish Sources 75 (Cambridge, MA; NELC, Harvard University, 2008); *Ibid*, 'The Istanbul Book Trade and Sahafs (Booksellers)' in Coşkun Yılmaz (ed.) *History of Istanbul: From Antiquity to the 21st Century*, Vol.VIII (Istanbul: İSAM, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı); Meredith Moss Quinn, *Books and Their Readers in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul*, PhD Thesis (Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard University, 2016); Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Syracuse, NY; Syracuse University Press, 2003).

I begin charting the career trajectory of the *Sirr* with a focus on the medieval period, considering questions of who read and owned copies of the *Sirr*, how readers received and engaged with the text, and how widely the *Sirr* was transmitted. Paying attention to the locative provenance of the different recensions of the *Sirr*, I ask if it is possible to use this alongside literary citations to trace the emergence of the SF and LF traditions. This study then follows the *Sirr*'s career over the latter part of its career, focussing mainly on its transmission, reception and influence in Ottoman Turkey, but also covering other parts of the Ottoman world where it was still being read - with new insights on manuscript owners, how widely it was circulated, the types of libraries in which it was kept, and how a shift to the production of manuscript of the *Sirr* for the commercial market reflects the increasing presence of the *Sirr* in the libraries of scholars and students over royal and elite libraries. Finally, this thesis examines the manuscript evidence with a focus on the readers of Ottoman manuscripts, building a picture of the heterogeneous reading communities and the multi-faceted ways in which readers engaged with the *Sirr*.

The overarching enquiry in this thesis, particularly over Chapters 3-5, is what can the materiality of the extant manuscript corpus and the patterns of manuscript survival reveal about the history, transmission and reception history of the *Sirr* and the contexts in which the *Sirr* was copied and circulated? This study makes a broader argument for the incorporation of analysing the materiality of manuscripts as an integral part of any study of the reception history of a work. It is also intended as a contribution to Islamic intellectual history, book history, and the study of pre-modern manuscript cultures. Arabic and Islamic manuscript studies is still an emerging field and until recently substantial detailed studies of Islamic manuscripts largely focussed on early Quran manuscripts, the arts of the book, or in the preparation of critical editions. Since I

began my research in 2012 a number of important studies have emerged that contribute to the study of Islamic manuscripts, focussing on libraries or individual collections, manuscript circulation across a region, or the manuscripts of a particular author or within a genre of writing.⁹ There have also been studies that have incorporated a focus on individual works as part of a broader genre or study of manuscript culture.¹⁰

* * *

SURVEY OF MANUSCRIPTS

CONDUCTING THE SURVEY

One of the core research processes in the preparation of this thesis was conducting a search for, and survey of, all extant manuscripts. It represents the first attempt to gather the manuscript data of all known extant manuscripts, analyse them, study their provenance, use patterns of manuscript circulation to trace the transmission, reception and dissemination of the *Sirr* in order to to argue for a history of the *Sirr*'s career.

⁹ Studies with focus on libraries or individual collections include Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library – The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016) and Boris Liebrecht, *Die Rifā'iya aus Damaskus: Eine Privatbibliothek im osmanischen Syrien und ihr kulturelles Umfeld* (Leiden; Brill, 2016). The PhD thesis of Christopher D. Bahl, *Histories of Circulation : Sharing Arabic Manuscripts across the Western Indian Ocean, 1400-1700*, (PhD Thesis; SOAS University of London, 2018) examines manuscript circulation across the Western Indian Ocean. The work of Noah Gardiner examines the manuscripts of the occult works of Aḥmad al-Būnī: Noah D. Gardiner, *Esotericism in a Manuscript Culture: Ahmad al-Buni and His Readers through the Mamlūk Period*, (Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Michigan; 2014). Other studies have examined manuscript culture through the lens of religious works: Tobias Heinzelmann, *Populäre religiöse Literatur und Buchkultur im Osmanischen Reich: Eine Studie zur Nutzung der Werke der Brüder Yazıcıoğlu*, *Istanbuler Texte und Studien* 32 (Würzburg; Ergon, 2015); Frederike-Wiebke Daub, *Formen und Funktionen des Layouts in arabischen Manuskripten anhand von Abschriften religiöser Texte: al-Buṣṣirīs Burda, al-Ğazūlīs Dalā'il und die Šifā' von Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ* (Wiesbaden; Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016).

¹⁰ In addition to Daub's, *Formen und Funktionen*, which studied the manuscripts of three religious works to consider the form and function of layout in Arabic manuscripts, we can add Paul Babinski's recent PhD thesis which includes a detailed chapter on Orientalist readers of manuscripts of the *Gulistan*: Paul Babinski, *World Literature in Practice: The Orientalist's Manuscript Between Empire and Germany* (PhD Thesis; Princeton University, 2020).

Throughout this thesis, and particularly in Chapters 3-5, I present the findings of my survey of 106 manuscripts, drawing on personal examination, catalogue entries and information provided by the institutions that hold them. The starting point for the list was the fifty-three manuscripts mentioned in Mahmoud Manzalaoui's list, published in 1974, which incorporated the earlier work of Abdurrahman Badawi and entries in GAL, which included some basic descriptive information.¹¹ This list was supplemented by Regula Forster with a further twenty-five manuscripts in her study of the Arabic and German traditions.¹² In addition, a further twenty-eight manuscripts have been identified during the course of this research – often discovered during visits or direct communications with repositories that already hold copies. A full list of the manuscripts can be found in **TABLE 1**; details of the manuscripts can be found in the descriptive catalogue in **Appendix 2**; a summary of some of the main findings of the manuscript survey are presented in **TABLE 3 (a-d)**. It is very likely, therefore, that the number we have here is not final and there are still more manuscripts being held in private collections and institutions that I have been unable to access. Although the Persian tradition of the *Sirr* is not the main focus of this study, I note its use by Persian writers or the presence of Persian manuscripts in libraries where it relates to how widely the *Sirr* was disseminated.

Research for this chapter has involved examination of the codices wherever possible, or their digital or microfilm surrogates. At the outset of this research, I intended to directly examine half of Manzalaoui's list (twenty-seven manuscripts) in order to have a large enough sample for the more detailed analysis, and to rely on catalogue and information from the repositories for

¹¹ Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems', pp.148-57.

¹² Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, pp.1-47

as many as possible of the rest. As more and more manuscripts were identified during the course of the research, it was decided to increase the number that were directly analysed. Wherever it was feasible, the manuscripts were consulted in person or surrogates were requested. Some of the manuscripts had already been digitised and made available online, which either saved some time when the originals were seen or allowed me to choose to visit other libraries for which there was little or no information about the manuscripts. The research entailed visits to: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul; Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc and Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah, Rabat; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Berlin; Gotha Research Library, Gotha; Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; British Library and Royal Asiatic Society Library, London; Bodleian Library, Oxford; Cambridge University Library, Cambridge; and John Rylands Library, Manchester. Digital and microfilm surrogates were obtained from Cairo Dār al-Kutub, Majlis al-Shūra Tehran, Leiden University, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna, Princeton University, University of Pennsylvania and the US National Library of Medicine. In total, sixty-five manuscripts (61%) were analysed in detail; these are indicated as 'seen' in the catalogue – forty-seven were examined in person and eighteen via surrogates.

A further fourteen (13%) manuscripts have detailed catalogue entries that were gathered in preparation for the catalogue, although I was unable to examine them. Due to the number of manuscripts and the constraints of time, logistical difficulties of seeing manuscripts scattered all over the world, feasibility of travel and, in some cases, the lack of access, it was never going to be possible to directly examine all the manuscripts. For those that could not be examined in detail, further information was sought through existing library catalogue entries, by contacting

the respective institutions that hold the manuscripts for further details, and any descriptive information in Manzalaoui's list. In the case of fifteen manuscripts (14%), I was unable to access any further information apart from some basic identification information. This difficulty in access was compounded somewhat with the arrival of the COVID-19 pandemic as I attempted to finalise the survey at a time when most repositories were either closed or had limited services. Nevertheless, with seventy-nine of the 106 manuscripts studied in detail (75%), and another fifteen having sufficient information to be of use (i.e. 89% of the manuscripts have been studied in some way), there is a high degree of confidence in the findings. All references to manuscripts are based on the findings of my survey of extant manuscripts, which is summarised in the descriptive Catalogue of *Sirr* Manuscripts presented in **Appendix 2**, where further images are also provided. Although the majority of the manuscripts are complete, some are only partial or incomplete copies, or are extracts of particular sections. Wherever a departure from the full text has been noted, it has been indicated in the catalogue.

One important aspect of the manuscript survey was an examination of the provenance of manuscripts to identify the regions in which manuscripts were copied and circulated. Considering that 49% of the extant manuscripts are currently held in the Oriental collections of Western European and North American libraries, it has been necessary as part of this enquiry to trace the provenance of this large subset of *Sirr* manuscripts to establish the places and contexts in which they were produced and how this outflux of Ottoman books was one part of the broader picture of the commercial book market.

OVERVIEW OF CODICES & MAIN FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY

The extant manuscript corpus provides a far more widespread and detailed picture for the assessment of the transmission and reception history of the *Sirr* than references, or evidence of its influence in other works and secondary sources, have indicated. The manuscripts identified in the catalogue date from the 5th/11th through to the 13th/19th centuries, indicating both the popularity of the text and that the durability of its appeal extended beyond what was previously thought (see **TABLE 3 (a-d)** for a summary of some of these findings). It is difficult to date or assess the peak of transmission or popularity of a work based on the number of surviving manuscripts alone, as attrition rates are higher for earlier manuscripts, and further studies are required before fairer comparisons can be made. Nonetheless, the sheer number of extant manuscripts and the fact that the greatest number of surviving manuscripts that can be dated in some way come from 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, demonstrate not only the remarkable longevity of the work in the Arabic tradition, but also suggest that these two centuries may represent the peak of the *Sirr*'s transmission. With fewer copies being produced in the 13th/19th century than the previous two centuries, it is safe to say that its transmission in Arabic decreased somewhat in the 13th/19th century, but it was still being copied and read. Based on the complete manuscripts where the version or number of books could be ascertained, there appears to be an equal split between manuscripts of the SF and LF (twenty-nine of each), thirteen manuscripts were extracts of the Onomancy section only, and a further eight were just partial fragments of the *Sirr*. The manuscript survey also provides new insights into how geographically widespread the dissemination of the *Sirr* was: with manuscripts from Herat and the Indian subcontinent, and multiple copies from Yemen and Morocco.

With ten out of the twenty-four extant manuscripts (42%) from the medieval period having been commissioned for rulers and members of the military elite, it is evident that the *Sirr* soon became a staple of the libraries of the elite, but its reception history shows that it was also read by a range of other readers. The survey of manuscripts found that, in the second half of its career, the *Sirr* was perhaps read even more widely than it was in the medieval period, with manuscript production and its circulation continuing right up until the late-13th/19th and early 14th/20th century. Although literary references to the *Sirr* in Egypt and *Bilād al-Shām* almost disappear after the 9th/15th century, there is still plenty of manuscript evidence that demonstrates that it continued to be widely copied in the region, reflecting its enduring appeal to readers and the ongoing importance of these cities to scholarship. From the 10th/16th century, the *Sirr* could also be found in the literature, libraries and book markets of the new centre of power - Istanbul. **Table 3** details the different versions copied over the centuries, showing that the SF was more widely copied than the LF in the medieval period but from the 10th/16th to 13th/19th centuries it was the LF that was more popular. Comparison between the two versions of the SF shows there are more manuscripts of the SF8 than the SF7, particularly from the 12th/18th to 13th/19th centuries. Another point of contrast is that only six of the fifty-seven manuscripts (11%) dated from the 10th/16th century to the 13th/19th centuries were commissioned for rulers and the members of the elite – and that even those were commissioned outside the Ottoman world.¹³ The broader range of readers engaging with the *Sirr* in the Ottoman period is also evident in the materiality of extant manuscripts: they are generally modest in form, lacking the lavish embellishments of the private commissions for elite

¹³ The commissioned manuscripts from outside the Ottoman world will be discussed in Chapter 5.

medieval libraries, and appear to have been produced on the commercial book market and read by scholars, students and the literate urban class.

Close examination of the extant manuscripts of the *Sirr* has pointed to some of the diverse contexts and heterogeneous reading communities in which the *Sirr* circulated: ranging from physicians, theologians, Sufis, jurists, philosophers and political thinkers to sultans, grand viziers and members of the military and administrative elite. The survey also revealed the multi-faceted way in which readers engaged with the *Sirr* and broad shifts in the types of readers who commissioned, copied, owned, and read the *Sirr* from the 10th/16th century onwards. Analysis of the distinct features of individual manuscripts has revealed a range of reader interests from material evidence of scribes guiding potential readers through certain sections of the text, to reader notes, paratextual features and other evidence of direct reader engagement with the text. Analysis of such elements builds a micro-level picture of the manuscript readers and the reading communities to which they belonged. Sometimes these readers' interests traversed the material, at other times interest was more focussed on specific sections or elements of the work. Identification of the other contents with which the *Sirr* was physically bound as a codex allows us to further contextualise the reading communities who engaged with the *Sirr* as part of a repertoire of works customised for individual reader interests or for groups – either as part of multiple-text manuscripts (MTM), where all the component works in a volume were copied together by the same scribe, or composite manuscripts (CM), where the component works were copied at different times by different scribes and later bound together.¹⁴ Investigating all

¹⁴ I adopt the terms multiple text manuscripts and composite manuscripts, as used by the Hamburg Centre for Manuscript Study, to distinguish between volumes where the component texts were copied together by one

of these elements as part of the manuscript survey has enabled this study to argue for a comprehensive transmission and reception history of the *Sirr*, in a way that is not possible by relying on textual evidence alone.

* * *

CHAPTER OUTLINES

Chapter 1 outlines the scholarship on the cultural origins of the *Sirr al-Asrār* and provides a thorough consideration of the *Sirr*'s Arabic-Islamicate character, its sources and the context in which it was composed. The chapter begins with an introduction to the *Sirr* - an overview of its structure, contents and general character (section 1.1), followed by an outline of the differences between the two main recensions – the Short Form and the Long Form (section 1.2). Section 1.3 summarises existing scholarship about the cultural origins of the *Sirr* and synthesises this with my own analysis and propositions about some of the *Sirr*'s sources and influences. As part of my argument that the Arabic character of the *Sirr* merits further examination in order to build a more comprehensive account of the origins, formation and character of the *Sirr*, I identify sources that have not been noted before, as well as draw on previously identified sources, to argue that the *Sirr* is representative of the 4th/10th-century Arabic-Islamicate environment from which it emerged and that this is a more defining feature of its character than any other cultural influences. Finally, section 1.4 attempts to establish a timeframe for the composition of the *Sirr*, drawing both on the dates of the Arabic sources identified in earlier sections and a codicological and palaeographical analysis of what purports

hand (MTM) and those that were copied by different people (CM). This is a more useful way to analyse these volumes than the unhelpful term *majmū'ah*.

to be the earliest manuscript witness (London, British Library, MS Or.12070) to argue for dating in the third quarter of the 4th/10th century. Although the dating of this manuscript has been questioned before, the question remained unsettled. It is hoped that using this approach will clarify whether it should be considered when dating the *Sirr*, which has the potential to narrow the timeframe proposed for its composition with greater confidence.

Chapter 2 seeks to understand the authorial intentions of the writer of the *Sirr* set within the intellectual, literary and cultural context in which the treatise was produced. To date, there has been no attempt to situate and understand the treatise within the broader, flourishing and eclectic intellectual and literary traditions of Arabic scholarship in the 4th/10th century. Nor has there been any detailed exploration of why the authorship was specifically attributed to Aristotle or who was the *Sirr*'s intended audience. In this chapter, I propose that it is possible to study the intentions and motivations of the writer (Pseudo-Aristotle) when he attributes the authorship of the *Sirr* to Aristotle through close reading of the text and a consideration of how the figure of Aristotle lent authority to the treatise through association as understood within the context of the intellectual and literary landscape of the 3rd/9th to 4th/10th centuries. I argue that the contents of the *Sirr* reflect and engage with various learned traditions of the period, indicating that the author of the *Sirr* aimed to engage with a range of audiences.

The first half of the chapter (sections 2.1 and 2.2) considers the writer's intentions: what is the significance of attributing the authorship of the *Sirr* to Aristotle and how does this relate to concepts of authorship and authority in the early medieval context (up to the 7th/13th century)? What did the writer seek to achieve? The second half of the chapter attempts to identify the

author's intention in relation to the intended audience of the treatise. Section 2.3 considers how the writer uses the persona of Aristotle as author to engage with the intended recipients. Finally, section 2.4 situates the contents of the *Sirr* within the broader scholarship and intellectual traditions of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries from which the *Sirr* emerged to propose the types of audiences for whom the contents would have appealed. Building on some of the debates in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 also supports one of the broader arguments of this thesis that the *Sirr* was an original Arabic composition from the 4th/10th century and that its contents reflect the intellectual pursuits of the period.

Chapter 3 aims to trace the history of the *Sirr*'s transmission, reception and dissemination during the medieval period – covering the timespan from its earliest citation in the Islamic West in 376/987 up until the fall of Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula in 1492 and the end of Mamluk rule over Egypt and *Bilād al-Shām* in 1517.¹⁵ This chapter follows two lines of enquiry. The first strand addresses the transmission, dissemination and reception of the *Sirr* in the medieval period. Who were its early readers? What were they interested in? How did they engage with it? The second strand of enquiry that runs through the chapter is whether there are any patterns in the emergence of the SF and the LF traditions that can further our understanding of the *Sirr*'s history. The historical and scholarly context within which the treatise places itself and the nature of its contents have largely suggested that the work was composed in the Islamic East. This assumption has not been investigated or probed in any detail before.

¹⁵ This seems to be an appropriate place to delineate the first half of the *Sirr*'s career in these two regions as it provides an ample timespan to chart its early reception and the emergence of the SF and LF traditions yet distinguish this from some of the later developments in its career during Ottoman rule (which will be discussed in Chapter 4).

Using a combination of literary references to the *Sirr*, citations by early readers, along with an analysis of manuscript and documentary evidence, this notion is tested, and I propose a trajectory for the emergence of the two traditions and the regions from which they emerged.

Chapter 4 traces the latter part of the *Sirr*'s career with a focus on the new lease of life it received in the Ottoman world between the 10th/16th and early 14th/20th centuries through a consideration of the environments in which it was copied, circulated and read. In a similar vein to Chapter 3, in the first half of the chapter (sections 4.1 and 4.2), I draw on the manuscript evidence I gathered for this study (**Appendix 2**) and previously edited and published archival evidence, and read this against any literary citations of the *Sirr*.¹⁶ I demonstrate that multiple copies of the *Sirr* could be found in the Ottoman imperial libraries - with some having been there as early as the mid-9th/15th century – and in the libraries of Grand Viziers and state officials. I argue that by the late 10th/16th century, the *Sirr* was familiar not only to the ruling elite, but also to the readers and writers of ethical treatises. It was brought to the attention of fresh reading communities when it was translated into Ottoman Turkish. This translation did not, however, signal the demise of the Arabic form, which continued to be referred to and read in the Ottoman world.

In the second half of Chapter 4, I argue that shifts in the purpose of production over the Ottoman period, namely the trend towards scholarly and non-elite readers owning copies of the *Sirr*, is also manifested in the materiality of extant manuscripts, showing increased

¹⁶ All references to the manuscripts of the *Sirr* are based on the information I gathered for the catalogue of *Sirr* manuscripts presented in Appendix 2.

circulation of the *Sirr* on the commercial book market (Section 4.3). Section 4.4 pays particular attention to changes in reading practices, the rise in the number of literate and semi-literate urban classes, and the *Sirr*'s presence in the new independent public libraries that emerged in the second half of the 11th/17th century. These developments ensured the continued circulation of the *Sirr* to new and varied reading communities who no longer needed access to endowed libraries attached to institutions or via private libraries.

Chapter 5 continues to reconstruct the career trajectory of the *Sirr*, but with a focus on readers and how they engaged with the text. In this chapter, I will examine the manuscript evidence to understand the interests of readers who engaged with the *Sirr*, building a picture of the heterogeneous reading communities and the multi-faceted ways in which readers engaged with the *Sirr*. I will begin by providing a brief overview of the types of material evidence that have been used to identify the heterogeneous nature of the reading communities between the 10th/16th and 13th/19th centuries. What kind of cues can be used as signs of the personal interests of readers? How were readers invited to engage with the work in particular ways through scribal practices? The chapter then moves to the more substantial discussion, which argues that there were five broad categories of reading communities who primarily engaged with the *Sirr*, particularly in the second half of its career. In addition, the discussion will include evidence of the transmission of the *Sirr* outside the Ottoman realms where it provides new insights into its career history.

* * *

PART I

CHAPTER 1

THE *SIRR AL-ASRĀR*: ORIGINS, FORMATION & CHARACTER

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The aim of the present chapter is to outline the scholarship on the cultural origins of the *Sirr al-Asrār* and to provide a thorough consideration of its Arabic-Islamicate character, its sources and the context in which it was composed. There has been much scholarship already on the origins and formation of the *Sirr al-Asrār*, which has largely focused on a positivist search to identify the textual origins of certain sections of the *Sirr* within Greek, Persian, or Indian sources. This focus on disparate parts of the *Sirr* has generally been at the expense of a closer examination of the character of the treatise as a whole and the internal evidence that reflects the Arabic sources, influences and the setting in which it was compiled. It would be remiss for any study on the career of the *Sirr* to neglect engagement with the existing body of scholarship. However, it is not intended that the discussions here go beyond outlining the main theories that have been proposed. Nor will it test out all the multiple theses that have been proposed, some of which, as in the case of Grignaschi, evolved over time. Such an assessment would require a dedicated study of its own and this thesis is a deliberate attempt to argue for a focus on the Arabic-Islamicate influences that shaped the overall form of the *Sirr* as one part of a broader study on its long history and career in the Islamic world.

This chapter begins with an introduction to the *Sirr*: an overview of its structure, contents and general character (section 1.1), followed by an outline of the differences between the two main recensions – the Short Form and the Long Form (section 1.2). Section 1.3 summarises existing

scholarship about the cultural origins of the *Sirr* and synthesises this with my own analysis and propositions about some of the *Sirr*'s sources and influences. As part of my argument that the Arabic character of the *Sirr* merits further examination in order to build a more comprehensive account of the origins, formation and character of the *Sirr*, I identify sources that have not been noted before, as well as draw on previously identified sources, to argue that the *Sirr* is representative of the 4th/10th-century Arabic-Islamicate environment from which it emerged and that this is a more defining feature of its character than any other cultural influences. Finally, section 1.4 attempts to establish a timeframe for the composition of the *Sirr* drawing both on the dates of the Arabic sources identified in earlier sections, and a codicological and palaeographical analysis of what purports to be the earliest manuscript witness (London, British Library, MS Or.12070) to argue for dating in the third quarter of the 4th/10th century. Although the dating of this manuscript has been questioned before, the issue remained unsettled. It is hoped that the codicological and palaeographical analysis will illuminate the usefulness of this approach using this approach when dating the *Sirr*, as it has the potential to narrow the timeframe proposed for its composition with greater confidence.

Along with a more detailed examination in Chapter 2 on the issues of authorship, authorial intentions and the learned traditions from which the *Sirr* emerged, the first two chapters of this thesis will form the foundation upon which the *Sirr*'s one-thousand-year career is reconstructed in the remainder of the thesis.

1.1 *SIRR AL-ASRĀR*: STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

PRELIMINARY MATTER: PROLOGUES AND EPISTLES

The *Sirr* opens with the prologue of an anonymous writer dedicating his work to an unidentified Caliph, the Commander of the Faithful, explaining the circumstances of its inception.¹ The writer states that he has obeyed the Caliph's directive, "and followed his injunction in studying the work of direction for the management of state known as the *Secret of Secrets*," compiled by Aristotle for his pupil the "great king Alexander, son of Philip of Macedonia, known as *Dhū'l-Qarnayn*."² The author of the prologue claims that the work was prepared by Aristotle as a substitute for his presence when he was too old and infirm to accompany Alexander during the wars in Asia. He then exalts the virtues of Aristotle as Alexander's 'prime minister' and esteemed friend, and a man of brilliant gifts of whom strange and marvellous things are related.

¹ The English translations provided throughout this thesis are derived wholly or partially from the translation of the Long Form of the *Sirr* that was prepared by Isma'īl 'Alī as published in Robert Steele (ed), *Opera Hactenus Inedita Rogeri Baconi*, Vol. V (Oxon: Oxford University Press, 1920), pp.176-276 – the translation has been adapted or modified, as required, where it diverges from the Arabic text of the Short Form of the *Sirr* in eight books (SF8) that is used throughout the thesis. The Arabic text of the SF8, based on Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2421, can be found in Appendix 1 – it is a working edition of the text, produced for this thesis. Any references to the *Sirr* are based on this edition and given by the folio number as replicated in the edition (unless otherwise indicated). For convenience, they will appear in parentheses within the main body of the chapter. The rationale for this edition has been provided in the Introduction and the beginning of Appendix 1.

The Arabic text has previously been edited by Abdurrahman Badawi, which is essentially based on the Long Form of the *Sirr* ('Abdurrahman Badawi (ed) '*Sirr al-Asrār*' in *al-Uṣūl al-Yūnāniya li al-Nazarīyāt al-Siyāsa fī al-Islām*, Part 1 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahda and Masriyyah, 1954)). Although Badawi's edition also incorporates some variant readings of the Short Form, it does not distinguish where the expanded passages of the Long Form begin – the different recensions of the text are discussed in the next section of this chapter. However, as the base text for Isma'īl 'Alī's translation was Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Arab.1869, it varies in places from the Arabic text of the Badawi edition.

² The figure of *Dhū'l-Qarnayn*, 'The Two-Horned One,' as mentioned in the Quran [18:83-98], was often conflated with Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE), king of Macedonia, in Islamic literature during the pre-modern periods. Alexander became the heroic figure in the various Alexander Romances that circulated in the East, including Armenian, Syriac, Persian and Arabic. From the 2nd/8th to 4th/10th centuries, various Quranic exegetes and storytellers alike sought to attribute the identity of the Two Horned One to Alexander in the pre-modern period. See: A. Abel, 'Iskandar Nāma', in P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition (EI²)*, (Brill; Leiden, 2012) (Consulted online on 12 September 2021); A. Abel, *Dhū'l-Qarnayn, prophète de l'Universalité*, (Brussels, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Or. et Slaves*, xi, 1951), pp.6-18; idem, *Le Roman d'Alexandre, légendaire médiéval*, (Brussels; 1955), pp.82-9.

This includes declarations by some men that he was a prophet, whilst others related that God had made a revelation to Aristotle saying, “Indeed, I prefer to call you an angel rather than a human” (f.2r).³

The writer of the prologue states that many letters were passed between Aristotle and Alexander, one of which was sent by the latter after he conquered Persia and decided to put to death the men of distinction there. Alexander believed that these men harboured ambitions to rule and asked his adviser’s opinion about this course of action. Aristotle’s reply follows, stating that as he cannot change their country or their climate (*hawā’ihim wa-mā’ihim* – lit. “their air and water”), Alexander should conquer the Persians through kindness and benevolence, thus obtaining their love rather than using his power to kill them. The writer concludes that Alexander accepted these injunctions and made the Persians his most loyal subjects (f.2v-3r).⁴ Another prologue follows, which the text ascribes to the well-known 3rd/9th-century translator Yaḥyā, or *Yuḥannā*, ibn al-Biṭrīq.⁵ Yaḥyā was one of a famous group of scholars working in Baghdad for Caliph al-Ma’mūn ca.199/815, during the most notable period of translation of Greek philosophical and scientific tracts into Arabic. His prologue explains the circumstances

إِنِّي إِلَى أَنْ أَسْمِيكَ مَلِكًا أَقْرَبُ مِنْ أَنْ أَسْمِيكَ إِنْسَانًا³

⁴ Steven Williams notes that these statements are contrary to the political advice given by Aristotle to Alexander as reported by Plutarch (*De Alexandri fortuna*, 329B, as noted in Steven Williams, *The Secret of Secrets: The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (USA: University of Michigan Press, 2003), p.8, f/n. 4): Aristotle is reported to have recommended that Alexander rule the Barbarians as a ‘master’ and treat them as slaves, ‘like beasts or plants’; according to Plutarch, Alexander ignored the advice (Plutarch *Moralia*, ed. Frank Cole Babbitt, vol.4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1936, pp.397-99). In the *Politics*, Aristotle equated the Barbarians to ‘slaves’ (1252b5-9).

⁵ John, son of the Patrician: patrician was a title of military authority in the Byzantine Empire. Alternatively, *al-Biṭrīq* could be referring to ‘the Patriarch.’

around his discovery of the treatise at a mysterious temple of the Sun built by Hermes the Great, and its translation into Arabic (f.3r).⁶

Yahyā then begins his translation with another epistle written by Aristotle to Alexander - apparently a reply to the latter's request to accompany him. Alexander's letter is not included in the text, but Aristotle's reply reiterates Alexander's expression of regret at parting with him after he was unable to accompany him on his travels due to age and infirmity. He responds to Alexander's request that he draw out a code which should serve as a guide to him in all his needs and take Aristotle's place in all affairs (f.3v). The treatise that follows the prologue, therefore, is Aristotle's personal response to Alexander's entreaty to compose a canon of instructions.

Aristotle asks that he not be compelled to disclose the secrets that were divinely revealed to him any more than what is being deposited in the book lest they fall into the hands of tyrannical and corrupt men, who might then discover "what God did not deem them worthy to understand." However, he assures Alexander that there will be no veil of obscurity between him and the book if he studies its secrets earnestly, as God has endowed him with understanding and rare wisdom. Aristotle explains that some of the material of the book is outwardly a treasure of wisdom and golden rules; but inwardly, "certain prohibited and profound mysteries" of the book are cloaked in figurative language, to be understood only by

⁶ In some manuscripts, the temple is attributed to Aesculapius.

those who are worthy of its secret teachings (f.4r).⁷ Whilst this preliminary matter is relatively short (typically around 3 folios of a 45-folio manuscript), it is an important part of the treatise in the way it provides the rationale for its compilation, establishes its esoteric nature, and provides authority to its contents through the authorship of Aristotle and its intended royal recipient, Alexander. Aristotle's preface is then followed by a brief table of contents outlining its discourses, or books (*maqālāt*), before reaching the contents proper of the treatise.

BOOKS OF THE *SIRR*

The *Sirr* is preserved in the form of two main recensions, classified by Manzalaoui as a Long Form (LF) and a Short Form (SF).⁸ The SF can be found in two variant forms: a version in eight *maqālāt*, or books (SF8), and a seven *maqālāt* version (SF7). The LF recension comprises of 10 *maqālāt*. The exact content and their arrangements can vary somewhat between the two. Nevertheless, the SF contains much of the material found in the LF, but some of the shorter *maqālāt* are combined and referred to as *abwāb* (chapters) or *qawl* (maxims), forming parts of a larger book. Several books contain a chapter that forms a significant, if not a major, part of that particular book. Although the LF contains additional material, and the position of some sections varies depending on the recension, both the SF and the LF share certain core material. This core material is detailed in the table below (FIG. 1.1) along with its book position.

⁷ وإنما رمزت لك الأسرار المحظورة وعُزِّتْ لك المعاني المكتومة لتلايق كتابنا هذا بأيدى جور مفتسدين وفراغة متجبرين فيطلعون على ما لم يجعلهم الله أهلاً لعلمه ولا ارتضاهم لفهمه، فيكون قد خترت العهد الذى أخذ على، وفضحت سراً أظهره الله إلى،

⁸ Mahmoud A. Manzalaoui, 'The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitab Sirr al-Asrar*: Facts and Problems.' *Oriens*, 23/24 (Brill: 1974), pp.147-257. Manzalaoui's classification will be maintained here.

FIGURE 1.1: The main topics covered in the *Sirr*, with their book position in the various recensions

SUBJECT:	SF7 BOOK	SF8 BOOK	LF10 BOOK
Preliminaries:			
- Dedication to the Caliph (anonymous)	i	i	i
- The virtues of Aristotle	ii	ii	ii
- Alexander's letter to Aristotle	iii	iii	iii
- Aristotle's reply	iv	iv	iv
- Yahyā's prologue	vi	v	vi
- Aristotle's letter to Alexander about the <i>Sirr</i>	v	vi	v
- list of contents	vii	vii	vii
Book: <i>The Kinds of Kings</i> في أصناف الملوك	1	1	1
Book: <i>On the Position and Character of a King</i> في حال الملك وهيئته وكيف يجب أن يكون مأخذه في نفسه	2	2	2a
Book: <i>On Justice</i> في صورة العدل الذي به يكمل الملك وتساس الخاصة والعامة به	3	3	3
Book: <i>On Ministers</i> في وزرائه ... وجنده ووجه سياستهم	4a	4a	4
Book: <i>On Secretaries (or Scribes)</i> ...وكتابه...	4b	4b	5
Book: <i>On Governors</i> ...والناظرين في رعيته....	4c	4c	7
Book: <i>On Ambassadors, Messengers & Envoys</i> في سفرائه ورسله وهيئاتهم ووجه السياسة في بعثهم	5	5	6
Book: <i>On Army Commanders and Officers</i> في سياسة قواده والأكابر والأساورة من أجناده	6a	6	8
Book: <i>On the Management of Wars</i> في سياسة الحروب وصورة مكايدها والتحفظ من عواقبها وترتيب لقاء الجيوش...	6b	7a	9a
- Chapter: 'Onomancy Calculation of Victory' ...والأوقات المختارة لذلك	6c	7b	9b
- Chapter: 'Physiognomy' باب في علم الفراسة	6d	7c	2c
Book: <i>On the Occult Sciences:</i> في علوم خاصة			
- Chapter: 'Health Regimen'* باب في الرتبة الحسنة في تدبير الجسم	7a*	7d/8a*	2b

(*In the SF7 and SF8, the chapter on Health Regimen is sometimes listed in the contents of the final Book - on Occult Sciences – in some manuscripts. It is placed immediately after the Physiognomy in the penultimate book)			
- 'Talisman' - 'Lapidary' وأسرار ناموسية من الطلسمات وذكر خواص الأحجار...	7b	8b	10a
- 'Herbal' ... والنبات - 'Powers of planets' - 'The Philosopher's Stone' - 'The Emerald Table of Hermes'	N/A	N/A	10b

CONTENTS & CHARACTER OF THE *SIRR*⁹

Book 1 of the *Sirr* (ff.5v-8r), 'On the Kinds of Kings' (*fī aṣnāf al-mulūk*), is written in the manner of a 'Mirror for Princes' providing political and moral advice on how Alexander should conduct himself as a king. A taxonomy of kings is given according to their liberality (*sakhā'*) and avarice (*la'īm*) with respect to themselves as rulers and the subjects (*ra'yatuh*). The importance of generosity (*karam*), liberality, sincerity and piety is stressed. Lusts are condemned as destructive, leading the ruler to strife and the ascendancy of the animal soul over the body and spirit. Reason (*'aql*) is described as the health of the soul. This forms the contents of Book 1 in both the SF and the LF.

The first Book is always followed by Book 2 'On the Position and Character of a King' (*fī ḥal al-maliki wa-hay'atuhi wa-kayfa yajabu an yakūna ma'khudhuhu fī nafsihi*), which continues the political and moral counsel, offering the ruler advice on maintaining his character and good

⁹ What follows is a brief outline of the contents. For a more detailed textual analysis, see Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse, Die arabischen und deutschen Fassungen des pseudo-Aristotelischen Sirr al-asrār/Secretum Secretorum* (Wiesbaden; 2006), pp.48-112.

position amongst his people, as well as guiding his personal conduct (ff.8r-14r). A king should be distinguished. He should abide by laws and observe divine commandments (*ḥudūd Allāh*) so that he is regarded as a public example of temperance and sincere faith. The practices of Indian kings are given as examples to compare. There should be lower taxes for merchants to encourage trade. Lust is referred to as the habit of the swine and a source of corruption of one's constitution; a stern recommendation is made to control one's lusts. The discussion on the personal conduct of the king then moves on to advice on how to interact with other functionaries and how to reward courtiers according to Indian practices. The Greek god of healing and medicine, Aesculapius, is mentioned with reference to how to maintain control over subjects. The complaints of the people should be removed and the weak should be helped from the treasury. There are references to the people of *Ītākh*, *Saqūr* and *Hanāhīm* as having lost their kingdoms for the sake of worldly goods.¹⁰ This is followed by a recommendation to study the arts and the sciences and then a rather sudden change in direction, as Aristotle warns against trusting women by reminding Alexander of his encounter with the poisonous maiden who had been brought up on poisons until she could herself administer a fatal bite, and how Aristotle had saved him from her. An admonition is also made to consult the stars before any action so that one can prepare for fate beforehand. This material forms Book 2 book in both the SF and the LF, but the LF version is considerably longer as the sections on health and physiognomy are placed at the end of this book and expanded upon (this will be discussed further in the following section).

¹⁰ It has not been possible to identify who these names refer to. (Alī's translation: *Inakh*, *Safūr*, and *Hananij*; Badawi: *Hanānīj* only).

Continuing the mirror-for-princes theme, ‘On the Form of Justice’ (*fī ṣūrat al-‘adl*) makes up Book 3 in the SF and LF, emphasising the necessity of justice to complete the king (ff.14r-15v). The discussion sets out the relationship between state and society and the mutual dependence between the ruler and ruled based on eight inter-dependent concepts of justice. Manuscripts usually present this information in the form of a circle or octagon illustrating how justice holds the world and the state together. This illustration became known as Aristotle’s ‘Octagon’ or ‘Circle’ of Justice (FIG. 1.2).

FIGURE 1.2: The text of the Circle of Justice.¹¹

The world is a garden, hedged in by the State.	العالم بستان سياجه الدولة
The State is sovereign, protected by the custom (or law).	الدولة سلطان تحميه ¹² به السنّه
The custom is policy, governed by the king.	السنّه سياسة يسوسها الملك ¹³
The king is a shepherd, supported by the army.	الملك راع يعضده الجيش
The army is [composed of] helpers, maintained by money.	الجيش أعوان يكفلهم المال
Money is provision, accumulated by the subjects.	المال رزق تجمعه الرعيّه
The subjects are servants, ruled by justice.	الرعيّه عبيد يعبدهم العدل
Justice is harmony and is the life of the world.	العدل مألوف وهو حياة العالم

‘On Ministers’ (*fī wuzarā*) forms the beginning of Book 4 in all versions of the *Sirr* (ff.15v-21r).

It begins with Aristotle reiterating that the book contains divine secrets (*asrār ilahiyyah*) that are indispensable for Alexander’s instruction. This is followed by a mention of the First

¹¹ Although it is introduced and space for it to be added was left by the scribe of Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2421, the Circle was not added. The Circle presented here is based on another SF8 and represents the most common form it took (Rabat, BNRM, MS D754, f.24v).

¹² Rabat, BNRM, MS D754, f.24v (an SF8). Variant readings in other mss: تحيا به (MS Bodleian Laud. Or. 210, f.90r – an SF7); تعضده (Rabat, BNRM, MS J94, p.216 – an SF8). Other examples of minor variants found in the LF can be found translated into English in: Robert Steele (ed) *Opera Hactenus*, pp.226-7 (in English); see also, Badawi, *Fontes Graecae*, pp.128-9 (Arabic).

¹³ Although uncommon, some versions of the Circle have ‘*al-imām*’ instead of ‘*al-malik*’ (e.g. Rabat, BNRM, MS D754).

Intelligence, from which the Universal Soul (*al-nafs al-kulliyyah*) emanates. This is expanded further in the LF, with a Neoplatonist Aristotle embarking into an emanationist cosmogony. The LF then returns to the core material of the SF addressing the main subject in another lengthy and varied section including discussions on ministers, their numbers, method of governing them, the experience of their counsels, their qualities, and their intellect. This section also contains a comparison between the traits of humans and various animals. This is developed further in the LF where it is followed by an anecdote about a Magus (*al-majūsī*) travelling with a Jew to demonstrate how everyone is guided in their behaviour by their creed and to warn against choosing advisers from other faiths. In the LF the Book on Ministers is an independent book, whereas in the SF7 and the SF8 it is combined with the next two sections. The following sections are relatively short (each one comprising one side of a folio in a 45-folio manuscript) and provide practical counsel on ‘Scribes’ (*kuttāb*) (f.21v) and ‘Governors’ (*nāzirīn fī ra‘yah wa-jund*) (f.22r).

The next Book is on ‘Ambassadors & Envoys’ (*fī safarā’ihī wa-rusulihī*), and forms another independent book in all the recensions (ff.22v-23r). It describes the requisite qualities in those who hold these positions, policies to deal with them, and warnings to be vigilant against certain characters and habits.

The following Book ‘On Army Officers’, is another short section discussing policy concerning officers of the army and soldiers (ff.22v-24r). It details the hierarchy of military authority and details a decimal organisation of the army. The LF includes a description of the so-called Horn

of Themistius, or *Yayastayus*, which was apparently a hydraulic organ, or machine, capable of producing such a terrible noise that it could terrify the enemy as well as summon troops from a distance of sixty miles.¹⁴

The next book on 'On the Management of War' (*fī siyāsat al-ḥurūb*) is more detailed and practical in its advice (ff.24v-29r). It provides advice on the strategies and tactics of war, ways to evade the foul consequences of it, the order required when meeting the enemy, and selecting the most appropriate times for doing so. Aristotle underlines the importance of astrology in regulating military activity and discloses the secret Onomancy formula with which to calculate who will win and lose a battle based on the number of letters in the two opposing generals' names (ff.27r-29r).¹⁵ The SF versions follow this Onomancy section with a Physiognomy section (*'ilm al-firāsah*) that places an emphasis on the importance of the study of people's physical characteristics to reveal their true nature (ff.29v-33r). It details the best proportioned constructions in each part of the body and identifies signs of an ill-natured person to assist Alexander in selecting his company and governors over his people. The LF abbreviates and moves the physiognomy section to the end of Book 2 but includes an additional anecdote on the well-known physiognomist Polemon to demonstrate the value of this science.

¹⁴ There is a reference to the hydraulic organ of ancients described by someone referred to as Maristus in Franz Rosenthal's *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, translated by E. and J. Marmorstein, (London: Routledge, 1975), pp.235-238. This includes a diagram of the organ that is similar to the one found in manuscripts of the *Sirr*. Steven Williams also refers to several sources on the organ in *The Secret of Secrets*, p.15: Henry George Farmer, 'The Horn of Alexander the Great', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1926), pp.500-03; idem, *The Organ of the Ancients* (London; 1931), pp. 79, 119ff; William Leslie Sumner, *The Organ: Its Evolution, Principles of Construction, and Use* (New York; 1973), p. 16ff).

¹⁵ Onomancy is the practice of divination from names, such as the number of letters in a name or the values of the numbers, in the *Sirr*'s case.

In the SF8, Book 7 ends with the Health Regimen immediately after the Physiognomy (ff.33v-38r). This section includes theoretical material on humours, conservation of health, daily routine and custom, the influence of the seasons, diets for different parts of the body, a formula for a universal panacea, and natural heat of the body. In the SF7, the Health Regimen is placed at the beginning of its final book - although it is sometimes placed at the end of it instead. In the LF, this Health Regimen is expanded upon and moved to Book 2 before the Physiognomy.

The final book, 'On the Occult Sciences' (*fī 'ulūm khāṣṣah*), varies significantly in content between the SF and the LF (ff.38r-45r). Both versions begin by discussing the elements as the essence of the world before an extended consideration of talismans. In the SF, this is then followed by a lapidary describing the occult properties of stones. The LF also inserts additional material into its final book: the secrets of astrology; a dense section on the 'mighty secret' of an enigmatic alchemical operation complemented by an account of the well-known Hermetic and Occult text, the *Emerald Table* (or *Smaragdine Table*), attributed to Hermes Trismegistus (lit. 'thrice greatest Hermes'),¹⁶ which promises unsurpassed power over all things to the one who follows its obscure formulas;¹⁷ next, a very brief lapidary; then a short herbal, or catalogue of plants. Each set of secrets revealed throughout the treatise promises mysterious powers over events to the knowledge-holder. The *Sirr*'s esoteric nature is emphasised further in this

¹⁶ The Emerald Table is a brief collection of alchemical maxims that supposedly had been found engraved on a tablet of emerald in the tomb of Hermes Trismegistus. Hermes was ascribed thousands of works covering philosophy, alchemy, magic, astrology and related subjects.

¹⁷ Williams, *The Secret of Secrets*, pp.15-16. See also: Julius Ruska, *Tabula smaragdina: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur* (Heidelberg; 1926); Robert Steele and Dorothea Waley Singer, 'The Emerald Table', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* (History of Medicine), Vol. 21 (1927-28), pp.485-501; Martin Plessner, 'Neue Materialien zur Geschichte der Tabula Smaragdina' in *Der Islam*, Vol. 16 (1927), pp.77-113; Didier Kahn (ed), *La Table d'Émeraude et sa tradition alchimique* (Paris; 1995).

last book. Aristotle's advice is completed with a message to Alexander that he has fulfilled the latter's request and performed his duty towards him, wishing he be strengthened by it, if God wills. The writer then finishes the text with praise to God and prayers for the Prophet Muhammad, his family and Companions.

What can be surmised from this overview is that many of the subjects covered in the *Sirr* resonate clearly with the salient features of advice texts; in particular, virtues of the ruler and the moral foundations of good governance. Some of the advice addresses the practical infrastructure of the court and the ruler's administration. Yet the contents also transcend the mirrors-for-princes genre through the inclusion of a range of material on the sciences, from a health regimen to the occult. Overall, four major themes run through the *Sirr*, which together demonstrate its function as both a *Fürstenspiegel* and a compendium of sciences: the virtues of a ruler; ideal political rule; military organization and warfare; and knowledge of the sciences. A more detailed discussion of the material in the *Sirr* in relation to similar texts and broader Arabic literary traditions will follow in Chapter 2.

* * *

1.2 RECENSIONS OF THE *SIRR*: THE SHORT FORM AND THE LONG FORM

There are two main recensions of the *Sirr*: the Short Form (SF) and the Long Form (LF). Before outlining the differences between recensions, it is worth reiterating that both the SF and the

LF share a lot of core material.¹⁸ Although there are some minor differences in terms of arrangement and division between the SF7 and SF8, these are unremarkable and do not affect the overall character of the SF content (see Appendix 1 for my edition of the SF8 text).¹⁹ There are more significant disparities, however, between the SF texts and the LF: the number of books and division of material, the location and arrangement of some sections and additional material in the LF.

One of the obvious differences between the SF and the LF is the number of books: in the SF the content of the books on Scribes and Governors is placed within Book 4 on Ministers, resulting in fewer overall books; in SF8, the book on Army Commanders is arranged as a book separate from the one on the Management of War, creating an extra book; while in the LF each of these subjects is divided into short but separate books.

Another distinguishing feature between the SF and the LF is the location and arrangement of some of the material; in particular, the sections on the Health Regimen and medical material and the Physiognomy. In the SF, the large section on health regimen and daily routine (which would account for an independent book if the *Sirr* was divided equally) is placed at the end of

¹⁸ I am following the designation used by Manzalaoui when referring to the Long and Short Forms rather than Robert Steele's use of the Eastern and Western Form, respectively, which was used to differentiate between the (SF/Western) recension that was used as the basis for the earlier Latin and Hebrew translations carried out in al-Andalus and the (LF/Eastern) recension from Antioch that was used as the basis for a later Latin translation (see Chapter 3 for further details about these translations).

¹⁹ As noted earlier, this edition is based on Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2421 – it is as a working edition of the text, produced for this thesis. The rationale for this edition has been provided in the Thesis Introduction and the beginning of Appendix 1.

the last book following the occult/scientific material on talismans and a lapidary on the properties of stones. This final book in the SF thereby completes the education of a ruler by moving from the earlier advice on good governance and guidance on selecting attendants and those who manage his affairs to advice on general personal conduct and more mundane daily regimen. The *Fürstenspiegel* character is maintained throughout as it moves from the wider issues of importance for a ruler to the more personal at the end. In the LF, the health section is expanded upon and moved to Book 2, *On the Position and Character of a King*, where it follows the advice on the conduct becoming of a king with more detailed precepts on his daily routine, hygiene and eating habits.

The LF also rearranges the position of the Physiognomy section. In the SF it was placed at the end of the book on Warfare. This arrangement in the SF suggests that knowledge of physiognomy was considered part of a ruler's assessment of potential enemies and his strategy of warfare. In the LF, the Physiognomy can be found in Book 2, after the health section, which suggests the LF reviser thought that it needed to remain adjacent to the medical matter. The Physiognomy of the LF is also prefaced by an additional anecdote about 'the ancient' Polemon being given an unflattering physiognomic analysis by Hippocrates that is not present in the SF.²⁰ Despite the addition of the anecdote, the physiognomy of the LF is in fact briefer in parts, as

²⁰ Polemon of Laodicea (c. 88-144 CE) was a politician, aristocrat and intellectual who wrote a manual of instruction for reading the character from someone's physical appearance. Although he was not the first to write on physiognomy (the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomy* is older), Polemon's *Physiognomy* displaced all rivals bar those bearing the name of Aristotle. There are explicit references to Polemon's *Physiognomy* in Arabic texts in the years after the middle of the 3rd/9th century (Simon Swain (ed.), *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.1-4).

denoted by its LF title, *Mukhtaṣar fī al-Firāsah*.²¹ Overall, the effect of the LF's rearrangements of these two large sections of text means that a wider interpretation of conduct is utilized in the LF. This arrangement interrupts the more abstract mirrors-for-princes theme of the first three books. It also creates a more prescriptive tone in what becomes the bulkiest of the *Sirr's* books.

In addition to the expanded Health Regimen and Physiognomy sections, the LF contains certain supplementary material: after the relocation of the health material from the last Book, the LF retains the lapidary on the properties of stones and talismans, but also inserts other material on the powers of planets, the Philosopher's Stone, the Emerald Table of Hermes, and a herbal section, providing a more occult tone to this Book. Some of the lengthier abstract additions, particularly in the LF, can be found word for word in the encyclopaedic work, *Rasā'il* of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (*The Sincere Brethren*, lit. *The Brothers of Purity*), who are commonly thought to have been writing in the third quarter of the 4th/10th century.²² Whilst there are also some similarities between the SF text and the *Rasā'il*, the LF demonstrates a more direct influence – the *Rasā'il* will be discussed further below in Sections 1.3 and 1.4.

Comparison of the manuscripts, particularly those of the LF, reveals that there are similarities in the illustrative elements. The most obvious features of the diagrams show the following: all

²¹ Badawi, *Sirr*, p.117.

²² Although the date of composition of the *Rasā'il* is a complex question for which various theories have been presented (this is discussed in further detail below in section 1.4: 'Dating Based on Sources'), there is strong evidence that the *Ikhwān* were active in the second half of the 4th/10th century.

the recensions illustrate the Circle of Justice with the text written within an actual circle or octagon (except in the minority of manuscripts where a blank space appears to have been left for a diagram but was never completed); some LF manuscripts use illustrations to clarify content (for example, the ‘instrument of Yatastayus’, and when comparing humans and animals); some of the illustrated group contain the Onomancy in a table form; the section on ‘Spiritual Medicine’ is also absent from some of the LF manuscripts.²³

In addition to the above, Manzalaoui noted a subtle difference in the arrangement of the preliminary matter before the main contents. In the SF8, the prologue of Yaḥyā is placed after the anonymous compiler’s preface and the initial exchange of letters between Aristotle and Alexander. This suggests that the letters were regarded as peripheral to the translation proper by Yaḥyā and not an integral part of the treatise. Only the last of Aristotle’s letters, the one introducing the treatise and the internal rationale for its authorship, is placed after Yaḥyā’s prologue. However, in the SF7, Yaḥyā’s prologue is placed *before* Aristotle and Alexander’s initial exchange of letters, followed immediately by Aristotle’s letter introducing the treatise. This is a more logical arrangement for Yaḥyā’s prologue as it incorporates the letters into the core treatise. The LF follows the SF8’s arrangement of the preliminary matter which suggests that the LF was expanded from the SF8 rather than the SF7, and that both versions of the SF pre-date the LF. This more logical re-arrangement of the preliminary matter indicates that it is more likely that the SF7 was redacted from the SF8 rather than the other way around, thus providing textual evidence pointing to the SF8 as being the oldest form of the *Sirr*.

²³ Mahmoud Manzalaoui, ‘Facts and Problems,’ pp.169-170.

The only other distinguishing feature of note between the SF8 and SF7 is the total number of books, which is another matter of arrangement rather than content or character. The SF7's reduction of the number of books to seven by combining the book on army officers with the book on management of war may have been influenced by the efficacy of the number seven, which would not be out of place in a treatise that includes the properties of numbers and letters. Manzalaoui cites this to argue that the SF8 chronologically precedes the SF7, and that both SFs precede the LF.²⁴ In support of the precedence of the SF8, Emily Cottrell notes that in addition to the eight lines on justice, there are several further examples in the text of the *Sirr* where the number eight has special significance. However, she refers to the Badawi LF text in her examples, but they do not appear in the SF8 text of the MS Paris BnF Arabe 2421 (see Appendix 1 for the SF8 edition accompanying the present study) and appear to be absent from other SF8 manuscripts too. On the other hand, Mario Grignaschi argued that the SF was abbreviated from the LF, whilst agreeing with Manzalaoui that it is possible both types derived from a lost archetype.²⁵

To summarise the relationship between the SF and LF: although the SF and the LF share much core material, the rearrangements and additions that are made in the LF somewhat change the character of the treatise. The content of the SF is very much within the mirrors-for-princes tradition of advice literature. The LF retains much of this character, however, by locating the

²⁴ Manzalaoui leaves open the possibility that the SF and the LF ultimately derived from a common source. Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' p.x, pp.171-180.

²⁵ Grignaschi's ideas evolved over time, with his final position on this matter expressed in Mario Grignaschi, 'Remarques sur la formation et l'interprétation du *Sirr al-asrār*' in W.F. Ryan and C.B. Schmitt (eds), *Pseudo-Aristotle: The Secret of Secrets: Sources and Influences* [PASS], (London: Warburg Institute Surveys 9, 1982), p.6.

health and physiognomy sections in Book 2, the LF interrupts the flow of advice on good governance of the SF. It also means that the bulk of the *Sirr*'s material ends up in Book 2 of the LF. This makes for uneven distribution of the overall content and greater emphasis on this book. The additional theoretical and scientific material that is added throughout does, on the other hand, raise the intellectual stature of the contents. The additions in Book 10, in particular, create a more encyclopaedic text that is more wide-ranging in both its character and remit of advice than the SF and includes the occult as well as the more 'scientific' material.

* * *

1.3 THE ORIGINS AND FORMATION OF THE *SIRR*

The insertion of additional material and the rearrangement of content in the LF is evidence that there was a revising and editing process that took place after the SF was formed. It has also been noted that although the core of the text was consistent, there was some fluidity in what constituted the text between the SF and the LF; with all three recensions continuing to coexist and be referred to as the *Sirr*. Furthermore, the history of adding, revising and rearranging the material of the *Sirr* extends beyond the formation of the SF8 recension. As discussed in the previous section (1.2), the original arrangement of the epistles in the SF8 indicates that they were not considered part of the main body when the *Sirr* was first compiled in the form that we now know. They must have been added to the treatise at some point in its history, either by the alleged translator Yaḥyā (or a pseudo-Yaḥyā), or alternatively by the anonymous author of the opening prologue before the SF8 took its final form.

Evidence of a compilation and revision history is not just limited to the preliminary matter. Considering that the physiognomy and health sections are longer than some of the actual ‘books’ of the *Sirr*, and the fact that these sections came to be considered as significant parts of the treatise, it is surprising that they do not form individual chapters or appear in the table of contents. The absence of any outward acknowledgement that they were integral to earliest version of the text that became known as the *Sirr*, is internal evidence of a compilation history and that they were incorporated into the body of the text after the table of contents had been established as part of the treatise. The fact that their position in the treatise was not fixed in the contents is why the redactor of the LF was able to remove these sections from their position in the SF and insert them into Book 2. The present length of the sections on Secretaries, Governors, Ambassadors and Army Commanders, which are all comparatively brief, contain none of the initial theoretical basis that is provided before the practical advice in other sections. Considering the fact that there is strong relationship between the roles of these officials and the relative briefness of these sections, it is possible that they were initially all together as part of Book 4 (*On Ministers*) at some in their history. This compilation history raises questions about the origins of the *Sirr* and how it came to be compiled as the treatise in its present form. Most of the scholarship on the *Sirr* to date has focussed on the possibility of Greek origins and other cultural influences on its contents.

THE QUESTION OF GREEK ORIGINS OF THE *SIRR*

THE AUTHORSHIP OF ARISTOTLE

The first challenge in exploring the origins of the *Sirr* is the question of the attribution of its authorship to Aristotle. There is no evidence to suggest that Aristotle was genuinely the author

of a text that was translated either directly or via an intermediary translation into Arabic. Nor is it amongst any of the known Arabic translations of his works. Some of the doctrines of the *Sirr* certainly do, however, have identifiable Hellenistic, classical Greek, and even Aristotelian antecedents which previous writers, most recently Steven Williams, have identified. Williams outlines some of these parallels:²⁶

There are distinct reminiscences of the Hippocratic school of medicine in the section on health: the humoural theory, which was embraced by Aristotle; the account of the seasons; and a quote from Hippocrates himself.²⁷ Also the source for parts of the regimen are writings by Diocles of Carystos (a probable contemporary and possible student of Aristotle or his school).²⁸ The physiognomical anecdote concerning Hippocrates (originally Socrates, with Zephyrus in the role of Polemon) goes back to sometime before Cicero, and perhaps even to a Socratic dialogue by Phaedo of Elis (fourth century B.C.).²⁹ Fragments of the tract on physiognomy are similar to the pseudo-Aristotelian on this subject, which was probably written by a member of the Peripatetic school in the century or two after Aristotle's death.³⁰ A relationship, albeit distant, exists between the [*Secretum Secretorum*'s] lapidary and the one by Pseudo-Aristotle that also probably goes back to the Greek.³¹ Most importantly, a voice sometimes quite

²⁶ Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets*, pp.22-23.

²⁷ For humoural theory and Aristotle see: Robert Steele (ed) *Opera Hactenus*, p.271. Seasons: Robert Steele (ed) *Opera Hactenus*, p.272; Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' p.220. Quote of Hippocrates: Robert Steele (ed) *Opera Hactenus*, p.83.

²⁸ Robert Steele (ed) *Opera Hactenus*, p.xiv, xli, xlv, 272-274; Robert Steele (ed.), *Lydgate and Burgh's Secrees of Old Philisoffers*, EETS, e.s. 66 (London; 1894), p.viii, 111-112. Diocles writings are available in *Diocles of Carystus: A Collection of the Fragments with Translation and Commentary*, vols. 1-2, ed. and trans. by Philip J. Van der Eijk (Leiden, 2000). The issue of Diocles' identity and oeuvre is very complicated: for a discussion of the problems, see Heinrich Von Staden, Jaeger's, Skandalon der historischen Vernunft': Diocles, Aristotle, and Theophrastus,' in *Werner Jaeger Reconsidered*, ed. William M. Walder III (Atlanta, 1992), pp.227-265; and *Diocles of Carystus*, 2:xxxix-xxxviii.

²⁹ Richard Förster, *Scriptores physiognomonici graeci et latini* (Teubner, Leipzig, 1893) vol.1, pp.vii ff.; Ilai Alon, *Socrates in Medieval Arabic Literature* (Leiden, 1991), pp.43-44.

³⁰ Richard Förster, *De Aristotelis*, pp.17-20; Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' p.221. On the Peripatetic origin of the *Physiognomia*, see Förster, *Scriptores physiognomonici*, xix-xx; *Anonyme latin, Traité de physiognomie*, ed. Jacques André (Paris, 1981), pp.26-27; Elizabeth C. Evans, 'Physiognomics in the Ancient World,' *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 59, pt.5 (1969): pp.5, 7.

³¹ Robert Steele (ed) *Opera Hactenus*, p.li; Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' p.221.

like the Stagirite's is heard in the Mirror for Princes material in book 1 and in the beginning of book 2.³²

There are also other resemblances in Books 1 and 2 of the *Sirr* with Aristotelean works including the following themes, which also occur in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*: virtue being the mean between extremes; the virtue of liberality when exercised in moderation; virtuous liberality as giving what is needed at the right time; the giving by 'prodigal people' as not being liberal if given to those who do not deserve it; the avoidance of lusts, which is for the swine; wealth as a necessity; that a good ruler deserves to seek honour and a good name; seeking sovereignty for its own sake rather than for good of subjects leads to tyranny; amity and high-mindedness leads to friendship; and lastly, when angered, the king should reflect and act on it only if it is righteous. There is also some compatibility between the *Sirr* and Aristotle's *Politics* in the description of the place of reason and intelligence in ruling the soul and its passions.³³

There is no definitive way to explain the existence of these similarities. It is true that the oldest extant list of Aristotle's works written by Diogenes Laertius (which existed by the 3rd century, but probably goes back much further), mentions two treatises on statecraft: *Alexander, or a Plea for Colonies*, and another *On Kingship* (presumably also addressed to Alexander). Cicero refers to the two books by Aristotle addressed to Alexander and both these texts circulated in the Hellenistic period and later amongst Aristotle's 'exoteric' works. In spite of some of the resemblances in content, Williams concludes that, "the overall distance between this opening

³² This discovery belongs to Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' pp.201-202. Williams has turned Manzalaoui's suggestions of shared themes into specific examples from the texts, adding some of his own as well.

³³ Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets*, pp.23-26.

portion of the SS [*Sirr*] and what we know of the genuine *corpus Aristotelicum* seems so great that a hypothesis of filiation with the historical Aristotle cannot be seriously maintained.”³⁴ An alternative possibility could be that the similarities with Aristotle’s teachings are simply shared philosophical commonplaces. Regarding the origins of the *Sirr*’s preliminary exchange of epistles between Aristotle and Alexander, Diogenes also records the item “Letters to Alexander, four.”³⁵

MARIO GRIGNASCHI: THE Umayyad EPISTLES AS THE NUCLEUS OF THE *SIRR*

The number of letters attributed to Aristotle grew as the centuries passed. Mario Grignaschi suggests that one such Hellenistic pseudo-Aristotelian epistle may well have been the source of *Kitāb fī al-Siyāṣah al-‘Ammiyyah*, which he argues may have later served as the nucleus for the *Sirr*. *Siyāṣah al-‘Ammiyyah* is an example of early Arabic prose and epistolary literature. It was translated by a late Umayyad secretary (*kātib*), Sālim Abū-l-‘Alā’, under the caliph Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (r.724-743). Grignaschi asserted that the *Siyāṣah al-‘Ammiyyah* addresses the political situation of the first half of the 2nd/8th century, and drew attention to the Persian leanings of Aristotle’s advice.³⁶ He claimed that *Siyāṣah al-‘Ammiyyah* was the nucleus of the *Sirr* and served as a model for it after several stages of elaboration.³⁷ Whilst it may be the case

³⁴ Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets*, p.27. See also: Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, ed R.D. Hicks, vol.1 (Cambridge, Mass.; 1966).

³⁵ Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets*, p.28; citing Diogenes’ *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, pp.474-475. On the likelihood that Diogenes meant ‘four letters’ see Moraux, *Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d’Aristote* (Louvain, 1951), p.144.

³⁶ Mario Grignaschi, ‘L’Origine et les metamorphoses du *Sirr al-asrār*’, *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 43 (1977), pp.7-112, esp. pp.8-9.

³⁷ Mario Grignaschi ‘Les *Risā’il Aristāṭālīsā ‘ilā-l-Iskander* de Sālim Abū al-‘Alā’ et l’activité culturelle à l’époque omayyade,’ *Bulletin d’études orientales* 19 (1965-1966) pp.7-83; idem., ‘Le Roman épistolaire classique conserve dans la version arabe de Sālim Abū-l-‘Alā’’, *Le Muséon* 80 (1967) pp.211-253, esp. p.212; idem., ‘L’Origine et les

that the corresponding pages of the *Sirr* do indeed appear to be an abbreviated version of what appears in the *Siyāsah al-‘Ammiyyah*, the two texts share only a few pages of related material at their very beginnings.³⁸ It is also worthy of note that Grignaschi, and subsequent critics, have generally assumed that *Siyāsah al-‘Ammiyyah* is in fact a translation from Greek and not an original composition in Arabic. Ibn al-Nadīm does provide a record of Sālīm’s translation activities in *al-Fihrist*, which includes the translation of the epistles of Aristotle.³⁹ However, it cannot be certain that Sālīm’s translation is in fact that of *Siyāsah al-‘Ammiyyah*.⁴⁰

Grignaschi also proposed that a treatise surviving in a 10th/16th century Turkish translation made by Naṣūḥ al-Nevālī represented a stage of development intermediary between *Siyāsah al-‘Ammiyyah* and the *Sirr*.⁴¹ However, there are a number of weaknesses in his argument and there is not enough evidence to substantiate this claim.⁴² Van Bladel suggests this later Turkish work may rather be a compilation involving both Arabic texts and other texts, for it does claim

metamorphoses du *Sirr al-asrār*, *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 43 (1977) pp.7-112. He restated his hypothesis most clearly in Grignaschi ‘Remarques sur la formation et l’interprétation du *Sirr al-asrār*’ in W.F. Ryan and C.B. Schmitt (eds), *Pseudo-Aristotle: The Secret of Secrets: Sources and Influences* [PASS], (London: Warburg Institute Surveys 9, 1982).

³⁸ *Siyāsah al-‘Ammiyyah* is thought to constitute ‘Letter VIII’ of the ps-Aristotelean *Epistolary Novel*, which purports to be a correspondence between Aristotle, Alexander and Philip of Macedonia. It culminates in the well-known Aristotelean apocryph, *De Mundo*. An edition of *Kitāb fī Siyāsah al-‘Ammiyyah* appears in Mario Grignaschi ‘La ‘*Siyāsa al-‘āmmiya*’ et l’influence iranienne sur la pensée politique islamique,’ in J. Duchesne-Guillemin (ed.), *Momentum H.S. Nyberg III, Hommages et opera minora*, vol. III, Acta Iranica 6 (Tehran/Liège: leiden, 1975), pp.33-287.

³⁹ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (Cairo), trans. Bayard Dodge (New York; 1970).

⁴⁰ J.D. Latham provides a clear and extensive summary of Grignaschi’s findings, including his arguments for dating the work to the late Umayyad period, whilst omitting some of Grignaschi’s less certain contributions: J.D. Latham, ‘The Beginnings of Arabic Prose Literature: the Epistolary Genre’ in A.F.L. Beeston, T.M. Johnstone, R.B. Serjeant and G.R. Smith (eds), *CHAL: Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp.154-179 (especially pp.155-164).

⁴¹ Mario Grignaschi, ‘La ‘*Siyāsa al-‘āmmiya*’, p.228.

⁴² Some of these weaknesses will be addressed below in section 1.4 ‘Dating of the *Sirr*’ and in Chapter 4.

to have been written by *talkhīs* and *intikhāb* ('summary of main points' and 'selection') - it is difficult to evaluate this claim without clearer systematic comparison among all three.⁴³ It is also difficult to make sound assertions about earlier works based on a text that only survives in the form of a 10th/16th century translation. Furthermore, there is evidence that Nevalī had access to the *Sirr* (see Chapter 4).

MAHMOUD MANZALAOU: THE ORIGINS AND FORMATION OF THE *SIRR*

In addition to his discussion of the relationship between the SF and LF, and their parallels with the *Rasā'il*, Mahmoud Manzalaoui's detailed study of the *Sirr* analyses the known facts and problems concerning its origins, contents and formation as a treatise. He describes the world picture of the *Sirr* as being loosely 'Hellenistic', emerging from the "middle range of gnomic and sub-philosophical literature, which was written in the Hellenistic world proper, and in the Roman and Byzantine, as well as in the Arab" worlds.⁴⁴ He described the eclectic background of the *Sirr* as one that included the following influences: Persian influences on courtly literature; 'Persianized' Hellenic sections containing occult material (including the herbal, the lapidary, astrological and alchemical sections); known epistles that Aristotle is genuinely thought to have sent to Alexander; and Grignaschi's theory that the *Sirr* is a re-writing of one of the epistles in a Hellenistic epistolary text that was rendered into Arabic.⁴⁵ Manzalaoui goes on to conclude: "Until more definite proof is available, Grignaschi's contentions must remain one possible

⁴³ Kevin van Bladel, 'The Iranian Characteristics' in *The Greek Strand in Islamic Political Thought: Proceedings of the Conference held at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, 16-27 June 2003* (Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph; Vol. LVII, 2004), pp.154-155.

⁴⁴ Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' p.162.

⁴⁵ Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' pp.161-164.

hypothesis. That the *Sirr al-Asrār* derives its first pages, and its germinal notion, from an Umayyad adaption of a collection of Greek letters attributed to Aristotle, is possible".⁴⁶

Manzalaoui refers to the fact that the initial Alexander-Aristotle epistles are referred to by Ibn Juljūl, writing in the Iberian peninsula in the late 4th/10th century, without reference to the *Sirr* (although he does refer to the *Sirr* directly elsewhere) and in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* (a work from the early-4th/10th century), to argue that they were probably imbedded into the prologue of the *Sirr* from elsewhere.⁴⁷ He argued that the *Sirr* had to be either a Greek compilation in Arabic translation or a collection of Greek materials, or a school epitome, put together in Arabic after they were individually translated.⁴⁸ Whilst Manzalaoui's long article presented a great deal of information and analysis, he still did not offer any definitive conclusions about the *Sirr*'s origins, ultimately accepting that, "The question of the ultimate origins of the *Sirr* remains entirely open."⁴⁹ Both Grignaschi and Manzalaoui have tried to demonstrate that the *Sirr*, as we know it, was formed through 'a process of accretion' from Greek and other sources. They also accept that some of the sources would have included Arabic, but much of their attention is spent on the possibility of Greek origins.

⁴⁶ Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' pp.163-164.

⁴⁷ Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' pp.164-165. See: Abu 'Ali Aḥmed b. Muḥammad Miskawayh, *al-Ḥikmah al-Khālīdah (Jāvidān Khirad)* ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī (Cairo; Dirāsāt Islāmiyyah, 1952).

⁴⁸ Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' pp.159-166.

⁴⁹ Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' p.164; Grignaschi later responded to some of Manzalaoui's points in his later articles in Mario Grignaschi, 'L'Origine et les metamorphoses,' and 'Remarques' in *PASS*.

DID YAḤYĀ IBN AL-BIṬRĪQ TRANSLATE THE TEXT FROM GREEK?

In the second prologue, the reader is introduced to the purported translator, Yaḥyā Ibn al-Biṭrīq:

Ibn al-Biṭrīq, the translator, says: I visited all of the temples where the philosophers [wise men] deposited their secrets, and all the greatest recluses who had knowledge of them to fulfil my request, until I arrived at the Temple of the Sun, which had been built by Hermes the Great for himself. Here I met a devout hermit of brilliant knowledge and penetrating judgement, towards whom I was courteous and gentle until I convinced him to allow me access to the writings deposited in the temple.

I found what the Commander of the Faithful required in its entirety; written in gold. Then I triumphantly returned to the Victorious [August] Presence with purpose, and proceeded, with the help of God and the pleasure of the Commander of the Faithful, to translate it. And I copied it from the Greek [*Yunānī*] tongue to the *Rūmī* tongue, and then from the *Rūmī* tongue to the Arabic tongue (f.3r-3v).⁵⁰

It is not entirely clear what this intermediary translation into *Rūmī* refers to. *Rūmī* would usually refer to the language of *Rūm* (eastern Rome or the Byzantine Empire) i.e., Greek, although that would not make sense here. Moritz Steinschneider first (inaccurately) translated the word *Rumī* to mean 'Syriac.' Later, Robert Steele followed suit and asserted that *Rūmī* meant Syriac when it did not mean Greek.⁵¹ In theory, a Syriac intermediary does make some sense, as parts of the Greek Aristotelian corpus first made its way into Syriac before being retranslated into Arabic, either via Syriac exemplars or due to Christian-Syriac translators using Syriac as a bridge

⁵⁰ قال ابن البطريق الترجمان: فلم أدع هيكلًا من الهياكل التي أودعت الحكماء فيها أسرارها إلا أتيتها ، ولا عظيمًا من عظماء الرهبان الذين عرفو بمعرفتها وظننت مطلوبى عنده إلا قصدته – حتى وصلت الى هيكل عبد الشمس الذي كان بناه هرمس الأكبر لنفسه ؛ فظفرت فيه بناسك مترهب ذى علم بارع وفهم ثاقب فتلطفت له بانواع التلطف واستنزلته وأعملت الحيلة عليه حتي أباح لي مصاحف الهيكل | المودعة فيه. فوجدتُ في جملتها المطلوب الذى امر امير المؤمنين بطلبه مكتوبًا بالذهب فرجعت الى الحضرة المنصورة ظافرا بالمراد وشرعت – بعون الله وسعد أمير المؤمنين وجده في ترجمته ونقله من اللسان اليونانى الى اللسان الرومى ، ثم من اللسان الرومى الى اللسان العربى.

⁵¹ Moritz Steinschneider, *Die hebraeischen übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, (Berlin: 1983) p.248 n.1000; Robert Steele (ed) *Opera Hactenus*, pp.xi-xiii.

language whilst distributing the translation to those with appropriate expertise.⁵² Steele cites the fact that Yaḥyā, “was said to have rendered the *Politics* and *Historia Animalium* into Syriac, and the *De caelo et mundo* and the *De anima in epitome*, with other works, into Arabic” in order to support this view.⁵³

In fact, one manuscript of the *Sirr* states, “from Greek and Syriac (*surjānī*) into Arabic.”⁵⁴ Furthermore, Philip of Tripoli rendered what was in his Arabic exemplar as *Caldea* (Chladean), which is, like Syriac, an Aramaic language. No-one seems to have seriously entertained the possibility of an intermediary Syriac text, other than Steinschneider and Steele – and even Steinschneider admitted that that he did not have a historical example to support such a translation of *Rūmī*. Other Orientalists, such as Plessner, have specifically rejected the use of *Rūmī* to mean Syriac.⁵⁵ Elsewhere in Book 3, the SF and the LF manuscripts also refer more specifically to *Suryāniyyah* (Syriac) as a distinct language (f.14v), so it cannot be the same.⁵⁶

⁵² Syriac-Christians became an important component of the Graeco-Arabic movement. The Syriac role in the translation movement helps explain why these (early-20th century) assertions that Yaḥyā translated the text from Greek into *Rūmī* before it was translated into Arabic was not seriously challenged – even though that interpretation did not make sense in the case of Yaḥyā (See: Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ‘Abbāsīd Society (2nd-4th/9-10th centuries)*, (Oxon; Routledge, 1998) pp.19-22).

⁵³ Robert Steele (ed) *Opera Hactenus*, p.xi.

⁵⁴ Gotha, GRL, Or.Ar. 1870 – a 19th century copy of the LF.

⁵⁵ Martin Plessner, review of Steele, col. 916 n.3: “Ich Wahrheit bedeutet *rumi* natürlich hier ebensowenig *syrisch* wie sonst irgenwo.” As cited by Williams, *Secret of Secrets*, p.19 n.21. See also: n.19-21 in Williams (2003), pp.18-19 for further references. Amitai I Spitzer discusses the reasons for Martin Plessner’s views and offers further speculation to this fictitious list of possible sources of the *Sirr*: In the *Kitab adab al-falasifa* (*The Maxims of the Philosophers*) of Hunayn ibn Ishāq (a Nestorian physician and prominent translator of Greek works active in the second half of the ninth century, d.873), “Hunayn lists *al-Rūmī* as one of the languages of his sources, together with Greek, Arabic and Syriac. There is no doubt that *al-Rūmī* cannot be here either Greek or Syriac, but a third language. Accordingly, in the *Sirr*’s list of languages, *al-Rūmī* ought to mean a language other than Greek or Syriac. The compiler of that work has adopted this current linguistic fiction, perhaps even directly from Hunayn’s *Maxims*, without even knowing what *al-Rūmī* means.” (Amitai I Spitzer, ‘The Hebrew Translations of *Sod ha-sodot* and its Place in the Transmission of the *Sirr al-Asrār*’ in *PASS*, (London: Warburg Institute Surveys 9, 1982) p. 51.

⁵⁶ See also: Alī in Steele, p. 224; Badawi p.125 (LF); MS Oxford Laud. Or 210, f.89v (SF7).

More recently, Nadia El-Cheik has pointed out that in Arabic *Rūmī* usually refers to the language of *Rūm*, i.e. eastern Rome or the Byzantine Empire: Arab authors generally viewed the history of the Byzantines as an extension of the histories of ancient Greece and the Roman Empire, often mingling the names by which they referred to the Byzantines. Although the term *yunānī* was used to specifically refer to the ancient Greeks, the term *Rūm* was used interchangeably to refer to the Romans, the Byzantines and the Christian Melkites.⁵⁷

This explanation of the term *Rūmī* becomes even more convincing if we question the likelihood of the well-known translator of Greek works, Yaḥyā Ibn al-Biṭrīq (fl. 796-806), even being involved in the translation of the *Sirr*. Yaḥyā was a translator from the early 3rd/9th century and is known to have translated Greek works including those of Aristotle.⁵⁸ One reason to doubt his involvement with the *Sirr* is that the historical Yaḥyā was probably of Greek Byzantine descent and would have been able to translate directly from classical Greek (due to his education) into Arabic (due to historical circumstance), rendering a Syriac version unnecessary.⁵⁹ The intermediary stage of *Rūmī* would make even less sense in the case of Yaḥyā. Furthermore, it has been suggested that even the style of writing in the *Sirr* is not compatible with Yaḥyā's style

⁵⁷ Nadia Maria El-Cheik, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs* (Harvard University Press, 2004), pp.21-22.

⁵⁸ Gerhard Endress notes that Ibn al-Biṭrīq was one of those tasked by al-Ma'mūn to find Byzantine books that were to be translated (Gerhard Endress, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen von Aristoteles' Schrift De Caelo*, PhD thesis (University of Frankfurt; 1966), pp.89-98.

⁵⁹ Aristotelian translations credited to Yaḥyā include the *Meteorology*, *De caelo*, a compendium of *De anima*, and with much less certainty, *De animalibus* and *Prior Analytics*; other translations include Plato's *Timaeus* (Françoise Micheau, "Yaḥyā (or Yuḥannā) b. al-Biṭrīq", in: *Elʿ*). For references on the career of Aristotle in the Islamic world, see; F.E. Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus: The Oriental Translations and Commentaries on the Aristotelian Corpus* (Leiden, 1968), and *Aristotle and the Arabs: The Aristotelian Tradition in Islam* (New York, 1968); Abdurrahman Badawi, *La transmission de la philosophie grecque au monde arabe*, 2d ed. (Paris 1987). See also: Steven J. Williams, *The Secrets of Secrets*, p.9 n.5 and p.18, n.17-18 for further references.

of translation, which usually included more transliteration of terms into Arabic.⁶⁰ Another reason to see the attribution of the translation to Yaḥyā as apocryphal is that whilst Ibn al-Nadīm's bibliography, *al-Fiḥrist* (dated 987/988), mentions Yaḥyā and a number of his works, it does not mention the *Sirr* amongst the list of translations attributed to him.⁶¹ *Al-Fiḥrist* does, however, report that Yaḥyā was amongst the group of men commissioned to go to Byzantium by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (r.813-833) to seek out ancient Greek books of learning in order to translate them into Arabic upon his return.⁶²

Regarding the rest of Yaḥyā's (or pseudo-Yaḥyā's) testimony in the prologue, it does appear that a Temple of the Sun existed in Harran, near Edessa.⁶³ Some temples in Antiquity did indeed possess libraries or had them nearby. However, the story of the lone scholar's visit to a mysterious temple looking for ancient books of secret wisdom is a common feature of the Abbasid literary tradition. In fact, Steinschneider (1862) characterizes the discovery of a text in a temple as a topos of pseudepigraphic writing.⁶⁴ Hence, it appears that the pseudonymous reference to Yaḥyā, his use of a two-fold translation process to render the text into Arabic, and

⁶⁰ See Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems', p.159.

⁶¹ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fiḥrist* (Cairo), trans. Bayard Dodge (New York; 1970), p.586 as noted by Steven J. Williams, *The Secrets of Secrets*, pp.20-21.

⁶² Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fiḥrist* (trans.) Bayard Dodge, p.584. For further reading on Yaḥyā see: D.M. Dunlop, 'The Translations of al-Bitriq and Yahya (Yuhanna) b. al-Bitriq', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1959), pp. 140-50; Casimar Petraitis, *The Arabic Version of Aristotle's 'Meteorology'* (Beirut; 1967); Helmut Gätje, *Studien zur Überlieferung der aristotelischen Psychologie im Islam* (Heidelberg; 1971), pp. 45-53; Gerhard Endress, *Proclus Arabus: Zwanzig Abschnitte aus der Institutio theologia in arabischer Übersetzung* (Beirut; 1973); Gerhard Endress and Remke Kruk (eds), *The Ancient Tradition in Christian and Islamic Hellenism*, (Leiden; 1997) pp.43-76 passim; and *El²* (Leiden; 2001) p.246.

⁶³ Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems', p.218.

⁶⁴ Moritz Steinschneider, *Zur pseudepigraphischen Literatur*, (Berlin; 1862), p. 190; also discussed in Steven J. Williams, *The Secrets of Secrets*, p.21.

myth of the discovery of the treatise in a temple, is all used by the initial compiler of the *Sirr* to give the work legitimacy and position it as part of the Graeco-Arabic translation movement – something not uncommon in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th century. In addition to this there are inconsistencies in the historical chronology of some aspects of the *Sirr*. Moreover, there is a reference to the invasion of India in the past tense whereas the historical Alexander did not invade India until several years after Persia. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that not only is the *Sirr* not the work of Aristotle, but the preface attributed to its ‘translator’ is also a work of fiction. This then begs the question: was there was ever a Greek version at all?

PERSIAN AND INDIAN INFLUENCES ON THE *SIRR*

THE PERSIAN CHARACTER OF THE *SIRR*

There have been several theories locating the cultural origins of the *Sirr* outside the Greek tradition. In relation to the possibility of Greek origins, while Kevin van Bladel accepts that much of the *Sirr*’s conceptual framework – a letter of Instructions from Aristotle to Alexander – must ultimately have derived from the Greek tradition where ancient pseudo-Aristotelian letters to Alexander such as the *De Mundo* were already found, and small pieces of it may be translations from Greek, the *Sirr* also owes much to the late antique Iranian tradition. He goes on to argue that the *Sirr* perhaps owes more to this tradition than any other source.⁶⁵ Van Bladel notes that numerous passages of the *Sirr* closely resemble, both in form and content, examples from

⁶⁵ The example of *De Mundo* is discussed in: Samuel Stern, ‘The Arabic Translation of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *De Mundo*,’ *Le Muséon* 77, pp.187-204. The Arabic abridgement of the *De Mundo* is found in the same manuscript as a number of other pseudo-Aristotelian letters including the *Kitāb fī al-siyāsa al-‘āmmiyya*. See: Kevin van Bladel, ‘The Iranian Characteristics’, p.152.

Middle Persian texts and suggested that its 'Iranian characteristics' should be considered more fully in future studies. He argues that these passages are not necessarily translations from Middle Persian, but that the author was, at the very least, well-versed in Middle Persian literature either in the original or in the early Arabic translations and wrote as a participant in that tradition.⁶⁶

Shaul Shaked had previously put forward the theory that there was a strongly 'Sasanian flavour' in the *Sirr* and suggested that it, or part of it, was a translation from Middle Persian. He had argued that the *Sirr* was put together in, "a milieu where preoccupations with Greek political thought was coupled together with admiration for the political reality and practice of the Persians, when they were still in full force."⁶⁷ Shaked argued that the meeting of three or (usually) four kings or sages from different lands (usually including Rome, Persia and India) coming together to express their views on a single subject was a literary motif common in Middle Persian literature and that the terms used in these passages of the *Sirr* were likely to be translations from Middle Persian. He also argued that the theories on the virtues of observing the mean were part of Zoroastrian ethics too. Shaked's theory suggests Persian influences can be found in the *Sirr* without going as far as to suggest a Persian antecedent for the *Sirr*.

⁶⁶ Kevin van Bladel, 'The Iranian Characteristics', p.158.

⁶⁷ Shaul Shaked, 'From Iran to Islam: Notes on Some Themes in Transmission. 1. 'Religion and Sovereignty are Twins' in Ibn al-Muqaffa's Theory of Government. 2. The Four Sages,' *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 4, pp.31-67, esp. p.49.

Van Bladel claims that references to India, Rome, Persia and Greece in passages in the LF, and prescriptions for a panacea and compound medicines have an equally ‘Persian flavour’, although he failed to elaborate further. He did, however, elaborate on the place of the ‘Octagon’ of Justice as pointing to an Iranian background. The Octagon or Circle of Justice as a figure describing the monarch’s pivotal role in establishing harmony, law and order in the world was familiar in Persian and Arabic literature.⁶⁸ A less developed but similar concept appears in *al-Adab al-Saghīr*.⁶⁹ Van Bladel argues that the concept ultimately derived from pre-Islamic Middle Persian tradition, and that a simpler four-line version of this concept is cited in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th century histories of Persian kings by Abū Manṣūr al-Ṭha‘ālibī and Firdawsī (and elsewhere), where it is attributed to the Sasanian Emperor Anushirvan. He also notes that the 4th/10th century historian and geographer, al-Mas’ūdī, also attributed it to Anushirvan in his more detailed version of the concept (a version that has greater parallels with the *Sirr* – see below).⁷⁰

Van Bladel regards the ‘ethical chains’ or ‘chains of virtues’ in the *Sirr* as another example of the Middle Persian tradition, citing their use in the Zoroastrian encyclopaedia *Dēnkard*, *Book VI*.⁷¹ He argues that references to Persian and Indian books still need to be explored but it could

⁶⁸ Manzalaoui had previously noted that the eight lines were reported to have been inscribed on the sides of Aristotle’s tomb and that al-Mubāshir ibn Fātik included it among sayings attributed to Aristotle (Manzalaoui, ‘Facts and Problems’, pp.185, 190, 230). The most comprehensive treatment on the history of the Circle of Justice from pre-Islamic Persian to Arabic and later Ottoman versions can be found in: Linda T Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2013). See Chapter 3 for further discussion on the Circle.

⁶⁹ This work has been falsely attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa’ but is possibly the work of the Middle Persian translator ‘Alī ibn ‘Ubayda al-Rayḥānī (d.219/834).

⁷⁰ Kevin van Bladel, ‘The Iranian Characteristics’, pp.159-61.

⁷¹ See: <http://www.avesta.org/denkard/dk6s.htm>

be that they were books from the Middle Persian tradition – as Indian books, for example the *Pāncatantra*, had been translated from Sanskrit into Middle Persian. Such aphorisms of wise ancient figures were a common feature of Middle Persian literature, whereas it was not so in Greek literature. He also points to an example of the structure of an auxiliary verb in one of the aphorisms in the *Sirr* to point to a Persian antecedent being carried through. In another example of Persian influence, he referred to the counsels of Hermes on kingship in the *Sirr* (f.7r).⁷² He states that the only other extant text on counsels of kingship attributed to Hermes is found in al-Mubashir ibn-Fātik's collection (written in 1048 or 1049).⁷³ In a previous study, van Bladel had made the case that whilst references to Hermes are usually assumed to have Greek background, they may equally derive from the Iranian Hermetic tradition and Ibn Fātik's text was more likely to be a translation from Middle Persian.⁷⁴ Van Bladel then goes into a detailed discussion of how Iranian material was deliberately attributed to a 'fake' ancient Greek by the compiler of the *Sirr*. He cites a passage in both the SF and LF that has parallels with a passage in *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* (translated by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d.139/756-7) from the Middle Persian version of the Sanskrit *Pāncatantra*):⁷⁵

SF: [Bhtm the Greek said] The prudent king is increased by the opinion of his **minister** [wazīrīhī] just as the seas are increased by being fed by the rivers. By prudence and counsel, he acquires what cannot be obtained by power [force] and an army (f.17v).⁷⁶

⁷² See also: *Sirr al-Asrār*, ed. Badawi, p.74, 11-12.

⁷³ Al-Mubāshir ibn-Fātik, *Muḥtār al-ḥikam wa maḥāsīn al-kalīm*, ed. Abdur-Rahman Badawi, (Madrid: 1958) p.23-25.

⁷⁴ Kevin van Bladel, 'The Iranian Characteristics', p.165. See also Kevin van Bladel, 'Hermes Arabicus', *The Arabic Hermes: From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science* (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2009), pp.199-202 with the text and English translation on pp.289-297; on 'Hermes in Sasanian Iran,' see the same work, chapter 2.

⁷⁵ Kevin van Bladel, 'The Iranian Characteristics', pp.165-168.

⁷⁶ As I do not have access to the Arabic edition van Bladel uses, I provide the text from my edition (Appendix 1):

يزداد الملك الحازم برأي وزيره كما يزداد البحور بموادّه من الأنهار وينال بالحزم والرأي ما لا يناله بالقوة والجند.

LF: [One of the ancient philosophers said] The prudent king is increased by the opinion of his **ministers** [*wuzarā'ihī*] just as the seas are increased by being fed by the rivers, **even if the sea does not need it**. By prudence and counsel, he acquires what cannot be obtained by power [force] and an army.⁷⁷

Kalilah wa Dimnah: [The fifth advisor crow said] The prudent king is increased by **asking and taking counsel and** the opinion of **prudent** ministers just as the sea is increased by being fed by the rivers.⁷⁸

Van Bladel goes on to compare this to the same passage in the Syriac translation of the Middle Persian text to demonstrate that it is most likely that the *Sirr* is quoting from Ibn al-Muqaffa's Arabic translation (or the *Kitāb al-Adab al-Ṣaghīr*, which also took the saying from Ibn al-Muqaffa). A Greek name (*B-h-t-m*) was 'forged' to attribute the saying to a Greek. Although van Bladel uses this convincing comparison to show that the *Sirr*'s use of Middle Persian literary traditions, I would suggest that it really makes the case that the *Sirr* was compiled from available Arabic sources, even if some of the material was of Persianate origin. It is difficult to understand how Aristotle citing an 'ancient' verse that was originally from an 2nd/8th (or possibly 3rd/9th) century Arabic text can be used to point to anything other than Arabic source material for the *Sirr*. More recently, Maria Subtelny has been exploring the Persian elements of the *Sirr*; her research into this has not yet been published.

This quote is also discussed by Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' p.173.

⁷⁷ *Sirr al-Asrār*, ed. Badawi, p.136:

يزداد الملك الحازم برأي وزرائه كما يزداد البحور بموادّه من الأنهار وإن كان البحر غنياً عن ذلك، وبنال بالحزم والرأي ما لا يناله بالقوة والجند.
The SF statement is somewhat modified in the LF by a later editorial hand aiming to flatter the king with a comment that he might not really need the advice.

⁷⁸ L. Cheikho (ed) *La version arabe de Kalilah et Dimnah d'après le plus ancien manuscrit arabe date*, (Beirut; 1905), p.146, 2-4:

فالملك الحازم يزداد بالمؤامرة والمشاورة ورأي الوزراء الخزمة كما يزداد البحر بموادّه من الأنهار.

THE INDIAN CHARACTER OF THE *SIRR*

The *Sirr* provides references to Indian kings and practice throughout the text by way of comparison of practices. Moreover, the story of the poison maiden in Book 2 states that the 'gift' of a slave girl who had been brought up with doses of poison since childhood until she herself became poisonous, was sent to Alexander by the mother of an Indian king (f.13r). It would appear to be reasonable, therefore, to investigate the likelihood of an Indian background. Steven Williams has noted, "No one seems to have taken up the idea put forward by Stig Wikander [...] of an Indian origin for the SS [*Secretum Secretorum*]."⁷⁹

Stig Wikander's hypothesis was based on the similarities in content between sections of the *Sirr* and the famous Sanskrit work of political theory, the *Arthashastra* attributed to Kauṭilya (also known as Chanakya). Kauṭilya was a philosopher and the chief adviser of the first ruler of the Mauryan Empire, Chandragupta, c.300 BC.⁸⁰ The *Arthashastra* ('The Science of Material Gain') summarises the political thought of Kautilya and contains fifteen books detailing various topics relevant to rulers in running an effective government. Diplomacy and war, including military tactics, are treated in the greatest detail, but the treatise also outlines the duties of the king; suggesting a detailed, and exhausting, schedule structuring a ruler's daily activities.⁸¹ Wikander published his theory in a brief summary article where he highlighted two specific points of comparison between the *Arthashastra* and the *Sirr*: the three classes of ambassadors

⁷⁹ Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets*, p.17 n.11.

⁸⁰ Kauṭilya, *The Arthashastra*, trans. L.N. Rangarajan (Haryana, India; Penguin Books India, 1992), pp.4-8.

⁸¹ Other recommendations include the subjects: revolts, rebellions and spies; the administration and structure of the state; manufacturing and trade; salaries of government servants; property and labour laws; and the penal system.

or messengers in Book VI and the account of the poison maiden in Book 2.⁸² Both texts describe three classes of ambassadors or messengers in descending order based on their qualifications and personal characteristics. Regarding the poison maiden story, Wikander points to the *Arthashastra*'s reference to women who use poisons in assassinations. Wikander's theory was also credited by Grignaschi, who was willing to accept the possibility of Indian background as part of the compilatory nature of the *Sirr* but was uncertain how it would have entered the Arabic.⁸³

Van Bladel discussed Wikander's points in his article but was not convinced that the correspondences referred to were sufficient to be taken as an indicator of shared tradition.⁸⁴

With reference to the passages on the ministers and ambassadors he noted that:

One text [the *Arthashastra*] expects ministers to be ambassadors while the other forbids it. Even beyond this important doctrinal difference, the passages are sufficiently dissimilar overall that the appearance of a connection fades when they are put together closely.⁸⁵

Van Bladel also dismissed the correspondence between the poison maiden as a motif that was too well known in the folklore of the world to be considered. He did not rule out the possibility of an Indian source for the story. Nonetheless, he argued that Wikander's theory is simply a

⁸² Stig Wikander, "De l'Inde à l'Espagne: l'origine de la 'Poridat de las Poridas.'" In *Actas IV Congresso de Estudos árabes e islâmicos, Coimbra-Lisboa 1 a 8 de Setembro 1968*, (Leiden; 1971), pp.267-269. See also the personal correspondence of Wikander as cited by Grignaschi, 'La *'Siyāsa al-'āmmiya*', pp.37.

⁸³ Nevertheless, Grignaschi maintained the notion that the pseudo-Aristotelian letters were translations from Greek (Mario Grignaschi, 'La *'Siyāsa al-'āmmiya*', pp.37-38; Mario Grignaschi, 'L'Origine et les metamorphoses' p.8).

⁸⁴ Kevin van Bladel, 'The Iranian Characteristics', pp.168-171.

⁸⁵ Kevin van Bladel, 'The Iranian Characteristics', p.169.

further indicator of a non-Greek background to the *Sirr* that supports his own theory that the contents of the *Sirr* were mediated by the Iranian tradition.⁸⁶

Wikander was not the first to note the parallels with Indian literary traditions. Manzalaoui suggests a number of other Sanskrit parallels and notes that Modi Penzer had previously made some observations about this. Manzalaoui cites the *Bhagavad-Gita* for examples of the kinds of 'chains of virtues' in the *Sirr* that could also be found in Sanskrit literature.⁸⁷ Links to the *Arthashastra* or other Sanskrit and Indian traditions is not as unlikely as van Bladel or Grignaschi might imagine. In Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, there is a mention of a '*Shanaq al-Hind*' (Chanakya was an alternative name used for Kautilya), which suggests that the *Arthashastra* was indeed available in Arabic before the second half of the 4th/10th century and its ideas may well have influenced the compilation of the *Sirr*.⁸⁸

THE ARABIC SOURCES AND INFLUENCES OF THE *SIRR*: IS IT TIME TO EXAMINE THE ARABIC CHARACTER OF THE *SIRR*?

Whilst some of the theories that have been put forward on the cultural origins of the *Sirr* have strong merits to support them, they are largely inconclusive and have often focused on locating its origins and influences in other literary traditions. Manzalaoui may have provided the broadest survey of possible origins, but his article was dense and some of his findings were at times too speculative to offer a clear understanding. Whilst most would agree that the *Sirr* was

⁸⁶ Kevin van Bladel, 'The Iranian Characteristics', pp.169-170. See also: A. Gier, 'Giftmädchen,' in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol.V, p.1240-1243; and references cited by Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' p.211.

⁸⁷ Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' pp.210-213.

⁸⁸ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (Cairo), trans. Bayard Dodge, p.738.

compiled in Arabic from more than one source between the 2nd/8th to 4th/10th centuries, in their positivist search to locate the *Sirr* within a specific cultural identity (sometimes of very small portions of the text), they have ignored a serious consideration of the Arabic-Islamic literary contexts that influenced its composition. The exception to this approach is Regula Forster's detailed account of the Arabic and German traditions of the *Sirr* (and the *Secretum Secretorum*), which, whilst very thorough, did not set out to explore these questions.⁸⁹ In addition to the sources discussed above that point to the *Sirr* incorporating ideas or passages already translated into Arabic from other literary traditions (hence relying on Arabic sources), there is considerable evidence that the *Sirr* has been influenced by, or directly cites, original Arabic works too. This indicates the need to view the *Sirr* as an original Arabic composition that expounds a world view of the 4th/10th century scholarship.

AL-MAS'ŪDĪ: THE PREDECESSOR TO THE EIGHT-LINE CIRCLE OF JUSTICE

The *Sirr* refers to the Circle of Justice as the 'essence of the book' for 'it is with justice that the earth is populated, kingdoms are established ... and rulers become immune from all sorts of evils' (f.14r-v).⁹⁰ Whilst there are other examples of Arabic works from the early Abbasid period citing the concept of a Circle of Justice based on the relationship between the state and the people based on justice, they are all based either on a simplified four-line version or a more detailed version of the four lines that is not quite as developed as the *Sirr*. Linda Darling has

⁸⁹ Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*. Although the present study is a departure from Forster's study - with a focus on understanding the *Sirr* within the context from which it emerged and re-constructing the *Sirr*'s career - it is, nevertheless, indebted to Forster's scholarship which provided much clarity to many of the issues and debates around the text.

⁹⁰ Isma'il Ali, in Robert Steele, *Opera Hactenus*, pp. 224-7; Abdarrahman Badawi, *Fontes*, 126-8.

noted that the earliest version of the Circle of Justice in the Islamic world (based on four lines) appears in the 3rd/9th century work of Ibn Qutaybah (d.276/889) in ‘*Uyūn al-Akḥbār* (*Fountains of Information*).⁹¹ In al-Andalus, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih (d.328/940) also cited a four-line version of the Circle of justice that he ascribed to ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ in *al-Iqd al-Farīd* (*The Unique Necklace*).⁹² Other writers ascribed the statements to Ardashir or Anushirvan.⁹³ The *Sirr*’s use of the Circle is the first time it was developed with further detail into eight lines, organised as a set of inter-dependent concepts that eventually link back to the first.⁹⁴ Another related version of note from this period is its citation as part of a discussion on the lessons of Bahram II’s advisors on the importance of justice. In *Murūj al-Dhahab* (*Meadows of Gold*), al-Mas‘ūdī (d.345/956) discusses the concepts of the Circle of Justice in a similar vein to that expounded in the *Sirr* (**bold** letters for my emphasis):

The strength of the realm rests on the law and obedience to God and the execution of His will. The law cannot be upheld except by the **king** [*malik*], and the king owes his power to **men** [*rijāl*], but what upholds men is **money** [*al-māl*], which only comes from the flourishing state of agriculture; now **prosperity** does not exist without **justice** [*‘adl*].⁹⁵

⁹¹ Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice*, p.62. See: ‘Abdallāh b. Muslim b. Qutaybah, *Kitāb ‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār* (Cairo; Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 1925-30), 1:9; ‘Abdallāh b. Muslim b. Qutaybah, *Kitāb ‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, trans. J. Horowitz, ‘Ibn Quteiba’s ‘*Uyūn al-Akḥbār*’, *IC* 4 (1930), p.193: “It is said: There can be no government without men | No men without money | No money without prosperity | And no prosperity without justice and good government” (“*Kāna yuqālū: lā sulṭān illā bi-rijāl | wa-lā rijāl illā bi-māl | wa lā māl illā bi-‘imarah | wa-lā ‘imarah illā bi- ‘adl wa-ḥusn Siyāsah*”).

⁹² Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al-Andalusī, *al-Iqd al-Farīd* (Cairo; al-Maṭba‘a al-Azhariyyah, 1928), Vol.1: p.18: “*wa-qāla ‘Amru bin al-‘Āṣ: lā sulṭān illā bi-al-rijāl wa-lā rijāl illā bi-māl wa-lā māl illā bi-‘imarah wa-lā ‘imarah illā bi-al-‘adl*”.

⁹³ Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice*, p.60-68.

⁹⁴ Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice*, pp.74-76. The earliest versions of the Circle of Justice can be traced as far back as the third millennium BCE in Mesopotamia, and later Persia (See: Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice*, pp.2-14).

⁹⁵ Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma‘ādin al-Jawhar*, ed. B. de Maynard and P. de Courteille, rev. and corr. C. Pellat, 7 vols (Beirut: al-Jāmi‘ah al-Lubnāniyya, 1965-79), 1:293-94; Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mas‘ūdī, *Les Praires d’or*, trans. B. de Maynard and P. de Courteille, rev. and corr. C. Pellat (Paris: Société asiatique, 1962), 1:222-24.

Elsewhere in *Murūj al-Dhahab*, in another statement on justice attributed to Anushirvan, al-Mas‘ūdī details how justice should be carried out, but using only seven terms instead of the eight terms used in the *Sirr*:

The **kingdom** [*mulk*] rests on the **army** [*jund*], the army on the **finances** [*māl*], the finances on the land tax, taxes on agriculture, agriculture on **justice** [*‘adl*], justice on the [*reform*] of agents [*islāḥ al-‘ummāl*], and this on the *rectitude of ministers* [*istiqāmat al-wuzurā’*].⁹⁶

Al-Mas‘ūdī’s versions do not link the last term in his ‘chain’ of justice back to the first to create an inter-dependent circle in the way that the *Sirr* does. Nor do they appear to be based on a fixed source; he is elaborating on the four-line statements that were already circulating at the time. Even though the version al-Mas‘ūdī attributes to Bahram’s advisors had introduced the elements of the law and the realm/kingdom as the context for justice, the eight-line version of the *Sirr* introduces the elements of the world, the state, and the law to the statements previously attributed to Anushirvan and credits them to Aristotle. The *Sirr*’s version expanded the context in which justice is carried out to these three elements: a world-state governed by the law. The similarities between al-Mas‘ūdī’s statements on justice and the *Sirr* are close enough to suggest that there is a relationship between the two versions and that one develops from the other: the *Sirr* uses six of the terms present in the *Murūj* (used across his two statements on justice). The *Sirr* appears to have emerged from the terms used in the *Murūj* and developed them into a circle of interdependent concepts. Given the prominence of the Circle of Justice in Book 3 of the *Sirr*, as demonstrated both through a dedicated book that is listed in

⁹⁶ “*Al-mulk bi-al-jund wa al-jund bi-al-māl wa al-māl bi-al-kharāj wa al-kharāj bi-al-‘imāra wa al-‘imāra bi-al-‘adl wa al-‘adl bi-islāḥ al-‘ummāl wa islāḥ al-‘ummāl bi-istiqāmat al-wuzurā’.*” (Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Praries d’or*, 1:236; Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, 1:311).

the contents, its introduction in the text, and both textual and visual emphasis placed on it (via layout and illumination) in the manuscripts, it is safe to assume that the Circle was integral to the original compilation of the treatise.

THE *RASĀ'IL* OF THE *IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀ'*

As noted earlier, there are some looser similarities between the *Rasā'il* of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* and the SF, which have been noted by previous scholars: the brief reference to Plotinian hierarchy at the beginning of SF's Discourse on ministers and counsellors i.e. the discussion on the First Intelligence from which emanates the Universal Soul (*al-naḥs al-kullīyah*). Furthermore, the significant number of parallels between the LF *Sirr* and the *Rasā'il* have also been noted: the story of the Magus and the Jew features in both texts; passages on the subject of emanationary hierarchy, the description of human composition and faculties, and the relationship of humans to the macrocosm are common in both; parallels in the esoteric nature of the treatise as guidance only for the deserving; and the comparisons between man and beasts (some of these passages were possibly derived from Galen as the ultimate source).⁹⁷

Manzalaoui detailed some of the most significant literal correspondences between the LF *Sirr* and the *Rasā'il* include the three-fold division of astronomy and repeated allusions to astrology;

⁹⁷ Mahmoud Manzalaoui, *Facts and Problems*, pp.175-84. The parallels with the *Rasā'il* were first noted in A. A. Verdenius, *Jacob van Maerlant's Heimelijckheiden* (Amsterdam; 1917), pp.28-39, who used Dieterici's partial translation of the *Rasā'il* (Fr. Dieterici, *Die Abhandlungen der Ichwān aṣ-ṣafā' in Auswahl zum ersten Mal aus arabischen Handschriften herausgegeben*, (Leipzig; J. C. Heinrichs'sche, 1886). For parallels See also R. Walzer, *Al-Farabi on the Perfect State* (Oxford; 1985), pp.230-41, 246-49.

the section on the five senses, their function in the microcosm, their physical attributes and the importance of five-fold classifications; the attributes of ministers (followed by the story of the Magus and the Jew); and the expanded health section of the LF with a regime for every season (although it will be shown below that al-Ṭabarī's *Ḥifẓ al-Ṣiḥḥah* is the common source for the expanded health material for both).⁹⁸

There is a close resemblance between the list of qualities of a minister found in the *Rasā'il* and in Book 4 of the *Sirr*, and a passage providing a portrait of the perfect ruler (the 'Imam-Philosopher') in the *Mabādi' Ārā' Ahl al-Madīnah al-Faḍīlah* of the philosopher al-Fārābī (d. 339/950). The similarities can be found in both the SF and the LF.⁹⁹ However, this aspect remains a complex line of enquiry in addressing the *Sirr* as the nature of its parallels with the *Rasā'il* and al-Fārābī (and the *Sirr*) are still debated.¹⁰⁰ Manzalaoui carried out a textual comparison of the resemblances between the *Rasā'il* and the SF as part of his broader argument that although there is evidence to suggest that the LF borrows from the *Rasā'il*, any correspondences between the SF and the *Rasā'il* are due to a common source rather than any

⁹⁸ Badawi, *Sirr*, pp.131 ff; Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' pp.175-83, 196-98.

⁹⁹ On the description of a perfect ruler, cf. Richard Walzer in: Abū Naṣr Al-Fārābī, '*Mabādi' ārā' ahl al-madīnah al-faḍīlah*' under the title *Al-Fārābī on the Perfect State* translated by Richard Walzer (Oxford, 1985), p.21, 230-41 and p.246-9; in the *Sirr*, the passage is a description of the vizier [See: Appendix 1, f.15v-21r; 'Abdurrahman Badawī (ed) '*Sirr al-Asrār*', p.138f]. The parallels between these three works was first listed by A.A. Verdenius, *Jacob van Maerlant's Heimelijkheid der Heimelikheden* (Amsterdam; 1917), pp.28-39, using Dieterici's partial translation of the *Rasā'il*. Mahmoud Manzaloui discussed further parallels with al-Fārābī in 'Facts and Problems', pp.175-84 and 196-98.

¹⁰⁰ See: Richard Walzer, *Al-Fārābī on the Perfect State*, pp.11-12; Mario Grignaschi, 'L'Origine et les Métamorphoses', pp.15-23; Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems', pp.175-84; Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse, Die arabischen und deutschen Fassungen des pseudo-Aristotelischen Sirr al-asrār/Secretum Secretorum* (Wiesbaden; 2006), pp.18 and 22. Another theory that has been forward is by al-Turaykī, who expands on Manzalaoui's enquiry of the *Rasā'il* and the *Sirr* sharing a shared archetype to argue that they both share a single author (Cf. Aḥmad al-Turaykī, *Sirr al-Asrār li-Ta'sīs al-Siyāsah wa-Tartīb al-Riyāsah, li-lkhwān al-Ṣafā' wa Khillān al-Wafā'*, 2nd Edition (Beirut; 1983)).

direct borrowing between them.¹⁰¹ Manzalaoui's line of argument is difficult to follow at times. Considering that the SF's parallels with the *Rasā'il* are not as literal as they are between the LF and the *Rasā'il*, and the fact that a possible common source has not yet been identified, Manzalaoui's explanation is unproven but remains a possibility. On the other hand, Aḥmad al-Turaykī has claimed that the *Rasā'il* and the *Sirr* share a single author.¹⁰² Overall, it is difficult to settle this question with any certainty, but the similarities and parallels with the SF and the LF can be used to demonstrate that both the author of the (SF) *Sirr* and the later reviser of the LF were both drawing on Arabic source material – either the *Rasā'il* or a source/author from which both texts emerged.

IBN RABBAN AL-ṬABARĪ: *ḤIFẒ AL-ṢIḤḤAH*

The Health Regimen does not appear in the list of contents near the beginning of *Sirr* or have its own dedicated book despite being a sizeable portion of the treatise. Nevertheless, it is a stable feature of all the recensions, although its position within the text varies. Hence, it must have been added to the text early in the formation of the *Sirr*. A large portion of the Health Regimen has significant parallels with parts of the *ḤifẒ al-ṢiḤḤah* (*On the Preservation of Health*) by the 3rd/9th century physician Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī. Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d.256/870) was also versed in philosophy, was a contemporary of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (d.259/873) and possibly, like the latter, a student of Yūḥanna ibn Māsawayh¹⁰³ The *ḤifẒ al-ṢiḤḤah* is a health

¹⁰¹ Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' pp.175-183.

¹⁰² Aḥmed al-Turaykī, *Sirr al-Asrār li-Ta'sīs al-Siyāsah*.

¹⁰³ With thanks to Joshua Olsson who first drew my attention to the *ḤifẒ al-ṢiḤḤah* as a possible Arabic source of the medical material.

regimen that Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī excerpted from his earlier medical compendium, *Firdaws al-Ḥikmah* (*Paradise of Wisdom*), in places taking over entire chapters; both of these works have survived, although neither have been published.¹⁰⁴ The latter was completed in Caliph al-Mutawakkil's third year in power (c.235/850); therefore, the *Ḥifẓ* was completed at some point after this and before al-Ṭabarī's death - thought to be before 256/870.¹⁰⁵ The medical works of al-Ṭabarī, particularly his *Firdaws*, enjoyed considerable circulation and were well-known amongst later medical scholars, including Abū Bakr al-Rāzī who also made use of the former's medical writings in his own works.¹⁰⁶ Comparison of the *Sirr*'s health regimen and the *Ḥifẓ* shows that the latter was a main source for this section (see FIGURE 1.3 below for examples - for a more comprehensive comparison of the text of the SF, the LF and the *Ḥifẓ*, see TABLE 2):

¹⁰⁴ See U. Raslan, 'Über die Erhaltung der Gesundheit. Ein Hygiene Traktat von Ali ibn Sahl at-Tabari', PhD diss, Bonn (1975), pp. 12-14. In his German translation of the treatise, which is made directly from the MS without edition of the Arabic text, Raslan indicates all passages parallel to the *Firdaws*. Although it is the only one of his four major surviving works to have not been published, one of the manuscripts of the *Ḥifẓ* can be found at Oxford Bodleian, MS Marsh 413, which has been used here as the basis for comparisons between the *Sirr* and the *Ḥifẓ*.

¹⁰⁵ *Firdaws al-Ḥikmah* has been described as 'one of the earliest complete Arabic compendiums of medicine and natural philosophy which have come down to us' by M. Meyerhof, "Alī al-Ṭabarī's "Paradise of Wisdom," One of the Oldest Arabic Compendiums of Medicine', *Isis*, 16:1 (1931), pp.6-54 (12). Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī expresses his intention that it should contain all the 'necessary excerpts from medical and philosophical knowledge and the acting of the natural principles in the microcosm as well as in the macrocosm' (p.3.11-14). *Firdaws al-Ḥikmah* is divided into 7 parts (*naw'*), 30 sections (*maqālah*), and 360 chapters (*bāb*).

¹⁰⁶ Thomas, D., 'al-Ṭabarī', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 30 April 2019. First published online: 2012

FIG. 1.3: A table of comparison of selected passages from the Health Regimen of the *Sirr* with SF8 as the base text
(KEY: black=text shared with SF8; red=additions to the SF8 text; red+underlined= additions to SF8 shared by LF and *Hifz*; blue= passage in LF and *Hifz* only [not present in the SF8]).

Translation of SF8 Paris BnF Arabe 2421	SF8: Paris BnF Arabe 2421	LF Badawi	Al-Ṭabarī: MS Oxford Bodl. Marsh 413
	f.37r	p.94	f.9r
Such things as produce black bile should be avoided. Motion and cohabitation may be indulged in in this season more freely than in summer, but less than in winter (and spring). The frequent use of the bath is recommended and purging if need be. [...]	ويتجنب كل ما يولد السوداء. وتكون الحركة والجماع فيه أكثر مما في الصيف وأقل مما في الشتاء ويتعاهد فيه دخول الحمام والدأء المسهل إن احتيج إلى ذلك	ويتجنب كل ما يولد السوداء. وتكون الحركة والجماع فيه <u>الغرغرة</u> أكثر مما في الصيف وأقل مما في الشتاء <u>وربيع</u> . ويتعاهد فيه ويتعاهد فيه دخول الحمام والدأء المسهل وإن احتيج <u>إلى القيء كان ذلك وسط</u> <u>النهار، لأن الفضول يجتمع</u> <u>في الإنسان في هذين</u> <u>الفصلين. ويسهل البطن</u> <u>بالافثيمون والغاريقون وكل</u> <u>مر يخرج السوداء ويرقق</u> <u>الأخلاط بعون الله.</u>	ويتجنب كل ما يولد السوداء. وتكون الحركة والجماع <u>والغرغرة</u> فيه أكثر <u>منها</u> في الصيف وأقل <u>منها</u> في الشتاء <u>والربيع</u> ويتعاهد فيه دخول الحمام والدأء المسهل إن احتيج <u>إلى ذلك ويتمرّخ فيه</u> <u>بالخيري وما اعتدل من</u> <u>الأدهان فان احتيج إلى</u> <u>القي كان ذلك وسط</u> <u>الشهر أو في آخره لأن</u> <u>الفضول تجتمع في</u> <u>الإنسان في هذين</u> <u>الفصلين ويسهل البطن</u> <u>بالفثيمون واغاريقون ويقل</u> <u>إخراج الدّم فيه.</u>
	Translation of LF text (based on Ali translation)	LF Badawi	Al-Ṭabarī: MS Oxford Bodl. Marsh 413
		p.97	f.10v
Fourth Part, the Bladder: When the superfluous humours are collected in it the		الجزء الرابع، المثانة: فإذا اجتمعت فيها فضول كان آفة ذلك فتور الشهوة	الجزء الرابع، المثانة: <u>ومل</u> <u>يليه</u> فإذا اجتمعت فيها فضول كان <u>آفة</u> ذلك

	<p>signs are: loss of appetite, eruptions, and pimples on the pubic and private parts. Therefore he who suffers this ought to take celery and fennel and their roots, and soak them in white sweet-smelling wine, and should partake of it every morning mixed with water and honey before breaking his fast. He should abstain from over-eating. For, whosoever disregards these symptoms will be afflicted with the pain of the bladder and liver, and stopping of the urine and the anus.</p>	<p>وظهور البشر على الإليتين والعانة. - فينبغي لمن أحس بذلك أن يأخذ من الكرفس والراز يانج ومن أصولها في شراب أبيض فينقعهما طيب الرائحة؛ ثم يأخذ منه كلغداة ممزوجاً بالعسل والماء على الريق، ويحتمى من كثرة أكله. فان أغفل ذلك أورثه وجع المثانة والكبد وحصر البول في الدبر.</p>	<p>فتور الشهوة وظهور وتشر على الإليتين والعانة. - فينبغي لمن أحس بذلك أن يأخذ من الكرفس والراز يانج ومن أصولها فينقعهما في شراب أبيض ثم يأخذ طيب الرائحة؛ منه في كل غداة ممزوجاً بالماء والعسل والماء على الريق، ويحتمى من كثرة الأكل. فان من أغفل ذلك أورثه وجع المثانة والكبد وحصر البول في الدبر والريو.</p>
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As demonstrated by the passages selected above, the expanded health section in the LF also makes use of the *Hifz*. The fact that the Health Regimen of the SF *and* the additional material incorporated into this section in the LF are both based on the *Hifz* indicates that both the SF author (or reviser) who incorporated this section into the *Sirr* and the reviser of the LF were familiar with medical material (possibly physicians themselves); certainly, the latter was familiar

enough to recognise the *Hifẓ* as the source and expanded the section from the same. In similar vein to the *Rasā'il*, the reviser of the LF went back to the original source to make greater use of the same source text when expanding the text.¹⁰⁷

THE PHYSIOGNOMY AND AL-RĀZĪ'S *AL-MANṢŪRĪ FĪ AL-ṬIBB*

Like the Health Regimen, the Physiognomy of the *Sirr* does not appear in the list of contents at the beginning of the treatise, yet it is present in all the recensions and seems to have been added to the text at a very early stage. In terms of its placement within the text, it varies between the recensions; remaining adjacent to wherever the Health Regimen is placed. Despite the 'categories, style, and vocabulary' of the *Sirr*'s Physiognomy that owe much to Polemon of Laodicea and the anecdote about Polemon and Hippocrates found in the LF, he was not the source of the Physiognomy.¹⁰⁸ It was first noted by Thomann that the medical treatise, *al-Manṣūrī fī al-Ṭibb* by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d.313/925 or 232/935), was used as the source of this section.¹⁰⁹ *Al-Manṣūrī* was completed and dedicated to the ruler of Rayy in 290/903. Al-Rāzī's section on physiognomy is structured in the same 'top-down' order (starting with the head) as

¹⁰⁷ This raises the question of whether, contrary to common assumption, this is more than mere coincidence or a reflection of the astuteness of the reviser, and the LF precedes the *Sirr* - the SF being the abbreviated text. Or, perhaps, were they both composed by the same author? At this stage, there is not enough evidence to draw any conclusions from this other than to leave the precedence of the LF as a possibility.

¹⁰⁸ Robert Hoyland, 'The Islamic Background to Polemon's Treatise' in Simon Swain (ed.), *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam* (Oxford; OUP, 2007), p.244. See also: Antonella Ghersetti and Simon Swain, 'Polemon's Physiognomy in the Arabic Tradition' in *Ibid*, pp.281-308.

¹⁰⁹ J. Thomann, *Studien zum Speculum physiognomie des Michele Savonarola*, PhD Thesis (University of Zurich; 1997) as referred to in Regula Forster, 'Physiognomy as a Secret for the King. The Chapter on Physiognomy in the Pseudo-Aristotelien 'Secret of Secrets'' in J. Cale Johnson and Alessandro Stayru (eds.), *Visualising the Invisible with the Human Body* (Berlin/Boston; De Gruyter, 2019), pp.231-45, esp, p.326.

the *Sirr*.¹¹⁰ Regula Forster has analysed the striking resemblance in the order the body parts are presented in the two physiognomy sections and compares the details of the texts. As she points out, there are some differences between the two: the *Sirr* text is abbreviated in some places (for example the colour of the hair); in other places, the text is quite different (such as the eye section) or the *Sirr* contains longer explications (on the nose, speech and movements) – see FIGURE 1.4, for select examples. Unless the author of the *Sirr*'s Physiognomy was using a text of *al-Manṣūrī* different to the one available to us, this suggests that he either made use of several sources or inserted his own material.¹¹¹

FIG. 1.4: Comparison of select examples of the physiognomic details in al-Rāzī's *al-Manṣūrī* and the *Sirr* (based on Badawī's edition). Elements that are new to the *Sirr* in comparison to the *al-Manṣūrī* are underlined.¹¹²

Translation, <i>al-Manṣūrī fī al-Ṭibb</i>	<i>al-Manṣūrī fī al-Ṭibb</i> , (ed. al-Ṣiddīqī)	<i>Sirr al-Asrār</i> (LF, ed. Badawī)	Translation, <i>Sirr al-Asrār</i>
[On the signs of the hair] Soft hair is a sign of cowardice	الشعر اللين يدل على الجبن	فالشَّعر اللين يدل على الجبن ويرد الدماغ وقلة الفطنة.	Soft hair is a sign of cowardice, of a cold brain and a lack of intelligence.
And coarse of courage.	والخشن على الشجاعة.	والشعر الخشن دليل الشجاعة وصحة الدماغ.	Coarse hair is a sign of courage and of a sound brain.

¹¹⁰ Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakkariyyah Al-Rāzī, *al-Manṣūrī fī al-Ṭibb*, ed. Ḥāzim al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī (Kuwait; 1408/1987), pp.99-105.

¹¹¹ Regula Forster, 'Physiognomy as a Secret for the King', pp. pp.231-45. "The same body parts are presented in the same order: hair, eye and eyebrow, nose, forehead, mouth, face, ear, voice and speech, neck, belly, back and shoulders, arms, palm, feet, legs, hamstrings, step and, finally, the most excellent person of all." (Regula Forster, 'Physiognomy as a Secret for the King', p.326).

¹¹² This table is based on Regula Forster's comparison and of the two texts (Regula Forster, 'Physiognomy as a Secret for the King', p.328-44). The examples selected are to demonstrate the types of differences that can be found between the texts and are not representative of the overall level of similarities, which can be found in Forster's chapter.

Much hair on the belly is a sign of the lecherous and much hair on the backbone is a sign of courage.	وكثرة الشعر على البطن يدل على الشبق وكثرة الشعر على الصلب يدل على شجاعة.		
Much hair on the shoulders and neck is a sign of stupidity and boldness [...]	وكثرة الشعر على الكتفين والعنق دليل على الحمق والجرأة.	وكثرة الشعر على الكتفين والعنق دليل على حماقة والجرأة.	Much hair on the breast and the belly is a sign of a <u>cheerless nature</u> , a lack of <u>understanding and love of tyranny</u> .
[...On the signs of the eye] One whose eyes are large is lazy. One whose eyes are hollow is a smart fellow and wicked. One whose eyes are protruding is impudent, enervated and extremely ignorant.	من عظمت عيناه فهو كسلان. ومن كانت عيناه غائرتين فهو داهية خبيث. ومن كانت عيناه جاحظتين فهو وقح مهزال جاهل على الأكثر.	من عظمت عيناه وجحظتا فهو حسود وقح كسلان غير مأمون ولا سيما إذا كانت زرقاء.	One whose eyes are large and protruding is envious, impudent, lazy and not to be trusted, especially if they are blue.
[... On the signs of the voice, the speech ..] One who has a rough and loud voice is courageous.	من كان صوته غليظًا جهورًا فهو شجاع.	من كان جهير الصوت فهو شجاع <u>جسور</u> مقدام.	One who has a loud voice is courageous, <u>daring and bold</u> .
		ومن كان خشن الصوت مائلًا إلى الحدة فهو جاهل قذم صبور على الجفاء والتعب، ومن رق صوته إلى الغاية فهو نزيق سيء الخلق. وخير هما المعتدل المائل إلى الغنّة والليونة.	One who has a raucous voice with a tendency to sharpness is ignorant, dull, patient in harshness and difficulty. And one who has an

			extremely thin voice is hasty and of bad character. And the best of the two is the intermediate that tends to nasalisation and softness.
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In addition to these direct influences from Arabic sources, the nature of the *Sirr*'s contents, its concepts, and its overall character, betray its claims of Greek ancestry and point to the historical and cultural context of the Islamic world: in the introductory epistles, the Persians are presented in a positive light in contrast to the advice of the real Aristotle according to historical sources);¹¹³ the reference to chess (*shatranj*), which was introduced to the Arabs after the conquest of Persia (f.14r); the fact that there is a book dedicated to viziers – a role first created under the Abbasids; the section on emanationary hierarchy and the Neoplatonism of the Islamic context that is being attributed to Aristotle (f.16r); and the numerous references to Indian and Persian practices and sayings. The advice to keep multiple viziers in Book 4 could equally be a reference to the political climate of the Abbasids where individual viziers had become very powerful, or equally the political instability of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordoba in the 4th/10th century. Historical details within the text also point to an original compilation in Arabic. There is the anachronism of Aristotle, who lived in the 4th century BC referring to Polemon (2nd century) as one of the 'ancients' in the LF.¹¹⁴ The *Sirr* recommends employing Turks for war as they have great courage and there is reference to using the beasts of Khurasan

¹¹³ See footnote 4, above.

¹¹⁴ Badawi, *Sirr*, p.218.

during war to frighten enemy horses (f.26r) – Grignaschi argues that this advice stems from the *Siyāṣah al-‘Āmmiyyah* should be read as veiled guidance to the Umayyad caliph Hishām (r.105/724-125/743), although it could also apply to the significance of Turks and Khurasanians under the Abbasids.¹¹⁵

Whilst the *Sirr* does not directly cite scripture or have an overtly religious tone, it is not completely secular either, as it invokes God throughout.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, certain aspects of its contents point more directly to an Islamic context. The reference to angels on the left and right sides “who reckon against your smallest and greatest words and actions, and inform your Maker” (f.12v).¹¹⁷ Elsewhere, in a quote attributed to Hermes, it states that when one creature wrongfully kills another, the angels complain to their Maker” (f.11v).¹¹⁸ Alexander is reminded of his “duty to respect those who represent religion” (f.8v).¹¹⁹ Elsewhere, the *Sirr* states that God can change the fate of an individual through the prayers of angels (f.12r).¹²⁰ The divine rights to rule claimed by rulers is evident in Aristotle’s assertions that God has chosen the king

¹¹⁵ Mario Grignaschi, *Roman épistolaire*, p.246ff. See also: J.D. Latham, ‘The Beginning of Arabic Prose Literature: the epistolary genre’ in A.F.L. Beeston, T.M. Johnstone, R.B. Sergeant and G.R. Smith (eds.), *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp.155-61. Turkic mercenary forces were introduced by al-Mu’tasim (d.842) into his personal army. In the Badawi’s LF, there is reference to the Scythians as having determination but no power and the Daylamites as being able to strike heavily but having no courage (Badawi, *Sirr*, p.249) may have historical significance in the Abbasid politico-historical context: the Daylamites were Persian in origin and in 930 the Daylamite Būyids had emerged to take control of significant Abbasid territory and eventually Baghdad. The *Sirr*’s reference to Daylamites appears to be a reference to the formidable power of the Buyids in the late-3rd/9th and 4th/10th century.

¹¹⁶ Its neutral tone is perhaps one of the main reasons why it was circulated widely across the Islamic world, and across sectarian divides, without falling under censure. It is also for this reason that it was able to pass in reasonable faithful translations to the Christian world of the Latin West.

¹¹⁷ يا إسكندر قد علمت أن عن يمينك | وشمالك ملكان يحصيان عليك الدقيقة والجليلة من قولك وفعلك ويعرفان به بارتك بحصى أمرك تحصى من يعرض جميع ما يسره ويعلمه على بارتك.

¹¹⁸ فقد صح عن هرمس الأكبر أنه قال أن المخلوق إذا قتل مخلوقاً مثله ضجت الملائكة السموات إلى باربيها ينادون {...} عبدك فلان بك.

¹¹⁹ تعظيم من تدور راعباً الملة عليهم كالقضاة والفقهاء والأئمة.

¹²⁰ الملائكة تدعوا عليه عند كل تسبيح واستغفار حتى يؤخذ بدمه.

to rule over the people and “it is necessary for him to resemble Him in the attributes of mercy” (f.14).¹²¹ In the discussion on the importance of justice, justice is stressed as being the reason why prophets were sent (f.14v).¹²² The *Sirr* also refers to God as having created man as the noblest of all animals and elsewhere reminds Alexander of the story of Cain and Abel when warning against the envy of worldly possessions (f.20v).¹²³

Of course, Arabic translators of Greek and Persian works often ‘Islamised’ texts when rendering them into Arabic and what appear to be Islamic references are not on their own evidence of Arabic origins of the *Sirr*. However, alongside the evidence of Arabic sources, a more compelling case can be made for considering the *Sirr* as a product of the Arabic-Islamic world. These sources and influences can be seen within the fabric of the treatise and point to the *Sirr* being an original and creative Arabic composition with an Arabic-Islamic character that relied on a mixture of unique Arabic sources from the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th century, including material that had been earlier translated into Arabic from Greek and Persian literary traditions, and the broader cultural context from which the *Sirr* emerged. Despite what seems to be an eclectic range of influences, the overall character, particularly from Book 2 onwards, is very much of the Arabic-Islamic world. The substantial material of the treatise – the discussion of justice, the Neoplatonist references, the discussion on ministers, and later, the Health Regimen and the Physiognomy – are based on Arabic sources and reflect the literary traditions and intellectual

والملك من استرعاہ اللہ أمر عباده وقلده حمل أمانتهم وتدير أمورهم وأطلق يده على أبشارهم وأموالهم ودمائهم فهو كالآلات لهم فكذلك. يجب أن يكون بهم رؤفاً رحيماً.¹²¹

وبالعدل قامت السماوات والأرض، وبالعدل بعث الأنبياء المطهرون.¹²²

وكان في بدء الخليقة من حسد ابن آدم قابيل لأخيه هابيل حتى قتله والله وليّ لكفايتك.¹²³

milieu of the period. Whatever the origins of individual elements of the *Sirr*, its unique blend of influences and sources were woven to create at its core a consciously composed advice text, in Arabic, to which further additions based on Arabic sources were later incorporated. The subject of its Arabic character, the literary traditions and the intellectual milieu will be examined in more detail in Chapter 2.

* * *

1.4 DATING THE COMPOSITION OF THE *SIRR*

Since Yaḥyā's involvement in translating the *Sirr* is very unlikely, it is difficult to precisely date the compilation of the *Sirr*. This is further complicated by the fact that the final form it took may have been a result of several stages of accretion or revision. Previous studies have arrived at different conclusions, depending on which elements of the *Sirr* they deem to be the core. Grignaschi would set the date as a process that began in the first half of the 2nd/8th century with translation of the Umayyad epistles that went on to form the *Siyāṣah al-‘Āmmiyyah*. Most recently Regula Forster proposed a late 4th/10th century dating for its compilation.¹²⁴ Several methods can be employed to establish the period in which it was composed into its present form: examination of the earliest surviving manuscripts; the citations from, and references to, the *Sirr* in secondary material; and dating based on known sources of the *Sirr*.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, pp.11-19.

¹²⁵ I am retaining the structure used by Forster to address the issues around dating but the discussion is based on the issues raised in this chapter and includes previous scholarship, results from the manuscript survey in Appendix 2, and my own analysis.

DATING BASED ON MANUSCRIPTS

In order to establish the *terminus ante quem* (the latest date), dating an Arabic text by tracing the earliest surviving manuscripts can be problematic, particularly in the case of the *Sirr*: the survival rate of manuscripts before the 6th/14th century is very low. Although it is difficult to quantify attrition rates of manuscripts, it is clear from reading through various collection catalogues that the number of surviving manuscripts from each century do not match the historical evidence that attests to thriving book production over the medieval period. In the absence of any detailed study on the subject, we can use the limited data at our disposal from online catalogues. For example, there are approximately 8500 manuscripts on the *Fihrist*, the online union catalogue of Arabic manuscripts held in the UK's research libraries; fewer than sixty (0.7 per cent) of these have been dated before the 7th/13th century.¹²⁶ It is not until the 9th/15th century that the number of manuscripts dated to any one century rises above 300 (3.5 per cent) in the current UK database.¹²⁷ It is unsurprising, therefore, that there are so few early manuscript witnesses of the *Sirr*, and many of the surviving ones are from the 9th/15th and 10th/16th century onwards. Nevertheless, there are a significant number of extant manuscripts of the *Sirr*, in either complete or fragmentary form, and these can help examine the issue of dating.

A list of known manuscripts of the *Sirr* can be found in **TABLE 1** of this thesis with a more detailed descriptive catalogue provided in Appendix 2. These have been compiled using the lists

¹²⁶ [http://www.fihrist.org.uk/search/results?language="Arabic"](http://www.fihrist.org.uk/search/results?language='Arabic') (Accessed 22/11/2016)

¹²⁷ A detailed study that can provide attrition rates for each century and/or allows comparison against estimations of the number of books circulating is needed.

of manuscripts, some of which included descriptive information, provided by Badawi, Manzalaoui and Forster. These amounted to some fifty complete or reasonably complete manuscripts of the text and twenty-five extracts or fragments.¹²⁸ In addition to this, the present study has added a further thirty-three manuscripts.¹²⁹ Some of the extracts are from the Onomancy section (*Kitāb Ghālib wa Maghlūb*): these can be regarded as being from the *Sirr* with some certainty as they are attributed to Aristotle. In addition to those mentioned in the catalogue, there are numerous fragmentary manuscripts of the Onomancy section, where it is not entirely clear whether they are excerpts from the *Sirr* or from the earliest Arabic attestation of an Onomancy text in the *Kitāb al-Muḥaqqiq al-Mudaqqiq al-Yūnānī* (lit. *The Greek Meticulous Investigator*) of Abū Ma'shar (d. 272/886), as there is no direct attribution to Aristotle as the author.¹³⁰ If some of these are indeed from the *Sirr* this would mean there are even more manuscripts than what has been presently catalogued. Overall, this accounts for a significant number of manuscript witnesses of the *Sirr*, several of which can assist in fixing the dates of the SF and the LF.

¹²⁸ 'Abdurrahman Badawī (ed) 'Sirr al-Asrār', pp.55-72; Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' pp.148-156; Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, pp. 12-14.

¹²⁹ The catalogue in Appendix 2 notes as 'Seen' those manuscripts have been examined and confirmed as copies of the *Sirr*. For those that were not personally examined, enquiries have been made with the repositories and/or their catalogues where possible but it is impossible to rule out whether some of the entries are for an earlier listed manuscript that has been relocated to another library.

¹³⁰ It is difficult to confirm or exclude any attributions to Abū Ma'shar's *Kitāb al-Muḥaqqiq* as the treatise remains unstudied. David Pingree suggests it could be identified with his *Kitāb al-Mawālīd al-Saghīr* [see: David Pingree, 'Abū Ma'shar' in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* vol.1, (New York; 1970), pp.36-37]. Emily Cottrell discusses the earlier work of Paul Tannery who pointed out the Greek parallels to the Onomancy section found in Abū Ma'shar's work and the *Sirr* [See: Emily Cottrell, 'Ekphrasis of a Manuscript (MS London, British Library, Or. 12070). Is the 'London Physiognomy' a fake or a 'semi-fake', and is it a witness to the *Secrets of Secrets* (*Sirr al-Asrār*) or to one of its sources?' in J. Cale Johnson and Alessandro Stayru (eds.), *Visualising the Invisible with the Human Body* (Berlin/Boston; De Gruyter, 2019), pp.347-442; Paul Tannery, 'Notice des Fragments d'Onomatomancie arithmétique' in *Notices et Extraits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 31(2) (1844), pp.234, 249.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS OR. 12070: THE EARLIEST FRAGMENT?

The earliest exemplar of the *Sirr* was previously thought to have been an extract of the physiognomy section in London, British Library (BL) MS Or.12070, dated in the scribe's hand to 330/941 (f.43r).¹³¹ If this dating is considered genuine, this manuscript also antedates all references to the *Sirr* in other sources and is earlier than all other known manuscripts. It appears however that the curators at the British Library have questioned the authenticity of the date. According to an annotation written in pencil next to the entry in the list of British Library acquisitions in the Reading Room, 'this MS in fact a forgery produced in a well-known studio in Iran c.1940'.¹³² Grignaschi reported in 1976 that his correspondent at the British Museum (where the manuscript was initially held) expressed some doubts about the paper of BL, MS Or.12070. Nevertheless he still considered it to be a genuine copy of the text as he thought the contents on the whole were too rare to be a simple forgery.¹³³ More recently, in an email correspondence with Emily Cottrell, the British Library's expert on Arabic paper, David Jacobs described the paper as "an Indian dyed paper, common in the 19th and 20th c".¹³⁴ Walzer, however, had been more forthright in his opinion than the British Library's curators and

¹³¹ The manuscript is in the form of an octavo volume of forty-three folios written on thick pink-brown paper. The only description of it is in the register of recent acquisitions at the British Museum and an article written in *The British Museum Quarterly* shortly after its acquisition: Glyn M. Meredith-Owens, 'A Tenth-Century Arabic Miscellany' in *The British Museum Quarterly* Vol XX (London; British Museum, 1955-1956), p.33. At the time the British Museum acquired London, BL, MS Or.12070 (in 1954), it was one of only a handful of manuscripts that could be traced to this early period, other than some early Qur'ans; making it the earliest secular manuscript in their collection, as documented by Meredith-Owens.

¹³² The manuscripts of the British Museum were relocated to the British Library in 1982. There is no separate entry or description for the manuscript in any British Library catalogues other than this brief entry in the list of acquisitions available in to consult in the reading room.

¹³³ Mario Grignaschi, 'L'Origine et les metamorphoses', p.14. Grignaschi was corresponding with an "E. Anderson" from the British Museum.

¹³⁴ Emily Cottrell, 'Ekphrasis of a Manuscript', p.348, n.5.

considered the manuscript to be a forgery.¹³⁵ More recently, the authenticity of the manuscript has been investigated in considerable detail by Emily Cottrell, with a particular focus on how the textual evidence may help settle the question about its authenticity.¹³⁶

The questions around this manuscript warrant further investigation because, if genuine, BL MS Or.12070 is the earliest material witness of the text's transmission. The dating also forms the basis upon which Manzalaoui set the *terminus ante quem* for the emergence of the *Sirr*, as the first quarter of the 4th/10th century.¹³⁷ Within the manuscript, the *Sirr* accounts for the last of six treatises (ff.39v-43r) that have been bound together as part of a collection (*majmū' āh*) entitled *Rasā'il al-Ḥukamā'* (Epistles of the Sages). The following items are listed in its table of contents (f.2r):¹³⁸

1. Epistle of al-Fārābī by way of commentary on the epistle of Zeno;
2. A miscellany derived from various chapters of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* on a range of topics;
3. A treatise on grammar by al-Kisā'ī (d.189/805) on frequent errors in spoken Arabic;¹³⁹
4. The Arabic translation of *De Legibus* of Plato (or pseudo-Plato) carried out by the well-known translator Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq;

¹³⁵ Richard Walzer (trans.), *Al-Fārābī on the Perfect State* (Oxford, 1985), p.26. Emily Cottrell notes that, contrary to Walzer's assertions about Stern, the latter's writings do not express the opinions the former attributes to him [See: Emily Cottrell, 'Ekphrasis of a Manuscript', p.347 n.4].

¹³⁶ Emily Cottrell, 'Ekphrasis of a Manuscript', p.347-442.

¹³⁷ Mahmoud Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems,' p.159.

¹³⁸ Apart from the catalogue entry found in Appendix 2, a description of the manuscript can be found in Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems', pp.155-56; by H. Daiber, *Catalogue of 'microfilms and Offprints from Arabic Manuscripts in Manuscript Libraries in the Daiber Collection IV* (2009), pp.163-65 [I have not had access to this and rely on Emily Cottrell's reference to this in her article 'Ekphrasis']. See also Emily Cottrell, 'Ekphrasis of a Manuscript', *passim*.

¹³⁹ This treatise has been published by Brockleman (1898), pp.29-46.

5. Various selections of the *Pseudo-Hippocratic Letters* (details on Meredith-Owens of letter to king of Persia);¹⁴⁰
6. The physiognomy section of the *Sirr*, entitled *Risālah fī al-firāsah* (f.39v), attributing its authorship to Aristotle for Alexander (*allafahā Aristātālīs li-l-Iskandar*).

In the first item of this volume, the Farabian epistle, the copyist writes “*aṭālallāhu baqā ’ahu*” (may Allah prolong his [the author’s] life), which, as Cottrell points out, suggests al-Fārābī was still alive at the time of copying.¹⁴¹ Cottrell’s study draws attention to the close resemblance between the characteristic hand in BL, MS, Or.12070 (discussed further below) and the writing in a manuscript of Druze epistles that was purchased in 1956 by the Bodleian (Oxford, Bodleian, MS Arab. e.213). The comparison was first remarked upon by the Bodleian’s curator of Arabic manuscripts at the time, Alfred Beeston.¹⁴² Cottrell argues that the ‘S. Khonsari’ who sold the Druze epistles to the Bodleian Library is likely to be the same seller (who Manzalaoui referred to as ‘P. Khonsavi’) who sold BL, MS Or.12070 to the British Museum two years earlier. In addition to the similarities in script, both manuscripts use a distinctive form of the Eastern Kufic script for titles and they both claim to have been copied whilst the primary author was still alive: al-Fārābī (d.339/950) in BL, MS Or.12070 and, in the case of MS Bodleian Arab. e.213 dated seventy-eight years later, during the life of Ḥamza ibn ‘Alī, the supposed founder of the Druze religion. Such claims would certainly increase the value of a manuscript; the Oxford manuscript further purports to be no less than an autograph of Ḥamza ibn ‘Alī. However, they also raise

¹⁴⁰ For its significance, see: Emily Cottrell, ‘Ekphrasis of a Manuscript’, p.348 n.7 and *Idem*, ‘An Arabic Manuscript of the Pseudo-Hippocratic Letters’ in the proceedings of the XXIXth International Conference on the History of Arabic Sciences (University of Aleppo; 3rd-5th November, 2009).

¹⁴¹ Emily Cottrell, ‘Ekphrasis of a Manuscript’, p.349. The value of this item is enhanced as it antedates the death of al-Fārābī (d.339/950) by just nine years - the copyist is clearly aware that al-Fārābī is still alive by the formula attached to his name.

¹⁴² Alfred Felix Landon Beeston, ‘An Ancient Druze Manuscript’ in *The Bodleian Library Record* 5, (1954-56), pp.285-90. According to the acquisitions register, it was sold to the Bodleian Library by, “S. Khonsari, from Dublin, on the 13th February, 1956”.

suspensions, particularly as the timespan between the two dates makes it almost impossible that the dates given in the colophons of both manuscripts are accepted as being accurate *and* having been copied by a single copyist.¹⁴³

Setting aside the suspicions raised above, the text of this extract of the *Sirr* requires further examination. This Physiognomy section has some variations compared to the text provided by Badawi, but overall, it appears to be the revised and shortened form that it takes in the LF recension of the *Sirr*.¹⁴⁴ In terms of differences between the text and the LF, it is difficult to make precise comparisons as Badawi incorporated elements of the SF7 and SF8 into his edition of the LF without providing a clear critical apparatus. It appears that the main differences between the Physiognomy of BL, MS Or.12070 and the LF are: the body parts are named in a different order; the anecdote of Polemon and the followers of Hippocrates is absent (although it is usually introduced at the end of the previous section before the physiognomy proper begins); and there is only one description of the most admirable characteristics of a man but this is much longer (f.40 r-v) compared to the two readings provided in the LF edited by Badawi.¹⁴⁵ Overall, the physiognomy is closer to the LF in comparison to the one found in the SF. However, it is worthy of note that the Physiognomy is titled *Risālah fī l-Firāsah* and the incipit indicates that its position is at the end of the *Sirr* (*fī-l-ākhīr Kitāb al-Qanūn*) (f.39v). This agrees with the position of the Physiognomy section in the SF7 and SF8 (where it is found after

¹⁴³ The date given Oxford, Bodleian, MS Arab. E.213 is 408/1017-18 [Emily Cottrell, 'Ekphrasis of a Manuscript', p.349-50].

¹⁴⁴ The excerpt corresponds approximately to 'Abdurrahman Badawī (ed), *al-Uṣūl al-yūnāniya li al-naẓariyāt al-siyāsa fī al-Islām*, pp.116-24.

¹⁴⁵ 'Abdurrahman Badawī (ed), *al-Uṣūl al-Yūnāniya li al-Naẓariyāt al-Siyāsa fī al-Islām* p.118.

the penultimate book) than the LF (where it is inserted in Book 2). In light of this, Manzalaoui postulated that this Physiognomy extract was a 'mixed version' that included elements of both the SF and the LF. Cottrell's tables of comparison for the extract with the physiognomy in the SF and LF also confirms that the extract is a version between the two.¹⁴⁶

Does this mean that this manuscript is a unique witness of an early Physiognomy that draws upon both the SF and the LF? I propose that whilst the textual evidence discussed by Cottrell suggests that the second part of this question is true, this does not necessarily confirm that the early date assigned to the manuscript is genuine. Another question that arises if the BL, MS Or.12070 is taken to be genuine relates to the unique title given to the *Sirr* in the incipit: '*Kitāb al-Qanūn*'. Is this proof of an early title that was used for the *Sirr* during its formation stage or earlier? *Kitāb al-Qanūn* is not a title used in any of the other manuscript witnesses. Grignaschi argued that this variation in the title suggested that the physiognomy was not considered as part of the *Sirr* at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, but as part of an otherwise unknown '*Kitāb al-Qanūn*' from which the *Sirr*, as we know it, later emerged.¹⁴⁷ However, Grignaschi's assertion is not supported with any further evidence.

As already noted by Manzalaoui, it is possible that the use of this title stems from a reference to the treatise as a *Qanūn* in the introductory section of the *Sirr*, where Aristotle asserts: "*wa*

¹⁴⁶ M. Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems', p.233; E. Cottrell, 'Ekphrasis of a Manuscript', pp.370-401.

¹⁴⁷ Mario Grignaschi, 'L'Origine et les metamorphoses du 'Sirr al-Asrār'', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 43 (1976) (pp.7-112), see p.14.

raghibtuka an uqīma laka qanūnan taj‘ aluhu li-jamī‘ tadabīraka (and I establish for you [a series of] rules that you will use for all your decisions)” (f.3v).¹⁴⁸ The incipit of BL, MS Or.12070 also states that it was written by Aristotle for Alexander and there is no doubt that the text corresponds to that of the *Sirr*. Similarly, Grignaschi fails to consider that there is a significant variation in the full titles attributed to the *Sirr* as found in extant manuscripts, some which are unique to particular manuscript witnesses, such as *Risālah Aristāṭalīs* (Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Ar. 1871), *Naṣā’ih Iskandar* (Dublin, CBL, MS Arabic 4183), and *Maqālāt al-‘Ashar* (Cambridge, CUL, MS Add.3222).¹⁴⁹ Therefore, the unique title in itself is not proof that it is an early witness, or indeed the existence of an earlier archetype from which the *Sirr* emerged.

The proposition that BL, MS Or.12070 is a genuine early witness of the physiognomy section of the *Sirr* poses still further difficulties: it relies upon the LF as a source, which, as noted earlier, could not have been compiled any earlier than the second half of the 4th/10th century (based on *its* parallels with the *Rasā’il* of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’*). This points to a discrepancy either in the dating as stated in the colophon or the dates that have been attributed to the *Rasā’il* -with the evidence leaning towards it being more likely that there is a discrepancy in the date attributed to MS BL Or. 12070.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Manzalaoui made this observation based on Badawi’s edition (p.70). This phrase is also present in the SF edited in the Appendix and in MS Leiden Or. 749, f.78r.

¹⁴⁹ These examples are in addition to the multiple variations of the full title that replace only one or two words with others or change the word order. The various titles attributed to the *Sirr* are listed under the various entries in the Catalogue of Manuscripts in Appendix 2.

¹⁵⁰ Cottrell examines the internal textual evidence across the manuscript and argues that as the general contents of the manuscript (including the Physiognomy) agree with the date in the colophon, the manuscript should not be dismissed as an outright ‘fake’ but does accept that it has been made to look older than it is. She proposes that the inconsistencies point to it being either a facsimile (perhaps from the 12th/18th century) that was modelled a manuscript from the 4th/10th century, or indeed a more overt forgery produced in early 14th/20th

Having considered the other lines of inquiry, the only remaining tools that have not yet been utilised to settle the question are those of codicological and palaeographical analysis. All the tracts in the manuscript are copied in the same hand.¹⁵¹ The date of copying is also written on the list of contents at the beginning of the manuscript (f.1r) where, unusually for a manuscript of this age, it specifies that the date is in Hijrī years (Arabic manuscripts of this period usually take the Hijrī calendar for granted). The handwriting of BL, MS Or.12070 is a very distinctive well-defined angular *naskh*, although many of its angular features make it reminiscent of Kūfic/early-Abbasid angular scripts. Upon the request of Regula Forster, Colin Baker (the British Library's curator of Arabic manuscripts) provided his appraisal of this manuscript:

The handwriting is very self-conscious and the paper does not seem to me to be in keeping with the date of the colophon (although I am not an expert on dating paper). Although the ms is now bound in a western style, we have kept the islamic style binding it came in when it was purchased. That binding is in 17th-18th cent. style, although that could have been added later to the manuscript. My initial reaction on this is that most people have taken the colophon at face value and it would be quite difficult to authenticate it. I am inclined to think the ms is a later copy.¹⁵²

Closer personal examination of the manuscript reveals that the stout paper used for the manuscript is eastern 'wove' paper. The endpapers that are wrapping the quires (f.i-ii), however, are from a much more recent time and were added later in its binding history. The second flyleaf, f.ii(v), appears to have an ink imprint that matches a mirror image of the title page on

century Tehran for the antiquarian market. Emily Cottrell, 'Ekphrasis of a Manuscript', p.432 and *passim*. Cottrell also accepts that further codicological or palaeographical evidence may help settle the questions.

¹⁵¹ The name of the copyist is given in the colophon as Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Alī Durustawayhī of Iṣfahān along with the date 330 [AH] (f.43r). Meredith-Owens states that the manuscript was, "copied, extracted from a larger miscellany," presumably in reference to the *Sirr*, however, no reasons are given to support this claim.

¹⁵² Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, p.15 (from an email dated 12th July 2002).

f.2r (see FIGURES.1.5-1.6). This cannot be explained as the endpapers appears to be the modern – or at least much younger - paper often used for this purpose at the time of binding. As such, it is not possible that it received this imprint at the time of writing if the dating of the main paper is accepted. Likewise, there is another folio of eastern wove paper in between them (the page with a list contents) on f.1 that does not have any trace of ink matching the title page. Therefore, it cannot be explained by the transference of ink through direct contact. The other half of this flyleaf that wraps the manuscript quires opposite f.43v has impressions of several layers of writing that can be matched to the hand and text in the manuscript – in particular, ff.42r, 43r and 43v (FIGURES. 1.7-1.8). This suggests that this much younger paper was present at the time of writing, not inserted later, which means that the date written into the text must be incorrect.

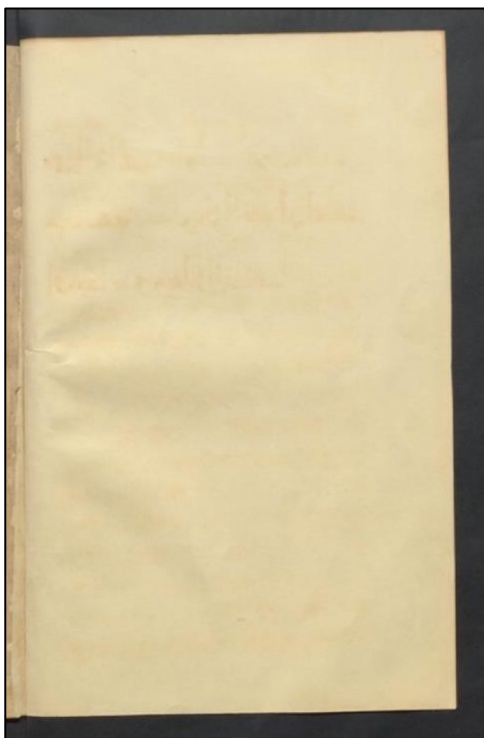


FIGURE 1.5: London, British Library, MS Or. 12070, f.ii(v); the top half of this folio shows traces of the writing on f.2r (© The British Library).

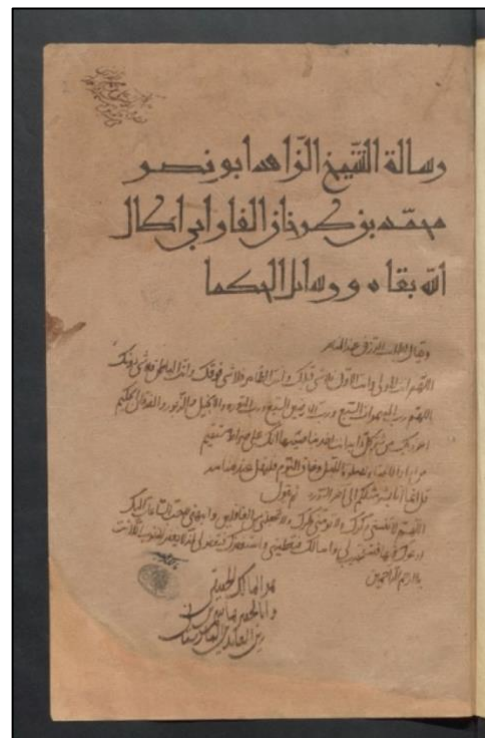


FIGURE 1.6: London, British Library, MS Or. 12070, f.2r; it is the text of the title on the top half of this folio that can be seen on f.ii(v) (© The British Library).

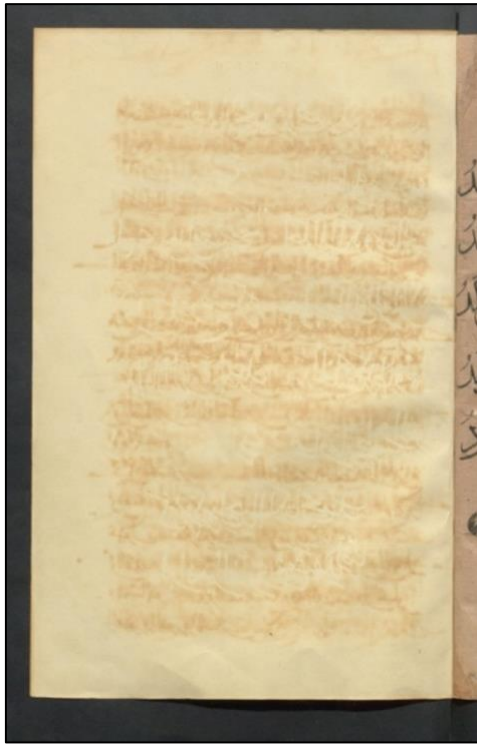


FIGURE 1.7: London, British Library, MS Or. 12070, flyleaf opposite f.43v with impressions of several layers of writing of text and the hand matching the manuscript (© The British Library).

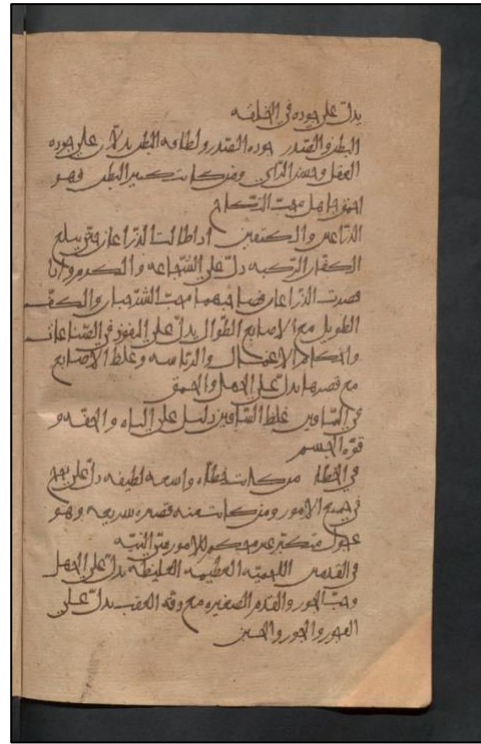


FIGURE 1.8: London, British Library, MS Or. 12070, f42r; one of the pages that has its text imprint on the flyleaf opposite f.43v (© The British Library).

Palaeographical analysis reveals further inconsistencies. The headings throughout are written in a very different style from the rest: a uniquely stylised semi-Kufic script or a form of what came to be known as Eastern Kūfic (Déroche's 'New Abbasid Style'), which emerged from the eastern part of the Abbasid empire in the second half of the 4th/10th century.¹⁵³ The earliest extant example of the use of Eastern Kufic is thought to be the Niffarī manuscript dated 344/955-6, so whilst the use of it in this manuscript is possible, it would be earlier than any other example.¹⁵⁴ Comparing the script in BL, MS Or.12070 to Neffari's manuscript and other

¹⁵³ Annemarie Schimmel, *Calligraphy and Islamic culture* (London; IB Taurus, 1984), pp.6-7.

¹⁵⁴ MS Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Ar. 4000. I have been unable to include an image here but for images, see plate 135 in A.J. Arberry, *A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co.; 1959), pp.248-50. See also: in A.J. Arberry, 'More Niffari' in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15(1), (1953),

examples of Eastern Kufic from 993 and *ca.*1180 (FIGURES. 1.9-1.11), some similarities in the letter forms can be seen such as the *lām-alif* construction, but there are also anomalies: the *alif* is very straight and has a tapered terminal (*muṭlaqah*) in our manuscript, whereas the others all have a right foot/tail (*mu‘aqqafah*);¹⁵⁵ the head-serif is more prominent and defined; the letters *sīn* and *rā* are not consistent or proportioned as one would expect from a calligraphic script. The angular *naskh* form used for the main body of text uses a very conscious style may well have been in use by a copyist or secretary. However, the style is very unusual for the type of text being produced. The typography of the letters *alif*, *lām-alif*, *kāf* and *yā* require particular note as they vary so greatly throughout the text that it is clear it was not a style that was natural to the scribe - the *lām-alif* - in particular is puzzlingly inconsistent. Moreover, the style is at odds with other examples of *naskh*-type scripts from before the script was codified by Ibn Muqla (d.940) and the early examples of its introduction (FIGURES. 1.12-1.13). The contents page at the beginning employs yet another style of writing (*muḥaqqaq*) with the contents listed in the *nasta‘līq* script; a script that was used in and around Iran and Central Asia. This script that did not emerge until the 7th/13th century. It should be noted, however, that this page was possibly added later except the same hand is used to copy the poem at the very end of the manuscript (f.43v,) which has trace imprints on the endpaper opposite.

There is an ownership stamp that appears throughout the manuscript, and someone has written his name at the beginning (f.2r) and end with an inspection notice, indicating collation

pp.29-42; This manuscript is also discussed by Alain George, *The Rise of Islamic Calligraphy* (London; Saqi Books, 2010), p.126.

¹⁵⁵ See: Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), p.8.

of the text. Other than this, there are few indications of its provenance and use considering its 'one-thousand-years' history. There are no reading notes or marginalia as might be expected with such a text other than a few words that were inserted as corrections next to the text-block by the same hand. Overall, it is very neat and well-preserved considering the age that it attributes to itself. There are no signs of moisture or damp, no stains, no sign of pests or infestation or general wear-and-tear around the edges. Remarkably, it appears to have survived completely in-tact. This, whilst not impossible, is exceptional enough compared to other manuscripts of that age and raises suspicions. Altogether, the codicological and palaeographical evidence builds a picture that is inconsistent with the date of the colophon. If we take into consideration that the date also signifies the earliest attestation of al-Fārābī's work, copied during his lifetime, and the unique autograph and much later date of the Druze epistles, it becomes more likely that this manuscript is a deliberate forgery and too unreliable to consider for the purposes of dating.



FIGURE 1.9: London, British Library, MS Or. 12070, f.39v; the first page of the *Sirr* extract, on Physiognomy (© The British Library).

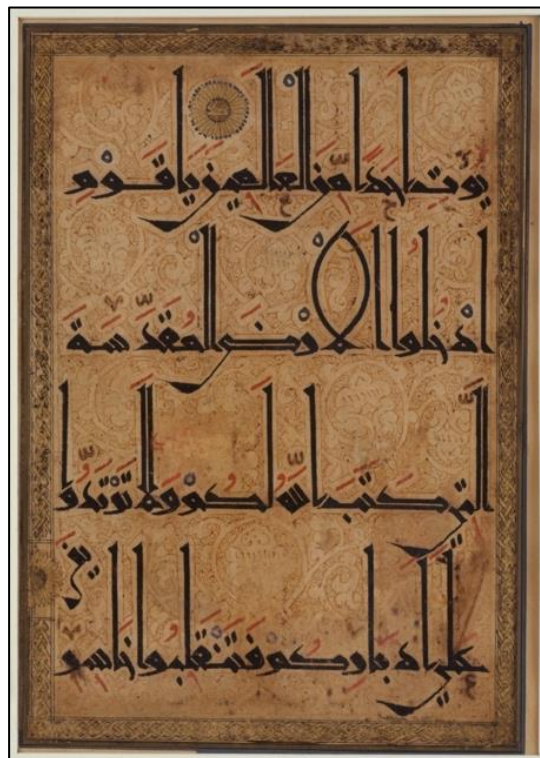


FIGURE 1.10: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession No. 29.160.23; Quran folio in Eastern Kufic script, copied ca.1180 (© The Metropolitan Museum of Art).



FIGURE 1.11: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession No. 40.164.5a, b; Quran folio in the Eastern Kufic script, copied in Isfahan, dated 383/993 (© The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

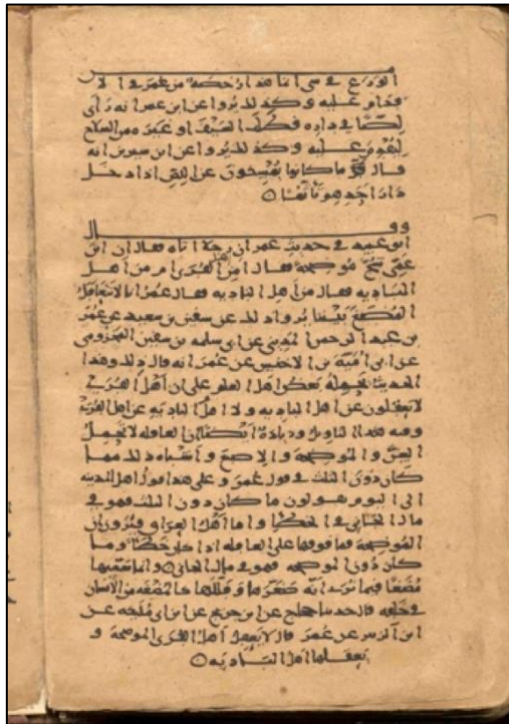


FIGURE 1.12: Leiden, LU, MS Or. 298, f.239v; (*Gharīb al-Hadīth*, by Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim al-Baghdādī), dated Dhū-l-Qa‘da 252/866 (© Leiden University Library).

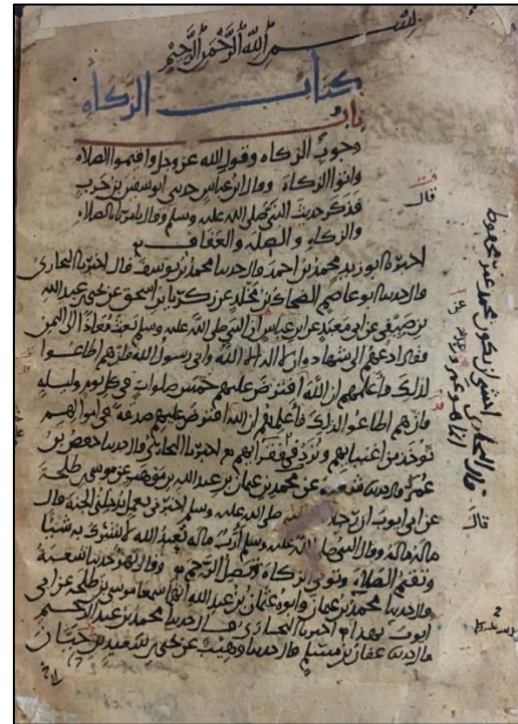


FIGURE 1.13: Birmingham, Mingana, Islamic Arabic 225, f.1v *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, dated c.1000 (© Neelam Hussain).

THE EARLIEST COMPLETE MANUSCRIPTS

Ruling out BL, MS Or.12070, the earliest possible date for a reliable manuscript witness of the *Sirr* is via two manuscripts that attest to the existence of the SF7 version by the year 432/1040-1.¹⁵⁶ In the *Catalogue of al-Sharfa Manuscripts*, Isaac Armalet describes the manuscript at the Dayr al-Sharfah as 10th/17th century, with a colophon that states it was copied from a manuscript dated 432/1040-1.¹⁵⁷ This manuscript contains the SF divided into seven books; the seventh and final section being devoted to medicine.¹⁵⁸ The other manuscript witness, provides

¹⁵⁶ The early manuscript evidence will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 3 where they will be discussed in relation to the early transmission of the *Sirr*.

¹⁵⁷ Beirut, Dayr al-Sharfah, MS Nr. 17/3, 2 (S.267). See: Isaac Armalet [Armala, Ishaq], *Catalogue of ash-Sharfa Manuscripts [aṭ-ṭurfa fī maḥtūtāt Dayr al-Sharfa]* (Jūniya, 1936), Nr. 17/3, 2 (S.267). I have seen only the catalogue entry but have not been able to examine the manuscript itself.

¹⁵⁸ Manfred Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* (Leiden/Köln; HbOr 1972), Vol.2, p.111.

less certain attestation of the 5th/11th century circulation: Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1828 has a statement at the end of its colophon with the same date, however, the date appears to be a later addition (FIGURE 1.14). The dedication to a patron from the prominent Levantine Shihābiyyah family (a family that settled in Lebanon in the 6th/12th century), and the ornamentation and script, suggest it was copied in the early Mamlūk period (mid-13th to mid-14th century).¹⁵⁹ Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud Or.210 is another early SF7 version, dated approximately to the 6th/12th century. The dating here is based on the early *naskh* and the endpapers of this composite manuscript that have calendar conversion tables in for the year 541 / 1146-7. This dating cannot however be certain as it is unclear when those papers were bound with the *Sirr*.¹⁶⁰ There is also a partial manuscript of the SF that was discovered as part of the Cairo Genizah collection that has been dated 6th/12th or 7th/13th century.¹⁶¹ Written in Hebrew letters, it contains the third and sixth parts of the SF but it is unclear whether this constitutes the SF7 or SF8.¹⁶² The earliest extant manuscript of the SF8 version is from the 8th/14th century: Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, MS LJS 456, which is dated 797/1394 and is copied in the *maghribī* script.¹⁶³ The oldest preserved manuscript of the LF in ten books was copied between 1189-1211 during the rule of the Zengid atabeg of Mosul, Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh I (MS Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, LJS 459).¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ The reader notes in Syriac that were added in 1362 demonstrate that it was circulating before this date.

¹⁶⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud.210, the calendar includes panels for the year 541 / 1146-7, see. Manzalaoui 1974 148.

¹⁶¹ Mario Grignaschi, 'Remarques sur la formation et l'interprétation du *Sirr al-asrār*' in PASS, p.7ff, esp. p.26-9.

¹⁶² The earliest dated extant manuscripts that can be confirmed with what appears to be the full text of the SF7 are Dublin, CBL, MS Arabic 5153 dated 762/1360-1, and Istanbul, SK, MS Aşir Efendi 1002, dated 783/1381-2.

¹⁶³ In addition to this, Manzalaoui described Suhag, Suhag Municipal Library, *Tārīkh* MS 167 as 8th/14th century and the entry MS Antaki/Sbath 218 (current whereabouts unknown) as an SF8 from the 7th/13th century (Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems', pp.149, 154).

¹⁶⁴ The earliest LF was previously thought to have been held in Mosul (Mosul, Madrasah Jāmi' al-Bāshā, MS 55/134), although its current whereabouts are unclear. The manuscript contains Persian glosses, and it was dated

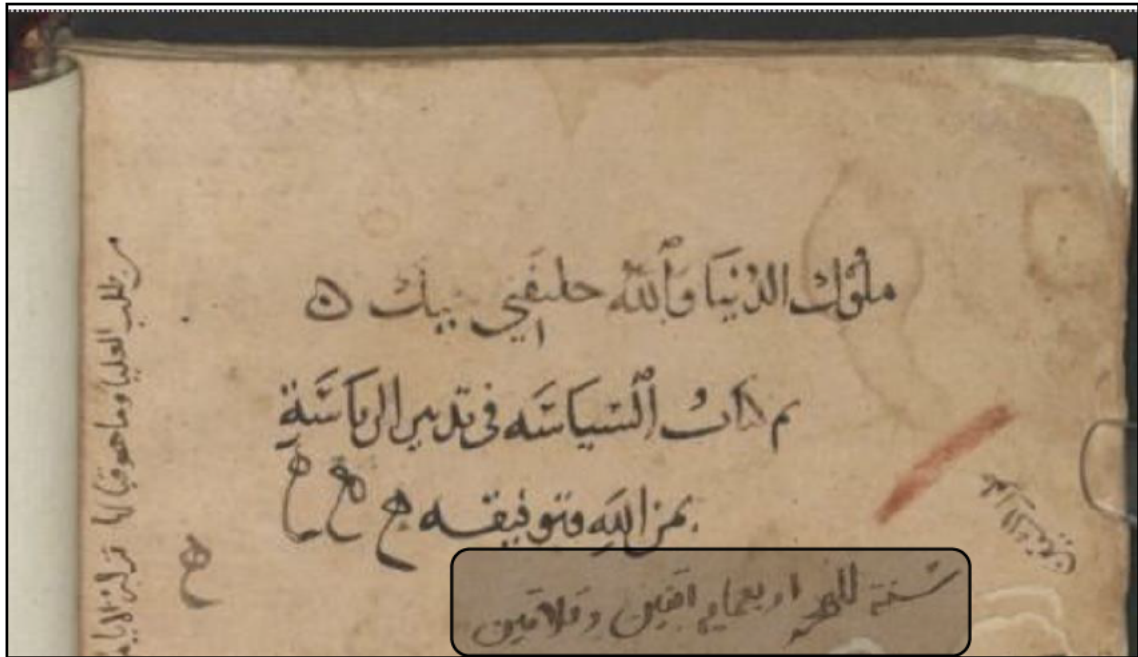


FIGURE 1.14: Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1828, f.54v;
the colophon followed by the date 432/1040-1, added in a different hand (© Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).

DATING BASED ON CITATIONS AND REFERENCES TO THE *SIRR*

References to the *Sirr* in literary sources can provide even earlier witnesses to the circulation of the *Sirr* than extant manuscripts.¹⁶⁵ Whilst Ibn al-Nadīm's bibliography completed in 377/987, *al-Fihrist*, does not list the *Sirr*, there is a reference to it in another text that was written at the same time as the *Fihrist*: *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭṭibā' wa'l Ḥukamā'* (Generations of Physicians and Wise Men) by the Andalusian physician, Abū Da'ūd Sulaymān b. Ḥassān, known as Ibn Juljul. Born in Cordoba, Ibn Juljul was the personal physician to Caliph Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh (r.366-399/977-1009), the third Umayyad caliph in Al-Andalus, for whom the work was written in

by Manzalaoui to either the mid-twelfth century or around 1300 (sic!), depending on which of the two rulers with similar names to whom it was dedicated (see: Manzalaoui 1974, 151). The manuscript was already described in Brockelman 1895-1949, Vol. 1, p.203. It is conceivable that the manuscript was later placed in the museum of the Awqāf Ministry in Baghdad, where it may have since fallen victim to the looting and pillaging of spring 2003 (see Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, p.16, n.61).

¹⁶⁵ These sources are discussed only briefly here in relation to the purpose of dating the *Sirr*. They will be explored further in Chapter 3 as part of the discussion on the early transmission of the treatise.

377/987.¹⁶⁶ Ibn Juljul was using the eight-book SF (SF8) to which he attributes the title, *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī tadbīr al-riyāsah al-ma'rūf bi-Sirr al-Asrār* (*The Book of Government on the Good Ordering of Statecraft, known as the Secret of Secrets*). The *Sirr* is mentioned twice in Ibn Juljul's treatise: once in his chapter on Aristotle and the second time in the section on Ibn al-Biṭrīq. In the section on Aristotle, he refers to a *Risālah* in eight sections and cites the Octagon of Justice (elsewhere known as the Circle of Justice) and a passage from the preface.¹⁶⁷ When discussing Ibn al-Biṭrīq, he cites the legend of the *Sirr*'s discovery from the *Sirr*'s prologue.¹⁶⁸

The earliest citation of the LF version of the *Sirr* is by Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭūshī ibn Abī Randaqah (1060-1126). Al-Ṭurṭūshī hailed from Tortosa and moved to teach in Alexandria. He finished writing *Sirāj al-Mulūk* in 515/1122, which includes four potential links to the *Sirr*. Manzalaoui examined them and pointed out that although three of them could equally have derived from other Arabic works, the fourth establishes a firmer link with the *Sirr*: “the comparison of the king with rain, wind, summer and winter, is reproduced in a form which is substantially identical with that of the Long Form of the *Sirr*”.¹⁶⁹ Al-Ṭurṭūshī's use of the LF is the earliest evidence that the LF was already in existence by the first quarter of the 6th/12th century.

It is therefore clear that by the late 4th/10th century, the SF was already circulating and referred to by its proper title, it existed in the eight-book form, which included its preface and the

¹⁶⁶ Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭṭibā' wa'l Ḥukumā'*, ed. F. Sayyid (Cairo: Institute Français d'Archaeologie Orientale, 1955). Ibn Juljul was an influential Andalusian physician and pharmacologist from Cordoba. He died after 384 / 987. His *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭṭibā'* was one of his major works on the history of medicine that included fifty-seven biographies of famous physicians and philosophers.

¹⁶⁷ Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭṭibā'* p.26f. See: f.15r (Appendix 2); Badawi, *Sirr*, p.127; 'Octagon' p.67.

¹⁶⁸ Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭṭibā'*, p.67. See: f.3r-3v (Appendix 2); Badawi, *Sirr*, p.69; 'Foreword' p.x.

¹⁶⁹ Al-Ṭurṭūshī's use of the *Sirr* is discussed in detail in Manzalaoui, 'Facts and Problems', pp.159.

Octagon of Justice in a diagrammatic form. Despite the clear references to the *Sirr*, Grignaschi has argued vehemently that the text quoted by Ibn Juljul was not the SF but must be a shared (lost) archetype of the LF and SF, the *Siyāṣah al-‘Ammiyyah*.¹⁷⁰ His argument was mainly based on MS BL Or 12070 being a 4th/10th century witness of a Physiognomy that draws from the SF and the LF, and the 10th/16th century Ottoman Turkish translation by Nevālī of what he believed must have been the *Siyāṣah al-‘Ammiyyah*. However, as the London Physiognomy is demonstratively unreliable and there is no undisputed evidence of what this lost Arabic prototype contained¹⁷¹ - or that Nevālī had access to it – Grignaschi’s case for this is weak. Moreover, the discussion in Chapter 4 will establish that there is strong evidence that Nevālī would have been familiar with the *Sirr* and that he had access to multiple copies of it when he was commissioned to produce the Turkish translation.

In terms of fixing the period in which the *Sirr* was likely composed, the *terminus ante quem* is the last quarter of the 4th/10th century, as there are references to it in secondary literature by then. The *terminus a quo*, however, is more problematic. If the *Sirr* was indeed compiled by Yaḥyā Ibn al-Biṭrīq, it would place the earliest date of the text in the early part of the 3rd/9th century. However, as his involvement is unlikely (as discussed in section 1.3), and in the absence of evidence for a Greek or even Syriac original, another way of dating the text would be to examine its influences and sources.

¹⁷⁰ Mario Grignaschi, ‘L’Origine et les metamorphoses du ‘*Sirr al-asrār*,’ pp.9-12. See also: ‘Remarques sur la formation et l’interprétation du *Sirr al-asrār*’ in PASS, p.6.

¹⁷¹ Grignaschi regards two 8th/14th century manuscripts presently in Istanbul as witnesses of the *Siyāṣah*, but this cannot be accepted as certain.

DATING BASED ON THE *SIRR*'S SOURCES

Further examination of the sources provides information to help establish the *terminus a quo*.

To begin with we have the dates of the Umayyad epistles, written in the first half of the 2nd/8th century, which Grignaschi argues formed the nucleus around which other material was added.

Manzalaoui puts forward the possibility that a source for some of the material of the *Sirr* was a school epitome of Aristotle's ethical philosophy or a gnomological collection and states that

other sources of inspiration of the *Sirr* may include the known fragments from two letters

between Aristotle and Alexander that are thought to be genuine, and the alleged *Aristotelis*

Epistolae which bear broad similarities to elements in the early part of the *Sirr*.¹⁷² These sources

are, however, older than the alleged translator, Yaḥyā Ibn al-Biṭrīq. Whilst they provide dates

in terms of the origins of the SF form of *Sirr*, they are not helpful in positing a *terminus a quo*.

The real Yaḥyā flourished in the early 3rd/9th century. Therefore, the compilation of the *Sirr* and

the attribution to Yaḥyā as translator must have occurred later in the 3rd/9th century. There is

also a relationship between the *Sirr*'s Onomancy section and the *Kitab al-Muhaqqaq al-*

Mudaqqiq of Abū Ma'shar (d.272/886), which takes the composition to the late 3rd/9th century

or after. Of the direct Arabic sources, Al-Ṭabarī's *al-Ṣiḥḥah* was written in the third quarter of

the 3rd/9th century; al-Rāzī *al-Manṣūrī* was written in 290/903; and the 'first edition' of al-

Mas'ūdī's *Murūj* 'first edition' was completed in 332/943 and revised in 336/947.¹⁷³ The dating

for the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, however, is not as straightforward; there has been much debate about

¹⁷² Mahmoud Manzalaoui, *Facts and Problems*, p.196 and *passim*.

¹⁷³ Pellat, Ch., "al-Mas'ūdī", in: *El²*, P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs (eds.). Consulted online on 21 September 2021

their dates by scholars over the years.¹⁷⁴ Esoteric works composed in al-Andalus point to the earliest evidence of the circulation of the *Rasā'il*: Godefroid de Callataÿ argues that the *Rasā'il* should be seen as an early 4th/10th century compilation based on their use in *Risālat al-l' tibār* by the Andalūsī scholar Ibn Masarra (d.319/931);¹⁷⁵ the *Rasā'il* are also quoted in pseudo-Majrītī's '*Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm*' (*The Aim of the Wise*), which was written between 343/954 and 348/960 according to the preface of most manuscripts.¹⁷⁶

For the purpose of dating the *Sirr*, it is not necessary to settle the question of the earliest dates for the *Rasā'il* as the *terminus a quo* is based on al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj*. Therefore, we can establish that the *Sirr* was composed either after 332/943 (*Murūj*) or 343/954 (*Ghāyah*), and before 377/987 (reference by Ibn Juljūl). The earliest citation in al-Andalus suggests that either it was composed there or had been transmitted to the region shortly after it was written. The LF was

¹⁷⁴ Ian Netton placed the work of the *Ikhwān* as "loosely in the tenth or eleventh century AD" (Ian Richard Netton, 'The Brethren of Purity (*Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*)' in Seyyed Hossein Nasr / Oliver Leaman (eds), *History of Islamic Philosophy I* (London/New York: Routledge, 1996) p.223). However, according to the account of Abū Hayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d.414/1023) with the vizier Abū 'Abdallah b. Sa'dān, the *Ikhwān* were purportedly active in Iraq at the time their discussion is purported to have taken place in 373/983-4. This has prompted a majority of modern scholars to date the compilation to around this date (See: Susanne Diwald, *Arabische Philosophie und Wissenschaft in der Enzyklopädie Kitāb Ikhwan al-Ṣafā'* (III) (Wiesbaden: Die Lehre von Seele und Intellekt, 1975) p.15). Other evidence to establish a *terminus a quo* for the *Rasā'il* can be found in the biography of the poet al-Mutanabbī (303 / 915-354 / 965), whose verses are quoted frequently in the *Rasā'il*, indicating a date range of 303/915-354/965 - this argument comes from Dieterici, cf. *El²*, s.v. '*Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*'.

¹⁷⁵ Godefroid de Callataÿ, 'Philosophy and inicism in al-Andalus: Ibn Masarra's *Risālat al-l' tibār* and the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*' in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 41 (2014), pp.261-312. See also: Maribel Fierro, 'Bāṭinism in al-Andalus: Maslama b. Qāsim al-Qurṭubī (d.353/964), Author of the '*Rutbat al-Ḥakīm*' and the '*Ghāyat al-Ḥakīm*' (Picatrix)' in *Studia Islamica*, 84 (1996), pp.87-112.

¹⁷⁶ See: Susanne Diwald, *Kitāb Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā'* (III): *Die Lehre von Seele und Intellekt. Arabische Philosophie und Wissenschaft in der Enzyklopädie* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), p.15. See also: Godefroid de Callataÿ, 'Magia en al-Andalus: *Rasā'il Ijwān al-Ṣafā'*, *Rutbat al-Ḥakīm y Gāyat al-Ḥakīm* (Picatrix)' in *Al-Qantara*, 34.2 (2013), pp.297-343. The *Ghāyah* was disseminated in Europe under the title '*Picatrix*'.

compiled at some point after this and certainly by the early 6th/12th century, when it was cited by another Andalusian scholar (who had by then settled in Egypt), al-Ṭurṭūshī.

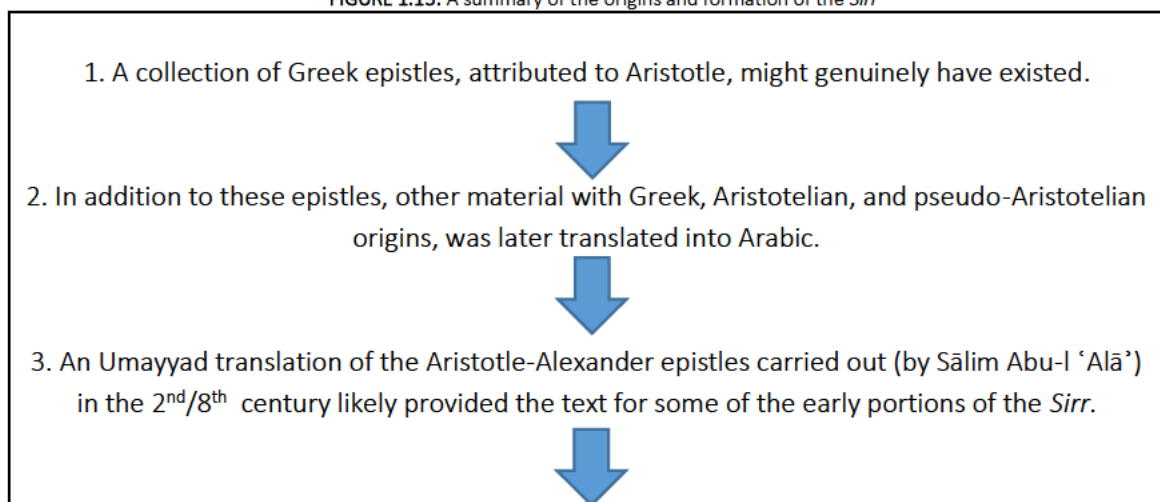
* * *

1.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has argued that the overall sources and influences of the *Sirr* point to it being an original and creative Arabic composition with an Arabic-Islamic character that relied on a mixture of unique Arabic sources from the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th century, including material that had been earlier translated into Arabic from Greek, Persian, and possibly Indian, literary traditions, and the broader cultural context from which the *Sirr* emerged. Despite what seems to be an eclectic range of influences, the overall character, particularly from Book 2 onwards, is very much of the Arabic-Islamic world. In terms of initial origins, even though a Hellenistic pseudo-Aristotelian epistle may well have been the source of the *Siyāṣah al-‘Āmmiyah* (which may have later served as the nucleus for some of the opening portions of the *Sirr*), this forms only a portion of the beginning of the *Sirr*. Rather than providing the *Sirr*’s core identity, it was simply an anchor upon which supplementary material and revisions were added when it was re-formed for its present purpose. The Arabic sources that influenced the *Sirr* - including the *Murūj al-Dhahab* of al-Mas‘ūdī; *Rasā’il* of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’*; al-Ṭabarī’s *Ḥifẓ al-Ṣiḥḥah*; and *al-Manṣūrī fī al-Ṭibb* by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī - had a direct impact on its core contents and character. These sources were added at some point after the life of the real Yaḥyā Ibn Bīṭrīq, when ‘pseudo-Aristotle’ compiled the core material of the *Sirr*, adding a preface and giving the

treatise its current structure. In the final revision of the Arabic text, further scientific material on health, physiognomy and some theoretical passages at the beginning of sections were added as *abwāb*. For a summary of the process of accretion and the date range in which the *Sirr* was composed, see **FIGURE. 1.15** (below). The absence of numerous, or substantially different, versions of the SF suggests that the revisions in steps 6-8 occurred very close together or may even have been made by one author. The Arabic sources also help establish the dates for the composition of the treatise: between 332/943 and 377/987. This chapter has also shown the methodological usefulness of incorporating palaeographical and codicological analysis to evaluate the disputed dates of manuscripts. In conjunction with the Arabic sources that were identified in the chapter, being able to rule out London, BL, MS Or.12070 through such analysis has permitted narrowing the timeframe within which the *Sirr* was composed to forty-four years. It has also meant that the mixed use of the SF and LF in that particular manuscript no longer detracts from drawing firmer conclusions about the formation of the *Sirr*.

FIGURE 1.15: A summary of the origins and formation of the *Sirr*¹⁷⁷



¹⁷⁷ This is an adaptation of the summary provided by Manzalaoui (*Facts and Problems*, p.193), with revisions and additional information discussed in this chapter and the removal of the aspects that lack evidence.

4. In the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries, various texts with Persian and Indic origins were translated into Arabic that later influenced the *Sirr*. These included advice texts and works describing the meeting and practices of kings, and the virtues of justice and good governance.



5. Between the last quarter of the 3rd/9th century and 332/943, original Arabic works that were later used as sources for the *Sirr*: *Murūj al-Dhahab* of al-Mas'ūdī; *Rasā'il* of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*; al-Ṭabarī's *Ḥifẓ al-Ṣiḥḥah*; and *al-Manṣūrī fī al-Ṭibb* by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī.



6. Pseudo-Aristotle composes the first version of the *Sirr*, after 332/943, incorporating material from a combination of step 1-5, adding a preface and other material; attributing it to Yahyā ibn al-Biṭrīq. This version is divided into *Maqālāt* and does not include the Health Regimen or the Physiognomy as these are substantial sections not listed in the contents and their place in the text varies.



7. Shortly after this, a reviser (familiar with medical texts - perhaps a physician) adds further scientific material on health and physiognomy towards the end of the *Sirr*, referring to these sections as *abwāb*; turning the Mirror for Princes into a broader work.



8. At the same time as step 7, or shortly after, the Preface is augmented to the text dedicating the work to the caliph and introducing the SF *Sirr*. This text is divided into eight books (SF8) and existed before 377/987.



9. After step 8 and before 432/1030, another redactor rearranges the preliminary matter of the SF8, combining the books on 'Army Officers' and 'Management of War' to produce a seven-book form (SF7).



10. The reviser of the LF - someone acquainted with the *Rasā'il* of the *Ikhwān* and the *Ḥifẓ al-Ṣiḥḥah* of al-Ṭabarī - augments the SF8 with further material, forming a ten-book version of the *Sirr* before 1122 (when al-Ṭurṭūshī cites it in *Sirāj al-Mulūk*).

* * *

CHAPTER 2

WRITING ARISTOTLE IN THE 4TH/10TH CENTURY: AUTHORSHIP, AUTHORITY & AUDIENCE

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Looking at the *Sirr* through the lens of its Arabic sources and character raises questions about the intellectual milieu and the cultural context in which the *Sirr* was produced. The author of the *Sirr* appears to have purposefully woven together a range of material – the question is: to what purpose? This chapter seeks to understand the authorial intentions of the writer of the *Sirr* set within the intellectual, literary, and cultural context in which the treatise was produced. There has been no attempt to date to situate and understand the treatise within the broader, flourishing and eclectic intellectual and literary traditions of Arabic scholarship in the 4th/10th century. Nor has there been any detailed exploration of why the authorship was specifically attributed to Aristotle and who the *Sirr*'s intended audience was. In this chapter, I propose that it is possible to study the intentions and motivations of the writer (Pseudo-Aristotle) when he attributes the authorship of the *Sirr* to Aristotle through close reading of the text and a consideration of how the figure of Aristotle lent authority to the treatise through association within the context of the intellectual and literary landscape of the 3rd/9th to 4th/10th centuries. I argue that the contents of the *Sirr* reflect and engage with various learned traditions of the period, indicating that the author of the *Sirr* aimed to engage with a range of audiences.

The first half of the chapter (sections 2.1 and 2.2) considers the writer's intentions: the significance of attributing the authorship of the *Sirr* to Aristotle and how this relates to concepts of authorship and authority in the early medieval context (up to the 7th/13th century). What

was the writer's intention in doing this? What did he seek to achieve? The second half of the chapter attempts to identify the author's intention in relation to the intended audience of the treatise. Section 2.3 considers how the writer uses the persona of Aristotle as author to engage with the intended recipients. Finally, section 2.4 situates the contents of the *Sirr* within the broader scholarship and intellectual traditions of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries from which the *Sirr* emerged to propose the types of audiences for whom the contents would have appealed. Building on some of the discussion in Chapter 1, the present chapter also supports one of the broader arguments of this thesis that the *Sirr* was an original Arabic composition from the 4th/10th century and that its contents reflect the intellectual pursuits of the period.

For the purposes of this discussion, a distinction will be made between the terms 'audience' and 'readership.' Taavitsainen and Pahta regard the audience as the "potential readership the work is targeted at," while the readership consists of those who have physically engaged with the text.¹ For this reason, the present discussion on audience will examine the textual evidence and literary traditions that point to the potential readers the writer sought to engage - as implied by the text. Another note on the parameters of the discussion is that whilst it is acknowledged that there were many cities of scholarship across the Islamic world in the 4th/10th century, when examining the scholarship and broader literary traditions, the focus will be on Baghdad and Cordoba (or al-Andalus, more generally) as places with the earliest links to the *Sirr*: the purported translator, Yaḥyā, was based in Baghdad, and the earliest citation of the *Sirr*

¹ Irma Taavitsainen, Päiva Pahta (eds), *Medical & Scientific Writing in Late Medieval English* [Studies in English Language], (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.15.

was in al-Andalus. Moreover, scholarship in the medieval Islamic world was not insular. Although there would have been some features that were particular to individual cities, there were networks of knowledge transmission between major centres of learning, and scholars were known to travel between them in search of knowledge.

* * *

2.1 ARISTOTLE, THE *SIRR* AND EARLY MEDIEVAL AUTHORSHIP

The author of the Islamic book seldom reveals himself as a person. The purpose of a book is not to express personal feelings or originality [...]. A very large proportion of the contents of Islamic books are presented as traditions handed on from others. The author picks up from his notes and sets down an item that he finds useful.

Johannes Pederson, *The Arabic Book*²

Chapter 1 established that Aristotle was not the genuine author of the *Sirr* and that the genuine author of the *Sirr* remains anonymous. Although some of the individual elements of the *Sirr* were a result of additions and accretions, there was nevertheless a final author who composed the work, compiling the contents from various sources within a framework of epistles between Alexander and Aristotle, that was organised into thematic chapters, or 'Books'. This author presented the treatise as the sage (and private) advice of Aristotle, composed for the privileged eyes of Alexander the Great. Whilst this author left no outward evidence pointing to his own identity, it is clear from the contents of the treatise, that the *Sirr* was composed with a

² Johannes Pederson, *The Arabic Book*, trans. Geoffrey French (New Jersey; Princeton University Press, 1984), p.23.

purpose.³ Yet, instead of claiming authorship and responsibility for the treatise, the writer used the framework of the Aristotle-Alexander epistles to ascribe the authorship to Aristotle. This way of an author stepping back from a treatise is not very unusual in Arabic books: Johannes Pederson notes in the above quote, it was not necessary for authors from the pre-modern Islamic world to reveal themselves. As exemplified in the case of the *Sirr*, written works were often composite in character and the authorities or sources from which the material was derived was not always given.

Nevertheless, there are some things that can be gathered about the anonymous 4th/10th century author who composed the *Sirr*. Based on the range of the *Sirr*'s content, he would have been someone with access to a variety of literary and scholarly material: ethical and advice literature, political, philosophical, scientific, medical, alchemical and military literature. The references to Aristotelian concepts such as some of the virtues described in his *Nicomachean Ethics* and the place of reason in ruling the soul and its passions from Aristotle's *Politics*, demonstrate that the author was familiar with Aristotle's ideas and works. As outlined in Chapter 1, the familiarity with the ideas of classical and Hellenistic works, as well as Persian and Sanskrit ideas that had been translated into Arabic by end of the 3rd/9th century, suggest someone who had a familiarity with a broad range of texts – political, philosophical, medical and scientific – from Greek, Persian and Indian sources. The level of familiarity with the scholarship and literature of the period suggests that if the author of such a work was not a

³ I am assuming the author was a man - like the overwhelming number of writers whose works have survived from this period – but it remains a possibility that it was written by a woman.

scholar or author in his own right, he was at least in close contact with scholarly and literary works: perhaps a professional scribe or someone who worked in the book trade in some way. For example, Ibn al-Nadīm, the 4th/10th-century bibliographer and author of the encyclopaedic catalogue of Arabic literature and translated works, *Al-Fihrist*, was a scribe by trade who through his occupation and research acquired a great deal of knowledge across a huge range of disciplines.⁴

The author also demonstrates an interest in astrology, the occult, and engagement with esoteric thought and the concepts of the *zāhir* (apparent) and the *bāṭin* (hidden). The passages on *zāhir* and *bāṭin*, the Universal Soul, and emanationary hierarchy suggest a possible Ismaʿīlī influence on the author (one that is even more pronounced in the LF).⁵ The range of influences suggest someone with a cosmopolitan outlook, typical of 4th/10th century scholarship; an outlook that embraces the influx of ideas from other cultures. Pseudo-Aristotle demonstrates familiarity with the major figures of the translation movement, both translators and the authors

⁴ Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (Cairo), trans. Bayard Dodge (New York; 1970).

⁵ The affiliation of the Ikhwān with an Ismaʿīlī commitment, based on the view that their interest in esoteric and exoteric meanings relates to Ismaʿīlī notions of the *zāhir* and *bāṭin*, has been proposed by numerous scholars, including Marquet, Corbin, Hamdani, Nasr, Baffioni and Janne Mattila. This view has been challenged more recently by Liana Saif. See: Yves Marquet, *La philosophie des Iḥwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (Algiers: Etudes et Documents, 1975), p.585; Carmela Baffioni, 'Epistles 48 of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ and Their Ismāʿīlī Commitment' in Ilkka Lindstedt, Jaako Hämeen-Antilla, Raija Mattila and Robert Rollinger (eds.) *Case Studies in Transmission* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), pp.11–31 *et passim*; and Janne Mattila, 'The Philosophical Worship of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ', *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 27/1 (2016), pp.17–38, at pp.17, 37; See also: Michael Ebstein, 'Spiritual Descendants of the Prophet: al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Ibn al-ʿArabī and Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ on Ahl al-Bayt' in Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *L'ésotérisme shiʿite: ses racines et ses prolongements* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp.539–71, esp. p.541; Liana Saif, 'Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ' s Religious Reform and Magic: Beyond the Ismaʿīli Hypothesis', *Journal of Islamic Studies* (2018), pp.1–36.

of original works. He is also aware, and actively engages with, some of the tropes commonly drawn upon from other works produced in the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries, such as discovering texts in hidden vaults, the wisdom of Persian and Indian kings, the attribution of multiple layers of meaning, and other tropes of pseudo-epigraphical works - the second half of this chapter will discuss in more detail the significance of these features and range of influences in relation to the work's intended audience.

The fact that the *Sirr* is not actually written by the person it purports to be written by, reflects the multi-layered and sometimes complex nature of authorship and authorial functions in medieval Arabic literature. Applying the concept of 'authorship' for works such as the *Sirr* is further complicated by the fact that it is compiled from various sources and embedded throughout with anecdotes and references to the practices of other cultures and well-known figures. These anecdotes and references to cultural practices are anonymous. The material used for them probably travelled between works, and altered during the course of transmission, raising the question of whether it is reasonable – or even possible – to look for *the* author of the *Sirr*. Should texts like the *Sirr* be simply regarded as unauthored literature or a text with several authors? Does the *Sirr*'s textual history of layers and accretions mean that it contains a multiplicity of voices that cannot be distinguished and it is thus impossible to apply the concept of authorship?

The writers of compilatory texts were not detracted from attributing their work, or parts of their work, to particular figures. The *Sirr*'s anecdote about Polemon at the beginning of the

physiognomy chapter, for example, is something that had been circulating in learned circles since at least the mid-3rd/9th century.⁶ In fact, many of the literary prose works and anecdotal literature written before the 4th/10th century, including those prose texts found in literary anthologies, *adab* collections and historical sources, were multi-layered, combining the work of multiple authors that were transmitted in learned circles.⁷ Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila argues, “the authorship of a large part of Arabic literary anecdotes before the tenth century is multilayered in the sense that the texts are the result of the work of multiple authors.”⁸ The multiple layers of content and authorship in the *Sirr* can be seen in its anecdotes, including those on the practices of other rulers, Polemon and Hippocrates, the poison maiden story and the anecdote of the Magus and the Jew. However, this multi-layered authorship does not necessarily imply the lack of an authorial voice running through the work. Hämeen-Anttila contends that, even in such texts, rather than being a “polyphonic text [...] which speaks with a variety of tongues [...] in the text with multiple authors there is often only one final voice, that of the last author, who has appropriated the work of his predecessors and moulded the text to his liking.”⁹ Furthermore, the presence of an authorial voice can also be detected in works that are entirely compilatory in nature. Antonella Ghersetti draws on Hilary Kilpatrick’s study of Abū l-Faraj al-Isfahānī’s anthology *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, and the anthologies of the Abbasid anthologist al-

⁶ Robert Hoyland, ‘The Islamic Background to Polemon’s Treatise’ in Simon Swain (ed.), *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon’s Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam* (Oxford; OUP, 2007).

⁷ Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, ‘Multilayered Authorship in Arabic Anecdotal Literature’ in Lale Behzadi and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (eds), *Concepts of Authorship in Pre-Modern Arabic* (Bamberg: Univesity of Bamberg Press, 2015) pp.167-185.

⁸ Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, ‘Multilayered Authorship in Arabic Anecdotal Literature’ in Lale Behzadi and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (eds), *Concepts of Authorship in Pre-Modern Arabic* (Bamberg: Univesity of Bamberg Press, 2015), p.168.

⁹ Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, ‘Multilayered Authorship in Arabic Anecdotal Literature’ in Behzadi and Hämeen-Anttila (eds), *Concepts of Authorship*, p.184.

Tha‘ālibī (d.429/1039) and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Waṭwāt (d.413/1022) to argue that the even with these types of works, where it may appear that the compiler’s role is restricted to merely selecting material and perhaps the addition of some sort of prologue, a degree of “creative effort” and “subjective implication” was still required on the part of the compiler.¹⁰ What is being proposed here is that even with a work such as the *Sirr*, where a significant portion of the work is compilatory in nature, there is still an author who consciously brought the material together and moulded the text into a particular shape for a particular purpose.

Another issue to consider is what we mean by the term author when discussing Arabic works from the medieval period. Many conceptions of authorship are based on a monolithic sense of the originality and individuality of an author who has certain ownership rights over the text.¹¹ However, this is inadequate for understanding authorship in the context of medieval Arabic works. There were diverse relationships between the texts and the person claiming intellectual responsibility for it: different degrees of authorship existed. When examining concepts of authorship, the first question to be addressed is: what made an author, an author in the medieval period? Philip Kennedy argues that it might be useful to consider using alternative

¹⁰ Antonella Ghersetti ‘A Pre-Modern Anthologist at Work: The Case of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Waṭwāt (d.718 / 1318)’ in *Concepts of Authorship in Pre-Modern Arabic Texts* edited by Lale Behzadi and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2015), p.27. For Kilpatrick’s study cited by Ghersetti see: Hilary Kilpatrick, *Making the Great Book of Songs. Compilation and the Author’s Craft in Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī’s Kitāb al-aghānī*, Vol.5 of Routledge Curzon Studies in Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures (London/New York; Routledge Curzon 2003).

¹¹ Andrew Bennett describes the “common-sense” notion of the author as involving “the idea of an individual (singular) who is responsible for or who originates, who writes or composes a (literary) text and who is thereby considered an inventor or founder and who [...] is thought to have certain ownership rights over the text as well as a certain authority over its interpretation” (Andrew Bennett, *The Author* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005) p.7).

theoretical frameworks to provide further insights into the concepts of medieval authorship in order “to disentangle the issue of the *originality* of material from that of its authorship.”¹² Historically, there has been little research on the development of the concept of authorship in Arabic or Islamic writing, but this has begun to change, with the most comprehensive advancement being in Lale Behzadi and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila’s recently edited volume on concepts of authorship in pre-modern Arabic texts, which tests out the uses of different perspectives to investigate authorship in Arabic literature.¹³

One way of gaining a better insight into medieval authorship may be to recognise the existence of a range of authorial positions and terms to describe the role of author in medieval Arabic works. Antonella Ghersetti distinguishes between the root meanings of two of the most common terms used to denote an author in medieval works *mu’allif* and *muṣannif*. She argues that whereas the verb *allafa* denotes collecting, bringing together or uniting, *ṣannaḥa* generally indicates the process of assorting, separating or distinguishing various parts.¹⁴ She cites medieval dictionaries to help further understand some of the nuances between these terms: Ibn Manẓūr’s (d.711/1311-12) *Lisān al-‘Arab* describes *allafa* as being related to combining parts or joining them, whereas *ṣannaḥa* appears to relate to the more analytical process of

¹² Philip F. Kennedy, ‘The *Maqāmāt* as a Nexus of Interests: Reflections on Abdelfattah Kilto’s *Les Séances*’ in *Writing and Representations in Medieval Islam: Muslim Horizons*, edited by Julia Bray, 153-214 (London: Routledge, 2006).

¹³ Lale Behzadi and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, (eds), *Concepts of Authorship in Pre-Modern Arabic* (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2015).

¹⁴ Antonella Ghersetti ‘A Pre-Modern Anthologist at Work’, p.26. Cf. Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 vol.s (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863-93) s.v. ‘-l-f and s.v. ṣ-n-f.

discriminating, singling out or setting apart.¹⁵ The writer of the *Sirr*'s prologue refers to Aristotle as the *mu'allif* of the treatise: "*Sirr al-Asrār allafahu al-faylasūf al-fāḍil Aristāṭālīs*" (*The Secret of Secrets*, composed by the virtuous philosopher Aristotle).¹⁶ The implication of the use of *mu'allif* to describe Aristotle's role in the *Sirr* is that he is bringing together the most selective and exclusive elements of his knowledge for Alexander.

Authors could also be described as *murattib* (arranger or compiler). Other verbs used to refer to the activities of an author included *tashraḥ* (to explain, or commentate), *tajamma'* (to gather or assemble), *tawḍa'* (to lay out, situate), *takhrīj* (to publish, lit. 'to get out'), *tadwīn* (to record). It is debatable to what extent some of these terms would describe the original composition of an author, but they all relate to the activity of writing. The modern term for author, *kātib* (one who writes), is not relevant as it was used to describe secretaries rather than for any creative act of writing or knowledge production in books in the medieval period – although, incidentally, they were sometimes authors of their own original works too. Another profession involved in the medieval production of books was the copyist (*warrāq* or *nassākh*).

¹⁵ "*allafta bayna shay'ayn ta'lifān* (collected between things and composed); *allafta baynahum ta'lifān idhā jama'ta baynahum tafarruq* (composed between two compositions, if you combine them they will be distinct); *allafta l-shay'ay waṣaltahu*" (I composed something that I came up with): [Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, edited by 'Alī Shīrī, 18 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1374/1955 – 1375/1956) as cited in Antonella Ghersetti 'A Pre-Modern Anthologist at Work' p.26]. Al-Fīrūzābādī's (d. 817/1415) *al-Qamūs al-muḥīt* also provides similar definitions: *ṣannafahu taṣnīfan: ja'lahu aṣnāfan* (categorise somethings; make into categories); *mayyaza ba'ḍahā 'an ba'ḍ* (distinguish one from another) and (*allafa baynahumā ta'lifan* (composed between them two compositions): *awqa'a l-ulf* (as cited in Antonella Ghersetti, 'A Pre-Modern Anthologist at Work' p.26).

"*al-taṣnīfu: tamyīzu l-ashyā'i ba'ḍihā min ba'ḍ* (classification: distinguishing things from one another); *ṣannafa al-shay'a: mayyaza ba'ḍahu min ba'ḍ* (classify a thing: distinguish one from another); *taṣnīfu l-shay'i: ja'luhu aṣnāfan*" (categorise something: make into categories) (Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, edited by 'Alī Shīrī, 18 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1374/1955 – 1375/1956), p.2511) (as cited in Antonella Ghersetti, 'A Pre-Modern Anthologist at Work' p.26).

¹⁶ F.1v, Appendix 1, *Sirr al-Asrār*.

Antonella Ghersetti argues that medieval authors appear to have been mindful that there were various ways writers interacted with texts.¹⁷ For instance, in describing his own authorial activity, the Hanbali theologian Ibn al-Jawzī (d.597/1200) refers to himself as a compiler not an author (*“Anā murattib wa-lastu bi-muṣannif”*).¹⁸ He makes a perceptible distinction between the authorial activity of a compiler (*murattib*) compared to that of an ‘author’ (*muṣannif*). It is the second term, *muṣannif*, that he seems to regard as having a certain degree of originality, whereas he relates the first term, *murattib*, to arranging and putting into proper order.¹⁹ It appears, therefore, that the medieval concept of author is complex and based on writers’ degrees of interaction with the text. The three most common forms are: *murattib* (compiler-arranger of material); *muṣannif* (analytical compiler-commentator who distinguishes between material) and *mu’allif* (compiler-commentator who selectively combines material – the term used in the *Sirr*). The last two terms include a greater sense of originality, authenticity, and, by extension, authority.

The concept of authorship in the *Sirr*, and in medieval Arabic texts in general, is further complicated by the fluidity of proprietorship over the written word in the 3rd/9th century. The shift towards an increasingly written culture out of a primarily oral-aural one had given rise to

¹⁷ Antonella Ghersetti ‘A Pre-Modern Anthologist at Work’ in Behzadi and Hämeen-Anttila (eds) (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2015), pp.24-25.

¹⁸ Quoted from Ibn Rajab, *al-Dhayl ‘alā Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila*, Vol.2, edited by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-‘Uthaymīn, (Riyadh: Maktabat al-‘Abīkān, 1425/2005), p.487 a cited by Antonella Ghersetti ‘A Pre-Modern Anthologist at Work’, p.25.

¹⁹ Antonella Ghersetti ‘A Pre-Modern Anthologist at Work’ in Behzadi and Hämeen-Anttila (eds) (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2015), p.25.

the author's 'ownership' of the words in a given text in a way that did not previously exist.²⁰ Pseudo-epigraphy or forgery (misattributing one's own works to someone else) and plagiarism (attributing someone else's work to oneself) are dependent on textuality and there were increasing discussions and resentment of both in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries.²¹ Al-Jāḥiẓ tackled the issue of authorship, intentional misattribution and forgery in the 3rd/9th century in the following statements:

I cannot be certain – may God preserve me – that these books, which I write at the cost of so much toil, and which I rack my brains to compose, will not be presented to you by someone who has donned the garb of perfidy by claiming to produce their like...²²

.....I would also on occasion write a second book, inferior in ideas and in language [to the one I attacked], signing it with a name other than mine, and attributing it to authors of a preceding generation, such as Ibn al-Muqaffā', al-Khalīl, Salm, Director of the 'House of Wisdom', Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd, al-ʿAttābī, or similar writers.²³

Ibn al-Nadīm was highly critical of anonymous and pseudonymous works, regarding it as inexplicable for an author to write a treatise but not establish and claim authorship.²⁴ Both of

²⁰ Shawkat M. Toorawa, *Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and Arabic Writerly Culture: A ninth-century bookman in Baghdad*, (Oxon: Routledge Curzon, 2005), *passim*.

²¹ Shawkat M. Toorawa, *Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and Arabic Writerly Culture: A ninth-century bookman in Baghdad*, (Oxon: Routledge Curzon, 2005), pp.26-29.

²² Al-Jāḥiẓ, 'Faṣl mā bayn al-ʿadāwah wa-al-ḥasad', vol.1, pp.350, line 7. Cf. the translation in A.F.L. Beeston, 'Jāḥiẓ "On the Difference between Enmity and Envy"', *Journal of Arabic Literature*, (1987), vol.18, pp.31-2 and in Abdalfattah Kilito, *The Author and his Doubles: Essays on classical Arabic culture*, tr. Michael Cooperson (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), pp.68, and 70, as quoted in Shawkat M. Toorawa, *Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and Arabic Writerly Culture*, p.27.

²³ Al-Jāḥiẓ, 'Faṣl mā bayn al-ʿadāwah wa-al-ḥasad', vol.1, pp.350, line 7. Cf. the translation in A.F.L. Beeston, 'Jāḥiẓ "On the Difference between Enmity and Envy"', *Journal of Arabic Literature*, (1987), vol.18, pp.31-2 and in Abdalfattah Kilito, *The Author and his Doubles: Essays on classical Arabic culture*, tr. Michael Cooperson (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), pp.68, and 70, as quoted in Shawkat M. Toorawa, *Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and Arabic Writerly Culture*, p.28.

²⁴ Shawkat M. Toorawa, *Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and Arabic Writerly Culture*, p.29.

these writers demonstrate that although such practices were contentious, they were common during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. When pseudo-Aristotle compiled the final version of the (SF) *Sirr*, he was participating in a practice sometimes employed by even the most prolific writers to promote their own text with the name of an authority in the field instead of their own.

* * *

2.2 ARISTOTLE AND AUTHORITY IN EARLY MEDIEVAL WORKS

So, what does the writer achieve by attributing the authorship of the *Sirr* to Aristotle? Why was Aristotle's name selected for this work? And how does he give authority to it? These questions can be answered by understanding the significance of the figure of Aristotle in Arabic works of the 4th/10th century. The writer of the prologue clearly understood that the esteem and reception of the treatise would be substantially improved if it was imbued with the name of Aristotle. Aristotle's 'authorship' and the invocation of his authority is established from the outset of the *Sirr*: after the opening dedication to the Caliph, its prologue provides the following recommendation of Aristotle:

[Aristotle had] sound judgement, breadth of knowledge and clear understanding. He was unique and exalted with knowledge of the religious, political and practical sciences, and the supreme divine sciences. Along with holding to the clear, righteous way with piety, humility, love of justice and truthfulness. For this reason, many of the learned men counted him among the many prophets [to whom no book was revealed].

And it is written in the histories of the Greeks that God revealed to him: "Surely, I prefer to call you an angel rather than a human." [...] There are different traditions about his death: some said that he died an ordinary death and has a known tomb, while others said that he ascended to the sky in a pillar of light.

By following his good advice and obeying his commands, Alexander achieved his famous conquests of cities and countries and ruled supreme over all parts of the earth, far and wide. [...] and all of that by following the politics of Aristotle to fulfil his needs (f.2r-2v).²⁵

Arabic works of the 4th/10th century invariably began with some sort of introduction or explication of the treatise in the form of a prologue, followed by the contents proper.²⁶ Here, as demonstrated in the above extract, the dynamics of the authority of the treatise were usually laid out. The prologue was designed to lead the audience into the text by establishing the authority of the contents and their author. The prologue also provided the rationale or justification for the work. The writer of the prologue would often use it either to claim authority for himself as author of the treatise by establishing why he is best suited (or was chosen) to compose it, or, alternatively, deferred to someone else through the citation of individual authorities or authoritative sources.

By ascribing the authorship of the *Sirr* to Aristotle, the writer is invoking the esteem and authority of the respected philosopher and the Greek learned tradition. Between the mid-

²⁵ وكان الإسكندر قد استوزره واصطفاه، لما كان عليه من صحة الرأي واتساع العلم وثقوب الفهم، وتفرّده بالخلال السنية والسياسة الميراثية والعلوم الإلهية العلوية مع التمسك بالورع والتقوى والتواضع وحب العدل وإيثار الصدق، ولهذا عُدَّ كثيرٌ من العلماء في عديد الأنبياء الذين لم ينزل عليهم كتاب. ولقد اتى في تاريخ اليونانيين أن الله أوحى إليه: "إني إلى أن أسميك ملكاً أقرب من أن أسميك إنساناً". وله حكمية يطول ذكرها. واختلف في موته: فقالت طائفة أنه مات موته وله قبر معروف، وقالت طائفة أخرى إنه ارتفع إلى السماء في عمود من نور. فبلغ الإسكندر – بحسن رأيه واتباع أمره – إلى ما شهر عنه من الاستظهار على المدن والأمصار وتملكه لجميع الممالك في أقطار [2v] الأرض والمسالك طولا وعرضا ودانت له الأمم عربا وعجماء حتى ملك الدنيا بجمعها وكل ذلك بسياسة ارسطاطاليس له وتدير امره ولم يعص له الإسكندر له قولاً ولاخالف له رأياً.

²⁶ Adam Gacek, *A Vademecum*, pp.200-203.

2nd/8th and 4th/10th century (and beyond), the Graeco-Arabic translation movement that introduced into Arabic scholarship a huge range of secular Greek works, particularly philosophy and the sciences.²⁷ Although initially much of this scholarship was centred around Baghdad, by the mid-4th/10th century the study of science and philosophy in al-Andalus rivalled that of the East. Caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III sponsored scholars to study, develop knowledge and translate works as part of establishing both political and intellectual independence from Baghdad after he proclaimed himself Caliph in 929.²⁸ The scholars of Greek antiquity were portrayed as figures of authority and examples to emulate.²⁹ The *Sirr* refers reverently to the “sciences of the ancients” (‘*ulūm al-awā’il*’) and *ulūm ḥaqīqī* (the truthful sciences) (f.18v); the former term was used to refer to the ancient Greeks in reverence of their scholarship.³⁰

²⁷ The Abbasid dynasty’s (134/750) rise to power along with the foundation of Baghdad (762 CE) saw the initiation of a translation movement, which lasted more than two centuries. The early Abbasid caliphs, especially al-Mansūr (r.754-75) and his son al-Mahdī (r.775-85), initiated translations. Dimitri Gutas argues that, taking place primarily in Baghdad, the translation movement “was supported by the entire elite of Abbasid society: caliphs and princes, civil servants and military leaders, merchants and bankers, and scholars and scientists [...] it was subsidized by an enormous outlay of funds, both public and private.” Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ‘Abbāsīd Society (2nd-4th / 8th-10th centuries* (Oxon; Routledge, 1998), p.2; see also pp.23-24, 101-4, 153-4, 95-104.

²⁸ In al-Andalus, the reigns of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III and especially the al-Ḥakam II spurred the importing of scientific writings from the East – the latter was also an enthusiastic patron research in the sciences, Arabic literary creation and philological study (Peter Heath, ‘Knowledge’ in María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin & Michael Sells, *The Literature of Al-Andalus* [The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature], (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 96-125.

²⁹ See: Martin Plessner, *Die Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Islam als Aufgabe der modernen Islamwissenschaft* [Philosophie und Geschichte 31], (Tübingen; J.C.B. Mohr, 1931); W.M. Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Oxford: 1973); Franz Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, trans. by Emile and Jenny Marmorstein (Berkeley and Los Angeles; University of California Press, 1975); L.E. Goodman, ‘The Translation of Greek Materials into Arabic’ in M.J.L. Young *et al* (eds), *Religion, Learning and Science in the ‘Abbāsīd Period* [The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature], (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.477-97; Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Philosophers in the Arabic Tradition* (Aldershot: 2000); Joel L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam: the Cultural Revival during the Buyid Age*, 2nd edition (Leiden; E.J. Brill, 1992).

³⁰ One example of how ancient figures gained widespread reverence and acceptance as authority figures in early Abbāsīd rule is the speech made by one of al-Ma’mūn’s viziers, Yaḥyā ibn-Akṭam (d.242/856) after the table cleared: “O Commander of the Faithful! If we take up medicine as our subject, you are Galen incarnate in your familiarity with it; if astrology, you are Hermes [Trismegistos] in your calculations...” (Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, p.101).

Amongst the ancient Greek philosophers, Aristotle was regarded as the paradigmatic teacher of all times. He was a distinguished figure in popular culture, literature, and scholarship. Not only were his scholarly texts and the commentaries written about his works circulated, but Aristotle's biographies were also familiar to scholars and widely disseminated. In a well-known account that demonstrates Aristotle's status among philosophers, Plato reportedly described Aristotle as 'the Intellect' (*al-ʿaql*) and waited for the latter's presence before he would begin the discussion.³¹ The Abbasid caliph, Al-Ma'mūn (r.818-833) is often credited as being responsible for the more wide-scale Graeco-Arabic translation movement after seeing Aristotle in a dream and being reassured as to the validity of personal, rational judgement (*ra'y*).³² In the *Fihrist*, Ibn al-Nadīm describes this dream, the effect of Aristotle's reassurance and reports that subsequently al-Ma'mūn commissioned a group of men (including Yahyā Ibn al-Biṭrīq) to go to Byzantium to seek out ancient Greek books of learning in order to translate them into Arabic upon his return.³³

³¹ Dimitri Gutas, 'The Author as Pioneer[ing Genius]' in *Concepts of Authorship in Pre-Modern Arabic Texts* edited by Lale Behzadi and Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (eds) (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2015), p.49. This report about Plato and Aristotle is from is from the Plato's alleged *majālis*. The reports of these philosophical sessions can be found in biographies of Aristotle from the late antique period See also Alice S. Riginos, *Platonica: The Anecdotes Concerning the Life and Writings of Plato* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), pp.132-133; and Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation: A Study of the Graeco-Arabic Gnomologia*, (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1975), p.161 and pp.382-384. See also: Burgess Laughlin, *The Aristotle Adventure: A Guide to the Greek, Arabic, and Latin Scholars who Transmitted Aristotle's Logic to the Renaissance* (Flagstaff; Albert Hale Publishing, 1995) for an overview of the reception of Aristotle, in particular his logic, across four cultures: Greek-Pagan, Greek-Christian, Arabic-Islamic, and Latin-Christian, esp. pp.104-117.

³² Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic*, pp.96-104.

³³ Bayard Dodge, *The 'Fihrist' of al-Nadim* (2 vol. ed.), (New York, 1970) p.584.

The figure of Aristotle and some of his writings on logic had in fact a long history in the learned traditions of the region even before the rise of Islam. Pahlavī and Syriac translations containing biographical and doxological elements already existed in the East.³⁴ From the 6th century, the *corpus Aristotelicum* began to be translated into Syriac; some of these translations were later used as intermediaries for later Arabic translations. Aristotle's logical works were amongst the earliest translations of Greek works: by the late-2nd/8th century, his treatise on the techniques of disputation, the *Topics*, and the *Physics*, and on the natural world, were among the first of his treatises to be translated into Arabic.³⁵ Aristotle's *Metaphysics* was also translated in the mid-2nd/8th century and attracted a lot of interest over the next two centuries.³⁶ The works of Aristotle offered an encyclopaedic survey of human knowledge. He was a model for thought and argumentation in his logical works. For Islamic philosophers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, Aristotle was the most complete mind and an authority even in theology.

Within the context of both popular and scholarly esteem for Aristotle, the demand for his analysis and works imbued with his authority, it is reasonable to imagine that this created a demand for treatises on subjects upon which the historical Aristotle had not written. It is unsurprising, therefore, that the *Sirr* is not the only treatise to be falsely attributed to Aristotle during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. Soon after the translation of the *Metaphysics*, the so-called *Athūlūjiyā Aristū* (*Theology of Aristotle*) was also falsely attributed to him. Emerging from

³⁴ T.J. de Boer, 'Aristūṭālīs' in *El*, (1913-1936), edited by M. Th. Houtsma, T.W. Arnold, R. Basset, R. Hartman (consulted online 10th August 2018).

³⁵ Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, pp.61-74.

³⁶ Amos Bertolacci, 'On the Arabic Translations of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 15, (2005), pp.241-75, esp. pp.270-1.

the philosophical circle of al-Kindī (d. c.866), the *Theology* was in fact a translation and interpretation of the *Enneads* by the Platonist philosopher Plotinus (205-270). *Kitāb al-Īdāh li-Aristūṭālīs fī al-Khayr al-Maḥd* (*The Book of Aristotle's Explanation of the Pure Good*) was another 3rd/9th-century treatise attributed to Aristotle that was really an adaptation of another's work - Proclus' (412-485) *Elements of Theology*.³⁷ Other original Arabic works emerging from this period that ascribed their authorship to Aristotle covered a range of subjects including geology, astrology, physiognomy, alchemy, and chiromancy. Some of these works attributed to Aristotle filled lacunae from his genuine corpus. For example, Aristotle's *Meteorology* explained that the earth as an element was cold and dry but did not cover phenomena related to terrestrial heat; the pseudo-Aristotelian *On the Properties of Elements on Geology*, which was composed in the 3rd/9th or 4th/10th century, extended its inquiry to volcanoes and hot springs.³⁸

³⁷ This would later be translated into Latin as *Liber de Causis* by Gerard of Cremona. It is another example of a pseudo-Aristotelian treatise that was translated from Arabic and became popular both in the Islamic world and the Latin West.

³⁸ See: Dimitri Gutas, 'The Spurious and the Authentic in the Arabic Lives of Aristotle' and other essays in Jill Kraye, W.F. Ryan and C.B. Schmitt (eds), *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages: the Theology and Other Texts* (London; Warburg Institute, University of London, 1986). Many of these were also translated into Latin. See Lynn Thorndike, 'The Latin Pseudo-Aristotle and Medieval Occult Science' in *The Journal of English and German Philology*, Vol.21, No.2, April 1922 (University of Illinois Press), pp.229-258. (Accessed via <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27702640> on 09/08/2018). Other Arabic pseudo-Aristotelian works that were translated into Latin include *Liber de pomo*, a 4th/10th-century treatise portraying Aristotle's death-bed conversation with his pupils (modelled on Plato's *Phaedo*), during which he keeps himself alive long enough to assert his belief in the immortality of the soul and the creation of the world by smelling the life-giving fragrance of an apple; and *De causis proprietatum elementorum* on the properties of elements was translated from a lost ninth-century original. See: Francis E. Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus: The Oriental Translations and Commentaries of the Aristotelian Corpus* (Leiden; E. J. Brill, 1968). In addition, a brief extract on minerals from *Kitāb al-Shifa* (*Book of Healings*) by Ibn Sina (Avicenna) was translated into Latin as *De mineralibus* by Alfred of Sareschel, who appended it to Book IV of *Meteorology* ('Pseudo-Aristotle' in Thomas F. Glick, Steven Livesey, Faith Wallis (eds), *Medieval Science, Technology & Medicine: An Encyclopedia* (Oxon: Routledge Press, 2005)), p.424. See also W.F. Ryan and C.B. Schmitt (eds), *Pseudo-Aristotle: The Secret of Secrets: Sources and Influences* [PASS], (London: Warburg Institute Surveys 9, 1982).

Aristotle was not by any means the only scholar to whom later works by other writers were falsely attributed. Other Greek texts had been falsely attributed to philosophers such as Plato and Hippocrates, and later Hellenistic writers such as Apollonius of Tyana (Arabic Balīnās). The use of a pseudonymous author was not an uncommon feature of medieval Arabic literature and there are many works where the true authorship was in question. Other well-known works from the period that are known to have been falsely attributed to an established figure who would give authority to the text include alchemical works ascribed to Jābir ibn Hayyān, for example. Aristotle, and other figures to whom works were attributed, functioned as authoritative personas, rather than individual philosophers, for the collection and attribution of material.

AUTHORITY FIGURES IN THE *SIRR*

It was not unknown for works to be falsely ascribed to well-known translators either. There are many examples of Arabic translations and bibliographical literature that are falsely attributed to Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq.³⁹ By attributing the translation process of the *Sirr* from Greek into Arabic (via Syriac) to the well-known translator Yaḥyā Ibn al-Biṭrīq, the prologue draws on his scholarly reputation, thereby situating itself amongst the vast corpus of works that were translated as part of the Greco-Arabic translation movement.

³⁹ Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Literature*, p.145.

By the end of the 4th/10th century, most of the secular philosophical and scientific Greek works from Hellenistic, Roman and late Antiquity had been translated into Arabic.⁴⁰ Increasing levels of translational, intellectual, and literary activity culminated in what Joel Kraemer refers to as a ‘period of flowering’ in the 4th/10th century.⁴¹ Kraemer argues this period witnessed a classical revival, or ‘Renaissance’, which was promoted under Buyid rule in the East. He argues that during this period “there was a conscious attempt to assimilate and transmit the intellectual legacy of Greek antiquity”, which Kraemer describes as a “philosophical humanism that embraced the scientific and philosophical heritage of antiquity as a cultural and educational ideal”.⁴² Kraemer asserts that a “literary humanism epitomized in the word *adab* [...] was cultivated by litterateurs, poets and government secretaries”.⁴³ Gutas lists the main intellectual and philosophical currents up until the 4th/10th century from which this ‘philosophical humanism’ emerged:

The Platonizing ideas of [...] the physician al-Rāzī (Rhazes, d.925), and the Athenian Neoplatonic tradition of al-Kindī and his successors; associated with the latter was the astral theology, heavily influenced by Hermetism, of the Ṣābi’ans of Ḥarrān represented in Baghdad by the descendants of Thābit ibn-Qurra; and at an even lower level was the magical and alchemical thought-world of writings in the

⁴⁰ These works included a range of disciplines, a number of which are addressed within the *Sirr* to varying degrees: astrology, alchemy and various esoteric or ‘occult’ sciences. Other subjects include: the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and the theory of music); Aristotelian philosophy; the health sciences (including medicine, pharmacology, and veterinary science); and other subjects ranging from Byzantine works on military organisation (the *Tactica*); and wisdom literature (Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, pp.1-2).

⁴¹ Joel L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam: the Cultural Revival During the Buyid Age* [Studies in Islamic Culture & History Series, vol.7], (Leiden; Brill, 1986).

⁴² Joel L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam*, p.vii and *passim*.

⁴³ Joel L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam*, p.vii.

Jābiriyyan cycle and their Greek predecessors, representing the earliest stages of the translation activity and its heritage in Arabic. All these had claims to being representatives of the ancient sciences and are to be seen as essentially competing for a position at center stage in the intellectual world of tenth-century Baghdad.⁴⁴

Likewise in al-Andalus, where in addition to access to works from the Eastern Islamic world, Caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (317/929-350/961) began translating Greek works into Arabic after the Byzantine emperor, Constantine VII (r.913-959) gifted him a rare copy of Dioscorides’ *De Materia Medica* in the late 940s.⁴⁵ This translation process was continued with great zest by his son and successor al-Ḥakam II (350/961-366/976).⁴⁶ The contents of the *Sirr* bridge these various strands of intellectual activity that were being developed during this period and draw on the reputation of the body of translated works and the subsequent philosophical and scientific scholarship that emerged up until the 4th/10th century.

The *Sirr* also relies on the reputation of the stated recipient of the *Sirr*, the Macedonian emperor Alexander the Great, and his relationship to Aristotle. Alexander was considered a great conqueror and the hero. Some Muslim sources used Alexander’s name synonymously with the Qur’anic figure of ʿĪsā al-Qarnayn – as it is in the *Sirr*. Aristotle featured as the wise

⁴⁴ Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, p.104.

⁴⁵ Constantine VII also sent a monk (Nicholas) to Cordoba to assist with its translation into Arabic. See: Yvette Hunt, ‘Bang for his Buck: Dioscorides as a Gift of the Tenth-Century Byzantine Court’ in *Byzantine Culture in Translation* (Leiden; Brill, 2017), pp.73-94. See also: Mahmoud Mohamed Sadek, *The Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides* (Les Éditions du sphinx, University of Michigan, 1983).

⁴⁶ See: Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, 2nd revise ed. (Leiden-Boston; Brill, 2005).

teacher and pious counsellor to Alexander in the widely disseminated Alexander Legend based on pseudo-Callisthenes that was translated into Arabic in the Umayyad period. The Legend of Alexander was widely known, and Firdawsī (d. ca1020), author of the Persian epic *Shahnamah*, even presented him as a Persian emperor. Alexander was later the subject of various Romance epics, such as Nizāmī's *Iskandernamēh*. Powerful rulers from this era (and later across the Islamic world) also associated themselves with Alexander, including the Buyid *amīr*, 'Aḍud al-Dawla (944-83), who compared himself to Alexander, and in the universal history written by the courtier al-Tha' alibī (c. 1020), which compared the Ghaznavids to Alexander.⁴⁷ In addition, there were the letters of Aristotle to Alexander already mentioned, which were translated, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, by the Umayyad court secretary Sālim Abū'l-'Alā'.⁴⁸

Aristotle and Alexander had cultivated distinctive and personal auras of authority.⁴⁹ Therefore, their relationship was an ideal backdrop for an encyclopaedic philosophical-political-scientific treatise such as the *Sirr*; a perfect combination of the political omnipotence of Alexander with the intellectual omniscience of Aristotle. The *Sirr* also draws on the authority and reputation of other Greek figures interspersed throughout the treatise: Hermes, Polemon, Socrates, Hippocrates, as well as the wisdom of Indian and Persian kings.

* * *

⁴⁷ Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East*, pp.71-82, p.87.

⁴⁸ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, edited by R. Tajaddud, *Kitāb al-Fihrist li 'l-Nadīm* (Tehran: 1970) p.131. English translation available by Bayard Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm* (New York: 1970).

⁴⁹ Garth Fowden, 'Pseudo-Aristotelian Politics and Theology in Islam' in Peter Fibiger Bang and Dariusz Kolodziejczyk (eds), *Universal Empire: A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp.139-40.

2.3 AUTHORIAL PRESENCE AND AUDIENCE

Another aspect of authorial intention to consider is the intended audience within the intellectual and cultural context in which the *Sirr* was composed. In ascribing the authorship of the treatise to Aristotle, the writer was seeking to address an audience for whom the figure of Aristotle carried weight and the contents of the treatise would be of interest. Although authorial intentions may seem to be too obscure to understand, especially in the case of a pseudonymous text, they are not inaccessible experiences: they are expressed through their use of language. Direct and perceptible signs of the author's intentions, presence and voice can be found in the prologue, epilogue, and further signs that indicate the writer's intended audience.⁵⁰

The first indication of the author's intention in terms of audience is in the *Sirr*'s proper title: *Kitāb 'Ilm al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah* (*The Book of the Science of Government, on the Good Ordering of Statecraft*), suggesting the text was written for a political audience. Its subtitle, *Sirr al-Asrār* (*Secret of Secrets*), points to the exclusive and restricted nature of the knowledge within it. The next major indicator of the intended audience can be gleaned from the series of prefaces and prologues that precede the main body of the text. A prologue (*muqaddimah*) is a common feature of medieval manuscripts consisting of the opening passage or passages of a

⁵⁰ For Foucault, the author is regarded as the result of cultural production and interpretation, therefore, their writing is connected to the cultural and historical contexts for the meaning to be understood. According to this approach, the author is a function of discourse where, "The author's name serves to characterise a certain mode of being of discourse...that must be received in a certain mode" (Michel Foucault, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?', *Bulletin de la Societe francaise de philosophie*, 63, 3, 73-104 (1969). English trans., 'What is an Author?' in P. Rainbow (ed.), *The Foucault Reader*, (New York: Pantheon, 1984), p.107).

text. It introduces the work and often provides the reasons for the work's composition, the writer's role in its composition or compilation, context and background information. The prologue is often one of the earliest and clearest manifestations of authorial presence and is usually written by the author, translator, or the one presenting the text to a patron. Sometimes, it addresses the patron or intended recipients directly. Featured across writing genres, as the first point of contact between the text and the audience, the prologue served an important function and could be considered as instrumental in the reception and transmission of a treatise. By the 4th/10th century, it became a fixture of prose works.

For a treatise that is layered both in terms of its meaning and textual history, it is unsurprising that even the direct (and limited) audience addressed in the text of the *Sirr* consists of several layers. Presented in reverse chronology, the anonymous writer of the first prologue dedicates the work to the caliph, implying that the caliph was the intended audience of the finished treatise. In Yaḥyā's prologue, the writer refers to the caliph (Al-Ma'mūn) as the intended recipient of the translated text. Yaḥyā's prologue is then followed by a letter from Aristotle to Alexander introducing the text proper and addressing the latter as the original recipient when Aristotle wrote the text. From the information in each of the prologues, it is apparent that the immediate audience that the writer intended was the ruler at the time – be it Alexander, al-Ma'mūn, or the caliph of the anonymous 4th/10th-century writer of the first prologue. By extension, the text implies anyone of a similar status is also being addressed as the intended audience.

Another important function of the prologue was to authorise the text that followed. It has been argued that as the prologue was highly formalised as a literary form, which permitted only

limited opportunities for an author to offer their own thoughts or autobiographical statements (and, therefore, be worthy of study).⁵¹ However, whilst some of the descriptions in the *Sirr*'s prologue probably *are* dictated by the literary conventions for a *muqaddimah* at the time, the *Sirr*'s prologue contains notable biographical and subjective materials outside of the usual formal structures of a *muqaddimah* and indicate the clear presence of a writer-author. For example, the high praise given to Aristotle and reference to his esteem amongst scholars (f.2r - quoted in the previous section); and where Aristotle reminds Alexander of the success of his advice to "rule over [the Persians] through kindness and benevolence – you [will] win love from them" (f.2v-3r).⁵²

In works such as the *Sirr* where the material covers disparate subjects and is compiled using a variety of sources, the perceptible signs of the author's presence are expected to be minimal and restricted to prologues (and/or epilogues).⁵³ However, signs of authorial presence can be found throughout the treatise, guiding the audience on how to engage with the *Sirr*. This manifests in a number of forms, including the way materials are selected and combined, linguistic signs, and the way the work is arranged, all of which point to the authors intended audience and purpose.⁵⁴ The criteria given for the selection of material in the *Sirr* are laid out

⁵¹ Antonella Ghersetti, 'A Pre-Modern Anthologist at Work', p.29. See: Dagmar A. Riedel, *Searching for the Islamic Episteme: the status of Historical Information in Medieval Middle-Eastern Anthological Writing*, PhD thesis, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, Indiana University (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2004), p.99.

⁵² فاملكهم بالاحسان اليهم والمبرة لهم – تظفر بالمحبة منهم .

⁵³ Antonella Ghersetti, 'A Pre-Modern Anthologist at Work', p.29. See: Peter Freimark has produced an important work on the *muqaddimah* in Arabic literature. See: Peter Freimark, 'Das Vorwort als literarische Form in der arabischen Literatur', Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät, Universität Münster, 1967; 'Muqaddima' in *El²*, (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp.495-496.

⁵⁴ Antonella Ghersetti, 'A Pre-Modern Anthologist at Work', pp.32-34.

by Aristotle in his statement that his intention was to compile a comprehensive guide or set of rules (*qanūn*) that “you will use for all your decisions, which you will set up in my place and represent you in all your affairs” (f.3v).⁵⁵ Referring to the *Sirr*’s text, Yahyā states that he “found what the Commander of the Faithful [the caliph] required,” written in gold the temple of the Sun (*haykal ‘abd al-shams*) and proceeded to translate it from Greek (f.3r-3v).⁵⁶ The anonymous author of the first prologue also states he is presenting it in response to the caliph’s request (f.1v). The implication in each of these prologues is that the contents of the treatise were carefully selected and are essential knowledge for a ruler. Through careful study and understanding of the deeper meaning of the contents, the ruler can achieve his objectives of co-operation between the ruler and his subjects, justice, wisdom and all of Alexander’s highest aspirations (f.4r-5r). The deeper meaning Aristotle alludes to speaks to an audience much broader than the direct addressees of the treatise; it extends to all leaders and anyone with a sense of responsibility for other people or the administration of justice.

Linguistic signs of the author’s presence also permeate the *Sirr*, framing the main discursive passages for the audience. These meta-discursive elements are perceptible both in and behind the text. As noted already, the use of language in the prologue can provide rich material to study the way the author defines their activity and role. Elsewhere, linguistic signs of engagement with the audience appear in the form of explicit intrusions into the text by the

ورغبتك في أن أقيم لك قانونا تجعله لجميع تدبيرك ميزانا تقيمه مقامى وينوب في جميع أمورك منابى.⁵⁵

فلم أدع هيكلًا من الهياكل التي أودعت الحكماء فيها أسرارها إلا أتيتها ، ولا عظيمًا من عظماء الرهبان الذين عرفو بمعرفتها وظننت مطلوبى⁵⁶ عنده إلا قصدته – حتى وصلت الى هيكل عيد الشمس الذي كان بناء هرمس الأكبر لنفسه ؛ فظفرت فيه بناسك مترهب ذى علم بارع وفهم ثاقب فتلطفت له بانواع التلطف واستنزلته وأعملت الحيلة عليه حتى أباح لى مصاحف الهيكل | المودعة فيه فوجدت في جملتها المطلوب الذى امر امير المؤمنين بطلبه مكتوبا بالذهب فرجعت الى الحضرة المنصورة ظافرا بالمراد وشرعت – بعون الله وسعد امير المؤمنين وجده فى ترجمته ونقله من اللسان اليونانى الى اللسان الرومى ، ثم من اللسان الرومى الى اللسان العربى.

author, with his thoughts and an emphasis on Aristotle-Alexander's relationship prefacing some of the topics discussed. The audience is frequently reminded of the Aristotle-Alexander relationship and the fact that they are accessing a private treatise that was addressed to the latter, particularly with the interjection '*Yā Askandar*', which punctuates the text and appears at the beginning of almost every passage or new idea.

There are also 'historical' interjections mentioned above: references to earlier experiences where Aristotle helped Alexander, such as the Aristotle's advice during the campaigns in Persia; and, in the section on preparation of medicines, Aristotle's reminder of the Indian king's gift to Alexander of a girl brought up on poisons until her nature became poisonous – "if I [Aristotle] had not found out through my knowledge of Indian kings and physicians [...] surely she would have killed you" (f.13r).⁵⁷ These linguistic signs serve to remind the reader of Aristotle's authorship, the intimacy of his relationship to Alexander, how his knowledge and advice have proven so valuable to Alexander in past conquests, and that the material being read was carefully selected for the various needs of the most elite readership. Other linguistic signs pointing to the author's presence appear in the form of personal pronouns ('I say to you', 'I explained to you', 'I have never ceased saying to you') and imperatives ('inquire into the condition of the weak', 'lean not towards lechery'), which address the audience directly (i.e. rulers). Although on initial reading it may seem that the author stays at a distance from the material, linguistic signs are scattered through the body of the text, serving to emphasise

وتذكر أمر ملك الهند إذا بعث لك البعثة العظمية وفي جملتها الصبية الجميلة التي غذيت بالسم حتى صارت في طبيعة الأفاعي ولولا أني تفرست ذلك فيها مع ما كان في النفس من توقع حذاق تلك الجهة وسواها حتى أخرجت التجربة أنها تقتل بعضها وعرقها لأهلكته.

Aristotle's (and Alexander's) presence – and the audience's participation in their exchange of correspondence and knowledge.

Other statements and interjections concern the organisation and arrangement of the *Sirr*, such as, 'we must begin with', 'must now mention', 'know that the first thing to begin with is...'. These interjections function to signpost the arrangement of the material and emphasise certain sections of the treatise. In places, this sets out a hierarchy of knowledge for the audience: for example: "The first instrument of reason is the desire of a good name" (f.7v). Elsewhere, the author states that, "The first quality needed in a king is to wholly observe divine commandments [...] he must be a public example", before proceeding to list other necessary qualities of a king (f.8v). The same technique is employed to organise the hierarchy of the more philosophical concepts of the *Sirr*: "The first thing created by God [...] was a simple spiritual essence" (f.16r). More importantly, these interjections serve as reminders of Aristotle's authority. There are also internal cross-references, for example, 'we have already given in the first book...' or "you know already that a ruler is more dependent on the subjects than they are on him" (f.33r) in reference to earlier discussions on the ruler's relationship with his subjects. These declarations remind the audience of the author's presence and demonstrate the author's capability at recalling material and command over the treatise.

Together, these textual references and linguistic signs build a complex and careful process under which the text was constructed and how it intended to engage with its audience. They weave Aristotle's presence throughout the treatise, addressing and guiding the audience in

their understanding of the material presented and the interpretation of its value and purpose. Through the selection and combination of material, their organisation and arrangement, and linguistic signs pointing to the author, the author's intentions are more discernible than might initially be assumed. The author is carefully guiding and navigating the audience through the text, emphasising certain parts and directing how it should be interpreted. Although the prologue and Aristotle's presence throughout the treatise outwardly state that the aim is to guide Alexander (or the caliph at whose behest the translation was made) through the material, the intended audience is in fact much wider than the immediate reading implies. Had the audience of the *Sirr* truly only consisted of rulers, the remarkable expansion and dissemination achieved by the *Sirr* might never have occurred.

* * *

2.4: IDENTIFYING AUDIENCES OF THE *SIRR* WITHIN MEDIEVAL LEARNED TRADITIONS

The wider audience implied by the *Sirr* can be understood within the context of what Shawkat Toorawa describes as a distinct 'writerly culture' that emerged during the 3rd/9th century; a period during which a growth in the manuscript market was accompanied by huge changes in learning and scholarship.⁵⁸ This writerly culture developed partly because of the translation movement. It created a huge demand for books. From the 3rd/9th century, a much wider audience and readership of books had developed that included groups such as landlords,

⁵⁸ Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands*, p.17.

merchants and physicians. Toorawa demonstrates how these new readers broadened the social profile of those who consumed the written word beyond the elite. Consequently, authors started to specifically produce works for these audiences.⁵⁹ This writerly culture was supported by the introduction of paper, a relatively cheap and stable writing material that was introduced to the Islamic East from the mid-2nd/8th century. Paper-making technology significantly contributed to the spread of the written word as it allowed for the mass production and consumption of books.⁶⁰ The *Sūq al-Warraqīn*, or book dealers' market, in 4th/10th-century Baghdad, is thought to have contained some one hundred booksellers. Medieval book dealers often also branched out into the manufacture of paper and the copying of manuscripts. Some of these bookshops doubled as literary salons: for example, Ibn Samh's bookstore also provided a rendezvous for philosophers.⁶¹

Similarly, in al-Andalus, centres of learning had been established in Cordoba, Seville, Toledo, Granada, Malaga and Lucena, where the translated and original scientific, philosophical and literary works from the East were available. The caliphs 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and al-Ḥakam II sponsored Andalusian scholars to study, translate and expand on the corpus of knowledge available to them.⁶² 'Abd al-Raḥmān III had also supported the development of the paper-

⁵⁹ Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands*, p.22.

⁶⁰ The prestige of manuscript culture is also evident in the writings of al-Jāḥiẓ and Ibn al-Nadīm's testament to the burgeoning book culture of the ninth and tenth-century Baghdad in the *Fihrist*.

⁶¹ Robert Irwin, *The Penguin Anthology of Classical Arabic Literature* (London; Penguin Books, 1999), p.150.

⁶² Thomas F. Glick, 'Science in Medieval Spain: The Jewish Contribution in the Context of the Convivencia' in Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds (eds) *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York; George Braziller, 1992), p.103. See also: Richard Fletcher, *Moorish Spain* (New York; Henry Holt and Company, 1992); Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca; Cornell University Press, 2006).

making industry in the city of Xatvia, Valencia, which facilitated the transmission of books and knowledge.⁶³ During al-Ḥakam's reign, schools of advanced study were sponsored - such as the one established by the mathematician and astronomer Maslama al-Majrītī (d. ca. 1007) – and various public (or semi-public) libraries were established in addition to the private libraries of scholars.⁶⁴ Al-Ḥakam's own royal library was thought to have contained a minimum of 400,000 books, and he employed scribes to copy books.⁶⁵

The contents of the *Sirr* are very fitting for these expanding new audiences by intimately reflecting the tastes and preoccupations of the inhabitants of the 4th/10th-century Islamic world: its discussions about etiquette and governance could also apply to other types of leaders and people with responsibilities; and the philosophical and scientific content takes the terms used to describe advanced concepts discussed in contemporary scholarship in those fields - for example the place of reason, the Universal Soul, astronomy, physiognomy, and medicine - but presents them in an accessible manner. Similarly, the occult sections such as talismans and the Onomancy, cover specialist material presented in a simplified form – albeit cloaked with a degree of mystery. The prologue and subsequent interjections in the text by Aristotle work together to consciously 'market' the text and set out how it should be understood and

⁶³ Thomas F. Glick, *Islam and Christian Spain*, p.280.

⁶⁴ The *qāḍī* Abū Mutrif (d.420/1011) had a large private library with six working copyists (See: Ibrahim Pourhadi, *Muslim Libraries during the Middle Ages in the Works of Orientalists* (Tehran; Ahl al-Bayt, 1994), p.452).

⁶⁵ Richard Fletcher, *Moorish Spain*, pp.70-71. Details of Al-Ḥakam's library can be found in: Ibn Ḥazm, quoted in al-Maqqarī, *Analectes sur l'Histoire et la Littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, ed. R.P.A. Dozy, G. Dugat, L. Krehl and W. Wright (Leiden: 1855-61 / repr. Amsterdam, 1967), I, pp.249-50, p.256 (dependant on Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Abbār). See also: Ribhi Mustafa Elayyan, 'The History of the Arabic-Islamic Libraries: 7th to 14th Centuries' in *International Library Review* 22, no. 2 (June 1990): 119–35, esp- pp.128-29. On libraries in the Islamic world more generally, see Youssef Eche, *Les Bibliothèques arabes publiques et semi-publiques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie, et en Egypte au moyen âge* (Damascus, 1967).

interpreted by locating the *Sirr* within specific learned traditions that would be familiar to its target audience.

A MIRROR FOR PRINCES TRADITION?

The *Sirr*'s marketing strategy to its potential audience is apparent, first and foremost, in the way the *Sirr* is presented as a treatise on political philosophy: the prologue refers to the treatise as a "direction for the management of the state" (f.1v), which was produced by Aristotle in response to Alexander's request for a guide, "that you [Alexander] will use to guide all your decisions, which you will set up in my place and represent you in all your affairs" (f.3v). It then sets out to include all the outwardly (*ẓāhir*) knowledge needed by a ruler to achieve union and harmony between his intellectual faculties (the soul), and between the ruler and his subjects. It states the advice should be treated as a code for Alexander's governance and includes essential guidance on how to "govern them [generously] and make them independent" as part of a strategic economic policy (f.4v). In terms of the promotion of a moral policy, it advises Alexander on how to win the hearts of his subjects by uniting and creating harmony between his subjects through widespread justice (f.4v). The *Sirr* situates itself within the genre of so-called *Fürstenspiegel* or 'Mirrors for Princes', which were manuals of advice for rulers that sought to provide moral antidotes to the corruption or tyranny that any ruler might succumb to;⁶⁶ as illustrated by Aristotle's response to Alexander's enquiry whether he should execute the Persian nobility. The *Sirr* allowed the discussion of proper use of absolute power via the authority (and neutrality) of a distant past. Its supposed pre-Islamic date conferred a certain

⁶⁶ Patricia Crone, *God's Rule: Government and Islam* (New York; Columbia University Press, 2004), pp.148-64.

immunity to censure when it decries tyranny and corruption, and urges the establishment of justice as the foundation of the state (Book 3).⁶⁷

The statements in the opening passages of the *Sirr* set out a broad political philosophy for how the contents of the treatise should be understood as well as targeting a wider potential audience of local rulers and the administrative classes for whom its contents could be of appeal. The existence of various regional rulers, the growing administrative classes charged with governing the vast Abbasid empire, and the various smaller states into which rule had been divided in the 4th/10th century, meant that there was a much wider potential audience for the *Sirr* in the Eastern Islamic world.⁶⁸ Across North Africa, the Fatimids were increasing their power, building a new capital on the coast of Tunisia in 296/909 and threatening the coastal towns that faced al-Andalus before turning east and conquering Egypt in 358/969 - making their capital, and centre of administration, in Cairo in 361/972. In al-Andalus, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III declared himself Caliph in January 316/929, sought to re-establish Umayyad authority over rebel regions, and developed a centralised and more formally independent system of administration. He adopted Persian and Abbasid customs for rulers, developed elaborate court procedures and constructed a fortified palace-city outside Cordoba, Madīnah al-Zahrā’, to

⁶⁷ For a discussion on absolutist regimes and pseudo-Aristotelian works, see: Garth Fowden, ‘Pseudo-Aristotelian Politics and Theology in Islam’ in Peter Fibiger Bang and Dariusz Kolodziejczyk (eds), *Universal Empire: A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.142, fn.75. See also: Patricia Crone, *God’s Rule: Government and Islam*, pp.167-68, 170-87, 193-96.

⁶⁸ Garth Fowden, ‘Pseudo-Aristotelian Politics and Theology in Islam’ in Peter Fibiger Bang and Dariusz Kolodziejczyk (eds), *Universal Empire: A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.142. See also Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, p.107-16; cf. Murray 1978, pp.121-4.

which he transferred all government and administrative departments.⁶⁹ Within this landscape, the broad scope of the *Sirr*'s political advice would be of interest not only to a range of caliphs or rulers, but a much broader audience from the ruling and administrative classes for whom the contents related to their functions: the ideal conduct and character of a ruler, the importance and administration of justice, the selection, conduct and management of ministers, governors, generals and scribes.

With these audiences in mind, the 3rd/9th to 4th/10th century witnessed the emergence of various works devoted to *siyāsa*, governance (a category that subsumed ethics as well as politics), that likely informed the organisation and content of the *Sirr*. There are about ten works described on matters related to governance in the listed works of al-Kindī (d.873) according to Ibn al-Nadīm (of the nearly 300 titles ascribed to him). Amongst al-Kindī's students, al-Sarakhsī (d.286/899) and Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d.322/934) also composed several works devoted to *siyāsa*.⁷⁰ During this period, a dynamic literary culture emerged with the works of luminaries such as al-Jāḥiẓ (d.254/868-9) and Ibn Qutaybah (d.275/889) with their elegant prose styles, and the poetry of Al-Mutanabbī (d.354/965).⁷¹ Many of the subjects covered by the *Sirr* resonate clearly with the salient features of the 'mirrors for princes' and advice genre;

⁶⁹ Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca; Cornell University Press, 2006), p.118ff.

⁷⁰ Al-Sarakhsī produced *Kitāb al-Siyāsa al-Kabīr* ('Greater Book of Governance'), *Kitāb al-Siyāsa al-Ṣaghīr* ('Lesser Book of Governance'), *Ādāb al-Mulūk* ('Customs of Kings') and *Zād al-Musāfir wa-Khidmat al-Mulūk* ('Provisions for the traveller and the Service of Kings'). According to most writers from Ibn al-Nadīm onwards, Abū Zayd al-Balkhī also composed works entitled *Kitāb al-Siyāsa al-Kabīr* and *Kitāb al-Siyāsa al-Ṣaghīr*. In addition, two other works of advice on good governance have been attributed to al-Balkhī by Yāqūt and al-Ṣafadī. See Louise Marlow, *Counsel for Kings: Wisdom and Politics in Tenth-Century Iran, the 'Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk' of Pseudo-Mawardī*, 2 vol.s, (Edinburgh: 2017, Edinburgh University Press), p.7.

⁷¹ Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 357, 366.

in particular, discussions on virtues of a ruler, *siyāṣah*, and the moral foundations of good governance. The *Sirr*'s discussions on the innate, mental qualities and virtues of a ruler, the virtues and characteristics of functionaries, and the virtues of justice and ideal political rule are shaped by concepts common to mirrors from the period that examine the moral and ethical bases of kingship and statecraft (*siyāṣah*, *tadbīr al-mulk*).

The *Kitāb al-Tāj* (Book of Crown) is an extensive treatise on courtly etiquette that provides a wealth of information on the ethics of a ruler and the organisation of Sassanian courts, as well as on Islamic history, which was written in the mid-3rd/9th century and attributed (falsely) to al-Jāḥiẓ.⁷² Some of the themes covered in *Kitāb 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār* (Book of Choice Narratives) by Ibn Qutaybah are similar to the *Sirr*, albeit they are approached differently: rulers, warfare, leadership, ill conduct, knowledge, fulfilling desires, food, womenfolk etc. In *al-'Iqd al-Farīd* (The Unique Necklace), the Cordoban writer and poet, Ibn 'Abd Rabbīh (d.329/940), included a four-line predecessor of the *Sirr*'s Circle of Justice as well as reference to the epistle between Alexander and Aristotle on winning the hearts of subjects through beneficence. This was written some fifty years prior to the earliest known citation of the *Sirr*.⁷³

Some advice texts from the period with themes similar to the *Sirr* were also written for a seemingly limited audience whilst at the same time fitting into the wider mirrors-for-princes

⁷² J.D. Latham In Young *et al* (eds), *CHAL:Religion, Learning and Science*, p.166.

⁷³ Ibn 'Abd Rabbīh, *The Unique Necklace*, trans. Issa J. Boullata, Vol.1 (Reading ; Garnet Publishing, 2007), pp.24, 36.

tradition. Noticeable elements of works from this genre was knowledge of the Sassanid empire and Persian rulers - as also demonstrated in the *Sirr*. In addition to at least three translations on Sassanian imperial traditions from Pahlavi to Arabic, the noted translator Ibn al-Muqaffā' (d.c. 139/757) wrote two epistles comprising his own original work: the *Adab al-Kabīr* on practical and theoretical considerations of rule; and the *Risālah fī al-Ṣaḥābah* on the topic of the ruler's relationship to his civil and military entourage.⁷⁴ Both of these works were written in an epistle form. Ṭāhir Dhū al-Yamīnayn (d. 205/821) wrote an exposition of the duties and responsibilities which power brings and of the qualities of the perfect ruler. Ṭāhir was a general during the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn and his terse epistle was addressed to his son 'Abdullāh, when the latter was about to take up a provincial governorship.⁷⁵ Similar to the advice given in the *Sirr*, the addressee is advised that he should practise the virtue of moderation and circumspection (*iqtiṣād*).⁷⁶ Such advice texts were framed as works written for an exclusive audience but were in fact part of a wider mirrors-for-princes tradition.

The *Sirr*'s references to the practices of Indian kings, the "certain prohibited secrets with hidden meanings", and the layers of multiple meanings, apparent and hidden, that could only be understood only by those who are worthy of its teachings (ff.4r-4v), is reminiscent of the

⁷⁴ He translated from Pahlavi, the royal chronicle *Khudāy-namah*, the *Āyīn-namah* on the hierarchy and organisation of the court; and the *Tāj-nāme* on the life of Khusraw Anūshirvān (r. 531-79) (M.J.L. Young, J.D. Latham, and R.B. Serjeant (eds), [*CHAL*]: *Religion, Learning and Science on the 'Abbasid period*, 1st Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.166).

⁷⁵ See J.D. Latham in M.J.L. Young, J.D. Latham, and R.B. Serjeant (eds), [*CHAL*]: *Religion, Learning and Science on the 'Abbasid period*, 1st Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.165-6 and f/n 28: Ibn Abī Ṭayfūr, *Kitāb Baghdād*, Eng. Trans. Bosworth, 'An early Arabic Mirror for Princes'.

⁷⁶ M.J.L. Young, J.D. Latham, and R.B. Serjeant (eds), *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Religion, Learning and Science on the 'Abbasid period*, 1st Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.166.

introduction to Ibn al-Muqaffā‘’s *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*, which is also cloaked in similar figurative language. This work also reflects the eclectic culture of some elements of the *Sirr* in the way that it serves as a meeting-place of influences on Islamic ethics and traditions of government, some of which are non-Islamic. Ibn al-Muqaffā‘’s 2nd/8th-century Arabic translation of the Pahlavi text (itself based on a text from Hindu and Buddhist traditions) was a popular work that gained wide readership, in a large part due to its presentation as fables and the use of animal characters.⁷⁷ However, its original rationale was to provide advice on governance and the relationship between the ruler and his subjects, albeit at a pertinent, safe distance. Through his translations of Middle Persian *andarz* works and his original compositions in Arabic, Ibn al-Muqaffā‘ was a major contributor to the formation of Arabic literary culture. His oeuvre is of particular significance to the literary context that produced the *Sirr* and within which the audience would have engaged with it.

A TRADITION OF ESOTERIC WORKS?

In addition to its *Fürstenspiegel* character, the prologue also frames the *Sirr* as a work that seeks to engage an audience from the esoteric tradition:

As for the matter you have asked for, it [is so great that it] cannot be borne by the breasts of the living, let alone lifeless paper. [...] If you study it intently, I hope that there will be no veil between you and me, for God has bestowed upon you with understanding and gifted you with the light of knowledge. [...] I have [darkly]

⁷⁷ The history and transmission of *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* is a complex story that is still being studied. The ongoing AnonymClassic project, led by Beatrice Gruendler, is the first comprehensive study of the text’s complex multilingual history. The project is updating the progress of its investigations on: <https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/en/e/kalila-wa-dimna/index.html>. See: Beatrice Gruendler et al, ‘An Interim Report on the Editorial and Analytical Work of the AnonymClassic Project’, *Medieval Worlds*, No.11 (2020), pp.241-79.

alluded to certain prohibited secrets with hidden meanings, in case our present book should fall into the hands of tyrannical and corrupt men, who might discover what God did not deem them worthy of understanding from knowledge. [...] I bind you to preserve what I have been bound by. And he who discloses its secret shall not be safe from the evil consequences that will happen to him (f.4r-4v).⁷⁸

Aristotle goes on to tell Alexander that the fact that these prohibited secrets are only darkly alluded to makes the book “outwardly a [treasure of] wisdom and instructions, and inwardly the [cherished] object of your purpose” (f.5r).⁷⁹ As such, the treatise projects itself outside the boundaries of its full title and places itself within the more widely encompassing sub-title by which the text is better known, *Sirr al-Asrār*. The opening passages and epistles serve to ensure an appeal broader than a simple advice text by stating that the treatise will contain the range of ‘apparent’ evidential knowledge needed to develop intellectual faculties, whilst at the same time, restricting the audience to those who are deemed worthy of understanding the full mysterious potential of the knowledge to selected rulers. There was, in fact, a long-standing link between mirrors-for-princes and esoteric works. The appeal of esoteric knowledge and alchemy for a ruler had precedence since the time of the Umayyad ruler, Khālīd ibn Yazīd (d.85/704), who is thought to have had a strong interest in alchemy and facilitated the translation of several alchemical treatises into Arabic and written his own works. Although it

⁷⁸ فأن الذى سألته من ذلك الأمر لا تحمله الصدور الحية فضلا عن القراطيس الميتة. {لكن الذى حقولك على بسؤلك لزمى إسعافك، كإنه يجب لك أن لا تكلفنى إذاعة هذا السر أكثر مما أودعته هذا الكتاب،} إذا بلغت فيه الى حد أرجو أن لا يكون بينك وبينى حجاب لما جملك الله عليه من الفهم، ومنحك من نور العلم. {فتدبّر رموزه بما تقدم من توقيفى لك عليه وإرشادى اليه – تيسلّس لك القياد ويمكنك من ذلك المراد، إن شاء الله تعالى.} وإنما رمزت لك الأسرار المحظورة وعوّزت [?] لك المعانى المكتومة لئلا يقع كتابنا هذا بأيدي جور مفتسدين [?] وفراغنة متجبرين فيطلعون على ما لم يجعلهم الله أهلاً لعلمه ولا ارتضاهم لفهمه، فيكون قد خترت العهد الذى أخذ على، وفضحت سرّاً أظهره الله إلخ، | وأنا أعهد إليك فى حفظه كما عهد إلخ. فمن أذا عى سره فهو غير آمين من سوء عاقبة معجلة. والله يعصمك وإيانا برحمته.

وأنأ أودع لك هذا السر المكنون مع غيره فى فصول من هذا الكتاب ظاهره حكمة ووصية، وباطنها هى البغية. فاذا تدبّرت معانيها وتفهمت ⁷⁹ رموزها، نلت بها غاية أمانيك وأقصى أراجيك

has been disputed whether these attributions are genuine or pseudo-epigraphical, the link between Ibn Yazīd and esoteric works existed by the 3rd/9th century.⁸⁰

As part of situating itself within the esoteric tradition, the *Sirr* makes repeated mentions to Hermes, who was considered as the source of true knowledge and arcane wisdom. The references to Hermes include: mention of Yaḥyā finding the *Sirr* in a temple built by Hermes (f.3r); Aristotle's assertion that he read in the exhortations of Hermes that the king should refrain from taking the wealth of the people to secure his rule (f.7r); Hermes' warning about wrongful killing (f.11v); and reference to Hermes' advice to consult his minister (f.16v). The link between the *Sirr* and the Hermetic tradition is further emphasised in the expanded occult section of the LF where Aristotle declares that he "acquired extreme knowledge of creation" and other references throughout the text that it is the duty of the ruler to aspire to the mastery of all the knowledge divulged in the work in order to effectively control and govern his subjects. Aristotle goes on to state that the ultimate application of the knowledge contained in the work is the Hermetic science of manufacturing talismans.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Manfred Ullmann argues that the link originated in a quote by the historian al-Balādhurī (d.892). On the other hand, Pierre Lory argues that the works attributed to Khalid ibn Yazīd did so in order to give an aura of nobility to alchemical works. See: Marion Dapsens, 'De la Risālat Maryānus au De Compositione alchemiae: Quelques réflexions sur la tradition d'un traité d'alchimie' in *Studia graeco-arabica*. 6 (2016) pp.121–140; Forster, Regula 'Khālīd b. Yazīd', In Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson (eds) *El³* (Leiden; Brill, 2021); Lory, Pierre, *Alchimie et mystique en terre d'Islam* (Lagrasse; Verdier, 1989); Julius Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten I: Chālīd ibn Jazīd ibn Mu'āwija* (Heidelberg; Carl Winter, 1924); Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, Band IV: Alchimie, Chemie, Botanik, Agrikultur bis ca. 430*, (Leiden; Brill, 1971), pp. 120–126; Manfred Ullmann, 'Ḥālīd Ibn Yazīd und die Alchemie: Eine Legende', *Der Islam*, 55 (2), (1978), pp.181–218; Manfred Ullmann, 'Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwija' in P. Bearman et al (eds), *El²*.

⁸¹ (Badawi, *Sirr*, pp.165, 166; Ali trans, pp.261, 262).

Aristotle and Hermes were both considered principal authorities on talismans in Arabic works from the medieval period.⁸² An astrological text ascribed to Hermes is reported to have been translated, probably from Persian, in 125/743.⁸³ Soon after, anonymous authors wrote new Arabic works with the teachings of Hermes on subjects other than astrology. One of the earliest of these was a corpus of Hermetic works attributed to Aristotle that became the source material of subsequent works in the occult tradition, including works on talismans and magical practices. Framed as epistles or exchanges between Aristotle and Alexander, these texts include the *Iṣṭamākhis*, *Istimātis*, *al-Ustuwwaṭus*, and *al-Hādhītūs*, in which Aristotle instructs Alexander on the ways to acquire command over creation, the occult properties and spiritual power (*ruhāniyyāt*) in natural things. These works had a profound influence on the development of medieval learned magic. Although the dating of the corpus is not clear, at least some of the texts were already available by reign of al-Ma'mūn (2nd/8th century) and continued to be cited in the first half of the 4th/10th century in works such as the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* and in the *Ghāyah al-Ḥakīm* (*The Goal of the Sage*) - composed during the 950s.⁸⁴ The parallels between the contents of the Occult section of the *Sirr* and these traditions goes beyond the

⁸² For a history of magic and talismanic texts from the Classical period and through the Arabic world to the Latin-West in the Middle Ages, see: Charles Burnett, *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot; Variorum/Routledge Press, 1996).

⁸³ For details see GAS VII, pp.50-4; Ullmann, *Geheimwissenschaften*, pp.279-80. The demand for astrological literature led to the eventual development of a large corpus of Arabic pseudepigraphic and anonymous works [see: Ullmann, *Geheimwissenschaften*, pp. 286 ff].

⁸⁴ Venetia Porter, Liana Saif and Emilie Savage-Smith, 'Medieval Islamic Amulets, Talismans, and Magic' in Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu (eds), *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*, 1st edition (John Wiley & Sons, 2017), pp.522-23. See also: Kevin van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes: From Pagan Sage to Prophet of Science* (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2009), pp.101-2, 114; Charles Burnett, 'Arabic, Greek and Latin Works on Astrological Magic Attributed to Aristotle' in J. Kray, W.F. Ryan and C.B. Schmitt (eds), *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages: The Theology and Other Texts* (London; Warburg Institute, 1989); Charles Burnett, 'Hermann of Carinthia and the *Kitāb Istimātis*' in *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot; Variorum, 1996), pp.167-69.

similarity of subjects discussed; it can be seen in the way the *Iṣṭamākhīs*, for example, instructs on how to produce talismans and amulets that guarantee military triumph.

Another connection between the *Sirr* and the esoteric tradition is the use of similar tropes. The *Sirr*'s attribution of authorship to a well-known scholar is a common trope in esoteric and alchemical works. Pseudo-epigraphical texts written from master to pupil are also a common feature of this genre. Another common trope can be seen in the way Yaḥyā's prologue asserts that the treatise had been deposited in a temple built by Hermes the Great (*Hurmuz al-Akbar*), that was guarded by a "devout hermit of brilliant knowledge and penetrating judgement, towards whom I was courteous and gentle until I convinced him to allow me to access the writings" (f.3r-3v).⁸⁵ The *Sirr*'s use of the topos of hidden meanings and the discovery of works hidden in a vault is also a feature of esoteric and alchemical texts, such as works ascribed to Balīnās (Pseudo-Apollonius of Tyana) - the 'creator of talismans'.⁸⁶ In the *Sirr al-Khalīqah*, Balīnās includes statements about how he discovered the text of the *Emerald Tablet* in Tyana

قال ابن البطريق الترجمان: فلم أدع هيكلًا من الهياكل التي أودعت الحكماء فيها أسرارها إلا أتيتها ، ولا عظيمًا من عظماء الرهبان الذين عرفو بمعرفتها وطننت مطلوبى عنده إلا قصدته – حتى وصلت الى هيكل عبد الشمس الذى كان بناه هرمس الأكبر لنفسه ؛ فظفرت فيه بناسك مترهب ذى علم بارع وفهم ثاقب فتلطفت له بانواع التلطف واستنزته وأعملت الحيلة عليه حتى أباح لى مصاحف الهيكل | المودعة فيه

⁸⁵ The *Sirr al-Khalīqah* is thought to be a composite of earlier works. According to Paul Kraus, the text was composed in its original form by Sājuyūs in Palestine in the 5th or 6th century and first appears in Arabic between the 6th and 8th centuries. See: Paul Kraus, *Jābir ibn Hayyān: Contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islam. I. Le corpus des écrits jābiriens. II. Jābir et la science grecque* (Cairo; Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1942-1943), vol. II, pp.274-275 (c. 813–833); Julius Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur* (Heidelberg; Winter, 1926), p.166; Ursula Weisser, *Das Buch über das Geheimnis der Schöpfung von Pseudo-Apollonios von Tyana*. (Berlin; De Gruyter, 1980) p.54.

inside a vault below a statue of Hermes, where an old figure on a golden throne was found holding it.⁸⁷

The *Sirr al-Khalīqah* also influenced the corpus of texts that was later attributed to Jābir ibn Ḥayyān (d.815) in the late-3rd/9th and early-4th/10th century. This included another version of the Arabic Emerald Tablet text purported to have been written by Hermes, *Kitāb Ustuqus al-Uss al-Thānī* (The Second Book of the Elements of Foundation).⁸⁸ Parallels between Jābir, the broader Jābiriyyan corpus and the *Sirr* include the elaborate system of numerology based on Pythagorean and neoplatonic systems developed by Jābir (another subject addressed in the Onomancy section of the *Sirr*) and the *Kitāb al-Ahjār* (Book of Stones) of the Jābiriyyan corpus, which aims to guide only those loved by God, whilst leading all others into error - in a similar vein to the *Sirr*. It too states that it employs esoteric language to ensure that it is only accessible to those instructed in alchemy. The correlations between the talismanic properties of plants and stones as found in the *Sirr* can also be found in Sanskrit sources that were translated via Pahlavi intermediaries. These Indian sources were circulating by the time Abū Ma'shar was writing (d.272/886). In addition, Abu Ma'shar's *Kitab al-Muhaqqiq al-Mudaqqiq* has similar content to the Onomancy of the *Sirr*. Thābit bin Qurrah (d.901) was also writing on talismans at the end of the 3rd/9th century.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Florian Ebeling, *The Secret History of Hermes Trismegistus: Hermeticism from Ancient to Modern Times*, (Cornell University Press: 2007) pp.46-7, 96.

⁸⁸ See: Paul Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*.

⁸⁹ David Pingree, 'The Sabians of Harran and the Classical Tradition', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 9(1) (2002), pp.8-35.

The incorporation of features and tropes common to works of the esoteric and alchemical traditions and repeated references to the figure of Hermes makes it apparent, therefore, that in addition to the audiences of mirrors and advice texts, the *Sirr* aimed to engage with these traditions too. Moreover, whilst not exclusive to Ismā‘īlī thought, the references to esoteric (*bātin*) and apparent (*zāhir*) meanings, *al-‘aql* (the Intellect), numerology and the neoplatonic influences of the *Sirr* all have parallels with Ismā‘īlī teachings of the 4th/10th century. The expanded section of the Emerald Tablet (which was already circulating in the Jābirīyyan corpus by the 2nd/8th century), as well as some of the additional material from the *Rasā’il* of the Ikhwān that are included in the LF, indicate that the *Sirr* – in particular the LF - had an audience of the Ismā‘īlī persuasion in mind too.

A WORK FROM THE PHILOSOPHICAL TRADITION?

Whilst the *Sirr* clearly emphasises the value of both the apparent (political, scientific, wisdom) and hidden (esoteric) knowledge it contains, and the power they can provide over other people, it also clearly states that philosophical knowledge is also essential for a ruler and integral to the value of the *Sirr*’s contents. In Book 3, Aristotle bridges the political advice with a wider philosophical outlook when he states that the Circle of Justice is the ‘essence of this book’ and describes its concept in the following terms:

I present to you a philosophical, legal and divine octagonal figure, which will inform you of everything that is in the world, and which comprehends the politics of the world and comprises all the degrees and classes of the people, and the form of justice required for each of them. I have divided this figure according to the

divisions of the heavenly spheres. You may begin with any division you prefer it will lead you to the one next to it like the continuation of the revolution of heavens (f.15r-15v).⁹⁰

This categorisation of the *Sirr* as a part-philosophical treatise is reinforced through its theoretical material and reference to contemporary philosophical debates of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. The most theoretical section of the *Sirr* comes in Book 4 'On Ministers' where interspersed amongst suggestions on how to select and consult a minister, there are more philosophical passages on the role of the Intellect ('*aql*'), the Universal Soul, the influence of astrology on one's fate, matter and body, and the moral qualities that distinguish humans (ff.15v-20v).⁹¹ Despite all the 'secret' sciences that are revealed in the *Sirr*, be it directly or covertly (as Aristotle intended), they are but the exploitation of the laws of nature. Other words of advice can be found scattered throughout the treatise, such as, 'He who abstains from little, gains much' (f.9v: *azhada bi-qalīli tazfiru bi-kathīri*), with the *Sirr* presenting itself not as a mere accumulation of technical and scientific knowledge but as a treatise founded on philosophical concepts and intended as an introduction to a philosophical way of life (f.15r).⁹²

⁹⁰ وأنا ممثل لك شكلاً حكيماً سلفسياً (فلسفياً) ناموسياً إلهياً ثمانياً ينبئك على ما في العالم بأسره يحتوي على جميع سياسة العالم ويشتمل على طبقاتهم وكيف وصول الواجب من العدل إلى كل طبقة وقسمته قسماً دور يأكل قسم فيه طبقة، فإذا بدأت بأي قسم شئت توالى لك ما بعده كتوالي دور الفلك.

Cf: Badawi, p.126; Ali trans. p.226.

⁹¹ Cf: Badawi, pp.129-34; Ali trans. p.227-32.

⁹² Badawi p.79; Ali trans. p.186.

The emphasis on the importance of reason is a recurring theme in the *Sirr*. Aristotle explains that the key to everything is the exercise of reason and that ‘to every physical category corresponds a higher category’.⁹³ Early on in the *Sirr*, he declares the following:

I will tell you a short maxim which alone would have sufficed even if I had not told you others. O Alexander, Reason [‘*ʿaql*’] is the head of policy [...] It is the chief of all praiseworthy things, and the fountainhead of all glories (f.7r-7v).⁹⁴

Underpinning the theoretical model of the medieval scheme of nature described in the *Sirr* are genuine Aristotelian ideas that the material world consists of four elements (earth, water, air and fire) and the significance attached to the qualities associated with the four terrestrial elements (hot, cold, dry and moist). The *Sirr*’s contents are based on the Aristotelian scheme where each element was held to encapsulate two of these qualities.⁹⁵ These links between the body and the wider environment were paralleled and extended in another philosophical paradigm of the medieval world discussed in the *Sirr*: the notion of the microcosm and the macrocosm. This view regards Man as a reflection of the cosmos. In Arabic scholarship, this concept grew from Platonic roots and received its most comprehensive treatment in the philosophical-scientific encyclopaedia, the *Rasāʿil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*. In a similar vein to the *Rasāʿil*, the *Sirr* adds concepts of cosmology to political advice from Greek and Persian sources. Manzalaoui suggests that “the belief [...] in ‘correspondences’ between the three entities, the individual man or ‘microcosm’, the universe or ‘macrocosm’, and state or ‘body politic’, made

⁹³ Badawi, pp.156-68; Ali trans. 252-63.

⁹⁴ *Sirr*, p.75; Ali trans. p.182.

⁹⁵ Fire was hot and dry; earth was dry and cold, water, cold and moist; and air, moist and hot.

it possible to attach both philosophical concepts, and practical rules of, for example, hygiene, to a treatise in the form of a *Fürstenspiegel*.”⁹⁶

These parallels with the philosophical traditions demonstrate that the *Sirr* uses terminology from philosophical discussions and debates on the mind and its interaction with the body, during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. Aristotle’s discussions on the mind-body interface in Books II and III of *On the Soul* were widely available in Arabic at the time, and al-Kindī (d.ca.873) wrote an influential epistle, ‘On the Intellect’, which marked the beginning of a long engagement with the question of how we gain knowledge.⁹⁷ Philosophy often intersected with medicine: philosopher-physicians such as Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd, went on to develop their own theories in this area.⁹⁸ The *Sirr*’s engagement with contemporary philosophical debates demonstrates the author was consciously seeking to place his text within the wider philosophical context of the period.⁹⁹ The neo-platonic discussions on the Universal Soul, the Hermetic influences, and the status given to astrology, alchemy, talismans and magic in the *Sirr* are representative of some of the various philosophical and intellectual currents circulating

⁹⁶ Mahmoud Manzalaoui, ‘Facts and Problems’, p.160.

⁹⁷ *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, transl. P. Adamson and P.E. Pormann (Karachi: 2012), pp.93-8.

⁹⁸ H. A. Davidson, *Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes, on Intellect: Their Cosmologies, Theories of the Active Intellect, and Theories of Human Intellect* (New York, Oxford: 1992). For further reading on the relationship between philosophy and medicine, see Peter E. Pormann, ‘Philosophical Topics in Medieval Arabic Medical Discourse’ in Peter Adamson and Peter Pormann, *Philosophy and Medicine in the Formative Period of Islam*, Warburg Institute Colloquia 31 (London: The Warburg Institute, 2017) pp.10-33.

⁹⁹ An example of developments in discussions on the primacy of Intellect over the ninth and tenth centuries can be seen by comparing the two versions of the well-known dream of al-Mamun about Aristotle and their exchange: one version cited by ‘Abdallah ibn Tahir (d.845) advocates use of personal judgement (*ra’y*) as ultimate criterion. Another version, by Yahya ibn ‘Adi (d.974), substitutes *ra’y* with ‘*aql*’ (Intellect) and establishes the primacy of reason (see Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, pp.97-104 for bibliographical details).

amongst the intellectual milieu and learned traditions of the period from which the *Sirr* emerged – they highlight its attempts to engage with these audiences through its content.

AN ENCYCLOPAEDIC TRADITION?

The *Sirr* can also be placed within the emergence of a new genre of writing during the late-3rd/9th and early-4th/10th century - the encyclopaedia. The earliest large-scale Arabic compilations or encyclopaedias drew from a variety of sources to produce an original compendium of knowledge. They sought to compile the prolific writing of scholars in a specific area into one or a series of related volumes. One of the earliest Arabic encyclopaedias was the *al-Ḥāwī* (*The Virtuous Life*) by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 313AH / 925CE), a monumental medical encyclopaedia in twenty-five volumes.¹⁰⁰ Other large works from this period were written to provide comprehensive scholarly material in one specific area: for example, the world histories of al-Ṭabarī (*Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk*) and al-Masʿūdī (*Murūj al-Dhahab wa al-Maʿadin al-Jawhar*). The 4th/10th century also produced the first encyclopaedias covering a wide range of subjects that had a more utilitarian purpose that is more in line with the *Sirr*'s objectives. The main quality of these works was accessibility: to provide a readable summary of philosophical and technical knowledge that also serves a more practical purpose. Whilst they sometimes addressed a specific or narrow audience, their actual intended audience was much broader. The contents of the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafā* ranged from mathematics and the natural sciences, to ethics, politics, religion and magic. Another treatise from the first half of the 4th/10th century that is similar to the *Sirr* in both form and purpose is Ibn Farīghūn's *Jawāmiʿ al-ʿUlūm*

¹⁰⁰ It is thought that al-Rāzī's *al-Ḥāwī* was compiled posthumously from his various works and notes.

(*Connections of the Sciences*). An encyclopaedia of the sciences dedicated to a Muḥtajid ruler (d.344/955), it included not only a broad range of scientific topics but also dealt with the religious and moral foundations of political sovereignty, the virtues of a ruler, and the practical infrastructure of court and chancery much in the fashion of mirrors for princes.

In addition to politics and military affairs, the *Sirr*'s contents cover an almost encyclopaedic range of discussions – even more so in the LF. These include every subject that could be considered important in the life of a ruler: military tactics, medicine, diet, personal hygiene, physiognomy, astrology, alchemy, onomancy (or numerology) and talismans. Whilst the latter four subjects have already been discussed as part of the esoteric tradition, they can also be seen as appealing to an audience interested in a broad compendium of science and knowledge.

As part of its advice on warfare, the LF *Sirr* adds a description of an instrument, or a hydraulic organ, that was capable of producing a noise that was so terrible it could terrify the enemy from a distance of sixty miles. This instrument was attributed to 'Yayastayus' in the *Sirr*. Another Arabic text attributed to Mūriṣṭus also describes such an instrument and provides detailed instruction on how to manufacture it along with a similar but more detailed diagram than the one found in *Sirr* manuscripts.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Franz Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage of Islam* trans. E. and J. Marmorstein (London: Routledge, 1975), pp.235-238.

The health section of the *Sirr* reflects a demonstrable understanding of humours and Galenic thought, particularly in the discussions around the seasons and diet. The *Sirr* suggests purging the body of superfluous humours and goes on to describe various ailments and suitable remedies. There are echoes of Hippocrates' *Airs* in the advice given to Alexander in the opening epistles in relation to the Persians' character being influenced by their environment.¹⁰² Although humoral theory, based on the works of Hippocrates and Galen, would go on to be comprehensively developed and codified in the works of al-Rāzī (d.925 or 935) and Ibn Sīnā (d.1037), it had been gaining traction since the 3rd/9th century and was influential on the work of the physician al-Ṭabarī (identified in Chapter 1 as a source for the *Sirr*).

Another large section of the *Sirr* that would attract an audience interested in reading a broad scientific treatise is the Physiognomy. According to the *Sirr*, the secrets of physiognomy were not expounded only for the benefit of self-cultivation but were addressed to a ruler in order for him develop a superior power to 'read' courtiers and other people and judge their motivations in a way that is not available to other people.¹⁰³ The primary use of physiognomy is described

¹⁰² This was also mentioned in Chapter 1. See also: Richard Jones, *The Medieval Natural World*, (Abingdon; Routledge, 2013), pp.17-18: It was also held that the humours (the main bodily fluids) were born from the four elements. The combination of qualities found in all living bodies determined their nature – this was referred to as the complexion or temperament. A healthy body was where there was a balance between the humours. In its natural state, it was held that the body tended towards warm and moist, giving it its natural sanguine complexion. Superfluities of any kind were potentially unhealthy, producing phlegmatic, melancholic (black bile) or choleric (yellow bile) temperaments. This theory had its roots in the works of Hippocrates (c.460-370) who is often credited with developing the theory of the four humours, the authors of the Hippocratic corpus, and Galen (c.131-201) who described the four temperaments as determined by the balance of qualities. At the heart of humoral theory was an acknowledgement that the external environment exerted a power over the internal working of the body. Hippocrates' *Airs, Waters & Places* links the influence of geography to the bodily humours.

¹⁰³ Physiognomy can be defined as the practice of judging a person's character and mental qualities by observation of physical features, especially the face.

as being to judge the fitness of men for their service – as a tool to be employed along with astrology. The *Sirr* states: “You know that the womb is for the embryo like the pot for the food [...] the natures differ according to their composition. [...] and if to them is added any imperfection of nature it is a strong proof of the body being imperfect as well. Therefore, beware of such people” (f.29v).¹⁰⁴ Throughout the medieval period, there persisted the belief that the quality of the soul could be expressed in the body or facial features and expressions. This began with the ideas of Aristotle (or at least an Aristotelian author) in the treatise *De Physiognomia*, which was translated into Arabic by Hunayn ibn Ishaq (d.873). The science of physiognomy and the figure of Polemon were familiar to well-read audiences of the 3rd/9th century. The Roman physiognomer, Polemon (referred to in an anecdote in the LF), was referred to as the ‘master of physiognomy’ by al-Jāhīz (d.868).¹⁰⁵ As noted in Chapter 1, the association between medicine and physiognomy was being expounded in original Arabic

يا إسكندر أن الرحم للجنين بمنزلة القدر للطبيخ والأمزجة مختلفة بحسب الخلق والطبائع متضادة على قدر التركيب
فاعلم أن البياض الصادق مع الزرقاة والشقرة الكثيرة دليل على القحة والخيانة والفسق وخفة العقل وحسبك الصقلب
عليه من هذه الخلقة وما جميعهم عليه من السفه والغدر فتحفظ من كل أشقر أزرق فإن استضاف إلى ذلك أن يكون
واسعة الجبهة ضيق الذقن أو جن أزعركثير شعر الرأس فتحفظ منه جدًا تحفظك من الأفاعي.

¹⁰⁵ The *Sirr* precedes its treatment of its Physiognomy in the LF with the exemplary story about Hippocrates and the physiognomist, Polemon (or *Alkimun*). This anecdote is the earliest instance of where Zopyrus of the classical anecdote is replaced with the better-known physiognomist (in the Arabic tradition), Polemon, and Hippocrates instead of Socrates as told in the original Hellenistic anecdote. The disciples of Hippocrates had his picture painted on parchment and took it to Polemon who replied that the person in the picture was lecherous. Despite the vexation of Hippocrates’ followers by this defamation of their master, Polemon insisted that these were the qualities that his art revealed. Upon the return of the followers to Hippocrates, they were told that Polemon had told truth but he was aware of his tendencies and had learned to be king over his soul. The author concludes that the purpose of learning is to ensure the dominion of the rational and moral faculties over the evil desires that might arise from an unfavourable *complexion*. It should be noted, however, that despite reference to this anecdote in the LF, Polemon was not the source of the *Sirr*’s Physiognomy (as mentioned in Chapter 1) – see: Robert Hoyland, ‘The Islamic Background to Polemon’s Treatise’ in Simon Swain (ed.), *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon’s Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam* (Oxford; OUP, 2007).

treatises from the 4th/10th century such as the work of al-Rāzī, whose *al-Manṣūrī* has strong parallels with the physiognomy of the *Sirr*.

The *Sirr*'s compilation and stated purpose can therefore be understood within the context of the 4th/10th century development and function of the encyclopaedia genre: to cover a range of subjects in a single treatise. Moreover, whilst many of the subjects discussed in the *Sirr* would have been important for the education of a ruler, they were also of concern to the specific audiences in each of the traditions mentioned above as well as more generic audiences. The *Sirr* draws on the scholarship and thought of a range of learned traditions in the 4th/10th century and consciously markets itself across several genres, thus ensuring its wide appeal. The *Sirr* does indeed contain something for everyone in convenient summary form. Its concise nature is deliberate, as emphasised at the end of the *Sirr* with the words, "It is not the purpose of this book to be lengthy" (f.44r: *idh laysa min gharaḍi hadhā al-kitābi al-taṭwīli*).

* * *

2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter set out to consider the intentions of the writers at the time the *Sirr* was composed through a consideration of the attribution of authorship to Aristotle and an exploration of the *Sirr*'s intended audience. The aim was to situate the contents of the treatise within the intellectual and literary landscape from which the *Sirr* emerged in the 4th/10th century to

address the question: who is speaking and to whom? Authorship and audience during the early medieval period are complex issues, particularly with a pseudonymous text such as the *Sirr*. Nevertheless, there was an original 'author' of the SF, albeit anonymous to us, who consciously drew from a range of available sources and influences and compiled the material into the overall form we presently have. I argued that within the literary and cultural context of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, the attribution of authorship to Aristotle was a deliberate stratagem employed to provide authority to the text, to invite its audience to interact with its contents in a particular way, and to place it alongside the canon of scholarly texts that were being studied at the time.

I have argued that the attribution of authorship to Aristotle and the recommendation in the text that he is an authority to be deferred to, is used to establish the authority of the *Sirr*'s contents. This objective is achieved not only via the prologue but throughout the text: via the text's invocation of the esteem and authority of the figure of Aristotle within the landscape of Arabic scholarship and literature at the time; by drawing on the reputation of the body of Aristotle's translated works in Arabic that were at the centre of scholarship and debate; and by locating itself within, and drawing from, features of several learned traditions: mirrors-for-princes, esoteric works, philosophical, and encyclopaedic works. This ensured its appeal to a broad range of audiences and was further supported by the emerging 'writerly culture' and the expanding readership of books since the 3rd/9th century, which meant there was broader social profile of the potential audience that extended beyond the elite. The manner in which the *Sirr* touches upon a range of political, philosophical and scientific concepts that were being

discussed and written about in the intellectual milieu of the 4th/10th century, written in broad and accessible terms – and sometimes without much detail – is perhaps the reason that the *Sirr*'s contents have not really been given much attention, but this is probably also the secret to its success: the writer employs an air of erudition yet remains accessible to a broad audience. As such, the *Sirr* should be viewed as a microcosm of the cultural, literary and intellectual interests of the 4th/10th century, presented in a form that would appeal to audiences with a range of interests.

* * *

PART II

CHAPTER 3

TRANSMISSION & RECEPTION OF THE *SIRR* IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD:

THE EMERGENCE OF THE SF & LF TRADITIONS

3.0 INTRODUCTION

With a career spanning almost a millennium, the *Sirr* has a remarkably long history, during which it continued to be copied while many other texts had peaked and lost favour. Both literary sources and manuscript witnesses testify to its early reception, widespread dissemination and its popularity among medieval readers. This chapter aims to trace the history of the *Sirr*'s transmission, reception and dissemination during the first half of its career in the medieval period – covering the timespan from its earliest citation in the Islamic West in 376/987 up until the fall of Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula in 897/1492 and the end of Mamluk rule over Egypt and *Bilād al-Shām* in 922/1517.¹ The second half of its career will follow in Chapter 4.

Drawing attention to citations of the *Sirr* and references to it in the works of other Arabic writers and reading this against extensive manuscript evidence drawn from the 106 extant manuscripts presented the Catalogue of *Sirr* Manuscripts (**Appendix 2**) and published archival evidence, this is the first comprehensive attempt to chart the career of the *Sirr*.² To date, there

¹ This seems to be an appropriate place to delineate the first half of the *Sirr*'s career in these two regions as it provides an ample timespan to chart its early reception and the emergence of the SF and LF traditions yet distinguish this from some of the later developments in its career during Ottoman rule (which will be discussed in Chapter 4).

² Throughout this thesis I draw on the data I gathered in preparation of the detailed Catalogue of *Sirr* Manuscripts, which is presented in Appendix 2. Although the majority of descriptive features of manuscripts are noted in my Catalogue, there are some details that were noted during additional analysis for the writing of

have only been mostly cursory references to the influence of the *Sirr* in studies that were dedicated to other subjects or works, with the exception of Linda Darling's study on various versions of the Circle of Justice in Middle Eastern linguistic and cultural traditions, which provides several examples of the use of the *Sirr*'s version.³ I will draw on existing references to the *Sirr* in other works, noting any particular features, adding further comparisons of my own and detailing the historical settings of these uses to contextualise the data I gathered for my manuscript catalogue. With regard to the manuscript evidence: other than Manzalaoui's list of fifty-three manuscripts (out of a total of at least 106 manuscripts), which included some basic descriptive information, there has been no attempt to gather the manuscript data of all known extant manuscripts, to analyse them, study their provenance, or to use patterns of manuscript circulation to trace the transmission, reception and dissemination of the *Sirr*. Along with Chapter 4, this is the first attempt to gather a comprehensive history on the career of the *Sirr*. In addition, it is the only study to have analysed and made use of the wealth of data that can be found in the manuscript corpus to argue for a history of the *Sirr*'s career.⁴

This chapter follows two lines of enquiry. The first strand addresses the transmission, dissemination and reception of the *Sirr* in the medieval period. Who were its early readers? What were they interested in? How did they engage with it? I argue that with ten out of the twenty-four extant manuscripts from the medieval period (forty-two per cent) having been

the chapters and are not consistently presented there. Nevertheless, all folio reference are provided and where available images have been included.

³ Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2013).

⁴ All references to the manuscripts of the *Sirr* are based on the information I gathered for the catalogue of *Sirr* manuscripts presented in Appendix 2.

commissioned for rulers and members of the military elite, it is evident that the *Sirr* soon became a staple of the libraries of the elite, but its reception history shows that it was also read by a range of other readers. The second strand of enquiry that runs through the chapter is whether there are any patterns in the emergence of the SF and the LF traditions that can further our understanding of the *Sirr*'s history. The historical and scholarly context within which the treatise places itself and the nature of its contents have largely suggested that the work was composed in the Islamic East. This assumption has not been investigated or probed in any detail before. Using a combination of literary references to the *Sirr*, citations by early readers, along with an analysis of manuscript and documentary evidence, this notion is tested, and I propose a trajectory for the emergence of the two traditions and the regions from which they emerged.

Although the main focus of this chapter is limited to developments up to the end of the medieval period, some reference is also made to later manuscripts in the Maghrib for the purpose of addressing the chapter's main questions. An additional aim of the analysis that follows is to argue for the importance of incorporating existing manuscript and archival evidence into any investigation in the reception or history of text.

* * *

3.1 DID THE *SIRR* REALLY EMERGE IN THE ISLAMIC EAST?

The earliest reference to the *Sirr* in secondary literature was in 376/987 in al-Andalus. In fact, over the next century, there were several further citations in the Islamic West but none in the

Islamic East (the citation in the West will be discussed further in the next section). This raises the question: did the *Sirr* really – as is commonly assumed – emerge from Baghdad or the East at all? There are a number of reasons to assume the Eastern origin of the *Sirr*. Baghdad was the focus of the large-scale Greco-Arabic translation movement between the 2nd/8th and 4th/10th centuries. The attribution of the ‘translation’ from Greek into Arabic to Yaḥyā Ibn al-Biṭrīq, a translator working in Baghdad in the circle of al-Kindī in the early 3rd/9th century also points to the East. As discussed in previous chapters, the contents of the *Sirr* are influenced by ideas and works from the Persianate East, such as the four-line Circle of Justice, the medical treatise of the eastern physician, Ibn Rabbān al-Ṭabarī, references Persian, Indian and Greek sources, amongst others. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, all of these would also have been equally available in the Islamic West and other major centres of learning. If the *Sirr* was indeed first compiled in the East, one would expect to find some evidence of its early circulation there. However, the evidence of its reception and dissemination in the region is surprisingly scant, and even less so for the SF (the earliest version).

Although parallels with the contents of the *Sirr* can be found in some of the works from the Islamic East in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, it is not clear if they can be used as evidence of the *Sirr*’s direct reception or influence, due to the already ubiquitous nature of some of the *Sirr*’s concepts within eastern wisdom literature. As noted elsewhere, shorter versions of the Circle of Justice were widely attributed to Ardashīr (and sometimes Anūshirvan) in works of *adab* and advice literature. Like the Umayyads of al-Andalus and the Fatimids in Egypt, Ifriqiya and Syria, the Buyid era in the 4th/10th century witnessed major changes in both structures of

government and ideas of authority.⁵ The Buyid *amīr*, ‘Aḍud al-Dawla (r.338/949-372/983), called himself ‘The Just *Amīr*’ on his coins and compared himself to Alexander the Great and to the Persian kings.⁶ The Buyid vizier Ibn ‘Abbād (d.384/995) quoted the Circle and recommended that every king should engrave it on his pectoral jewel as a reminder. Linda Darling argues that it was in this context that the *Sirr*’s longer statement of the Circle began to appear, but she does not link this to the eight-line version of the Circle as found in the *Sirr* but the generic concept that circulated in the East.⁷

Manzalaoui suggested the earliest potential link with the *Sirr* in the eastern Persianate world could be in the late-4th/10th or early-5th/11th century work of the Buyid philosopher and historian Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad ibn Miskawayh (320/932-421/1030). Whilst working as a Persian chancery official and treasury clerk during the Buyid period, he wrote another pseudo-Aristotelian text, *al-Ḥikmah al-Khālīdah*, (Persian: *Jāvidān Khirad*, ‘Perennial Wisdom’).⁸ Miskawayh was familiar with the wisdom literature of pre-Islamic times and preserved the testament of Aristotle and the sayings of Anūshirvan.⁹ Like the *Sirr*, *al-Ḥikmah al-Khālīdah* assimilates the wisdom shared by Persian, Indian, Greek and Arabic traditions. In fact, he stated

⁵ The Buyids had conquered most of Iran and took Baghdad in 333/945 and the Fatimids proclaimed their rule in 358/969. Abbasid caliphs had surrendered political power to new rulers with either secular or other religious claims to leadership. These successor states employed elements of the Circle in their own political ideologies.

⁶ Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power*, pp.71-82.

⁷ Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power*, p. 72; also cited in J. Sadan “A ‘Closed-Circuit’ Saying on Practical Justice,” *JSAI* 10 (1987), pp.325-41, esp. p.340.

⁸ Mahmoud Manzalaoui, ‘Facts and Problems,’ pp.164-165. See: Abū ‘Alī Aḥmed b. Muḥammad Miskawayh, *al-Ḥikmah al-khālīdah (Jāvidān Khirad)* ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī (Cairo; Dirāsāt Islāmiyyah, 1952).

⁹ Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Miskawayh, *al-Ḥikmah al-Khalidah (Javidan Khirad)* ed. ‘Abdurrahmān Badawī (Cairo: Dār al-Andalus, 1952); also M Arkoun, *Contribution à l’étude de l’humanisme arabe au IV/Xe siècle : Miskawayh (320/325 -421) = (932/936-1030), philosophe et historien* (Paris : J. Vrin, 1970).

that his aim in composing *al-Ḥikmah al-Khālīdah* was to assimilate the wisdom shared by these traditions and Islamic precepts.¹⁰ Manzalaoui noted that Miskawayh developed a concept of justice that harmonised with the *Sirr* and that its contents bear “a distinct family resemblance to Books I-IV of the *Sirr*”.¹¹ Its section on *Waṣiyyat Aristūṭālīs li-l-Iskandar* covers matters including a ruler’s attitude to the difficulties of governance and the choice of advisers.¹² These similarities, however, are too broad and generic to link to the *Sirr* with any certainty and are more likely due to both works drawing from the same tradition of advice literature.

Further potential evidence of the *Sirr*’s early reception in the East is in works attributed to al-Mawardī. *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* (Counsel for Kings) is a work of advice that was previously attributed to Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mawardī (d.449/1058), a member of the caliphal court of al-Qā’im (r.1031-75) in the late Buyid period. Al-Azmeh has noted that the author of *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* quotes from the *Sirr* (which the author took to be an Aristotelian text) as well as quoting from the Quran, *ḥadīth*, Ardashīr, and other Persian kings and sages.¹³ *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* is written in the form of mirror for princes, and like the *Sirr*, it emphasises the ethical preconditions of just rulership and the principles of self-mastery as a pre-requisite of the proper exercise of power. Louise Marlow argues that the attribution of authorship to al-Mawardī is false and that it is really a work of the Samanid period (204/819-395/1005), probably written in eastern Khurasan

¹⁰ Aziz al-Azmeh, *Kingship*, p.87.

¹¹ Manzalaoui, *Facts and Problems*, p.164.

¹² Abu ‘Ali Aḥmed b. Muḥammad Miskawayh, *al-Ḥikmah al-khālīdah (Jāvidān Khirad)* ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī (Cairo; Dirāsāt Islāmiyyah, 1952, pp.219-25.

¹³ Abū al- Ḥasan al-Mawardī, *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Jāsim al-Ḥaḍīthī (Baghdad: 1986), *passim*. See Aziz al-Azmeh, *Muslim Kingship*, p.92.

during the reign of Naṣr II b. Aḥmad (r.301/914-331/943).¹⁴ If the citations were indeed from the *Sirr* (and Marlow's dating of the work to the Samanid period is accepted), then this would not only provide an early example of reception and engagement with our text in the East, it would also pre-date Ibn Juljul's citation. Whilst the *Naṣīḥat* is clearly drawing on a very similar tradition of writing as the *Sirr*, and that the author is writing for an audience that will be receptive to Aristotle's advice (with around fifty citations attributed to Aristotle), it has not been possible to find clear evidence of direct citation of the *Sirr*. Furthermore, in her detailed textual and contextual study of the *Naṣīḥat*, Marlow attributes references to Aristotle's teachings in the treatise to have come from the *Risālah 'Āmmiyyah*.¹⁵

The attribution of the authorship of a treatise such as *Naṣīḥat* to a writer like al-Mawardī is not altogether surprising. Al-Mawardī was a teacher, a *qādī*, and a representative of the caliph to the later Buyid *amīrs*. He also wrote *Aḥkāṁ al-Sulṭāniyyah* (*The Ordinances of Government*), an analysis of government and functions of the caliphate in terms of Islamic law, that also has some general thematic links with the *Sirr*. Again, this particular work does not directly cite the *Sirr* or the Circle of Justice. However, its ideas are embedded in his discussions on duties and administration, as well as some of the topics covered, such as the caliph's duties, the execution of justice and good governance, the appointments of ministers, provincial governors and war

¹⁴ Louise Marlow, 'A Samanid Work of Counsel and Commentary: the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* of Pseudo-Mawardī' in *Iran*, Vol.45 (2007) pp.181-92. Marlow states that the authorship has been questioned for some time, referring to Dr Fu'ād 'Abd al-Mun'im Aḥmad who rejected al-Mawardī's authorship in his introduction to his edition of the text (1988).

¹⁵ Louise Marlow, *Counsel for Kings: Wisdom and Politics in Tenth-Century Iran, the 'Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk' of Pseudo-Mawardī*, 2 vol.s, (Edinburgh: 2017, Edinburgh University Press).

commanders, defence and security, the collection of taxes and proper disbursement.¹⁶ Al-Mawardī's works demonstrate his familiarity with the core elements of advice works and the centrality of the Circle of Justice to Islamic politics. Elsewhere, he quotes eastern ideas on justice citing Greek and Persian kings, and philosophers, as well as Islamic sources: in *Al-Tuhfa al-Mulukiyyah fī al-Adab al-Siyāsiyyah* (The Royal Gift on Political Etiquette), he refers to a Circle - again not the one found in the *Sirr* but the four-line Circle found elsewhere in advice works.¹⁷ Discussions of justice permeated Persian advice literature, which often made reference to Sassanian kings and the four-line Circle of Justice usually attributed to Anūshirvan. Therefore, references to an abbreviated Circle cannot be taken as evidence of the *Sirr*'s reception.

Some references to the *Sirr*'s eight-line version of the Circle can be found in some eastern works. Later lithograph editions of the compendium of knowledge known as *Jamī' al-'ulūm*, by the theologian and philosopher, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d.606/1210), have been known to include the *Sirr*'s version of the Circle. He was writing at a time when the Khwarazmshahs had developed a reputation for injustice and tyranny in Iran and Transoxiana. *Jamī' al-'ulūm* stressed the need for justice and order and contains material on politics (*'ilm al-Siyāsah*) and the attributes and practices of rulers (*Ādāb al-Mulūk*). The 1905 lithograph edition contains the eight-sided circle from the *Sirr*.¹⁸ However, the circle is absent from early manuscripts and may

¹⁶ Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mawardī, *Aḥkām al-Sulṭaniyyah wa'l Wilāyāt al-Dīniyyah*, transl. Wafaa H. Wahba (Reading: Garnet Publishing, 1996).

¹⁷ Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mawardī, *Al-Tuhfa al-Mulukiyyah fī al-Adab al-Siyāsiyyah* (Alexandria: Mu'assasat Shabāb al-Jāmi'a, 1977), p.71.

¹⁸ Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Jamī' al-'ulūm* edited by Mukhtār Malik al-Kuttāb Bambā'ī, lithograph (Bombay: 1323/1905).

well have been added by a later copyist.¹⁹ This means that even by the end of the 6th/12th century, we still do not have any definitive evidence of the *Sirr*'s reception amongst eastern writers. Yet – as we will discuss below – the SF and even the LF were already circulating in other regions from at least the beginning of the 6th/12th century.

Another near-miss can be found in the influential treatise of the late-9th/13th century writer of the Persian ethical treatise *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* (Nasirean Ethics), Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d.672/1274). Maria Subtelny describes Ṭūsī's treatise as exerting "the single greatest philosophical influence on Persian advice literature of the post-Mongol period. In his work, Tusi expounded a theory of state and society, based on Aristotelian ideas, as these had been articulated chiefly by the tenth-century philosopher, al-Fārābī (d.339/950).²⁰

Ṭūsī's treatise covers the subjects of ethics, economics and politics. He regarded man as a civic being by nature and the ruler's duty is to ensure that the various classes of society remain in their proper place. As it is in the *Sirr*, the virtue of justice (‘*adl*, ‘*adālat*) is a key concept in Ṭūsī's treatise. However, here the concept is understood as upholding the stability of society (*i‘tidāl*) rather than as a philosophical notion or legal construct. The purpose of *siyāsaḥ* and good governance in both works is for the ruler to maintain justice, which then creates a stable society

¹⁹ See A.K.S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam, An introduction to the Study of Islamic Political Theory: the jurists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981) , pp.136-7; and Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East*, p.100, n.95.

²⁰ Maria E. Subtelny, 'A Late Medieval Persian *Summa* on Ethics: Kāshifī's Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī, *Iranian Studies*, Vol.36, No. 4 (December 2003), p.604. For the significance of this work, see Louise Marlow, *Hierarchy and Egalitarianism in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: 1997), p.176; Ann K. S. Lambton 'Islamic Mirrors for Princes' in *Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema, La Persia nel medioevo* (Roma 1970), Academia nazionale dei Lincei (Rome: 1971), oo.419-42, esp.p.439. See also: Christian Jambet, 'Idéal du politique idéale selon Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī' in *Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī: Philosophe et savant du XIIIe siècle*, ed. N. Pourjavady and Ž. Vesel (Tehran : 2000), p.32.

where rights are protected, and people cooperate to deliver mutual aid (*mu‘āvanat*).²¹ Like al-Rāzī, Ṭūsī does not cite the *Sirr* or the Circle of Justice directly, but his discussion of the concept of justice, *siyāsa* and good governance have only broad parallels with the *Sirr*, indicating they both contributed to a common discourse rather than evidence of the *Sirr*’s reception.

Over the following centuries, Ṭūsī’s treatise influenced several other major Persian works of advice but it is not until the late 9th/15th century that we begin to find concrete examples of eastern writers incorporating the *Sirr* into their works – commonly alongside *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* as another source. Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī (d.908/1503), wrote a treatise on ethics and political philosophy for the Āq Qoyūnlū Sultan, Ozen Ḥasan (r.861/1457-883/1478), a ruler who brought in reforms to strengthen imperial administration to balance the divisiveness of powerful landholders. *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* (*Jalalian Ethics*, lit. ‘Majestic Manners’), is a treatise on Aristotelian ethics modelled on Ṭūsī’s *Akhlāq al-Nāṣirī* and closes with the advice of Aristotle to Alexander and the eight-line Circle of Justice, which Dawānī directly attributes to the *Sirr*. Dawānī’s Persian Circle of Justice conveys a slightly different meaning to the Arabic with more emphasis on the ‘City’ than the pastoral imagery of the *Sirr*. Nevertheless, the general structure and pivotal role of justice of the *Sirr*’s Circle remains:

The world is a garden irrigated by good fortune (or, the dynasty)
 Good fortune is a sultan whose chamberlain is the law
Sharī‘ah is governance protected by the kingdom
 The kingdom is a city brought into being by the army

²¹ See Maria E. Subtelny, ‘A Late Medieval Persian *Summa* on Ethics’, p.604-5 for her summary of the key concepts in Ṭūsī’s treatise. See also: Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Akhlāq al-Nāṣirī*, ed. Muḥṭabā Minuvi and ‘Aliriza Haydari (Tehran: 1360/1982), pp. 247-58, esp. p.249-50; G.M.Wickens (translator), *The Nasirean Ethics by Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī* (London; 1964) pp.187-95, esp. p.189.

The army is supported by money
 Money is collected from people
 The people are servants subjected by justice
 Justice is the pivot of the welfare of the world.²²

Dawānī was a leading philosopher, theologian and jurist of Iran who had strong connections with the local Turkic tribal confederations of Qara Qoyūnlū and Āq Qoyūnlū, Timurid, and Ottoman rulers, including a number of government positions. His influence and association with royal courts ensured that his work, and his reference to the *Sirr*, was disseminated in the Persianate, and later Ottoman, world. Another late 9th/15th-century treatise influenced by Ṭūsī is the *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī* (Muḥsin's Ethics) written by the Timurid writer Ḥusayn 'Alī Wa'iz Kāshifī (d.910/1504). Composed either 900/1494-95 or 907/1501-2, in Herat, *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī* is an ethical and political advice treatise addressing the Timurid prince, Abū al-Muḥsin Mirza (d.913/1507), the son of the Sultan, Ḥusayn Bayqara (r.873/1469-911/1506). Although it was dedicated to the latter, it chiefly addresses the former - hence the title.²³ *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī* echoes Ṭūsī's concepts of the nature of people as civic beings and human civilisation as a depending upon mutual cooperation, which itself can only be made possible through justice.²⁴

²² As translated and found in Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice*, p.117. The Persian text can be found in Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Asad Davanī, *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* (Lucknow: Matba'ī Munshī Nval Kishūr, 1866), p.331:

"*Ālam bustān ast ki ābyār-i ān dawlat ast / Dawlat sulṭān ast ki ḥājib-i ān sharī'at siyāsāt ast ki nigahdār-i ān mulk ast / Mulk Madīna ast ki padīdāranda-i ān lashkar ast / Lashkar rā māl kifālat kunad / Māl az ra'īyyat ḥāṣil shawad / Ra'īyyat rā 'adl banda sāzad / 'Adl madār-i ṣalāḥ-i 'ālam ast.*" See also Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Asad Davanī, *The English Translation of "The Akhlak-i-Jalali", A Code of Morality in Persian*, tranl. S.H.Deen (Lahore: Sheikh Mubarak Ali, 1939), p.v; an older translation that is less complete is *Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People*, trans. W.F. Thompson (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1838).

²³ Maria E. Subtelny, 'A Late Medieval Persian *Summa* on Ethics', p.602.

²⁴ See Maria E. Subtelny, 'A Late Medieval Persian *Summa* on Ethics', pp.601-14.

Kāshifī attributes his definition of justice to ‘the [Greek] sages’ (*hukumā*):²⁵ He paraphrases the *Sirr*’s Circle of Justice in various ways in his work, quoting half of it, in Arabic, at the end of the treatise.²⁶ The execution of justice was an important criterion on which Timurid rulers were evaluated and the patron of Kāshifī’s treatise, Sultan Ḥusayn Bayqara, identified with the terms used in the Circle of Justice.²⁷

The concept of justice was widely explored in the extensive cultural production sponsored by the Timurids. This included commissioning copies of Nizāmī’s Alexander epic, *The Treasury of Mysteries*, and his *Quintet*, which were decorated with lavish miniatures of rulers enacting justice. The Timurid reverence for Alexander the Great, in particular as a model conqueror, can also be appreciated through the illuminated Timurid *Shahnamah*, painted around 1400, which illustrated the Alexander story almost as lavishly as the Great Mongol *Shahnamah*, right up to the works of the late Timurid poets Jāmī (d.897/1492) and Navā’ī (d.906/1501) who retold the Alexander legend.²⁸ It is within this context of expositions of justice and reverence for Alexander that the *Sirr*’s Circle of Justice entered Timurid legacy. With a unique title that highlights the role of Alexander, *Naṣā’ih al-Iskandar* (The Counsels of Alexander), Dublin, Chester Beatty Library (CBL) MS Arabic 4183 was commissioned in the royal scriptorium in

²⁵ Ḥusayn ‘Alī Wa’iz Kāshifī, *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, 22nd lithographed edition (Lucknow: Nawal Kishor, 1377/1957), p.35 as cited by Maria E. Subtelny, ‘A Late Medieval Persian *Summa* on Ethics’, p.606. No critical edition of this work has been published to date but there are numerous lithograph editions.

²⁶ Maria E. Subtelny, ‘A Late Medieval Persian *Summa*, p.607; Ḥusayn ‘Alī Wa’iz Kāshifī, *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, 22nd lithographed edition (Lucknow: Nawal Kishor, 1377/1957), pp.34, 187; Kāshifī, *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, p.217, trans. M.E. Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition: Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p.36.

²⁷ Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice*, p.116.

²⁸ Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice*, pp.115-16.

Herat under the patronage of the grandson of Timur and patron of Persianate art and architecture, Prince Ghiyāth al-Dīn Baysunghūr.²⁹ Produced by Ja‘far Baysunghūrī, the renowned master calligrapher and head of the prince’s atelier, this luxury manuscript, illuminates each reference to the name of Alexander throughout the treatise with the most detailed illumination reserved for the Circle of Justice (f.12).³⁰ Baysunghūr presided over the *mazalim* court so the commissioning of the *Sirr* and the manuscript’s careful emphasis on the Circle of Justice (perhaps the most detailed illumination of the Circle from all the surviving manuscripts) is understandable in this context.

Produced in 829/1425-26, the Baysunghūrī copy is the earliest extant manuscript of the *Sirr* that bears witness to its reception in the Persianate world east of Baghdad. This copy of the SF was commissioned several decades before it started to appear in the works of Dawānī and Kāshifī. As such, the earliest clear evidence we have of the *Sirr* in the east is this early 9th/15th century manuscript. From the following centuries, there are further surviving manuscripts, with the next one from 17th century Safavid Isfahan.³¹ As documented under the relevant cities in

²⁹ Prince Baysunghūr was the grandson of Timur and governor of Herāt, a distinguished patron of arts and architecture, and a prominent calligrapher himself with his own court atelier from which he commissioned works.

³⁰ Baysunghūrī was the preferred sobriquet of the renowned calligraphy master, Ja‘far Tabrīzī after he moved from Tabrīz (northwest of present-day Iran) to Herāt (Afghanistan) around 823 / 1420. He moved to Herāt, along with a group of calligraphers and painters, to work for the young Timurid Prince, Ghiyath al-Dīn Baysunghūr, following the latter’s campaign in Tabrīz. Ja‘far began using the *nisbah* ‘Baysunghūrī’ (of his affiliation to the prince) after being appointed as the head of Baysunghūr’s royal atelier [see: M. Bayani, *Ahvāl-o Āsār-e Khoshnevisān* (Tehran, 1984), p.115]. In his new role he supervised more than twenty craftsmen, including calligraphers, painters, illuminators, gilders, bookbinders and leather workers in the royal scriptorium. He oversaw a number of artistic projects in his new role as well as continuing to copy a number of luxurious manuscripts himself [see: ‘Calligraphy’ in Jonathon Bloom & Sheila Blair, *Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art & Architecture* (US: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.349]. His copy of the *Sirr*, titled *Nasāyih-e Eskandar*, was copied in 1425-6 shortly after his move to Herat. It sits amongst a number of luxury manuscripts produced by the calligrapher that are considered to be literary classics and masterpieces of Timurid art, including the Baysunghūrī *Shāhnāme*, *Kalīleh wa-Dimneh* and Nizāmī’s *Khamseh* and *Khusraw wa-Shīrīn*.

³¹ This manuscript can be found in Tehran, Dānishgāh-i Tihārān Kitābkhānah, MS Dānishkada-i Ilāhiyāt 242B (46).

the manuscript catalogue (Appendix 2), there are at least a further seven copies from Iran, dated to the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries and at least three from India. Of the copies where the version was determined upon examination, all of the copies (apart from Dublin, CBL, MS Arabic 4183) were of the LF. In addition to the Arabic manuscripts that were in circulation in the Persianate world, there were also at least two Persian translations of the *Sirr*. The first of these would have been made some time before the end of the 9th/15th century as there is an entry for a Persian translation of the *Sirr* in the Inventory of the Ottoman imperial library, carried out in 908/1502-3.³² Another Persian translation was carried out in 1275/1859 by Abū'l-Qāsim Yazdī, testifying to an enduring interest and engagement with the *Sirr* from the 9th/15th century onwards. This evidence is considerably later than the evidence we will find in the next section on the reception and dissemination of the *Sirr* in the Islamic West. It is also almost exclusively of the later LF version. Had the *Sirr* really been composed in the East, one would expect earlier evidence of its reception and for more evidence of the circulation of the SF.

* * *

³² Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, MS Török F.59, f.145 [facsimile copy in Gülru Neciploğlu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3 – 1503/4)*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill 2019) pp.243-430]. For further reading on the later Persian translations see Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, pp.44-47.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE *SIRR* & THE SF8 TRADITION IN THE ISLAMIC WEST

3.2 EARLY RECEPTION AMONG COURT PHYSICIANS IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

As noted earlier, the earliest reference to the *Sirr* in secondary literature was in 376/987 in the *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭṭibā' wa'l Ḥukumā'* (Generations of Physicians and Wise Men) by the Andalusian physician, Abū Da'ūd Sulaymān b. Ḥassān, known as Ibn Juljul. Born in Cordoba, Ibn Juljul was the personal physician to the caliph Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh (r.366-399/977-1009), the third Umayyad caliph in Al-Andalus. He wrote several works on medicine whilst working as the court physician. He wrote *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭṭibā'*, a history of medicine with fifty-seven biographies covering nine generations from the 'ancient' philosophers and forefathers of medicine up to his predecessors and contemporaries in al-Andalus.³³ The biographies include those of Hippocrates, Galen, Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq, al-Kindī and Thābit b. Qurra as well as those of Aristotle, Hermes and Yuhanna b. al-Biṭrīq.

The title of the *Sirr*, as given by Ibn Juljul, is *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah Ma'rūf bi-Sirr al-Asrār*. Ibn Juljul cites the 'Octagon' of Justice, the 'angelic' nature of Aristotle, and the account of the alleged translator Yaḥyā (or Yuhanna) b. al-Biṭrīq finding the manuscript. According to Ibn Juljul, Aristotle had the eight sentences of the *Sirr*'s Octagon of Justice written around an eight-sided dome. He states that the lines were written on a *qubba* (dome).³⁴ This

³³ P. Johnstone, 'Ibn Juljul, Physician and Herbalist', *Islamic Culture*, vol.73 (1999), pp.37-43; p.41). See also Fu'ād Sayyid's introduction to the text: Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭṭibā' wa'l Ḥukumā'*, ed. F. Sayyid (Cairo: Institute Français d'Archaeologie Orientale, 1955).

³⁴ Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭṭibā' wa'l Ḥukumā'*, pp.26, 27, 67. See also Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭṭibā' wa'l Ḥukumā'*, ed. Ibn Abī Usuibī'ah in *Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭṭibā'* (Cairo: 1882); and al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-Ḥukumā'*, ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig: 1903).

reference may either be based on other sources (as there is no mention of a dome in the *Sirr*) or he may well have adapted this from Aristotle's introductory remark on the Octagon of Justice: "I present to you a philosophical, legal and divine octagonal figure [...] I have divided this figure according to the divisions of the heavenly spheres" (f.15r).³⁵ The *qubba* Ibn Juljul refers to may then have been conflated with Aristotle's tomb mentioned at the beginning of the *Sirr*: "*lahu qabr ma'rūf* (he has a known grave)" (f.2r). In later works Aristotle's place of burial was called a pyramid (*ḥarām*).³⁶ The epistles of Aristotle and Alexander are also very similar to the *Sirr* - and to the *Risālah 'Āmmiyyah*, which may have circulated before the *Sirr*.³⁷ However, Manzalaoui notes that these epistles appear in the broader discussion of Aristotle's achievements, but the subsequent wording could be interpreted to suggest that Ibn Juljul did not consider these two letters as an integral part of the *Sirr*: "*wa-lahū ilayh risālah fī thamān maqalāt...*" (And he has letters to him in eight parts).³⁸ Nevertheless, he is referring directly to the *Sirr* in the other citations and it can be concluded from this quote that the text Ibn Juljul used was the eight-book SF of the *Sirr*.

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وأنا ممثل لك شكلاً حكيماً سلفسياً **{فلسفياً}** ناموسياً إلهياً ثمانياً يبينك على ما في العالم بأسره يحتوي على جميع سياسة العالم ويشتمل على طبقاتهم وكيف وصول الواجب من العدل إلى كل طبقة وقسمته قسماً دور يأكل قسم فيه طبقة، فإذا بدأت بأي قسم شئت توالى لك ما بعده كتوالي دور الفلك. ولما كانت التدابير كلها أسفلها وأعلاها وفقاً على العالم، رأيت أن أبدأ في هذه النصبية بالعالم.

³⁶ Linda Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), p.242, n.57.

³⁷ See Linda T. Darling, *The Circle of Justice*, for further references. See Badawī, *Fontes*, p.36; Grignaschi, 'Siyāsatu-l-Āmmiyyah', p.225; Peters, *Aristoteles*, p.112; D. Gutas, 'The Spurious and the Authentic in the Arabic Lives of Aristotle' in J. Kraye, W.F. Ryan and C. B. Schmitt (eds) *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages: the Theology and other texts* (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), p.23.

³⁸ Manzalaoui, *Sirr: Facts and Problems*, p.158; Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭṭibā' wa'l Ḥukumā'*, p.26.

Ibn Juljul was a renowned physician and writer; his work was widely read by contemporary and later scholars and physicians across the Maghrib.³⁹ His citation of the *Sirr*, and the fact that his references to it is as one of Aristotle's works, would have ensured familiarity with the *Sirr* more widely amongst his contemporaries and students. His work was also used by later authors in al-Andalus and elsewhere, including al-Ghafiqi, Ibn al-Baytar, and Ibn Maymūn (Maimonides), who mentions Ibn Juljul as someone from whom he learnt. It also demonstrates that a significant aspect of the *Sirr*'s reception to its earliest audiences was as a book of medicine amongst court physicians and those interested in the biographies of the forefathers of medicine in al-Andalus. Ibn Juljul used both eastern and western sources in his works. He noted that it was ordinary for students and scholars to travel in the pursuit for knowledge or further training, and considerable contact between the Islamic East around Baghdad and the Islamic West based al-Andalus.⁴⁰

If we are to accept the assumption that the *Sirr* was written in the eastern Islamic caliphate, it is entirely ordinary that it would be known and cited by a court physician in al-Andalus so soon after its composition. The reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (r.206/822-237/852) witnessed the court at Cordoba increasingly adopt the administration practices and court models of the Islamic East.⁴¹ As noted in Chapter 2, in the 4th/10th century the Umayyad caliphate of al-Andalus enjoyed increased prosperity and a cultural efflorescence. 'Abd al-Raḥmān III (r.299/912-349/961) proclaimed himself caliph and built the palace city of Madīnah al-Zahrā' on the

³⁹ P. Johnstone, 'Ibn Juljul, Physician and Herbalist', p.61.

⁴⁰ P. Johnstone, 'Ibn Juljul, Physician and Herbalist', pp.39, 42.

⁴¹ Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), p.49.

outskirts of Cordoba, from where the court was centred at the time Ibn Juljul was writing.⁴² Within this context, the alternative possibility that the *Sirr* could have been compiled in al-Andalus, where all its sources were just as available to scholars as they were in the East, must also be seriously considered. It is, after all, the place where it is first cited, and there do not appear to be any other references to it outside the Islamic West until well into the following century. This is a point to which we will return, when we consider the manuscript evidence below.

More than a century after it was introduced to al-Andalus, the *Sirr* was still being circulated in courts of the Iberian Peninsula, but not just in Muslim courts. The first Latin translation of the *Sirr* was produced in the region by John of Seville (sometimes referred to as 'Johannes Hispalensis'). John of Seville was a translator of Arabic works (into Latin), active in the second quarter of the 6th/12th century.⁴³ John was active in, or originated from, Seville and is also

⁴² This new city consisted of hundreds of buildings, including inns, schools and workshops, with architecture imported from and inspired by North Africa, Syria and the Byzantine empire. The city became synonymous with opulence and sophistication. Its prosperity and cultural efflorescence continued under the reign of his son, Caliph al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir (r.350/961-366/976). Sources describe him as a cultivated man, a great book collector and a literary patron (See: Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal*, p.105). He compiled a huge library that could compete with the Abbasids in Baghdad, which was reported to have contained some 400,000 books (See: Ibn Ḥazm, quoted in al-Maqqarī, *Analectes sur l'Histoire et la Littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, ed. R.P.A. Dozy, G. Dugat, L. Krehl and W. Wright (Leiden: 1855-61 / repr. Amsterdam, 1967), I, pp.249-50, p.256 (dependant on Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Abbār). On libraries in the Islamic world more generally, see Youssef Eche, *Les Bibliothèques arabes publiques et semi-publiques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie, et en Egypte au moyen âge* (Damascus, 1967)). Al-Ḥakam II purchased and had a many great works produced; scholars and works from this period include the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* of the scientist and surgeon Abū'l-Qāsim al-Zahrāwī (324-403/936-1013) (Latin: Abulcasis), and the work of astronomer, chemist and mathematician Maslama al-Majrītī (c.338-397/950-1007) (Latin: Methilem).

⁴³ For other Arabic-Latin translations by John see Maureen Robinson, 'The Heritage of Medieval Errors in Latin Manuscripts of Johannes Hispalensis (John of Seville)' in *al-Qantara* 18 (2007), pp.41-71. See also Charles Burnett, 'John of Seville and John of Spain: A mise au point' In idem, *Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages: The translators and their intellectual and social context* (art. VI) (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), (first published in *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale*, 44, 2002, 59–78); Charles Burnett, 'Magister Iohannes Hispalensis et Limiensis' and Qusta ibn Luqa's *De differentia spiritus et animae*: A Portuguese contribution to the arts curriculum?' In idem, *Arabic*

associated with Limia, which possibly refers to the Lima valley in Portugal.⁴⁴ His partial translation of the *Sirr's* Health Regimen was prepared in c.1120. It was introduced to the Latin West during a period when previously unknown works by Aristotle were being translated. It appears the *Sirr* would have been the first of what would have been regarded as the *libri naturales* to be translated.⁴⁵ This short extract is typically only a folio or two in length and is often given the title *Epistola Aristotelis ad Alexandrum de regimine sanitatis* (hereafter be referred to as *Epistola* to distinguish it from the subsequent full translation).⁴⁶ The *Epistola* was based on the SF that was circulating in the Iberian Peninsula.

It is not entirely clear from other sources whether John of Seville was working as a physician at the time he made his translation, but it appears he was instructed to make the translation in the capacity of someone who would have expert knowledge on health. In the prologue of the *Epistola*, John introduces himself and describes the circumstances of his task: on a discussion with the Queen Tharasia ('Hispaniarum regine' - the Queen of Spain), on the use of the human body, it was requested that he write a brief book for her on diet and health; the translator

into Latin in the Middle Ages: *The translators and their intellectual and social context* (art. V) (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), (first published in *Medaevialia, Textos e Estudos*, 7–8, 1995, 221–267).

⁴⁴ Charles Burnett, 'Hebrew and Latin astrology in the twelfth century: the example of the location of pain' in *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 41 (2010) pp.70–75. Although the largest bulk of John's translations from Arabic were astrological works, in addition to his translation of the *Sirr*, he is also known for his translation of a short medical-philosophical treatise by Qusta ibn Luqa, *De differentia spiritus et anime* ('On the difference between the spirit and the soul'). He also translated Abū Ma'shar's *Liber introductorii maioris ad scientiam iudiciorum astrorum* (c.1133), and al-Farghani's *Liber in scientia astrorum* (1135). John's astrological translations formed the basis of the curriculum in astrology for Western Christendom for centuries; printed into the Renaissance.

⁴⁵ For a detailed history of the Latin translation, see: Steven J. Williams, *The Secrets of Secrets*.

⁴⁶ Charles Burnett's transcription can be found in: Charles Burnett, "'Magister Iohannes Hispalensis et Limiensis' and Qusta ibn Luqa's *De differentia spiritus et animæ*: A Portuguese Contribution to the Arts Curriculum?" in *Quotlibetaria: Miscellanea studiorum in honorem Prof. J.M. da Cruz Pontes* (Porto, 1995). pp.255–57.

thought of this particular work by Aristotle on statecraft (*de dispositione regni*) and matters useful to a king, which he translated from Arabic into Latin. These remarks are followed by a portion of the story by the Arabic ‘translator’, Yaḥyā, about the discovery of the *Sirr* in a temple, a short statement of his own difficulties on the task, and an excerpt on health as found in the *Sirr*’s SF.⁴⁷ John’s comments demonstrate that the *Sirr* was already becoming known outside of Islamic al-Andalus, amongst neighbouring Christian scholars (in particular physicians) and in courts. John’s translation also provides another example of the *Sirr*’s reception as a medical text in the Iberian Peninsula, supporting evidence that for at least the first two centuries of its circulation in al-Andalus, the *Sirr*’s contents on the subject of medicine and health were considered as particularly notable to some of its earliest readers – both Muslim and non-Muslim.

John’s translation continued to be copied into the 14th century (even after the full text of the *Sirr* was translated into Latin in the 13th century). Considering his remit to produce a text on health, it is unsurprising that some of its first readers were European physicians and medical practitioners. Evidence suggests that the *Epistola* appeared at the renowned medical centre of Salerno, with lines of it echoed in the popular *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* (ca.1150-1250).⁴⁸ It may also have been referred to by the 12th-century physician, Master Bartholomew when he

⁴⁷ Queen Tharasia was the illegitimate daughter (born ca. 1070) of Alphonse VI, King of León, Castile, Galicia and Portugal. The *terra portugalense* was her dowry when she married Henry of Burgundy (before 1095). She reigned in Portugal in her own name upon her husband’s death in 1112 until 1128 when she was defeated by her son Afonso I Henriques. After this she left Portugal and settled in the district of Limia (Williams, *The Secret of Secrets*, pp.33-35). The Latin text of John’s prologue, along with an English translation, can be found in Appendix 1 of Steven Williams, *The Secret of Secrets*, pp.353-358. The base text for his translation: Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 18.6.11.

⁴⁸ See Williams, *Secret of Secrets* p.184, and n.3.

wrote a letter of medical advice for King Louis VII⁴⁹. By circa 1150, the *Epistola* had arrived in England and was owned by a 'Master Herbert the doctor', whose copy formed part of a small medical collection later donated by him to the Benedictine cathedral priory in Durham.⁵⁰ It also appeared in medical tracts and there is even an instance of it appearing in the so-called *Articella*, the repertory of short medical tracts forming medical education's core curriculum.⁵¹

* * *

3.3 AMONGST JURISTS & THEOLOGIANs: FROM MIRROR FOR PRINCES TO ESOTERIC READINGS

The *Sirr* soon began to circulate outside the medical and courtly milieu of al-Andalus. Within the first century of its dissemination, the *Sirr* was being read in other circles, emphasising

⁴⁹ The similarities between the two: both offer health advice according to the seasons of the year, they state that the advice will eliminate the need for a doctor and have similar description of the qualities of autumn (See Williams, *Secret of Secrets*, p.184, n.5).

⁵⁰ Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 18.6.11, fols.82r-84v.

Henry of Winchester cited it in the first quarter of the 13th century in his in his *Medicinales quaestiones*, a commentary on the *Isagoge* of Johannitius. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Winchester, Henry of (fl. 1240?), medical writer, was presumably a native of Hampshire; but he clearly migrated to Languedoc, since he has been identified as chancellor of the medical faculty at Montpellier in February 1240. It seems likely that this is the same Henry of Winchester, portions of whose commentary on the *Isagoge*, a commentary on Galen by the ninth-century Arab scholar and translator Johannitius (Hunain ibn Ishaq), can be found in three manuscripts. If so, this commentary would be the earliest evidence of the content of medical teaching at the school; it would indicate that the early thirteenth-century study of medicine at Montpellier was already focused on the collection of short texts known as the *ars medicine* or *articella*, which was usually introduced by the *Isagoge*. It was referred to by the important medical writer Gilbert of England in his *Compendium medicinae* (ca.1240) (Williams, *Secret of Secrets* pp.185-6, and notes 10-12).

The *Epistola* can also be found in the personal libraries of students of medicine and medical practitioners. (London, Royal College of Physicians, MS 227, fols.154r-157r). Thomas Fayreford, who had probably followed medical courses at Oxford but never completed the degree, owned the *Epistola* as part of a medical and surgical compendium (London, British Library (BL), MS Harley 2558). The Cambridge-educated Robert Marchall, fellow of Peterhouse and a royal physician at some time, included it in the table of contents that he prepared for two of his books (Williams, *Secret of Secrets* p.188 and n.24).

⁵¹ London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library, MS 82, fols. 30v-32r.

different aspects of its contents. The Andalusian scholar and Mālikī *qāḍī*, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr al-Namarī (368/979-462/1070), was also familiar with the *Sirr*. He identified the eight-line Circle of Justice as a Persian saying attributed to Aristotle and included it in an *adab* collection, *Bahjat al-Majālis wa-uns al-Mujālis* (The Joy of Councils and the Contentment of Councils), which he compiled in the 5th/11th century. It appeared along with the four-line version that was attributed to Ardāshir.⁵² The Circle of Justice, whether in the four-line form attributed to Persian kings or the eight-line form of the *Sirr*, was a concept that pervaded the Islamic world. Although there are more components in the latter, they both graphically depict how good governance, prosperity of the state, as well as political and military strength, all depend on the administration of justice. As such, the Circle was a powerful symbol in political thought.

The *Sirr*’s most prominent and enduring influence in the Islamic West, however, was in the work of Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan al-Ḥaḍramī al-Murādī of Qayrawān (d.489/1096). Al-Murādī directly cites the *Sirr* as the work of Aristotle and quotes the Circle of Justice in his 5th/11th-century book of advice on the conduct of rulers, *Kitāb al-Ishāra ilā Adab al-Imārah*.⁵³ Al-Murādī was a North African theologian and jurist who wrote *Kitāb al-Ishāra* under the Almoravid rulers of North Africa, to instruct the young princes of the new dynasty.⁵⁴ In his introduction to his edition of *Kitāb al-Ishāra*, Riḍwān al-Sayyid, observes that the form al-Murādī’s work takes is heavily indebted to the *Sirr* and filled out with contents from *Adab al-*

⁵² Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr al-Namarī, *Bahjat al-Majālis wa-uns al-Mujālis*, ed. M. M. al-Khawālī (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Arabī lil-Ṭabā‘a wa-al-Nashr, 1967), 1:334.

⁵³ Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan al-Ḥaḍramī al-Murādī of Qayrawān, *Kitāb al-Ishāra ilā Adab al-Imārah*, ed. Riḍwān al-Sayyid (Beirut, 1981).

⁵⁴ Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Murādī al-Ḥaḍramī, *Kitāb al-Siyāsa aw al-Ishāra fī Tadbīr al-Imārah*, ed. S. al-Nasār (Casablanca: Dār al-Thiqāfa, 1981), p.107.

Kabīr of Ibn al-Muqaffa' and other expansions from *ahadīth*, *ayāt*, and *Kalīlah wa Dimnāh*.⁵⁵ Al-Murādī cites the *Sirr* and other Greek testamentary literature thirteen times, along with seventy-four citations of Ibn al-Muqaffa' and twenty-three from *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*.⁵⁶ This grouping of sources used for the *Kitāb al-Ishārah*, reveals the types of texts that were consulted alongside the *Sirr* to write a book of advice and indicates how it was categorised and received amongst some of its early readers. Although the work is divided over a greater number of chapters, its influence on the *Kitāb al-Ishārah* can be seen in the range of topics covered, including the different types of kings, choosing companions, organisation of the army, characters and virtues, health, diet and exercise.⁵⁷ The clearest citation of the *Sirr* is the eight-line Circle of Justice (FIGURE 3.1):

FIGURE 3.1: Comparison of the text of the Circle of Justice in the *Sirr* and in *Kitāb al-Ishārah*. The words in **bold type** highlight the differences between the two; underlined words highlight variant readings in SF8 *Sirr* manuscripts – Rabat, BNRMS D754, f.24v and Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah MS 586 [2], f.139r.

The Circle of Justice in the <i>Sirr</i>	The Circle in <i>Kitāb al-Ishārah</i> ⁵⁸
<p>العالم بستان سياجه الدولة الدولة سلطان <u>تحميمه السنه</u> (تحيا به/تعضده) السنه سياسة يسوسها الملك (الإمام) <u>الملك</u> راع يعضده الجيش (الإمام) الجيش أعوان يكفلهم المال المال رزق تجمعه الرعية الرعية عبيد تيعبدهم العدل العدل مألوف وبه صلاح العالم⁵⁹</p>	<p>العالم بستان سياجه الدولة، والدولة سلطان تحميمه السنه، والسنه سياسة يسوسها الملك، والملك راع يعضده الجيش، والجيش أعوان المال، والمال رزق تجمعه الرعية، والرعية عبيد يجمعهم العدل، والعدل مألوف وبه صلاح العالم⁶⁰</p>

⁵⁵ Al-Murādī, *Kitāb al-Ishārah ilā Adab al-Imārah*, ed. Riḍwān al-Sayyid (Beirut: 1981), Editors Introduction, pp.18-35.

⁵⁶ Aziz al-Azmeh, *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian and Pagan Polities* (London: IB Taurus, 2001), p.92.

⁵⁷ Al-Murādī, *Kitāb al-Ishārah ilā Adab al-Imārah*, ed. Riḍwān al-Sayyid (Beirut: 1981), pp.144-5 and *passim*.

⁵⁸ Al-Murādī, *Kitāb al-Ishārah ilā Adab al-Imārah*, ed. Riḍwān al-Sayyid (Beirut: 1981), pp.144-5.

⁵⁹ See Chapter 1 for details of the variant readings.

⁶⁰ Al-Murādī, *Kitāb al-Ishārah*, p.146.

It is not clear how the *Sirr* first arrived in North Africa or where al-Murādī first came across it: he is known to have travelled to the eastern Islamic world, so it is not impossible to rule out that he may have first come across it there. It is much more likely, however, that al-Andalus was the point of dissemination to this region (Almoravid rule covered al-Andalus as well as the western Maghrib). *Kitāb al-Ishāra* has been described as the earliest ‘mirror for princes’ in the Islamic West. It became the standard Maghribi work on this subject; often quoted at great length in subsequent works on politics from the region. According to al-Sayyid, writers who used material from *Kitāb al-Ishāra* (some of whom failed to cite al-Murādī’s authorship) include Tudmīrī, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Ibn ‘Arabī in *Muḥaḍarāt al-Abrār*, Abū Hammū al-Zayyanī, Abū Qāsim ibn Riḍwān in *al-Shuḥub al-Lāmi‘ah* as well as his contemporary Ibn al-Khaṭīb in *Ishārah ilā Adab al-Wuzurā’* (and possibly also, Ibn Khaldūn). Also, Ibn ‘Azraq’s *Badā’i‘ah al-Silk*, a commentary on Ibn Khaldūn’s *Muqaddimah*, indirectly borrows from al-Murādī (17 citations) via Ibn Riḍwān. The widespread readership of *Kitāb al-Ishāra* would also have significantly helped ensure further exposure and longevity of the *Sirr*’s - or at least parts of the *Sirr*’s - dissemination in the region, in addition to its independent transmission and dissemination.⁶¹

Another notable example of the *Sirr*’s reception and influence on writers from the Islamic West is in the work of the Andalusian mystic and philosopher Muḥī al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-‘Arabī (560-638/1165-1240). In its prologue, Ibn al-‘Arabī mentions seeing the *Sirr* in al-Andalus (under Almohad rule) and he directly references it as the reason he wrote *Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhiyah fī Iṣlāḥ al-Mamlakat al-Insāniyyah* (Divine Governance of the Human Kingdom). He states he

⁶¹ Al-Murādī, *Kitāb al-Ishārah ilā Adab al-Imārah*, ed. Riḍwān al-Sayyid (Beirut: 1981), Editors Introduction, pp.20-1, 31-2, 145-6 and *passim*.

wrote *Tadbīr al-Ilāhiyyah* after he was shown the *Sirr* in the city of Mūrūr by Shaykh Sāliḥ Abū Muḥammad al-Mūrūrī. Ibn al-‘Arabī regards the *Sirr* as a genuine work by Aristotle (‘*Hakīm*’) written for Alexander (‘*Dhu’-l-Qarnayn*’), when he was too old to accompany the latter during his campaigns.⁶² It is thought Ibn ‘Arabī wrote *Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhiyyah* in al-Andalus around 590/1194, sometime before his migration to the Islamic East. He states it was written in response to al-Mūrūrī’s request “to write a book about the governance of the human kingdom, of how to govern our own selves where our real salutation rests”.⁶³ Ibn al-‘Arabī claims he wrote the book in less than four days and describes it as being three or four times the length of Aristotle’s book. He regards his own work as being of superior merit addressing topics that Aristotle ignored in the *Sirr*: ‘There is much more circumspection, information, and meaning in the management of a human being and governing of a worldly kingdom.’⁶⁴

The influence of the *Sirr* on *Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhiyyah* is quite clear by the content and chapter-headings of the latter. Both texts describe the Soul and Reason (or the Intellect) as the primary helpers of the ruler: the *Sirr* mentions it in the prologue as something that should be declared above all else (ff.4v, 7v); Ibn ‘Arabī dedicates the first three chapters to this subject.⁶⁵ There is also a chapter on justice, and other chapters dedicated to the qualities and attributes to be sought in a prime minister, a scribe, ambassadors and tax collectors.⁶⁶ Some of the chapter

⁶² Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Tadbīrāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī Iṣlāḥ al-Mamlakat al-Insāniyyah*, trans. By Shaykh Tosun Bayrak al-Jerrahi al-Halveti (Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae, 1997), p.3. An Arabic edition of the text is available with Urdu translation in Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Iṣlāḥ Insān Kī Khudā’ī Tadbīreh*, ed. and trans. by Abrār Aḥmad Shāhī, 2nd Edition (Pakistan: Ibn al-‘Arabī Foundation, 2014).

⁶³ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Tadbīr al-Ilāhiyyah*, p.3.

⁶⁴ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Tadbīr al-Ilāhiyyah*, p.3.

⁶⁵ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Tadbīr al-Ilāhiyyah*, pp.98-142.

⁶⁶ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Tadbīr al-Ilāhiyyah*, pp.190-205, 238-45, 274-280.

titles in *Tadbīrāt al-Ilahiyyah* appear to be inspired by the *Sirr*, but the approach of the content is different: the chapter on numbers and codes provides its own twist on what numbers represent; the chapter on diet according to seasons is about the preparation of a ‘spiritual’ diet for each time of year; its reference to a hidden ‘emerald tablet’ instead refers to where the essence of the Qur’an is kept, and its section on the qualities of stones includes a similar list to the *Sirr* but the advice relates to matters of faith.⁶⁷ Elsewhere, the influence is much more direct: the *Tadbīr al-Ilahiyyah* makes the heaviest and direct use of the *Sirr* in chapter eight, where there is extensive use and overlapping with the physiognomy of the *Sirr*. Both begin the physiognomy with a section on hair and continue to cover the areas of the body in a similar fashion, including word-for-word citations of whole passages.⁶⁸ Ibn ‘Arabī borrowed directly from the *Sirr* for the entire section, although he does then develop the discussion further to explain the merits of using physiognomic knowledge. His heavy use of the physiognomy section of the *Sirr* is evidence of the consideration given to the subject and this section of the *Sirr* both to Ibn al-‘Arabī and to the audience he had in mind when writing.

It is evident that the *Sirr* provides the guiding framework for the work. However, in keeping with the main objective of the *Tadbīr*, the main difference between the two is that Ibn ‘Arabī emphasises spiritual guidance, discusses the chapters within an Islamic framework, and imbeds the work with references to the Quran. Based on Ibn ‘Arabī’s reference to the *Sirr* as a work of governance and the way he draws from its contents in his own work, it is apparent that he regarded it as a political work, but he was also very interested in the sections on esoteric

⁶⁷ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Tadbīr al-Ilahiyyah*, pp.290-98, 354, 336-44.

⁶⁸ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Tadbīr al-Ilahiyyah*, pp.206-19.

understanding such as physiognomy and numerology. The fact that his attention was drawn to the *Sirr* by others in his circle, and his use of it in his own work, demonstrates that the *Sirr* circulated amongst the Sufi milieux and had some influence on their thought.

An esoteric reading and emphasis on hidden meanings is also found in yet another translation of the *Sirr* that emerged from medieval al-Andalus, most likely in the late 7th/13th century. The Hebrew translation, *Sod ha-sodot*, was based on the SF8 and places several points of emphasis on the esoteric wisdom of the treatise, ending with: “Praise unto Him who knows all the hidden things.”⁶⁹ This translation had previously been attributed to Judah al-Harizi, an author, poet, and skilled translator who flourished between 1190 and 1218.⁷⁰ Al-Harizi translated into Hebrew the *Aphorisms of the Philosophers* from the Arabic translation by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, and Maimonides’ *Guide for the Perplexed*. Amitai Spitzer, however, concurs with Moritz Steinschneider’s assertion in his latter writings that the *Sod ha-sodot* was not translated by al-Harizi but by another unnamed translator in the late 13th century. Spitzer notes that there is no attribution to a translator in manuscripts and that it was a librarian in the Vatican – where one of the manuscripts was kept – who associated the translation to al-Harizi as it was copied alongside another of al-Harizi’s translations. Spitzer argues that that *Sod ha-sodot* is characteristic of the literal and scholastic style of 13th and early 14th century Arabic-Hebrew translations which does not match the narrative clarity of al-Harizi’s translations. Alongside the fact that quotations of the *Sod* do not appear until the 14th century, Spitzer concludes the

⁶⁹ Moses Gaster, ‘The Hebrew Version of the *Secretum Secretorum*, with Introduction and Translation’ in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1907), *passim*, esp. p.52.

⁷⁰ Moses Gaster, ‘The Hebrew Version of the *Secretum Secretorum*’, pp.879-912 and (1908), pp.111-62, 1065-84. Introduction and translation repeated in M. Gaster, *Studies & Texts*, 3 vol.s (1925-8), vol.2.

Hebrew translation was likely carried out in the late 13th century by someone other than al-Harizi.⁷¹ The Hebrew translation is also thought to have formed the basis of a Russian translation of the *Sirr*. The translator is also credited with the additions on alchemy, the poison ‘Bish’, the ring and some other sections that entered the Hebrew and Russian traditions of the *Secreta Secretorum*, which also points to the translator’s, and perhaps also his intended audience’s, interest in esoteric traditions.⁷²

* * *

3.4 LATE-MEDIEVAL ANDALUSIAN WRITERS & THE PSEUDO-ARISTOTELIAN TRADITION

Many of the authors who were influenced by al-Murādi and his *Kitāb al-Ishāra* also cited the *Sirr*, in particular the Circle of Justice, in their own works. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Salmānī Ibn al-Khaṭīb drew from al-Murādī’s work and also refers to the *Sirr* in one of his works, *al-‘Ishārah fī Adab al-Wizārah*.⁷³ This work, along with *Al-Maqāmah fī al-Siyāsah* (which was modelled on an older 3rd/9th-century political tract by Egyptian scholar, Ibn al-Dayā), draws heavily on the pseudo-Aristotelian tradition. Both these works are preserved in his *Rayḥānat al-Kuttāb*. Ibn al-Khaṭīb (712/1313-755/1374) was a vizier and historian of Granada, better known by the *laqab* of *lisān al-dīn* al-Khaṭīb and *dhu ‘l-wizāratayn*. Born in Loja, around

⁷¹ Amitai I Spitzer, ‘The Hebrew Translations of *Sod ha-sodot* and Its Place in the Transmission of the *Sirr al-Asrar*’ in *Pseudo-Aristotle, The Secrets of Secrets: Sources and Influences [PASS]* ed. W.F. Ryan and C.B. Schmitt (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1982), pp.34-54.es.p.35.

⁷² W.F. Ryan, ‘the Russian Version of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum*’ in *The Slavonic and Eastern European Review*, vol. 56, No.2 (April, 1978), pp.242-262.

⁷³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-‘Ishārah fī Adab al-Wizārah, Talīhā Maqamāt al-Siyāsah*, ed. M.K. Shabāna (Rabat: 1980-81). Personal correspondence with Dr Mohammad Ballan (Associate Professor of History, Stony Brook University) (02/02/2019).

50km from Granada, Lisān al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb became an almost unparalleled source for knowledge on the history and scholarship in the region during the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. Although his works include poetry and valuable accounts on the history of the region up until the 8th/14th century, he also wrote on politics, discoursing on the art of government in the form of dialogues between ancient sages and Caliph Ḥarūn al-Rashīd.⁷⁴ Living in a time when there was mortal pressure externally from the north and political rivalry and intrigue within court (which led to two periods of exile, and, ultimately, his imprisonment and death by strangulation), his works on politics and governance reflect a detailed consideration of political instability and it is within this context that he draws on the *Sirr*'s Circle of Justice and al-Murādī's work (which itself was significantly influenced by the former).

Another work that emerged out of 8th/14th-century Naṣrid Granada and cites the *Sirr* is Ibn Simāk al-ʿĀmilī's, *Rawnaq al-Tahbīr fī Ḥukm al-Siyāsaḥ*. Al-ʿĀmilī was a chancery official and scholar at the Naṣrid court of Muhammad V in the 770s/1370s and 780s/1380s. He quotes the Circle of Justice, attributing it to Aristotle and stating that it was inscribed on the eight walls of his tomb after his death.⁷⁵ It is presented in an albeit unique diagrammatical form; a manuscript

⁷⁴ He was a distinguished scholar and writer, having written historical, literary, scientific and philosophical works, as well as his own chancellery correspondence, which was known for its beauty of style. See: J. Bosch-Vilá, 'Ibn al-Khaṭīb' in *E/2*, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs (Brill; 1960-2007, first published online: 2012) (Consulted online on 07 February 2019).

⁷⁵ His use of the Circle can be found, for example, in National Library of Morocco (BNRM), MS K1121:

العالم بستان سياجه الدولة، والدولة سلطان تحجبه السنة،
والسنة سياسة يسوسها الملك، والملك يعضده الجيش،
والجيش أعوان المال يكنهم المال، والمال رزق تجمعه الرعية،
والرعية عبيد يتعبد لهم العدل، والعدل مألوف وبه قوام العالم

in the National Library of Morocco presents it in the shape of a 'bow-tie'.⁷⁶ The *Sirr*'s influence on writers from the Islamic West can be seen up until the 9th/15th century in the work of the last *qādī* of Naṣrid Granada, Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Azraq (d.c.896/1491), who wrote an analytical treatise on statecraft, governance and political ethics, *Bada'i al-Silk fī Ṭabā'i' al-Mulk* (*Marvellous Lines on the Nature of Authority*), shortly before the fall of Grenada. The treatise discusses the political ethics of state leadership and elaborates on two principles of governance: justice and consultation. Ibn al-'Azraq deeply engages with Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah* in this work too, which as we will note, also includes expanded discussion of the principles of the Circle of Justice.⁷⁷ The Circle continued to engage western readers and writers with evidence of its use into the late 11th/17th century: the Moroccan Sufi writer and skaykh, al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī (d.1102/1691) fully quoted the *Sirr*'s Circle in one of a series of 'open letters' of remonstrance he wrote to the Moroccan Alouite sultan, Mulay Ismā'īl.⁷⁸ He also wrote another letter entitled 'Exhortation to Kings to Do Justice'.⁷⁹

Although Aristotle's eight-line version of Circle of Justice was prevalent in the Islamic West, there are some examples of the eastern four-line version of the Circle attributed to other figures being disseminated in the region. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (245-328/860-940) refers to a four-

⁷⁶ With thanks to Dr Mohamad Ballan (Associate Professor of History, Stony Brook University) who first brought this to my attention via Twitter: <https://mobile.twitter.com/ballandalus/status/639811621100122112> (4/9/2015).

⁷⁷ Ibn al-Azraq, *Bada'i al-Silk fī Ṭabā'i' al-Mulk* ed. 'Alī Sāmī al-Nassār, 2 vol.s, (Cairo: Dār al-Salām, 2008). Available online: <http://feqhup.com/uploads/1384025455841.pdf> (Accessed 31/01/2019). See also, Aldila Isahak, *Ibn al-Azraq's Political Thought: a Study of Bada'i al-Silk fī Ṭabā'i' al-Mulk* (VDM Verlag Dr Müller: 2010).

⁷⁸ Al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī, *Rasā'il Abī 'Alī al-Ḥasan Mas'ūd al-Yūsī* (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1981) 1: p.241-42, trans. J Dakhliā, *Le Divan des rois: Le politique et le religieux dans l'Islam* (Paris : Aubier, 1998) p.145. See also: J. Berque, *Al-Yousi: problemes de la culture marocaine au XVIIème siècle* (Paris: Mouton, 1958) p.92 ; J. Nerque, *Ulémas, fondateurs, insurgés du Maghreb : XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Sindbad, 1982), pp.245-46.

⁷⁹ H Munson Jr., *Religion and Power in Morocco* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1993) p.27, see also p.29.

line version in *Al-‘Iqd al-Farīd (The Unique Necklace)*, an *ādāb* anthology, which he attributes to ‘Amr Ibn al-‘Ās.⁸⁰ One of Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s contemporaries and colleagues, Abū’al-Qāsim Ibn Riḍwān al-Mālikī (d.782/1381), also engaged with the older pseudo-Aristotelian political texts in al-Andalus and was influenced by al-Murādī. In his mirror-for-princes work dedicated to the Merinid ruler, Abū Salīm Ibrahīm (r.760/1359–762/1361), *al-Shuhub al-Lāmi’ah fī al-Siyāsah al-Nāfi’ah (Brilliant Blazes on Practical Politics)*, Ibn Riḍwān uses the SF text – as is evident from cited passages that can only be found in the SF. Forster notes that he includes a number of references to the *Sirr* prefaced with Aristotle’s name or ‘Aristotle’s work on politics’, mainly from the mirror-for-princes themes in Books 1-3, the appointment of officials, and from the section on the organisation of the army and warfare.⁸¹ However, his reference to the Circle appears to be based on a four-line version, and is used to show that justice, not military force, was the real foundation of society.⁸² Ibn Riḍwān’s contemporary, the Zayyanid Sultan Abū Hammū II (r.760-791/1359-89), ruler of Tlemcen, also wrote a book of politics, (*The Mediator of Behaviour for the Policy of Kings*), where he quoted a four-line version to support the idea that ‘the kingdom is a building and justice its foundation.’⁸³

⁸⁰ Ibn ‘Abd Rabbīh, *The Unique Necklace*, trans. Issa J. Boullata, Vol.1 (Reading ; Garnet Publishing, 2007), p.24: “‘Amr ibn al-‘Ās said: ‘There can be no ruler without men, and there can be no men without wealth, and there can be no wealth without civilisation, and there can be no civilisation without justice’”.

⁸¹ Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, p.36.

⁸² Abū’al-Qāsim Ibn Riḍwān al-Mālikī, *al-Shuhub al-Lāmi’ah fī al-Siyāsah al-Nāfi’ah*, ed. ‘A.s. al-Nashshār (Casablanca: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1984), p.87.

⁸³ Mūsā Ibn Yūsuf Abū Hammū, *Wāsiṭat al-Sulūk fī Siyāsah al-Mulūk* (Tunis: Maṭba’a al-Kawla al-Tūnisīyah, 1279/1862-3) p.118. See also Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power*, pp.122-3 and 265, n.120.

Whilst it is clear that the *Sirr* was widely disseminated in the Islamic West, it is not clear how seriously it was received as part of the Aristotelian corpus. The above evidence of its continued reception and influence demonstrates that writers drawing on Aristotle's works, including pseudo-Aristotelian texts, engaged with the *Sirr* without questioning its authenticity. However, it does not appear under the works of Aristotle in the 8th/11th-century bibliography of Ṣaʿīd al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ʿUmam*, which records the contributions to science from various nations from history to the present.⁸⁴ Ṣaʿīd al-Andalusī, does not refer to the *Sirr* when discussing works by Aristotle in the section on scholarship of the ancients. This is not altogether surprising as his bibliography is more of a brief survey rather than an exhaustive list of works and refers to the major works of scientists. One might perhaps expect a reference to it by prominent philosophers such as Ibn Rushd (520-594/1126-1198), but it appears he did not deem it worthy of his attention: either there may have been doubts about the authenticity of Aristotle's authorship, or alternatively, perhaps the contents of this brief treatise may not have been deemed worthy of the attention of philosophers. The fact that Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, al-Murādī, Ibn al-ʿArabī and the Latin and Hebrew translators of the *Sirr* attribute the authorship to Aristotle without question, suggests that perhaps it was the latter. Furthermore, manuscripts copied into the 13th/19th century (and the notes inscribed in them by readers) continue to refer to Aristotle's authorship without any questioning.

* * *

⁸⁴ Ṣaʿīd al-Andalusī, (*Ṭabaqāt al-ʿUmam*): *Science in the Medieval World: 'Books of the Categories of Nations' by Ṣaʿīd al-Andalusī*, trans. and ed. Sema'an I. Salem and Alok Kumar (Austin; University of Texas Press, 1996).

3.5 MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE: THE SF8 IN THE ISLAMIC WEST

Based on citations and secondary references to the *Sirr* in the Islamic West, which peak in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th century, it would appear its circulation (or at least influence) diminished by the end of the medieval period. However, the manuscript evidence from the region presents another picture. Manuscripts that can be traced to al-Andalus are scarce due to the number that were destroyed or scattered after the fall of Muslim rule in the region at the end of the 9th/15th century. Nevertheless, some have survived: Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, MS LJS 456 is the earliest manuscript from the region. It is a very fine (albeit incomplete) copy of the SF8, copied in 797 / 1394. It can be traced to al-Andalus through its use of the distinctive *andalūsī* form of the *maghribī* scripts.⁸⁵ The hand in Rabat, Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM), MS D754 also appears to be in the *andalūsī* script, although it is difficult to confirm this as it is a personal copy in a rather rough hand. In addition to these two, there are numerous manuscript witnesses from the North African region of the Islamic West that have survived, particularly in present day Morocco. These manuscript witnesses demonstrate a longevity of the *Sirr* far beyond what is implied by the lack of references to it in secondary sources in the region after the fourteenth century, including the many copies that Ibn Khaldūn stated he saw there (as discussed later in this chapter). After the manuscript Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, MS LJS 456, the next early copy is Rabat, Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah, MS 586, another SF8 dated 894 / 1499, which is a very fine illuminated copy that is now part of the private library of the Alaouite dynasty, the royal family that has been ruling Morocco since

⁸⁵ Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, MS LJS 456 contains several ownership statements, but these are difficult to read due to the deterioration of the page. Other than the fact that it was purchased at Christies on 14th October 2003, there is no information on provenance. In this case, palaeographical analysis of the distinctive script informs us that the script is *Andalūsī* and that its place of copying and at least early circulation would have been al-Andalus.

the second half of the 11th/17th century. It was likely to have been originally produced for Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (r.1578-1603) or another member of the Sa‘dī Dynasty.

The Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah in Rabat does in fact contain no fewer than eleven manuscripts of the *Sirr* that were copied from the 9th/15th century right up until the early 14th/20th century (see FIGURES 3.2 and 3.3): five of these are of the SF8, another two are of the SF7, and three are extracts of individual sections only – namely, extracts of the Onomancy, a Physiognomy, and an extract of the health section.⁸⁶ There is also one copy of the LF, which is undated – I date this to the late-12th/18th to early-13th/19th century based on the synthetic colour pigments that were used as ink (rather than natural pigments that were used as inks in earlier manuscripts). At least another four manuscripts can be traced to the Islamic West: two in Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM), one in Fās Qarawiyyīn, one in Zaytouna Masjid Ahmadiyya Library in Tunis.⁸⁷ The BNRM manuscripts are both of the SF8; the other two are presumed to be of the Short Form of the *Sirr* but I have not been able to identify whether they are of the seven or eight-book version (the differences between the two are very minor).⁸⁸ One distinctive feature of the manuscripts in Morocco, apart from the use of the *maghribī* script, is that the Circle of Justice in Book 3 is frequently presented as an eight-pointed star or geometric shape with the words forming the outline of the shape. It is clear from both

⁸⁶ Rabat, Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah: MS 66 [6] (SF7); MS 466 [5] (SF7); MS 586 [2] (SF8); MS 896 (SF8); MS 3203 (SF8); MS 6802 (SF8); MS 10175 [1] (SF8); MS 12146 (LF); MS 12338 (Physiognomy); MS 13957 (Onomancy); MS 14059 (Medical).

⁸⁷ Rabat, BNRM [Khizānah al-‘Āmmah] MS D754 (2407), Rabat BNRM [Khizānah al-‘Āmmah] MS J94, Fez Qarawiyyin MS 3263, Tunis, Zaytouna Mosque Ahmadiyya Library MS 5091.

⁸⁸ It is likely that there are far more extant copies of the *Sirr* than the present survey suggests as several of the libraries do not have comprehensive indexing or catalogue systems that can be consulted and those I visited had more copies than I anticipated from a search through records. Extracts of the *Sirr* in particular were less likely to have been matched as belonging to the *Sirr*.

secondary references and the manuscripts that this was an element of the treatise that required some emphasis. Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah MS 466 includes a note in Book 3 (which contains the Circle of Justice), stating that it is all that is essential for a king to know.

In addition to the extant manuscripts, there are several of manuscripts that circulated outside the Maghrib that refer to the master copy they were using as being from Fās. It is likely that the SF8 in particular was disseminated to other parts of the Islamic world from here. Although the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS Arabe 2421 was copied in 1144 /1732 in Jerusalem, its colophon states that it was copied from a book dated 1119 / 1701 in the library of the Alaouite Sultan Mawlay Ismā‘īl ibn Sharīf (r.1672-1727).⁸⁹ It also states that the master was a unique copy not available anywhere other than the Sultan Ismā‘īl’s library. Princeton, Garrett Yahuda MS 1235 is another manuscript of the SF8, dated 1137/1724-5, likely copied in Ottoman Egypt or Syria, with a colophon that again states the unique master copy can only be found in Sultan Ismā‘īl’s library in Fās. The fact that the SF8 was the earliest version of the *Sirr* to circulate and almost exclusively circulated in the Islamic West (with scholars and scribes from other regions referring to Maghribi copies as unique copies they were not otherwise familiar with), provides further compelling evidence to think that the *Sirr* first emerged in the Islamic West – most likely al-Andalus.

⁸⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS Arabe 2421, ff.44v-45r.



FIGURE 3.2: Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah MS 586 [2], f.138v-139r
An SF8 from the royal library showing the Circle of Justice (© Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah)



FIGURE 3.3: Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – MS Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah 896, f.17v-18
An SF8 from the royal library showing the Circle of Justice (© Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah)

THE EMERGENCE OF THE SF7 & THE LF TRADITIONS

3.6 THE EMERGENCE OF THE SF7 & THE LF IN FATIMID CAIRO

In contrast to the scant evidence of the early reception and dissemination of the *Sirr* in the East, it is Fatimid Egypt, Syria, and other parts of the eastern Mediterranean that provide the earliest evidence of the *Sirr*'s transmission and reception outside the Islamic West. Here, the *Sirr* could be found both in the SF – albeit in seven books, rather than the eight books found in further west – and the LF versions, in the works of 5th/11th and 6th/12th century writers. This is further supported by early manuscript witnesses in the region. During this era, the Faṭimids of Egypt (358-566/969-1171) had declared a caliphate independent of the Abbasids and proclaimed themselves as just rulers to their Sunni and non-Muslim subjects. Their understanding of justice and a number of other concepts and topics covered in the *Sirr* is also manifest in their usage and engagement of the treatise in works produced during this this period. The Faṭimids saw the political system as a microcosm of the cosmic order, with God at the pinnacle and the correct man in the headship as the prerequisite for just political order.⁹⁰ They were adherents of the Ismā'īlī sect: fundamental to Ismā'īlī doctrine was the distinction between the apparent, or exoteric, meanings of the scriptures (*zāhir*) and the esoteric truths of religion (*bātin*), which are concealed and can only be understood through special understanding. This theme is also prevalent throughout the *Sirr*. As noted in previous chapters, whilst the distinction between exoteric and esoteric knowledge is common to much of the Islamic intellectual tradition, it had a particular emphasis in the Ismā'īlī context.⁹¹ The concept of *bāṭiniyya*, or esoteric meaning,

⁹⁰ Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East*, pp.71-2.

⁹¹ Farhad Daftary, *Historical dictionary of the Ismailis* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2012); Shafique N. Virani, 'The Right Path: A Post-Mongol Persian Ismaili Treatise', *Iranian Studies*. 43 (2) (2010), pp.197–221.

also had a parallel in Ismā‘īlī cosmology, which was strongly influenced by Neoplatonism and the conception of creation as a series of emanations proceeding from the Universal Soul - yet another aspect that informs the contents of the *Sirr* (particularly the LF). This would have been part of the broader context in which the *Sirr* was received in Fatimid Egypt and may even be the context in which the SF was supplemented with further material to form the LF.

The *Sirr* makes its first known appearance in Egypt in the *adab* anthology of Abū al-Wafā’ al-Mubāshir ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-Ḥikam* (*Choice Wise Sayings*), a collection of sayings attributed to the ancient (mainly Greek) sages. The anthology was compiled in Cairo c.1050 and included the *Sirr*’s Circle of Justice among the sayings of Aristotle.⁹² It also includes passages which reproduce the definition of liberality and the chains of good and evil.⁹³ Interestingly, Ibn Fātik replaced the word ‘*malik*’ (king) with ‘*imām*,’ which is perhaps indicative of the Ismā‘īlī context with which he was engaging at the time of writing.⁹⁴ As the *Sirr* was circulating in both al-Andalus and North Africa at this time and the Circle of Justice was being cited in other works, it is very reasonable to accept Ibn Fātik’s use of the *Sirr*. Furthermore, some of the SF8 manuscripts copied in Morocco and al-Andalus, also replaced *malik* with *imam* in the Circle,

⁹² Abū al-Wafā’ al-Mubāshir b. Fātik, *Los Bocados de Oro (Mukhtār al-Ḥikam)*, ed. ‘Abdurrahmān Badawī (Beirut: Arab Institute for Research and Publishing, 1980), p.222. Like the *Sirr*, *Mukhtār al-Ḥikam* was translated into several European languages in the medieval period and was printed in England by the pioneer printer Caxton, although a fifteenth-century English translation displaced justice from its pivotal position as the well-being of the world: C. F. Bühler (ed.), *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers: the translations made by Stephen Scrope, William Worcester and an anonymous translator* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), p.177; see also quote in Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East*, p.242, n.59.

⁹³ Manzalaoui, *Facts and Problems*, p.190.

⁹⁴ Although Grignaschi asserts that Ibn Fātik’s source was neither the *Sirr* nor a lost antecedent of the *Sirr*, the passages referred to here match those of the *Sirr* and Grignaschi does not provide sufficient evidence to doubt the *Sirr* to be the source (See: Grignaschi, ‘L’Origine’, p.61).

suggesting that he was using an SF8 copy of the *Sirr* from that region.⁹⁵ In addition, there are several references to manuscripts of the *Sirr* circulating in the region before Ibn Fātik. Beirut, Dār al-Sharfah, MS 17/3 is a 17th-century copy of the SF7 that circulated in Lebanon but contains a note that the exemplar from which it was copied was dated 432/1040-1. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), MS 1828 is another early copy of the SF7 *Sirr* with the same date in the colophon.⁹⁶ Another manuscript from the region provides a more concrete early witness to the *Sirr*'s presence: Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud 210, a 12th-century manuscript that likely originated Zengid Aleppo, is again of the SF7 and is written in an early *naskh* hand. Manzalaoui described it as having endpapers with a calendar conversion for the Hijrī and Julian years for 541/1146-7.⁹⁷ Another manuscript containing fragments of the SF has survived from the Cairo Genizah, dated 12th or 13th century.⁹⁸

Altogether, the manuscript evidence and Ibn Fātik's engagement with the contents provide clear evidence not only of the earliest, Fatimid-era circulation of the *Sirr*, but also that the *Sirr*, both the SF8 and the SF7, had indeed been transmitted to Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean by the mid-5th/11th century. There is further evidence of manuscripts of the SF7 being copied in Mamlūk Egypt-Syria region in late 7th/13th century and specifically from Egypt

⁹⁵For example, MSS Rabat BNRD D754 and MH 586 both use *imām* instead of *malik*.

⁹⁶ However, this manuscript is more likely to be from the early 8th/14th century and the date refers to the date of the exemplar used to copy the text: although the date 432 / 1040-41 is written at the end of the colophon, it is in a different hand and appears to have been added at a later date. The date may actually refer to the date of the master copy or, of course, be an example of a later owner/seller trying to present it as older than genuine date. This manuscript was likely copied at the beginning of the 14th century. Regardless of whether the date refers to a master copy, the manuscript itself is still a fairly early witness to the SF's circulation in the region.

⁹⁷ This manuscript was examined but it was difficult to decipher what was written in the end papers and although digital images of all aspects of codex were requested, the endpapers were not sent.

⁹⁸ New York, Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS), MS ENA 3316.

in the 8th/14th century.⁹⁹ With the exception of one 8th/14th century manuscript of the SF8 (Suhag, Municipal Library (ML), MS *Tarīkh* 167) for which the place of copying is unknown, it was the SF7 that was being copied and circulated in the region until the 12th/18th century (at which point two manuscripts were copied from an exemplar in Fās).¹⁰⁰ In fact, all of the SF7 manuscripts in the present study that were copied before the late 10th/16th century, can be traced to Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean. Based on this, along with the fact the manuscripts from this region include the earliest extant copies of the SF7, there is a strong likelihood that the revision of the order of some contents into the seven-book form (the number seven having a special significance in Ismā‘īlī works) took place under the Fatimids before 432/1040-1. Apart from Suhag, ML, MS *Tarīkh* 167 - which is a SF thought to be the SF8, but I was unable to examine or confirm – all other SFs circulating in Egypt were SF7 manuscripts.

Seventy years after Ibn Fātik’s use of the *Sirr* in Egypt, the earliest known citation specific to the LF (in Egypt or anywhere else) appears in *Sirāj al-Mulūk* (*Lamp of Kings*), a treatise written in 516/1122 by the political philosopher Abū Bakr b. Abī Randaqah al-Ṭurṭūshī (1056-1126). Al-Ṭurṭūshī was a native of Tortosa (northeast al-Andalus) who lived and taught in Alexandria. *Sirāj al-Mulūk* is another early mirror for princes and was al-Ṭurṭūshī’s *magnum opus*, completed in Cairo. It compares the rain, wind, summer and winter with the king, in a way that is substantially identical to the LF (the SF only makes comparison with the rain).¹⁰¹ He attributes this

⁹⁹ Berlin, SBB, MS Quart 968 and Istanbul, SK, MS Aşir Efendi 1002, respectively.

¹⁰⁰ Manzalaoui speculated that Suhag, ML, MS 167 was ‘possibly’ copied in the fourteenth century; I have not been able to examine or verify this.

¹⁰¹ Abū Bakr ibn Abī Randaqah al-Ṭurṭūshī, *Sirāj al-Mulūk* (Būlāq: 1289 AH / 1782 CE), pp.48-9; trans. M. Alarcón, *Lámpara de los Príncipes*, 2 vol.s (Madrid : 1930-31), vol.1, pp.179-81.

comparison of a king with natural phenomena to “*ḥukamā’ al-‘arab wal-‘ajam*.”¹⁰² There are also another three passages that link *Sirāj al-Mulūk* with the *Sirr*, which may well also have derived from it. However, as noted in Chapter 1, these other passages cannot be linked to the *Sirr* with the same degree of certainty for they also feature independently in other Arabic texts: the widely-circulated advice from Ardashīr to his son; a section of Aristotle’s letter of advice to Alexander, which also circulated in the *Risālah ‘Āmmiyyah*; and the expanded form of the comparison of man and beasts, which can also be found in the *Rasā’il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’.¹⁰³ Like al-Murādī’s treatise from the previous century, *Sirāj al-Mulūk* belongs to the mirror-for-princes genre; it includes al-Ṭurṭūshī’s views on kingship and statecraft as well as hundreds of anecdotes and reflections by jurists and scholars, Islamic precepts of kingship and justice through the teachings of the Quran, words of the prophet Muhammad and the Rightly Guided Caliphs. In addition to this, he also drew on the wisdom of the ancient Greek philosophers and gave examples of just rule and tyranny from the Roman Empire, Byzantium, Sassanid Persians, China and India. *Sirāj al-Mulūk* was dedicated to the new Fatimid vizier, al-Ma’mūn al-Baṭa’ahī, with a view to guide him to become a just ruler.¹⁰⁴

Al-Ṭurṭūshī’s citation of the *Sirr* provides us with a *terminus ante quem* for the LF, but it is not clear where he may have encountered this expanded form of the treatise. The *Sirr* had been circulating in al-Ṭurṭūshī’s native al-Andalus for some time and it is likely that he would have

¹⁰² Al- Ṭurṭūshī, *Sirāj al-Mulūk*, p.48 ; Alarcón, *Lámpara*, vol.1, p.179.

¹⁰³ Al- Ṭurṭūshī, *Sirāj al-Mulūk*, pp. 61, 111-2, 118.

¹⁰⁴ Al-Ṭurṭūshī drew from his own experiences and learning from the great cultural centres he had visited. From the first half of the 5th/11th, century his native al-Andalus had become increasingly fragmented and divided into what is referred to as ‘Taifa’ kingdoms.

first come across it there, but that would have been in the SF. The possibility remains that he might have first come across the LF whilst travelling, through exchanges with scholars, or after he settled in Egypt. In 1084, al-Ṭurṭūshī made pilgrimage to Makkah and then travelled to Basra and Baghdad. On his way back, he stayed in Damascus, Jerusalem and then Lebanon, before finally arriving in Alexandria, where he would settle and teach. His students would include natives of al-Andalus and the Maghreb, the latter including Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī (468-543/1075-1149), the eminent traditionist Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣafadī (d. 514/1120-1), the future Mahdī, Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130), and Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149).¹⁰⁵ The Ismāʿīlī association with the Fatimid dynasty also provides another potential route for the early circulation - and perhaps even compilation - of the LF. The LF reorganised and supplemented some of the material in the SF to form ten books instead of the seven or eight books of the SF, with expansions to certain sections that include passages influenced by Ismāʿīlī thought (as discussed in Chapter 1). Al-Ṭurṭūshī clearly engaged with Ismāʿīlī thought and practice in his writing: he fought against and was critical of what he regarded as their religious innovations and would have been familiar with Ismāʿīlī scholarship. Both Ibn Fātik and al-Ṭurṭūshī demonstrate engagement with the Faṭimid-Ismāʿīlī political context in which they were writing. The use of material from the *Rasāʾil* in the LF further highlights this context.

Considering the LF *Sirr* incorporated Ismāʿīlī material and was first cited in Egypt, could the LF also have been compiled in this region too? The earliest citation of the LF in a particular region is not enough in itself to conclude that a particular version must have emerged from there.

¹⁰⁵ A. Ben Abdeselem, 'al-Ṭurṭūshī', in *EI2*, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs (Brill; 1960-2007, first published online: 2012) (Consulted online on 07 February 2019).

However, in light of the lack of any evidence of the dissemination of any form of the *Sirr* in the Persianate east – in either manuscripts or secondary references – until the 9th/15th century, or indeed of the LF anywhere outside the eastern Mediterranean before the late 15th to early 16th centuries, the case for the LF's emergence in Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean requires further investigation. Here, the earliest extant manuscript evidence can shed some light. It was not only the earliest citations and evidence of the circulation of the LF that emerged from the eastern Mediterranean, but the earliest extant manuscript witnesses also emerged from there too. The two earliest surviving manuscripts of the LF were both produced in Mosul in the 6th/12th to 7th/13th centuries as single-text manuscripts, suggesting that like the SF, the LF was also read as an advice text by some of its early readers.¹⁰⁶ The first of these was commissioned shortly after al-Ṭurṭūshī's citation, for Sultan Mas'ūd ibn Bursuqī al-Saljūqī (r.1126-27).¹⁰⁷ The other early manuscript of the LF is Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, MS LJS 459, an illuminated manuscript of the LF, commissioned for Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh, the sixth Zangid (*Atabeg*) ruler of Mosul from 1193-1211.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ As part of present-day Iraq, Mosul would not necessarily be included in any contemporary list of eastern Mediterranean countries. However, historically Mosul had come under the rule of various Arab and Turkic dynasties ruling over the eastern Mediterranean region from the 9th to 16th centuries, when it came under Ottoman control – at times under Abbasid and Seljuk sovereignty, but also as *de facto* independent rulers. At the time the manuscripts were produced, Mosul was under Zengid rule (1127-1250), which at its greatest extent ruled over many present-day eastern Mediterranean cities, included Edessa (Turkey), Aleppo, Homs and Damascus (Syria).

¹⁰⁷ Mosul, Madrasat Jāmi' al-Bāshā [Maktabah Al-Awqāf bi-l Mawṣil], MS 55/134. The patron's name given here is according to documented descriptions of the manuscripts, not via personal examination of the manuscript. Manzalaoui discusses three rulers with a similar name who governed Mosul, but Mas'ūd ibn Bursuqī, under Seljuk sovereignty.

¹⁰⁸ University of Pennsylvania Libraries, Lawrence J Schoenberg Collection, MS LJS 459. The name of the patron is presented on f.1r. See: C.E. Bosworth, 'Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh' in *EI2*, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs (Brill; 1960-2007, first published online: 2012) (consulted online on 12 March 2020). See also: 1. Sources. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, xii, idem, *Atabegs*, in *RHC, Historiens orientaux*, i, 71, 74, 82, 86, ii/2, 5, 346-62; Ibn Khallikān, ed. 'Abbās, i, 193-4, tr. I. de Slane, 174-5. 2. Studies. H.M. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil von Ägypten und seine Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1958) 41-3; R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the*

From the 8th/14th century, there are further LF manuscripts with an Egyptian provenance.¹⁰⁹ Some of them indicate the *Sirr* was circulating in diverse reading communities from the outset and throughout its history: New York, Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) MS ENA 3316 contains fragments of the SF *Sirr* dated as early as the 6th/12th or 7th/13th century, showing that it circulated within Jewish and Hebrew reading communities in Egypt by that time. It is part of a group of manuscripts reflecting Jewish life and literary traditions in the eastern Mediterranean world from the 6th/10th to the 19th centuries, that were found at the Genizah (sacred storeroom) of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Old Cairo (Fustat).¹¹⁰ This manuscript is significant for several reasons: it is not only an early extant witness of the dissemination of the *Sirr*, but also the earliest witness of the SF form in Egypt. The dating means that it likely antedates the translation of the *Sirr* into Hebrew and is thus the earliest extant witness of the circulation of the *Sirr* within Jewish literary traditions.

Another copy of the *Sirr* that was part of Jewish literary traditions in Egypt, namely New York JTS MS 2309 Acc. 0900, is a fairly complete 7th/13th-century copy of the LF *Sirr* and is part of a composite volume containing a mixture of Arabic and Hebrew texts.¹¹¹ These surviving examples demonstrate that Jewish reading communities had access to, and were engaging

Mongols, the Ayyūbids of Damascus 1193-1260 (Albany, 1977) 91, 114, 120, 128-21. See also Zambauer, *Manuel*, 226; *El* ¹ art. s.v. (K.V. Zetterstéen).

¹⁰⁹ New York, Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS), MS 2309 Acc. 0900; Berlin, SBB, MS Landberg 121 dated 741/1341; Istanbul, SK, MS Ayasofya 2890, dated 724/1324; Istanbul, SK, MS Süleymaniye 872.

¹¹⁰ A Genizah was a sacred storeroom where manuscripts that could no longer be used were placed - particularly holy books, prayer books, compendia of Jewish law, or texts containing the name of God that could not be destroyed or casually discarded. However, 'secular' works and everyday items were also found in the Genizah: shopping lists, marriage and divorce documents, fragments of Arabic fables, Islamic philosophy, medical books, amulets, accounts and letters.

¹¹¹ Unfortunately, it has not been possible to gather further information on the other contents of these manuscripts.

with, the *Sirr* in its Arabic form, for some time before the late-7th/13th century Hebrew translation was thought to have been carried out. They also indicate that Jewish communities were familiar with both the SF and the LF of the Arabic text, that both these forms of the *Sirr* were circulating in Egypt by the 7th/13th century, and that the *Sirr* was being read in multi-faith and multi-lingual contexts.

There are also a significant number of manuscripts of the Hebrew translation of the *Sirr*, the *Sod ha-sodot*, that witness the influence of the treatise amongst Jewish reading communities. According to Gaster, in most of the manuscripts with the Hebrew translation, the *Sirr*'s text is immediately followed by *Aphorisms of the Philosophers*, the *History of the Death of Alexander*, the 'Letters of Aristotle to Alexander', and those of 'Alexander to his mother Olympias'.¹¹² It appears, therefore, that the Hebrew translation was received within the context of wise sayings of philosophers or those with more of an interest in the Alexander tradition. A number of these manuscripts were studied by Amitai Spitzer, who argued that although early-16th century manuscripts of the *Sod* were received as more than a mirror for princes (as previously thought), they were transmitted alongside ethical works to function as a moral guide, its teachings applicable to every well-educated person.¹¹³

¹¹² Moses Gaster, 'The Hebrew Version of the *Secretum Secretorum*', pp. ix-x.

¹¹³ Amitai I Spitzer, 'The Hebrew Translations of *Sod ha-sodot* and Its Place in the Transmission of the *Sirr al-Asrar*' in *Pseudo-Aristotle, The Secrets of Secrets: Sources and Influences [PASS]* ed. W.F. Ryan and C.B. Schmitt (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1982), pp.34-54. Spitzer there are twenty-four Hebrew manuscripts, the *Sod*, in the Israel National Library in Jerusalem as well as in other institutions and private possession, ranging from the 14th to 16th centuries, with the earliest having an Italian background (p.36).

Both the SF and the LF forms of the *Sirr* have an equally long history of circulation amongst eastern Christian readers - from as early as at least the 6th/12th century. We already know that the *Sirr* was familiar to European Christians by the first quarter of the 6th/12th century, and it was likely familiar to eastern Christian readers as soon as it was introduced to Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean in the 5th/11th century. The earliest manuscript evidence to link it to eastern Christian reading communities are two 6th/12th century manuscripts, both of which have endpapers with tables converting Muslim and Christian calendars written in a hand that matches the period. Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud Or. 210 is from Aleppo and has conversion dates for 541/1146-7 in the flyleaves. MS Alexandria, Alexandria Municipal Library, MS G3641 is described in the catalogue as having an almanac of the Muslim and Christian months that were drawn up in the 6th/12th century.¹¹⁴ The Coptic historian al-‘Amīd al-Makīn (d.672/1273) was also familiar with the *Sirr* and refers to it in *al-Majmū‘ al-Mubārak*, a universal history up to the accession of the Mamluk Sultan, Baybars (r.1260-1277).¹¹⁵ He refers to the full title of the treatise , *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah* and describes its content as including governance, all the sciences, talismans, medicine, cupping and astrology and cites the Circle of

¹¹⁴ Although catalogued, Manzalaoui states this manuscript is missing from the library (Mahmoud Manzalaoui, *Facts and Problems*, p.155).

¹¹⁵ Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, p.35. See also Wallis Budge (1933), pp.216, 222, 234, 382, for an English translation of al-Makīn’s work. The likelihood that al-Makīn was referring to the *Sirr* had been noted for some time and discussed by Steele (p.xxiii) and Manzalaoui (p.244). Unfortunately, they both relied on Budge’s English translation for this, itself was based on an Ethiopic translation of the Arabic, which made way for some ambiguity on some aspects, particularly whether the title ‘*Qanūn*’ was used to refer to the *Sirr* in his work (as used in BL Or. 12070 - it was not). Although no edition of the Arabic text has been made (or direct translation of the Arabic to English), there are numerous surviving manuscripts of al-Makīn’s work, including Girgis al-‘Amīd al-Makīn *al-Majmū‘ al-Mubārak*, MS Paris BnF Ar. 294, which can be consulted online: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11004709z/f150.item.r=makin%20294>

Justice. Elsewhere, he cites the letters to Alexander on the treatment of the Persians, albeit without citing the source.¹¹⁶

In addition, we can also rely on the early 7th/13th-century attestation of the LF's circulation across the eastern Mediterranean via the Latin translation that was carried out by the Christian cleric, Philip of Tripoli (Philippus Tripolitanus) c.a.1230 at the request of his companion and patron, Guy de Vere, Bishop of Tripoli.¹¹⁷ Philip came across the LF whilst visiting the crusader state of Antioch with his superior, the Bishop of Tripoli.¹¹⁸ Philip was already familiar with the existence of the *Sirr* when he came across it: he states in his prologue that he recognised the work.¹¹⁹ Philip's translation of the LF was transmitted to the Latin West as part of a broader European drive to translate and study the Aristotelian Corpus and is preserved in more than 350 manuscripts across Europe.¹²⁰ Philip's translation of the *Secretum* was received by some of the great European scholars of the 13th century, including Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus,

¹¹⁶ Girgis al-'Amīd al-Makīn *al-Majmū' al-Mubārak*, MS Paris BnF Ar. 294, fols. 129v, 136r-136v.

¹¹⁷ The prologue of Philip of Tripoli's Latin text with the English translation can be found in Williams, *The Secret of Secrets*, Appendix 2, pp.359-365.

¹¹⁸ 12th-century Antioch was significant centre of learning to which Latin translators travelled, motivated by the expectation that they will bring back ancient knowledge. With the conquest of Toledo in 1085, the Latin West had been provided with open access to the rich Arabic philosophical traditions. However, it wasn't just in al-Andalus that Latin scholars were translating Arabic texts during the High Middle Ages. They were also translating Arabic works in the Crusader states: In the 1120s, a Pisan scholar named Stephen reported that he had travelled to Antioch to learn 'all the secrets of philosophy that lie hidden in the Arabic tongue'. Hugo of Santalla returned from Aragon in the 1140s and also reported the 'arcane wisdom' and the 'innermost secrets of philosophy' he discovered there in Arabic works (on occult sciences). See: William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), p.39. See also; Charles Burnett, 'Antioch as a Link between Arabic and Latin Culture in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *Occident et Proche-Orient: Contacts scientifiques au temps des Croisades*, eds. I. Draelants, A. Tihon, et al (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000) William Stephen Merrell, Jr, *Dragomans and Crusaders: The Role of Translators and Transtion in the Medieval Eastern Mediterraneab, 1098-1291*, PhD Thesis (Nashville: Vanderbilt University, 2018): <https://ir.vanderbilt.edu/handle/1803/12561>

¹¹⁹ The prologue of Philip of Tripoli's Latin text with the English translation can be found in Williams, *The Secret of Secrets*, Appendix 2, pp.359-365.

¹²⁰ Williams, *The Secret of Secrets*, *passim*.

Guibert de Tournai, Michael Scot and the writer of the commentary on Boethius entitled *De Consolatione et disciplina scholarium*.¹²¹

Taken together, all the evidence points to the LF that al-Ṭurṭūshī was using in Egypt being part of a broader picture of the dissemination of the LF that extended across the eastern Mediterranean between the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries. Considering that no such pattern can be found in manuscripts or secondary citations in anywhere else until several centuries later, it is reasonable to propose that it is likely that the LF did in fact emerge from Egypt or the eastern Mediterranean.

* * *

3.7 FROM THE AYYUBIDS TO THE MAMLUKS: THE *SIRR* & THE CIRCLE OF JUSTICE

Manuscript and archival evidence demonstrate that the *Sirr* could be read in both private and public libraries well into the Ayyubid (565-658/1169-1260) and Mamluk (648-923/1250-1517) eras, and beyond. It was read and cited by students, scholars, writers, political thinkers, judges and encyclopaedists, who referred to it as part of the intellectual heritage of the ancients. In addition to the Zengid and Crusader State manuscripts, there are other attestations to the circulation of the *Sirr* across the eastern Mediterranean and in the ‘public’ endowed libraries.¹²²

¹²¹ Steven Williams, *The Secret of Secrets*, p.193-4.

¹²² These endowed libraries were usually attached to institutions, such as mosques, *madāris*, mausoleums. Whilst they were still not quite as ‘public’ as our modern understanding of the term due to their affiliation to an institution, they were more broadly accessible than the collections of rulers and private individuals before. Endowed libraries began to appear across the Islamic world in this period, mainly from the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. In northern Mesopotamia Marawanid officials founded libraries in Mayyāfāriqīn and Amad; in Syria, a *dār al-‘ilm* was set up with an endowed library and in most other Syrian cities, endowments that often included

The presence of several copies of the *Sirr* in a 7th/13th-century endowed library in Ayyubid Damascus furthers our understanding of how widely accessible it was to readers. The catalogue of the Ashrafiyyah library, which was part of a mausoleum and educational institution has been edited by Konrad Hirschler and demonstrates that at least two, or possibly three, copies of the *Sirr* were present in the library at the time the catalogue was written in 670s/1270s (the library itself was founded in 635/1238).¹²³ The books in the Ashrafiyyah were endowed through a pious foundations (*waqf*) by the Ayyubid ruler of Damascus, Malik al-Ashraf (d.635/1237), and other members of the Ayyubid political and social elite in 7th/13th century.¹²⁴

The profile of the Ashrafiyyah library gives an indication of the significance of the inclusion of the *Sirr* in this type of library. At around 2000 books, the size of the Ashrafiyyah library was not considered to be remarkable within the scholarly and cultural landscape of Damascus and other major cities in the region at the time.¹²⁵ It was just one of close to 300 mausolea and teaching institutions that were established during the ninety years of Ayyubid rule, many of which would have had libraries of some sort. In addition to this, there were the books and libraries that could

libraries, were established in the Zangid Period under Nūr al-Dīn (d.569/1174). Later in the twelfth century al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil founded his *madrasah* in Cairo with a large library that included manuscripts from the Fatimid library (See: Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: a social and cultural history of reading practices* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp.134-36).

¹²³ Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library – The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016). This includes an annotated translation of the Ashrafiyya catalogue and 48 full-colour plates with images of the manuscript. The original manuscript of the Ashrafiyya catalogue – the earliest-known Arabic library catalogue – can be found in Istanbul: SK Fatih 5433. See entries numbered 554, 1237c and 509.

¹²⁴ Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: The Ashrafiya Library*, p.32. Malik al-Ashraf's library was merged with the personal library of the scholar and administrator, al-Ashraf Aḥmad, who had initially endowed his books to his father's sanctuary before being merged with the Ashrafiyyah when the latter was built.

¹²⁵ Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: The Ashrafiya Library*, pp.35-45.

be found in mosques, palaces and private collections.¹²⁶ The presence of multiple copies of the *Sirr* in the library of a religious institution within this scholarly landscape (where the priority would have been to include all the major religious and teaching texts in its collections) is the earliest evidence that the *Sirr* was publicly available to read at teaching institutions and speaks to the variety of scholars and writers who had access to, and engaged with, the *Sirr* in a variety of settings. It also suggests that the *Sirr* was probably equally available in the similarly endowed libraries that began to appear across the region in this period.¹²⁷ Moreover, of the three titles attributed to Aristotle in the catalogue, it is likely that all three were of the *Sirr*: the titles given in entries 554 (f.253v/l/11) and 1237c (f.263r/l.3) refer to the *Sirr*, and a third entry (no.509; f.252v/l.18-f.253r/l.1), titled *Risālat Aristātālīs ilā al-Iskandar*, uses a variant title that is also sometimes used for the *Sirr* (for example, in Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (SK), MS Süleymaniye 872 and Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Ar.1871).¹²⁸ This indicates that in this library, and perhaps other similar libraries, the *Sirr* was the most familiar (if not only) representation of Aristotle's corpus.

¹²⁶ Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: The Ashrafiya Library*, p.14. Hirschler notes that it is uncertain whether they all had libraries as large as that of Ashrafiyyah (if indeed they had a library), and that the Ashrafiyyah's size likely reflects wider patterns (p.14). See also: L. Korn, *Ayyubidische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien: Bautätigkeit im Kontext von Politik und Gesellschaft 565-658/1169-1260* (Heidelberg: 2004), I, p.48. These local libraries and book collections were endowed through pious foundations (*waqf*) and were attached to public institutions [See: Celeste Gianni, *History of Libraries in the Islamic World: A Visual Guide*, (Fano: Gimignano Editore, 2016), n.18-22]. An early example of a mosque attached to a library is the Great Mosque in Damascus, which had a number libraries and endowed collections that were annexed to it, including the Ashrafiyyah [see: Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus* and Youssef Eche, *les Bibliothèques Arabes* pp.202-8].

¹²⁷ Public libraries attached to institutions first appeared in the 4th/10th century in the eastern Islamic world (in Iran and Iraq), and then spread from northern Mesopotamia to Syria and Egypt in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. By the 7th/13th century, a tight network of libraries began to develop in Syrian and Egyptian cities.

¹²⁸ Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus*, pp.213, 221, 339 with the images from the catalogue on plates 19-21, 40. The entry numbers are those assigned by Hirschler in the edition and translation of the catalogue; the folio/line number refer to the catalogue, MS SK Fatih 5433, with the relevant images

The presence of our work in the library of a religious teaching institution is a reflection of the way in which the *Sirr*, and the Circle of Justice in particular, continued to influence a variety of scholars and writers from Egypt and *Bilād al-Shām*. Literary evidence of this can be found right up to the 9th/15th century and beyond. The 7th/13th century writer, Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a (d.1270), listed the eight-line Circle among the sayings of Aristotle, stating that Aristotle had desired for them to be written on the sides of his tomb upon death. Born in Damascus, Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a was the son of a physician and was himself a physician, working in Damascus and Cairo. His citation of the *Sirr* appears in his biography of Aristotle, which itself was part of his anthology of biographies of physicians, ‘*Uyūn al-’Anbā’ fī Ṭabaqāt al-’Aṭibbā’*’ (*Sources of Information on the Generations of Physicians*). The anthology contains a summary of 380 physicians from ancient Greece, India and Rome and those from the Islamic world up to the year 650/1252. Ibn Juljul’s work on the same subject was also one of his sources.¹²⁹

In addition to the aforementioned historian al-Makīn, other Mamluk historians who refer to the *Sirr* include include Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī al-‘Abbāsī (d.709/1310) who cites the eight-line Circle in *Āthār al-Uwal fī Tartīb al-Duwal* (*The Principal Influences on the Progression of Dynasties*).¹³⁰ Al-‘Abbāsī introduced the Circle with a note that Alexander held between his hands a wheel, or ball, made of gold that was created by Aristotle. This wheel supposedly had eight sides, each with a statement of political guidance. This version may also be the first to Islamise this concept of justice by inserting the term *sharī’ah* in place of *siyāsah* - making the Circle more consistent

¹²⁹ J. Vernet, ‘Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a’ in *EI2*, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs (Brill; 1960-2007, first published online: 2012) (Consulted online on 28 April 2019).

¹³⁰ Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī al-‘Abbāsī, *Āthār al-Uwal fī Tartīb al-Duwal* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1989), p.71.

with the political ideals of writers like Ibn Taymiyyah (d.728/1328), whereby public policy was to be determined on the Quran and *hadith* (*siyāsah shar‘īyyah*), yet the sultan had the authority to administer justice and relieve the oppressed.¹³¹ Al-‘Abbāsī was perhaps the source of al-Munāwī’s description in the 10th/16th century of the Circle in the form of a ball or wheel that was turned by Aristotle to show their continuity and inter-relatedness.¹³²

Beyond the physicians and historians of the region, the widespread appeal of the *Sirr* can be understood from references to it by a variety of scholars. The Egyptian alchemist ‘Izz al-Dīn Aydamir ibn ‘Alī al-Jildakī (d.743/1342) refers to the *Sirr* in his (yet unedited) treatise on the fundamentals and objectives of alchemy, *Kitāb al-Miṣbah fī Asrār ‘Ilm al-Miftah* (Book of the Lamp on the Secrets of the Key). Although he does not refer to the *Sirr* by its title, he writes of Aristotle’s *risālah* (epistle) to Alexander the Great that was written in response to an enquiry and translated by Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq during the reign of Al-Ma’mūn. He also cites and discusses on an excerpt from the section on plants, which makes it clear that not only is al-Jildakī referring to the *Sirr* but that he was referring to the LF as that section is absent from the SF.¹³³ The *qāḍī* Ibn Jamā‘a (d.733/1333) focussed on the Circle; he cited it and wrote about its compatibility with the precepts of the Quran. He referred to the *Sirr*’s eight lines, albeit loosely in a manner that suggested he expected the concept was familiar enough to readers:

¹³¹ Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East*, p.120.

¹³² Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East*, p.263, n.104; J.Sadan “A ‘Closed-Circuit’ Saying on Practical Justice,” *JSAI* 10 (1987), p.335 and n.20; *EI2*, s.v. ‘al-Munawī’.

¹³³ Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, p.38; Manzalaoui, ‘Facts and Problems’, p.169. See also: Manfred Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimplissenschaften im Islam* (Leiden/Köln; 1972), pp.237, 239-42; Manfred Ullmann, *Katalog der arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften der Chester Beatty Library*, 2 Vols. (Wiesbaden; 1974-6), Vol. 1, pp.131-32 (as referred to by Forster).

The kingdom is a building supported by the army. The army are soldiers assembled by money. Money is a sustenance obtained from prosperity, and prosperity is an accomplishment brought about by justice. And the wise men say that the world is a garden whose walls are the state. The state is authority supported by the soldiers. The soldiers are an army assembled by money. Money is sustenance gathered by the subjects. The subjects are servants raised up by justice.¹³⁴

The interest of writers in the *Sirr* and its Circle, continued right up to the work of the historian, sociologist and philosopher Ibn Khaldūn (732/1332-784/1382), who refers to it in his most famous work, the *Muqaddimah* (Introduction, or Prolegomena) to his universal history (*Kitāb al-ʿIbar*). The *Muqaddimah* was written between 776/1375 and 780/1379, during Ibn Khaldūn's retirement in Mamlūk Egypt after a long, politically adventurous career (23 years), followed by a scholarly and judicial career (31 years).¹³⁵ The work takes a sociological and historical approach to politics, urban life, economics and knowledge. In the *Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldūn refers to the *Sirr* as the '*Kitāb al-Siyāsah*' (*Book of Politics*) ascribed to Aristotle and makes particular reference to its 'eight lines of political wisdom.' He states that the *Sirr* contains a good deal about the subject of politics, although he finds it lacking in philosophical arguments and not exhaustive enough. He also notes, rather critically, that its contents are also 'mixed with other things.' He does, however, appear to be more impressed with Aristotle's arrangement of the discussion on justice in what he describes as a 'remarkable circle', which

¹³⁴ Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Jamā'a, *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām fī Tadbīr Ahl al-Islām*, ed. H. Kofler, 'Handbuch des islamischen Staats- und Verwaltungsrechtes von Badr al-Dīn ibn Gamā'a', *Islamica* 6 (1934), p.363; partial trans. In E. Rosenthal, *Political Thought**, p.50; and partial trans. A. Lambton, *State and Government*, p.143 and n.16. See also Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East*, p.119 and 263, n.99 for translation and transliteration of the passage.

¹³⁵ M. Talbi, 'Ibn Khaldūn' in *EI2*, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs (Brill; 1960-2007, first published online: 2012) (Consulted online on 06 February 2019).

he proceeds to quote in full.¹³⁶ In manuscripts of the *Muqaddimah*, the eight sentences are presented as part of a circle.¹³⁷

From his own account in his autobiography, the *Taʿrīf*, Ibn Khaldūn studied with teachers from the Maghrib and al-Andalus during his twenties, after which he embarked on an eventful career that included conspiracies, intrigues, and changes of allegiance as he moved across the Maghrib and Granada in various political positions before finally settling in Egypt. He would have first come across the *Sirr* in the Maghrib where he began his work on the *Muqaddimah*.¹³⁸ With his reference to the *Sirr*, Ibn Khaldūn also attests to its ‘wide circulation’ in the regions where he had lived.¹³⁹ One of the multiple points of contact he had was probably via Ibn Khaldūn’s close friendship (and, at times, rivalry) with Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the famous vizier to the Nasrid ruler Muḥammad b. al-Aḥmar, whose own work was influenced by the *Sirr* too.¹⁴⁰ He was also influenced by the 6th/12th-century writer, al-Ṭurtūshī, and cites him as a pioneer in political and

¹³⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, tr. F. Rosenthal (New York, Princeton University Press, 1958), p.41.

¹³⁷ Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddimah*, see British Library MS Add. 9574, f.29v.

¹³⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, *Taʿrīf*, ed. Al-Ṭandjī (Cairo:1951), p.59. Born in Tunis, he began his political career in Fez where, at the age of twenty, he was appointed by the chamberlain Ibn Tafrāḡīn as the writer of seals for the ruler Ibn Iṣḡāq. Leaving Fez after the invasion of *Ifriqiya* by the *amīr* of Constantine, he returned to work for the Marīnid ruler a year later, where he was also part of the sultan’s literary circle and his secretariat. In 1362, he was forced to leave for Granada, where he gained favour with the Nasrid ruler, Muḥammad b. al-Aḥmar. Having formed a close friendship with the latter’s famous vizier, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, when they had briefly taken refuge in Fez (in 1359) before regaining their positions, Ibn Khaldūn was given a warm welcome in Granada. This was followed by various spells in Bougie, Tlemcen, Biskra, Fez, Granada and Tunis, before he settled in Mamlūk Egypt in 1382.

¹³⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, tr. F. Rosenthal (New York, Princeton University Press, 1958), p.41.

¹⁴⁰ *Taʿrīf*, pp.103-30. Ibn Khaldūn maintained his friendship with Ibn al-Khaṭīb through long correspondences after he left Granada

sociological thought. He goes on to discuss al-Ṭurṭūshī's *Sirāj al-Mulūk* (a work which also cites the *Sirr*) in the *Muqaddimah*, after his discussion of the *Sirr*'s contents.¹⁴¹

The 'wide circulation' of the *Sirr* attested by Ibn Khaldūn is also evident from surviving manuscripts from the Mamluk era. The research presented in this thesis in the descriptive Catalogue of *Sirr* Manuscripts (Appendix 2) reveals that there were more extant manuscripts from this region than any other part of the Islamic world. The majority of the manuscripts that have survived from the medieval period can also be traced to Egypt and *Bilad al-Shām*. During the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, the Mamluk cities of Cairo, Alexandria and Damascus were major centres of scholarship and attracted scholars and poets from the rest of the Islamic world, including from Anatolia (and later, from Ottoman Turkey too). In the mid-14th century, Damascus boasted almost 100 institutions of higher learning. By the mid-9th/15th century, Cairo had seventy such teaching institutions just in the renowned district of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn. The students and scholars from this flourishing scholarly landscape read, wrote, and had access to, an astounding range of works, which naturally led to a thriving commercial market for books.¹⁴²

An early witness of the *Sirr*'s place within the book market is Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (SBB), MS Landberg 121, an LF that was copied by a commercial scribe Asin b. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muhammad b. Shams al-Dīn Arslān Bek al-Khuwārizmī in 741/1341. Another 8th/14th century manuscript (dated 762/1360-1), Dublin, CBL, MS Arabic 5153, is an SF7 that demonstrates the

¹⁴¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, tr. F. Rosenthal (New York, Princeton University Press, 1958), p.41ff.

¹⁴² Elias Muhanna, *The World in a Book: al-Nuwayri and the Islamic Encyclopaedic Tradition* (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 2018), pp.56-82.

detailed study and engagement of several types of readers over its history, each one focussing on different aspects - from health to physiognomy. The presence of corrections in the margins and a note on f.70v (FIGURE 3.4) stating the manuscript was checked for accuracy demonstrate that it was copied by a professional scribe for commercial purposes, and that by the mid-8th/14th century both the SF7 and LF were being disseminated on the book market (a subject to which we will return in Chapter 4).¹⁴³

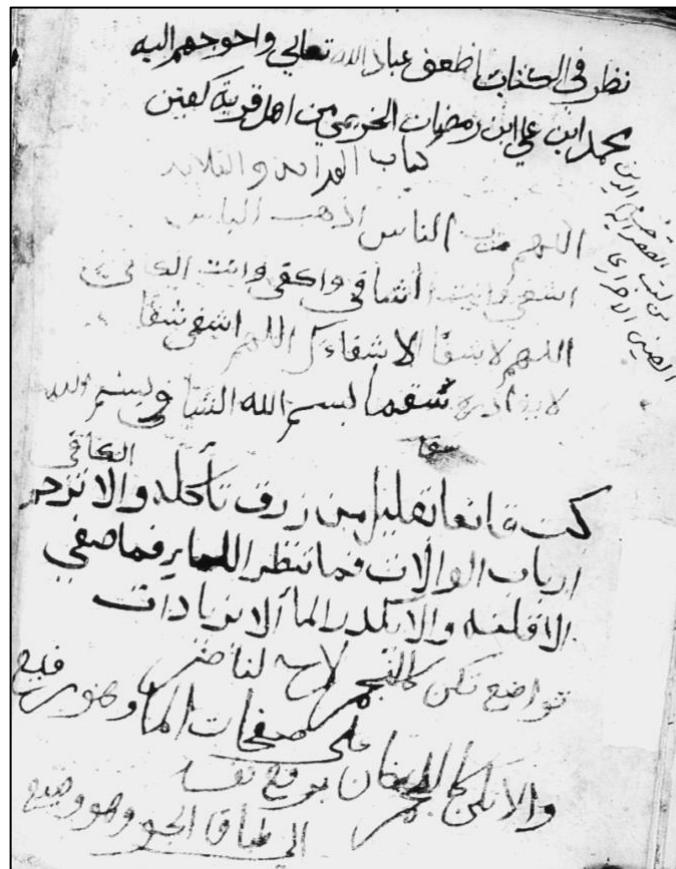


FIGURE 3.4: Dublin, Chester Beatty Library (CBL), MS Arabic 5053, f.70v;

a note at the top of the page indicating that the manuscript has been collated, checked for accuracy (© Chester Beatty Library)

¹⁴³ The copyist's name is stated as Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ramaḍān al-Kharīmī from the village of Kaffīn (in Syria):

نزر في الكتاب اطعف عباد الله تعالى واحوجهم اليه محمد ابن علي ابن رمضان الخريمي من اهل قرية كفين

Considering the focus on politics and good governance, it is unsurprising that interest in the *Sirr* and its Circle of Justice extended to rulers as well as writers and scholars. One of the extant Mosul manuscripts was commissioned at a time when Zengid rulers were attempting to assert the validity of their rule in the region.¹⁴⁴ The founder of the Zengid dynasty, Nūr al-Dīn Zengī (d.569/1174), for example, had established a *Dār al-‘Adl* (House of Justice) after he took control of Damascus in 1154, which helped him to assert his legitimacy as a just ruler.¹⁴⁵ Nūr al-Dīn, or one of his representatives, would present themselves at *Dār al-‘Adl* twice weekly to hear and address the petitions of the public.¹⁴⁶ This conscious association of justice and legitimacy with Zengid rulers extended to the *emīrs* of Mosul, including the grandson of Nūr al-Dīn’s brother and ruler of Mosul, Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh (r.589-607/1193-1211). Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, MS LJS 459 bears the name of its patron, Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh - also known as ‘al-Malik al-‘Ādil’ (the Just King) – on its illuminated frontispiece (f.1r – **FIGURE 3.5**). Under the listed contents, the description for Book 3 states it contains “the illustration of justice by which the rule is perfected, and the selected and general people are secured.”¹⁴⁷ There are also regular annotations in the margins of the sections on politics, justice and the expanded material that appears in Book 2 of the LF.

¹⁴⁴ Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, Lawrence J. Schoenberg Collection, MS LJS 459.

¹⁴⁵ See: Nikita Elisséeff, *Nur ad-Din: Un Grand Prince Musulman de Syrie au Temps des Croisades (511–569 H./1118–1174)* (Damascus; 1967), 3 vol.s, for the most detailed study to date on Nūr al-Dīn’s reign; Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh; Edinburgh University Press, 1999), pp.117-170, for her chapter the career of Nūr al-Dīn and written sources about his campaigns; Yaacov Lev, ‘The *Jihad* of Sultan Nur al-Din of Syria (1146-1174): History and Discourse’, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 35 (2008), pp.227-84; and Yasser Tabbaa, ‘Monuments with a Message: Propagation of Jihād under Nūr al-Dīn (1146-1174)’, in Vladimir P. Gloss (ed.), *The Meeting of Two Worlds* (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp.223-240. In addition to this, we can add the biographies of 6th/12th and 7th/13th century historians, including Ibn ‘Asākir (d.1176), Ibn al-Qalānsī (d.1160) and Ibn al-Athīr (d.1233), all of whom are discussed in the above sources, particularly in Lev’s article.

¹⁴⁶ Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, p.127.

¹⁴⁷ *Fī šūrah al-‘adl alladhī bihi yakmal al-malikah wa-tata‘aman al-ra‘ayatu al-khāsatu wa-‘āmah.*



FIGURE 3.5: Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, MS LJS 459, f.1r;
an illuminated frontispiece bearing the name of the patron - Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh (© University of Pennsylvania)

The emphasis on just rule continued to be an element in the legitimisation of rulers under the Ayyubid period. During this period, further 'Houses of Justice' were built, in imitation of Nūr al-Dīn's, in Aleppo (in 585/1189) and in the citadel of Cairo (c.603/1207). It was from this receptive atmosphere that much of the literature on justice emerged from this period onwards. In his biography of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, Ibn Shaddād begins with chapters on religion and justice and describes Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as a just governor who remitted non-Quranic taxes and regularly held *maẓālīm* court. In a work of advice on the virtues of leadership, written for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Naṣr al-Shayzarī, the Circle was cited and described as having been inscribed

on a dome. The Circle's eight lines were cited in the section on the virtues of justice. They were, however, attributed to Anūshirvan instead of Aristotle.¹⁴⁸

The concepts of the Circle of Justice continued to encapsulate the political relationships of the ruler and the ruled throughout the Mamluk era, during which it was adopted as a standard of conduct to legitimate and praise rulers. For example, in a letter to his deputy, Sultan Qalawūn (r.678/1279-689/1290) wrote, "Justice results in the cultivation of the land and financial profits, which are an essential element, or basis, of the armies."¹⁴⁹ One important hallmark of a just ruler and the implementation (and public perception) of just rule was through the long-standing institution of the *maẓālim* court, which served as a form of appeal court where people could take their petitions if they felt that an injustice had been served by state officials (or even, theoretically at least, the sultan himself).¹⁵⁰ From the rule of Sultan Baybars I (r.658/1260-776/1277) onwards, the Mamluks regularly heard *maẓālim* cases. In 662/1264, Baybars I installed his own House of Justice to hear *maẓālim* cases just below the citadel of Cairo. His

¹⁴⁸ Linda Darling, 'Medieval Egyptian Society & the Concept of the Circle of Justice' in *Mamlūk Studies Review*, vol.10, No.2 (2006), pp4-5 – note 4 and 5 provide a further bibliography: Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Shaddā, *The Life of Saladin, by Behā' ed-Dīn*, trans. C. W. Wilson and Lieutenant-Colonel Conder (London, 1897; reprint as *Saladin, or, What Befell Sultan Yusuf* [Lahore, 1976]), p.15; 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Naṣr al-Shayzarī, *Al-Nahj al-Maslūk fī Siyāsāt al-Mulūk* (Beirut, 1994), p.248. See also: Claude Cahen, "L'Évolution de l'iqtā' du IXe au XIIIe siècle: Contribution à une histoire comparée des sociétés médievales," *Annales, économies, sociétés, civilisations* 8 (1953): p.46; al- Maqrīzī, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst (Boston, 1980), pp.75–76,231; Carole Hillenbrand, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State* (Istanbul, 1990), pp. 34,42,109.

¹⁴⁹ Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East*, p.120. See: Qalawūn, memoranda, trans. P. Lewicka, "What a King Should Care About: two memoranda of the Mamluk Sultan on running the state's affairs," *Studia Arabistyczne i Islamistyczne* 6 (1998), pp.5-45.

¹⁵⁰ In the administrative manual written by the finance official and encyclopaedist al-Qalqashandī (d.1418), *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (*Daybreak for the Blind*), the author lauded *maẓālim* as, "rendering justice to the victim of a wrong against the one who committed it, delivering the right from the wrong, succouring the weak against the strong, assuring the observation of the rules of justice throughout the realm." See: Al-Qalqashandī, trans. É. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* (Paris : Recueil Sirey, 1938-43), Vol.2 p.147.

successors later moved it to the principal audience hall and other more prominent locations inside and around the citadel.¹⁵¹

Sultan Qā'itbay (r.873/1468-902/1496) was known to personally intervene in cases against officials through the *maẓālim* court, as a means of winning over his subjects.¹⁵² It is unsurprising, therefore, that a book such as the *Sirr*, with its close association with well-known concepts of justice, could be found in his royal library: St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies (IOS), MS 6736 is a fine manuscript commissioned and copied by a skilled calligrapher in his royal scriptorium. The reign of Sultan Qā'itbay followed a period of instability and artistic decline due to the devastation of plague and lack of revenue. His rule stimulated a renewal of literary, artistic and architectural patronage, including commissioning new and translated works of religious, poetic, historical and scientific manuscripts for his extensive library.¹⁵³ His library also included at least two other finely illuminated manuscripts containing advice texts

¹⁵¹ Albrecht Fuess, 'Zulm by Maẓālim?' in *Mamlūk Studies Review*, Vol. 13, No.1 (2009), pp.124-5. On Houses of Justice, see also: J. S. Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: maẓālim under the Bahārī Mamlūks, 662/1264 - 789/1387* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut (1985) 51; Nasser O. Rabbat, 'The Ideological Significance of the Dār al-'Adl in the Medieval Islamic Orient', *IJMES* 27 (1995) 14, 18.

¹⁵² Linda Darling, 'Medieval Egyptian Society & the Concept of the Circle of Justice', p.16. See also: Robert Irwin, 'The Privatization of 'Justice' under the Circassian Mamluks,' *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002), p.69; Ibn al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-A'raj, *Ṭaḥrīr al-Sulūk fī Tadbīr al-Mulūk*, ed. Fu'ād 'Abd al-Mun'im (Alexandria, 1982).

¹⁵³ Such identification of the patrons allows for more than simply understanding who owned copies of the *Sirr*. It also paves the way towards building a picture of the literary interests of a Mamlūk ruler, by not only tracing what else was present in such a royal library but also the book's history – how/when the manuscripts left Egypt to arrive in their present locations. Other manuscripts from the libraries of Qā'itbay and Yashbak can also be found in Dublin, Chester Beatty Library Arabic MSS 4168 and 4169 respectively; both manuscripts are large, exquisitely illuminated copies of a *qasīdah* (panegyric) about the Prophet Muhammad. Dublin CBL 4168 has, helpfully, retained a note on what would have been from the invoice book of the 'E. Hatoun' of Cairo, an establishment selling 'Egyptian and Arabic Antiquities', from where the manuscript was purchased. Both Robert Garrett (who acquired the manuscript for his own collection before it was donated to Princeton University Library) and Chester Beatty, acquired a large portion of their manuscripts from Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century and likely used the same bookdealers.

that were dedicated to him.¹⁵⁴ In fact, mirrors for princes and advice texts were one of the genres transcribed by *mamlūks* in the barracks scriptoria to supply the libraries of the sultans and/or the libraries of their religious foundations:

This edifying literary genre, usually presented in thin volumes, was part of the barracks' curriculum serving to train the *mamlūks* as future *emirs* and possibly sultans.¹⁵⁵

The *Sirr* was essential reading, or at least an essential part of, a number of Mamlūk royal libraries. Princeton, Princeton University Library (PUL), MS Garrett 462H is an elegant manuscript of the LF copied by the calligrapher Muḥammad Shirāzī in 876 / 1471-2 (f.67a) (see FIGURES 3.6-3.7).¹⁵⁶ It opens with an illuminated title-frontispiece with a dedication to its patron, Yashbak (min Maḥdī) al-Ashraf (d.887/1482), the *Amīr Dawādār* during the reign of Sultan Qā'itbay.¹⁵⁷ Under the Circassian Mamlūks, the *Amīr Dawādār* became one of the highest *amīrs* of the sultanate; by the time of Amīr Yashbak, enormous power was concentrated

¹⁵⁴ MS SK Ayasofya 2892 is a manuscript of the work, *Kitāb 'Umdat al-Mulūk wa Tuḥfat al-Mamlūk*, that is dedicated to Qā'itbay; Fatih 3456 is similarly titled, *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-Mamlūk wa 'Umdat al-Mulūk*.

¹⁵⁵ Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250-1517): Scribes, Libraries and Market* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018), pp.100-1. See also: Barbara Flemming, 'Literary Activities in Mamluk Halls and Barracks' in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem: 1977), pp.249-59 esp. p.253f.

¹⁵⁶ The skill with which the *thuluth* titles and words have been suggests that Shirāzī would have been responsible for writing the main text as well as the illuminated words and titles. Normally, a scribe was responsible for the copying of the text portion only, but with illuminated books the calligrapher-scribe was highly accomplished and often also the illuminator / limner. See: Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp.238-40.

¹⁵⁷ The dedication states it was made for (*bi-rasm*) the library or treasury (*khizānat al-muqirr*) of Yashbak al-Ashraf Amīr Dawādār al-Kabīr wa-Bāsh al-'Asākir al-Islāmīyah (f.1r). In this case, the name of the patron, the date the manuscript was completed (876 AH / 1471-72 CE) on f.67v, the style of the codex and binding, and the use of a majestic *thuluth* and *naskh* script, allows for the identification of the patron as the formidable Mamlūk *amīr*, Yashbak [min Maḥdī] al-Ashraf. A *dawādār* was the title for keeper of the royal inkwell, the royal secretary; a civilian position that was, under the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars, transferred to the Amīr of Ten.

in his hands.¹⁵⁸ Yashbak was an avid collector of valuable books; he both commissioned copies to be made for him and purchased books for his library.¹⁵⁹ Elegant and illuminated copies of the *Sirr* were also commissioned for other members of the Mamlūk elite. Princeton, PUL, MS Garrett 463H is an elegant copy of the SF7 dedicated to another *Amīr Dawādār* (copied in 900/1494-5). Likewise, Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1828 is a fine illuminated copy commissioned for the library of a member of the Shihābīyah family, a prominent Levantine noble family that had settled in southern Lebanon in the 6th/12th century and went on to control the Lebanon region in the late 11th/17th century.¹⁶⁰ A further two manuscripts from the 8th/14th century that later ended up in Ottoman royal libraries were originally commissioned for wealthy Mamlūk patrons.¹⁶¹

The overall dissemination and circulation of manuscripts of the *Sirr* until the end of the Mamluk era indicates that despite the early popularity of the SF, from the 8th/14th century, both the SF7 and the LF were being copied and disseminated. Overall, there are four times more surviving copies of the SF than the LF (8:2) from the Mamluk period. The Onomancy section was also of

¹⁵⁸ In addition to his duties as *dawādār*, Amīr Yashbak was also *amīr*, *silāḥ*, *wazīr*, *ustādār*, *kāshif al-kushshaf* (inspector-general), *mudabbir al-mamlakah*, and *ra's al-maysara*; some of these additional titles can also be noted in the frontispiece dedication of the manuscript. See D. Ayalon, 'Dawādār' in *EI2*, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs (Brill; 1960-2007, first published online: 2012) (Consulted online on 18 December 2019).

¹⁵⁹ As a patron who commissioned books on a significant scale, his name features many times in the biographies of scribes and calligraphers, who were not only actively recruited for the chancery and other administrative offices but also in his own personal scriptorium and that of other members of the Mamlūk ruling elite. See: Zeren Tarindi, 'Two Bibliophile Mamluk Emirs' in Doris Behrens-Abouseif (ed.), *The Arts of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria: Evolution and Impact* (Goettingen: V&R Unipress GmbH, 2012), pp.267-70; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250-1517): scribes, Libraries and Market* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), p.123. See also: Barbara Flemming, 'Literary Activities in Mamluk Halls and Barracks' in *Essays on Turkish Literature and History* (Leiden: Brill, 2017) p.255-.

¹⁶⁰ برسم الخزانة الكريمة المولوية الاجلثة العالمية المجاهدية – الشهابية عمرها الله بدام (؟)

¹⁶¹ Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Aşir Efendi (Reisülküttab) 1002; Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 2890.

particular interest to some readers with extracts of the section being circulated on its own. Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi, MS Köprülü II 342, copied in the 6th/12th century, appears to be the earliest example of an independent extract.

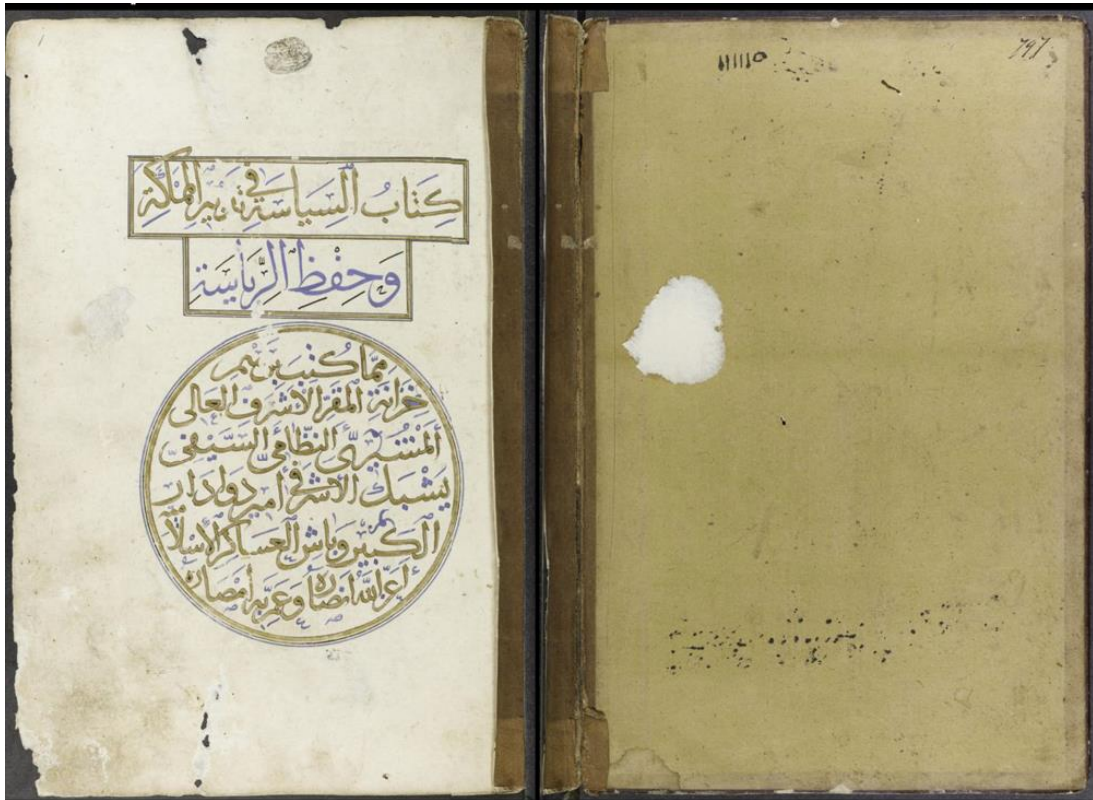


FIGURE 3.6: Princeton, Princeton University Library, MS Garrett 462H, f.1r; the illuminated title-frontispiece with a dedication to its patron, Yashbak (min Mahdī) al-Ashraf (d.887/1482), the *Amīr Dawādār* during the reign of Sultan Qā'itbay (© Princeton University Library).



FIGURE 3.7: Princeton, Princeton University Library, MS Garrett 462H, f.23v-24r; Book 3 and the Circle of Justice presented as a series of circles (© Princeton University Library).

* * *

3.8 CONCLUSION:

In this chapter, I have outlined the initial reception of the *Sirr*: namely, that it made its first appearance in the Iberian Peninsula when it was cited in the work of the Andalusian court physician Ibn Juljul in 376/987. Shortly after, it was also familiar to western European readers via a partial translation into Latin by John of Seville, who translated it as a medical text. I have argued that amongst its early readers in the Islamic West were physicians, jurists and theologians who engaged with it in a variety of ways: from al-Murādī who engaged with it as a work of political advice or a mirror for princes, to Ibn Arabi who engaged with it as both a work on political governance and an esoteric text with reference to its Physiognomy and Onomancy

sections. An esoteric reading was also emphasised by the 13th century translator who rendered it into Hebrew. I considered citations in other works and evidence of the influence of the *Sirr* along with manuscript evidence to argue that the influence of the *Sirr* in the Iberian Peninsula continued until the end of Muslim rule in the region at the end of the 9th/15th century with later Andalusian writers who were influenced by the pseudo-Aristotelian tradition drawing on it, with particular reference to the Circle of Justice. Extant manuscripts of the *Sirr* show that despite a lack of references to it in secondary literature after the 9th/15th century, it was still widely circulated in the Maghrib up until the 13th/19th century. The dating and number of manuscripts in the royal library of Rabat, Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah, suggest that it continued to be read as a work of governance or political advice throughout this period. The most striking new insight from the manuscripts, however, is that although late copies of other versions did reach the Maghrib, it was predominantly the SF8 - what is understood to be the earliest version of the *Sirr* - that circulated in the region. Moreover, apart from one Timurid manuscript from the East, other copies of the SF outside this region are either of the later SF7 or can be traced back to the use of SF8 exemplars from Morocco. Based on this, and alongside the evidence of the early reception of the *Sirr*, I proposed that the *Sirr* was originally composed in the Islamic West, most likely in al-Andalus, shortly before Ibn Juljul's citation.

The case for the *Sirr*'s composition in al-Andalus is further strengthened when we consider the alternatives. The lack of any firm evidence of engagement or citations by eastern writers until the 7th/13th century and the absence of any manuscript evidence east of Mosul until the 9th/15th century makes this very unlikely. It is, in fact, to Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean we must turn to find the emergence of the two later traditions; namely the SF7 and the LF. The

manuscript evidence suggests that revision of the order of SF8 material into the SF7 version was carried out in this region during the Fatimid period. The additional material that was inserted to create the LF tradition of ten books was also carried out in Fatimid Egypt, some time before 516/1122, when the Andalusian scholar, al-Ṭurṭūshī, wrote *Sirāj al-Mulūk*. Manuscripts from the 5th/11th century bear witness to its dissemination in Egypt and across the eastern Mediterranean, as does Philip of Tripoli's familiarity and translation of the treatise in the first half of the 7th/13th century.

In light of considerable manuscript evidence, I argue that both the SF7 and the LF were widely circulated in the region during the Zengid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras, where it could be read in the private libraries of scholars including political philosophers and historians, in endowed institutional libraries that were established from the late 6th/12th century onwards, or the royal libraries of Ayyubid rulers, Mamluk sultans and other members of the military ruling elite. The *Sirr* was copied both as part of royal commissions and for the commercial market. Although the Circle of Justice inspired much of the engagement with the *Sirr*, readers were also interested in its wider discussions about justice. From the 6th/12th century, some readers were engaging more with other sections, such as the Onomancy and the Physiognomy, which began to be disseminated independently.

This chapter has also demonstrated the abundance of information that can be found through studying manuscripts and one of the methodological uses of gathering and incorporating manuscript evidence as an integral part of investigating transmission and reception histories of a text. Without the data gathered for the manuscript catalogue prepared for this thesis, anyone

tracing the *Sirr's* history would only have a few scant references to its use and influence based on secondary studies of other works, which provide a very limited picture of the *Sirr's* adventurous career.

* * *

CHAPTER 4

OTTOMAN POLITICS, ETHICAL LITERATURE & BOOK PRACTICES

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In the second half of its career, the *Sirr* was perhaps read even more widely than it was in the medieval period, with manuscript production and its circulation continuing right up until the late-13th/19th and early 14th/20th century. Although literary references to the *Sirr* in Egypt and *Bilād al-Shām* almost disappear after the 9th/15th century, there is still plenty of manuscript evidence that demonstrates that it continued to be widely copied in the region, reflecting its enduring appeal to readers and the ongoing importance of these cities to scholarship. From the 10th/16th century, the *Sirr* could also be found in the literature, libraries and book markets in the new centre of power - Istanbul. **Table 3** details the different versions copied over the centuries, showing that the SF was more widely copied than the LF in the medieval period but from the 10th/16th to 13th/19th centuries it was the LF that was more popular. Comparison between the two versions of the SF, shows there are more manuscripts of the SF8 than the SF7, particularly from the 12th/18th to 13th/19th centuries. Another point of contrast is that, whereas forty-two per cent of medieval manuscripts (ten of twenty-four) had been commissioned for the libraries of rulers and the military elite, only eleven per cent dated from the 10th/16th century to the 13th/19th centuries (six of the fifty-seven manuscripts) were commissioned for similar purposes – and even those were commissioned outside the Ottoman world.¹

¹ The commissioned manuscripts from outside the Ottoman world will be discussed in Chapter Five.

The aim of the present chapter is to continue the history of the *Sirr*'s career with a focus on the new lease of life it received in the Ottoman world between the 10th/16th and early 14th/20th centuries within a consideration of the environments in which it was copied, circulated and read. In the first half of the chapter, I outline the *Sirr*'s presence in Anatolia and Ottoman Turkey and how it was part of several stages in the development of Ottoman literature. In a similar vein to Chapter 3, in sections 4.1 and 4.2, I draw on the manuscript evidence I gathered for this study (**Appendix 2**) and previously edited and published archival evidence, to read against any literary citations of the *Sirr*.² I draw on manuscript and archival evidence to demonstrate that multiple copies of the *Sirr* could be found in the Ottoman imperial libraries - with some having been there as early as the mid-9th/15th century – and in the libraries of Grand Viziers and state officials. I argue that by the late 10th/16th century, the *Sirr* was familiar, not only to the ruling elite but also to the readers and writers of ethical treatises and it was brought to the attention of fresh reading communities when it was translated into Ottoman Turkish. This translation did not, however, signal the demise of the Arabic form, which continued to be referred to and read.

The range of readers engaging with the *Sirr* in the Ottoman period is also evident in the materiality of extant manuscripts: they are generally modest in form - lacking the lavish embellishments of the private commissions for elite medieval libraries – and appear to have been produced on the commercial book market and read by scholars, students and the expanding literate urban class. In the second half of the chapter, I draw on data from my Catalogue of *Sirr* Manuscripts to consider the material evidence in the form of scribal and book

² All references to the manuscripts of the *Sirr* are based on the information I gathered for the catalogue of *Sirr* manuscripts presented in Appendix 2.

practices. I argue that shifts in the purpose of production over the Ottoman period – namely the trend towards scholarly and non-elite readers – is also manifested in the materiality of extant manuscripts, showing increased circulation of the *Sirr* on the commercial book market (Section 4.3). Considering that forty-nine per cent of the extant manuscripts are currently held in the Oriental collections of Western European and North American libraries, it has been necessary as part of this enquiry to trace the provenance of this large subset of *Sirr* manuscripts to establish the places and contexts in which they were produced and how this outflux of Ottoman books was one part of the broader picture of the commercial book market. Section 4.4 pays particular attention to changes in reading practices, the rise in the number of literate and semi-literate urban classes, and the *Sirr*'s presence in the new independent public libraries that emerged in the second half of the 11th/17th century. These developments ensured the continued circulation of the *Sirr* to new and varied reading communities who no longer needed access to endowed libraries attached to institutions or via private libraries.

This chapter synthesises the literature on studies related to concepts of justice (particularly the relevant examples from across the Middle East noted by Linda Darling), the emergence of public libraries, book history and developments in the book trade along with my analysis of the provenance of *Sirr* manuscripts and uses this as a lens through which to understand patterns of manuscript survival. As most of the surviving corpus of manuscripts from the 10th/16th century onwards originates from the Ottoman realm, much of the discussion in this chapter pays attention to the Ottoman period. However, the continuity of book traditions and reading practices that bridged the Mamluk and Ottoman period require a less compartmentalised examination of the manuscript evidence, so, where appropriate, earlier manuscript contexts

will also be referred to. Another caveat to the parameters of this chapter is that in the second half I make references to scholars, students and the various reading communities who owned and read the *Sirr* without further elaboration of the patterns of their interests or type of engagement with the work - this will be addressed separately in Chapter 5.

* * *

4.1 JOURNEY TO THE OTTOMAN IMPERIAL LIBRARY

THE *SIRR* IN OTTOMAN LITERARY HISTORY

Although the earliest manuscript evidence of the presence of the *Sirr* in the Ottoman capital appears to be from the mid-late 9th/15th century, the *Sirr* had been circulating in Anatolia for some time (at least in Antioch since the early 7th/13th century), and some of its concepts were commonplace in political and ethical literature. Pre-Ottoman Anatolian principalities, or *beyliks*, of the late 7th/13th century would have had access to the Perso-Islamic governmental models such as the work of Ṭūsī (d.672/1274) which, like the *Sirr*, fed into broader discourses on the need to maintain justice as part of good governance. During the reign of ‘al-Fātiḥ’ Sultan Mehmed II (r.854/1451-886/1481) and over the following century, Ottoman literary culture became more exposed to Persian thought in the areas of ethics, politics, literature and Sufism. Under the reigns of Mehmed II and his successor Bayezid II (r.886/1481-918/1512), the Ottomans developed an administrative empire that witnessed the influx of a sizeable contingent of bureaucrats from the East whose primary literary language was Persian. Similarly,

Sufi works in Persian, including writing on politics and ethics, became common in the Ottoman world.³

Mehmed II also tried to lure to the Ottoman court many of the intellectuals from the eastern dynasties referred to in the previous chapter, through gifts to the Timurid poets Jāmī (d.897/1492) and Nevā’ī (d.906/1501), the Timurid writer Kāshifī (d.909/1504), and the Āq Qoyūnlū author Dawānī (d.908/1503).⁴ The latter two writers were responsible for having already transmitted the *Sirr*’s Circle in Persian ethical treatises that were available to Ottoman readers. At some point in the 9th/15th century, likely around the reign of Mehmed II, the *Sirr* had been transmitted to Istanbul in the form of a Persian translation of the work; one copy of which could be found in the private imperial library in the Inner Treasury of Topkapı Palace.⁵

In 923/1517, Sultan, Selīm I (r.918/1512-926/1520) completed his conquest over the Mamluks, bringing Egypt, Syria and the eastern Mediterranean under Ottoman control. Following these conquests of the Arabic-speaking South, the Persian language was unseated from its former eminence in Ottoman scholarship, giving way to the increasing use of Arabic. This linguistic shift had begun towards the end of the 9th/15th century, escalating significantly over the 10th/16th

³ Hüseyin Yılmaz, ‘Books on Ethics and Politics: the Art of Governing the Self and Others at the Ottoman Courts’, in Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3 – 1503/4)*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill 2019), pp.509-26.

⁴ Linda Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), pp.127-54.

⁵ Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, MS Török F.59 [facsimile copy of the Inventory of Bayezid II’s library in Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge* pp.145, 243-430.

century.⁶ As detailed below, the *Sirr* is a noteworthy early witness of this stage: in addition to a manuscript of the Persian translation, at least *six* copies of the Arabic *Sirr* could be found alongside classical Arabic and Persian works of *adab* in the library at Topkapı Palace by the turn of the 10th/16th century. Further manuscript and literary evidence attest to its presence and influence outside the palace walls, as well as its presence in the expansive reach of the Ottoman realm, such as the Balkans and Caucasus.⁷

At a time when the *Sirr* was already a familiar part of the literary landscape, the *Sirr* went on to become a witness to the development of Ottoman political and ethical literature when it was translated into Turkish in the late 10th/16th century. With the ascension of Turkish as the administrative language of the empire in the mid-10th/16th century, the *Sirr* found itself brought to new audiences again through the flourishing of works of politics, ethics and manners (works of *adab*), many of which quoted the *Sirr*'s Circle of Justice as fundamental to good governance as part of original works in Ottoman Turkish.⁸

THE *SIRR* IN THE OTTOMAN IMPERIAL LIBRARY

In 908/1502-3, Bayezid II commissioned the royal librarian Hayrüddin Hizir al-‘Atûfî to prepare an Inventory or ‘Register’ of books (*defter-i kütüb*) kept in the library of the Inner Treasury

⁶ Murat Umut Inan, ‘Imperial Ambitions, Mystical Aspirations. Persian Learning in the Ottoman World’ in Nile Green (ed.), *The Persianate World: The Frontiers of a Eurasian Lingua Franca* (Oakland; University of California Press, 2019) pp.75-92.

⁷ MS Tirana Nationalbibliothek An. VII/38D a 13th/19th century copy; and MSS Chechnya National Library 327(1) & 67(3), both of which are part of compilatory (*majmū‘ah*) volumes (see Appendix 2).

⁸ See: Murat Umut Inan, ‘Imperial Ambitions, Mystical Aspirations. Persian Learning in the Ottoman World’ in Nile Green (ed.), *The Persianate World: The Frontiers of a Eurasian Lingua Franca* (Oakland; University of California Press, 2019) pp.75-92; Hüseyin Yılmaz, ‘Books on Ethics and Politics: the Art of Governing the Self and Others at the Ottoman Courts’, *passim*.

within the private residential (third) courtyard of the Topkapı Palace.⁹ This inventory has remarkably survived - currently held in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára Keleti Gyűjtemény, MS Török F.59) – offering a distinct insight into the contents of the library as well as the literary and scientific tastes of Ottoman rulers. For the purposes of this study, it serves as a unique witness to the *Sirr*'s presence within an imperial collection.¹⁰ The Inventory lists some 7200 titles from an array of sources and genres from across the Muslim world from Al-Andalus to India. Works on ethics and politics were held in high regard among the Ottoman learned and feature strongly in the Imperial collection. Seven of the entries have titles indicating that the work refers to the *Sirr*, including a Persian translation of the work, which also serves as evidence that the first Persian translation was carried out before the 9th/15th century.¹¹

Some of the manuscripts of the *Sirr* would have been passed down from Mehmed II for whom the library was built as part of the construction of Topkapı Palace following the 856/1453

⁹ The Palace was designed according to four consecutive courtyards, with each one having increasingly restricted access. The third and fourth courtyards were the most private.

¹⁰ See M. Maróth, 'The Library of Sultan Bayazit II' in É.M. Jeremiás (ed), *Irano-Turkic Cultural Contacts in the 11th-17th Centuries* (Piliscaba, 2002), pp.111-32, esp. pp.120-1 (the manuscripts of *Risalah 'Amīyyah*), 127, 128 (*Sirr*), 130-1; also M Maróth, 'Literature in the Rising Ottoman Empire' in M Maróth (ed.), *Problems in Arabic Literature* (Piliscaba, 2004), pp.103-21. Most recently, the library of Bayezid II has been extensively studied and an inventory of his books edited in: Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3 – 1503/4)*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill 2019).

¹¹ Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, MS Török F.59 [facsimile copy in Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge*, pp.243-430]: p.145 (line 11), *Kitāb Aristūṭālīs fī Naṣīḥah al-Askandar*; p.145 (ll. 11-12), *Risālah Mutarjamah bi-l Fārisiyyah min Kitāb Aristūṭālīs fī Naṣīḥah al-Askandar Dhi-l-Qarnayn*, a Persian translation of the *Sirr*; p.197 (ll. 17-18), *Kitāb Mubārak fī al-Siyāsah wa-Ghayrihā li-Aristūṭālīs fī Naṣīḥah Dhi-l-Qarnayn fī 'Umūr al-Riyāsah*; p.197 (ll. 18-19), *Kitāb Mubārak fī al-Siyāsah wa-Ghayrihā li-Aristūṭālīs fī Naṣīḥah Dhi-l-Qarnayn fī 'Umūr al-Riyāsah*; p.198 (ll. 5-6), *Tarjamah Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah al-Ma'rūf bi Sirr al-Asrār alladhi allafahū Aristūṭālīs*; p.198 (ll. 11-13), *Kitāb Mubārak fī al-Siyāsah li-Aristūṭālīs fī Naṣīḥah Dhi-l-Qarnayn wa-Risālah Aristūṭālīs ilā al-Askandar fī 'Umūr al-Sulṭānah*; p.304 (l. 19), *Majmū'ah Awwalahā Kitāb Aristūṭālīs fī al-Firāsah [wa Thāniyyahā Kitāb al-Imām al-Fakhr al-Rāzī fī al-Firāsah fī Mujallad Wāhid]]*; p.309 (l. 11), *Kitāb Sirr al-Asrār fī al-Siḥriyyāt wa-l'Azā'im* (probably the *Sirr*).

conquest of Constantinople.¹² Mehmed II took up residence in Topkapı Palace in 883/1478 and built up a considerable collection of books in the palace library, which most likely would have included at least one of the seven copies of the *Sirr* listed in ‘Atūfī’s Inventory considering the availability of multiple copies of it and the fact that Bayezid II inherited his father’s library. Mehmed II was known for his interest in the figures of Alexander and Aristotle, and his commitment to justice and good governance. He actively promoted an association between himself and Alexander, both as a ruler and in his conquests. Like Alexander, Mehmed II had been eager to conquer the world and rule a great empire. He would have the histories of earlier kings read to him nightly and was even compared to Alexander by Greek authors.¹³ Mehmed promoted similar associations with the figure of Aristotle and the Aristotelian Cretan convert to Rome, George Trapezuntius, flattered him for his commitment to Aristotelianism.¹⁴ The *Sirr*’s Circle of Justice would have struck a particular chord; Mehmed II had made a public commitment to justice, which was discussed in a book of ethics written by his vizier, Sinan Pasha (d.890-1/1486), in which the sultan’s justice was described as, “a right hand to his prosperity and a helper to his glory.”¹⁵

¹² The building of the palace was one part of efforts to transform the new capital into the administrative and cultural centre of the Ottoman state, which involved repairing the city and establishing new cultural and educational institutes.

¹³ Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East*, p.131-2.

¹⁴ This has been discussed by Garth Fowden ‘Pseudo-Aristotelian Politics and Theology in Universal Islam’ in P.F. Bang and D. Kolodziejczyk (eds), *Universal Empire: A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp.130-48. See also J. Raby and Z. Tanindi (ed. T. Stanley), *Turkish Bookbinding in the 15th Century: the Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style* (London: 1993), esp. pp.49, 62, 78-9, 150-1, 172-3, 178-9; Dimitri Gutas, *Sinan the Architect and his Works* (Istanbul: 1998), pp.174-5; M. Rogers*, ‘Mehmet II und die Naturwissenschaftten’ in n. Assutay-Effenberger and U. Rehm (eds), *Sultan Mehmed II. Eroberer Konstantinopels – Patron der Künste* (Cologne, 2009), pp.77-92.

¹⁵ As cited in Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East*, p.131. See: Sinan Paşa, *Ahlakname / Nasihatname*, MS Süleymaniye Laleli 1611/2, fols. 231v; pub. as Maarifname, ed. İ. J. Ertaylan, (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1961), p.250.

Mehmed's library was later inherited and extensively expanded upon by his son and successor, Bayezid II. It is from the latter's reign that we have documentation of the presence of multiple copies of the *Sirr* in the imperial library. Bayezid II was a renowned bibliophile, and his library included his father's collection along with a large collection that he had amassed himself. His library contained a wide selection of works in, or translated from, Persian and Greek as well as works in Arabic and Turkish. Some of the titles in 'Atūfī's Inventory can be traced to extant manuscripts. Apart from one entry, where the title given positively identifies the *Sirr* through its proper title, *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah al-Ma'rūf bi Sirr al-Asrār*,¹⁶ the other entries use variant titles by which the *Sirr* was often known (see **Appendix 2**).¹⁷

Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (SK), MS Süleymaniye 872 is one of two extant manuscripts that can be linked to entries of the *Sirr* in 'Atūfī's Inventory. It contains an inscription of a longer variant title that also matches the one in the Inventory: *Tarjamah Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah al-Ma'rūf bi Sirr al-Asrār alladhi allafahū Aristātīlīs*.¹⁸ The note at the top of the opening folio (f.1v) states it is a *waqf* of Sultan Süleyman I (r.926/1520-974/1566), indicating that this manuscript remained in the Imperial Library from at least the reign of Bayezid II (possibly earlier) until it was endowed to the Süleymaniye Library by Sultan Süleyman I 'The Magnificent',

¹⁶ Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, MS Török F.59, p.198, lines 5-6 - facsimile copy in Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge*, pp.243-430.

¹⁷ The possibility that some of these entries may refer to *Risālah 'Āmmiyah* rather than the *Sirr*, as suggested by Hüseyin Yılmaz, is rejected here on the basis that some of those alternative titles can be directly linked to extant manuscripts from the library of Bayezid II and that these same variant titles were also used in other manuscripts consulted as part of the present survey – see Appendix 2 for the range of alternative titles associated with manuscripts of the *Sirr*. See also: Hüseyin Yılmaz, 'Books on Ethics and Politics: the art of Governing the Self and Others at the Ottoman Court' in Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge*, p.516.

¹⁸ Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, MS Török F.59, p.198, lines 5-6.

at some point after 964/1557 when the Süleymaniye Complex was inaugurated.¹⁹ It is befitting of its history that the *Sirr* was deemed worthy to be part of the collection that was donated to the library of this newly established and prized institution. The 10th/16th century saw the rapid expansion of the Ottoman empire and witnessed what is often described as the ‘Golden Age’ of Süleyman I (or the Lawgiver, as the Ottomans called him). Justice and good administration (important themes in the *Sirr*) became the hallmarks of his imperial rhetoric and promises to his subjects. Sultan Süleyman sought to make justice the crowning glory of the Ottoman empire and inaugurated his reign with various deeds of symbolic justice to root out oppression and abuse of power.

The other identifiable extant manuscript of the *Sirr* that can be linked to the books listed in ‘Atūfī’s Inventory is Istanbul, SK, MS Ayasofya 2890. This manuscript contains an inscription with a matching variant title on the flyleaf and also bears the almond-shaped stamp of Bayezid II that can be found on books that were part of the library in the Inner Treasury at Topkapı Palace during his reign (FIGURE 4.1).²⁰ The manuscript bears the title, ‘*Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah wa-l-Firāsah*’ on its title-page as well as the variant title on the flyleaf, *Kitāb Mubārak fī al-Siyāsah wa-Ghayrihā li-Aristūṭālīs fī Naṣīḥah Dhi-l-Qarnayn fī ‘Umūr al-Riyāsah* (matching the entry in ‘Atūfī’s Inventory), written in what appears to be the hand of ‘Atūfī.²¹ Ownership

¹⁹ The Süleymaniye Complex was inaugurated in 1557 with a foundation deed that stated a library would also be established there. The library is thought to have been established shortly after the complex was completed as indicated by registers of books that were attached to the deeds. There are also records of books being sent from the Palace to the library 1561 and 1565. See: İsmail E. Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey of the History, Development and Organisation of Ottoman Foundation Libraries*, Sources of Oriental Languages & Literatures (Harvard University, 2008) pp.34-35.

²⁰ Istanbul, SK, MS Süleymaniye Ayasofya 2890, f.1r.

²¹ See Istanbul, SK, MS Süleymaniye Ayasofya 2890 and Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, MS Török F.59, p.197, lines 17-18. I have identified it as ‘Atūfī’s hand based on his practice of inscribing the title

seals, *waqf* (endowment) seals, and other stamps and notes are typically found on the title-page or opening pages of a book. Their presence in this manuscript confirms that it remained in the imperial library for another two-and-a-half centuries until it was donated in 1742 to the newly inaugurated library of the Ayasofya mosque by Sultan Mahmud I (r.1143/1730-1168/1754). Another manuscript of the *Sirr*, Istanbul, SK, MS Ayasofya 2483, was also donated as part of an endowment to the library by Mahmud I. At the time the library was opened, the book collection in the Ayasofya library amounted to some 2000 books, many of which were endowed when the foundation deed was written in 1153/1740. Mahmud I also continued to build the collection after it was opened by regularly endowing the library with books over the remainder of his reign.²²

There were likely other copies of the *Sirr* from the time of Bayezid II that remained in Topkapı Palace beyond the reign of Mahmud I, although the duration of this and their ultimate fate is not clear. We do know, however, that the *Sirr* continued to be acquired for palace collections during the 12th/18th century at least in the form of an extract. In 1131/1719, Ahmed III (r.1115/1703-1143/1730) founded a new library in Topkapı Palace for the use of palace staff with its contents remaining separate from the other libraries in the palace. This included at

as found on the binding into the flyleaves when it differs from what is given on the titlepage and based on a comparison with other entries that have been attributed to his hand in *Treasures of Knowledge*. The practice of 'Atûfi writing the title in the flyleaf in his own hand has also been identified in other manuscripts from Bayezid II's library that were included in 'Atûfi's inventory. He states in his preface that he uses the titles as they appear on the binding flap and on the front page. See Gülru Necipoğlu (ed) 'Appendix IV: Translation of "Atûfi's Ottoman Turkish Preface to the Palace Imperial Library' in Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge*, pp.1077-78.

²² The books from the Ayasofya library are now held at the Süleymaniye Library, it has usefully retained its Ayasofya identity and shelf-mark which helps identify where it was kept before it entered its present location.

İsmail E Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey*, pp.54-6.

least one other witness of the *Sirr*, in the form of a 12th/18th century *majmū‘a* containing the Onomancy extract, which remains in the library to the present.²³

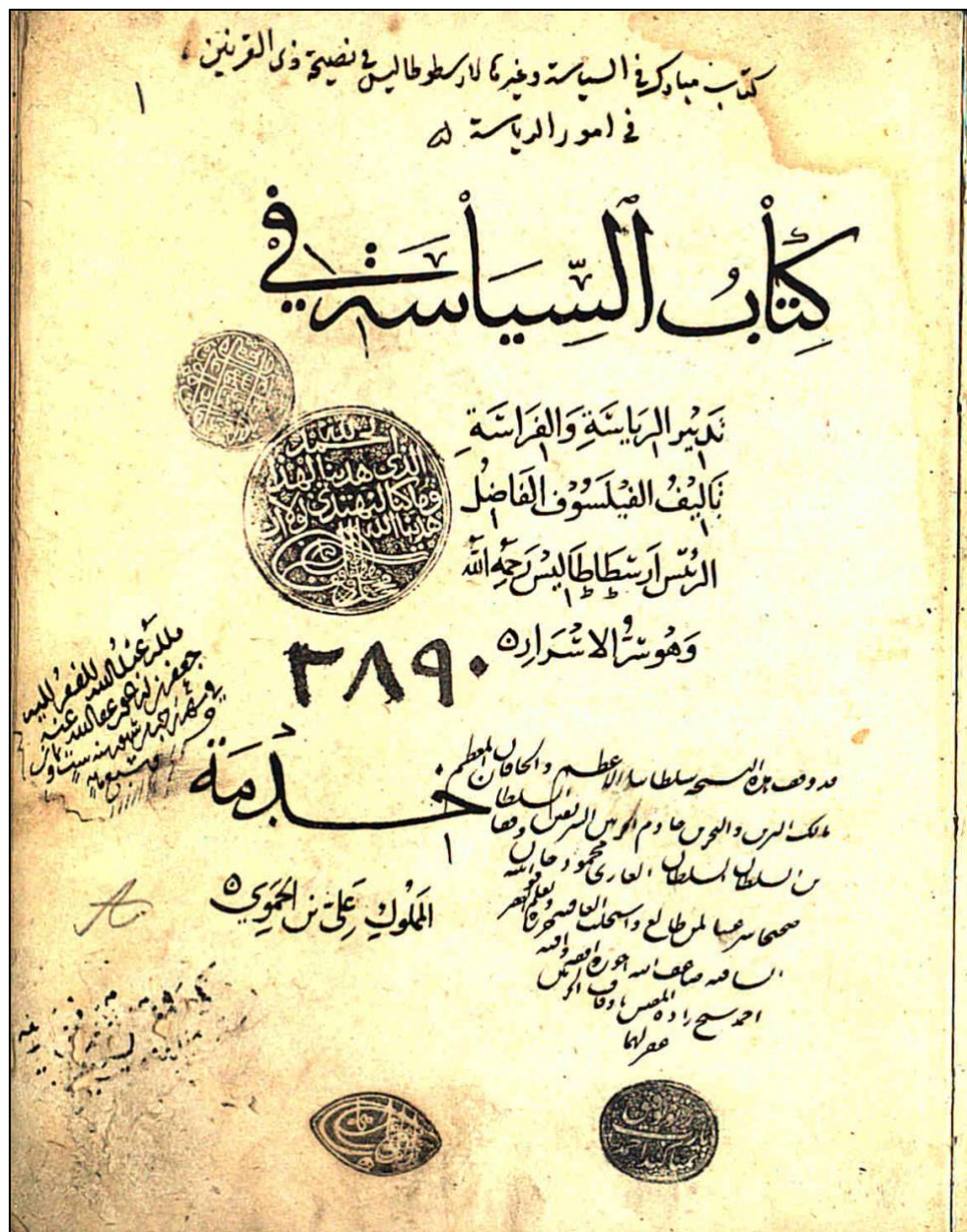


FIGURE 4.1: Istanbul, SK, MS Süleymaniye Ayasofya 2890, f.1r

The almond-shaped stamp (bottom-left) is the seal of Bayezid II; the small round stamp (top-left) is from the seal of the Inner Treasury of Selim I (r.1512-20); the endowment (*waqf*) statement accompanies the large round *waqf* stamp of Mahmud I features a legend and his *tughra* (from when it was endowed to the Ayasofya library);¹ the oval seal (bottom-right) is that of Mahmud I's *waqf* inspector (©Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi).

²³ Istanbul, Tokpapi Saray, MS Ahmed III 1600(3). The library founded by Ahmed III in Topkapi Palace contained around 5000 books [see: İsmail E. Erünsal, 'The Establishment and Maintenance of Collections in the Ottoman Libraries: 1400-1839', *Libri*, vol.39, no.1 (1989), p.4; see n.23: Şükrü Yenal, 'Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Enderun Kitaplığı', *Güzel Sanatlar* 6 (Istanbul: 1949) p.90].

‘Atūfī’s Inventory divides the contents according to the twenty disciplinary categories used in the library’s classification system and spatial organisation, therefore providing a unique glimpse into how individual works, such as the *Sirr*, were primarily classified and presented to readers in the imperial library at the beginning of the 10th/16th century.²⁴ ‘Atūfī explains the rules he devised in cataloguing the imperial collection in the (Turkish) preface to the Inventory, where he states that each volume is placed in a single repository (*makhzan*) and listed only once under a corresponding discipline. Where the work may be relevant to two disciplines, and there are several manuscript copies, they are listed under separate disciplines (reflecting where they are situated in the library) “given the probability that it might be requested [by a potential reader] from each of the disciplines.”²⁵ The reader referred to by ‘Atūfī obviously includes the sultan, but the library was also used by the sultan’s intimate entourage and residents of the inner palace who would have consulted the collection. In addition, privileged courtiers and scholars, such as court physicians and royal astronomer-astrologers, were also likely given limited access. Given that study of ethics and politics was part of the palace school curriculum, it can be surmised that the books in the library were also partly intended for the education of princes, pages, chancery trainees and polyglot scribes, who would have resided in the palace and/or had access to the library. There is also evidence that staff of the court scriptorium and royal book scribes may also have had access to the library on occasion.²⁶ Thus the multiple copies of the *Sirr* in this palace library were still open to a broad range of potential readers and writers.

²⁴ The subject of the works that were kept adjacent to or read alongside the *Sirr*, and the interests of the different types of reading communities who engaged with it will be explored in detail in Chapter Five

²⁵ Budapest, HAS, MS Török F.59, p.5 (ll.13-19), p.6 (ll.1-4) which has been published and translated in Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge*, p.1077.

²⁶ Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge*, pp.30-33.

Four of the entries for the *Sirr* appear alongside a group of other titles on governance and politics listed under the Inventory's broader category of 'biography history, war, governance and the sultanate'; two entries appear under the category of 'Sufism' (*taṣawwuf*); and potentially another two under different sections of the occult category. A few observations can be made about 'Atūfī's classifications and what it suggests about the types of readers who engaged with the *Sirr* in the imperial library, and perhaps more broadly in the Ottoman period - a subject to which I will return to explore in more detail in the Chapter Five.²⁷ Both Istanbul, SK, MS Ayasofya 2890 and Istanbul, SK, MS Süleymaniye 872 can be identified as two of the entries listed under the section dealing with politics, governance, kingship, the sultanate and ethics.²⁸ Other works that appear in this section include the familiar: *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*; *Kitāb al-Tāj fi-Akhlāq al-Mulūk* by al-Jāḥiẓ; Ibn 'Abd Rabbīh's *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*; *Naṣīḥah al-Mulūk* attributed to Ghazālī; *Sirāj al-Mulūk* of Ṭurṭūshī; the *Qabūsnamah* of Kaykawūs; Nizām al-Mulk's *Siyāsatnamah*, and a number of works attributed to the last Sassanian king, Anushirwan. Although it does list some Arabic titles within the collection, there is a clear bias towards Persian works on politics and ethics. This is not for a lack of Arabic writing in this area, which was prolific in the 9th/15th century Mamluk realm, but a reflection of how the Ottoman ruling elites were more engaged with works in this field from the Persianate world and the post-Mongol successor states. Many Arabic works were brought to Istanbul after the Ottoman conquest of

²⁷ The subject of the works that were kept adjacent to or read alongside the *Sirr*, and the interests of the different types of reading communities who engaged with it will be explored in detail in Chapter Five.

²⁸ With the former manuscript, it is clear from the other contents that the reader also had a wider interest in Aristotle and Alexander: the *Sirr* formed the primary text in a multiple text manuscript (MTM) that was later bound with another MTM that lists six works on its title-page: the first two are referred to as epistles from Aristotle to Alexander (neither of which are the *Sirr*) and followed by a list of four medical works of which only the first was included when the two volumes were bound together – the others were crossed out on the title-page and did not make it to the present codex. The latter manuscript is a single text manuscript.

Egypt in 923/1517. Nevertheless, the inclusion of the *Sirr* and other Arabic works such as Ṭurṭūshī's *Sirāj al-Mulūk* and the *Aḥkām al-Ṣultaniyyah* (written either by Mawardī (d.450/1058) or Abū Ya'la (d.458/1066)) demonstrate that major works were available for some time before the conquest of the Arabic speaking South, and that the *Sirr* was counted amongst the essential texts of ethics and politics that were circulated in Istanbul before the mass influx of Arabic texts a few decades later.

Like the *Sirr*, a number of other titles on ethics and politics have multiple copies that appear under both the sections on 'Governance and the Sultanate' and 'Sufism'. Seven of the entries for al-Ṭūṣī's work, for example, are listed under Sufism. It may appear to be a curious fact that many of the books on ethics and politics are in fact listed under Sufism in the Inventory. However, Sufi writers had incorporated and reinterpreted many branches of learning into their thought and cosmology, including politics. With two entries of the *Sirr* classified under Sufism, we can be confident that it was considered a text that drew the interest of Sufi reading communities. The proprietor of the library, Bayezid II, had a well-documented interest in Sufism and his library reflects both this and the broader influence of Sufism on Islamic thought and practice.

At least one entry for the *Sirr* can be found under the Occult section, reflecting the marked interest of Bayezid II and his courtly circle in the occult sciences. There are more than 200 copies of works listed in the section on occult sciences in 'Atūfī's Inventory, covering the topics of oneiromancy, physiognomy, alchemy, the occult properties of stones, geomancy, omens, talismans and the adjuration of spirits. The contents of the *Sirr* address many of these subjects

that were evidently of interest to readers of this library. '*Majmū'ah Awwalahā Kitāb Aristāṭālīs fī al-Firāsah (wa Thāniyyahā Kitāb al-Imām al-Fakhr al-Rāzī fī al-Firāsah [fī Mujallad Wāhid])*' in the Physiognomy section (*'ilm al-firāsah*) possibly refers to the physiognomy extract of the *Sirr* (although it could equally be referring to another physiognomy treatise that was attributed to Aristotle as well).²⁹ There are also a number of other titles listed as physiognomy works attributed to Aristotle and Polemon of Laodicea (d.144). In the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, physiognomy was closely tied to Hellenistic and Avicennan medical discourse, but later Sufi thought and practice contributed to new formulations of the subject. Both of these strands are represented in the physiognomy section which, alongside the *Sirr*, lists works attributed to Aristotle, Polemon of Laodicea (d.144), Ibn Sinā, Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī and the Sufi shaykh Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d.868/1464). Elsewhere in the Inventory we find three copies of Ibn 'Arabī's *Tadbīrāt al-Ilahiyyah*, which includes a physiognomy section based on the *Sirr*.

Another possible entry is *Kitāb Sirr al-Asrār fī al-Siḥriyyāt wa-l'Azā'im* under the section on the adjuration of *jinn* or other spirits (*azā'im*).³⁰ The placement of the *Sirr* in this category is, however, somewhat strange and cannot be taken as certain. What is certain, however, is that the *Sirr*, or at least parts of it, were read specifically for the occult material as also confirmed by numerous manuscripts from the 6th/12th century onwards that include the Onomancy extract (*Ghalib wa-Maghlūb*) as part of multiple text and composite manuscripts.

²⁹ Budapest, HAS, MS Török F.59, p.304, ll.19.

³⁰ Budapest, HAS, MS Török F.59, p.309, ll.11.

Taken together, the number of copies of the *Sirr* and its classification in different sections of ‘Atūfī’s Inventory (and thus placement in different sections of the Bayezid II’s physical library) indicates the spectrum of readers who would expect to find a copy in different sections, according to their respective interests. It also establishes that there was a diversity in its readership even at one given time or place, which is confirmed by other manuscripts that were known to be circulating in Istanbul. The presence of not one, but *seven* copies of the *Sirr* in the imperial library is noteworthy in itself. In comparison, there are only six copies of Dawānī’s *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* listed in the Inventory, which speaks to the popularity of the *Sirr*, especially considering Dawānī’s fame at the Ottoman court and the importance and familiarity with this work amongst the learned in Ottoman society. It is worth comparing the number of copies with some the most well-known and celebrated works of advice texts that were present in the library: against the seven or eight copies of the *Sirr*, the Inventory lists *Qabūsnameh* [3], *Siyasatnameh* [3], *Nasihah al-Mulūk* [6], and *Javidān Khirād* [4]. Amongst the Arabic works, the nearest comparison would be Ṭurṭūshī’s *Sirāj al-Mulūk* of which there are four copies. The only notable text from this genre where the number of copies mentioned exceed that of the *Sirr* is Ṭūṣī’s *Akhlāq-i Naṣirī*, of which there are ten copies.

With only eight titles attributed to Aristotle across the whole catalogue, another notable feature is that these seven entries constitute almost the entire representation of Aristotle’s works in Bayezid II’s library. A comparison can also be drawn here to the Ashrafiyyah Library (discussed in the previous chapter), where its catalogue likewise confirms that the main (if not only) representation of the works of Aristotle was in the form of the *Sirr*. If this pattern of representation of Aristotle’s works, in two very different libraries, is indicative of broader

collecting practices in other libraries, it can be argued that for most non-specialist readers and scholars their main, if not only, understanding of Aristotle's thought was via the *Sirr*.

Bayezid II was known for his keen interest in his books; it is reported that at times he would personally inspect his books, applying his seal and inscribing his name in his own hand.³¹ The presence of multiple copies of the *Sirr* in the imperial library raises the question of how these books would have arrived at the palace. Although the library at the time of Bayezid II was built upon the acquisitions of earlier sultans, the majority of the books listed in 'Atûfî's Inventory are those of either Mehmed II or Bayezid II.³² It is difficult to speculate on how books were acquired or came to be present at the imperial library due to a lack of detailed research into this subject.³³ Based on existing research we know that although the Palace commissioned books, others were gifted, and there are several instances of former Mamluk library collections that

³¹ İsmail E Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey*, p.25.

³² Cemal Kafadar 'Between Amasya and Istanbul: Bayezid II, His Librarian, and the Textual Turn of the Late Fifteenth Century in Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge*, pp.79-154, esp. p.90, note 56: "For a pioneering survey of the early formation of the collection under different sultans, see Süheyl Ünver, "İkinci Selim'e kadar Osmanlı hükümdarlarının hususi kütüphaneleri hakkında," in *IV Türk Tarih Kongresi, 1948* (Ankara; 1952), pp. 294-312. Ünver notes, for instance, that he has seen 141 manuscripts once owned and endowed by Murad II to three different libraries in Erdine, which was his capital city. For a useful survey and bibliography of studies on the history of the libraries of Istanbul, see Bilgin Aydınm "İstanbul Kütüphaneleri Tarihine Dair Araştırmalar," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 8 (2010): pp.333-44. A focused study of the books on Sufism in the library of Mehmed II, also making use of 'Atûfî's inventory, is in Mehmet Arıkan, "Fenâdan Bekâya İp Atmak: Fâtih Sultan Mehmed'in Özel Kütüphanesindeki Tasavvuf Eserleri," *Osmanlı'da İlm-i Tasavvuf*, ed. Ercan Alkan and Osman Sacid Arı (Istanbul, 2018), pp.59-82 [...] further research for a more diachronic treatment of the collection is highly desirable, with more attention paid to the yeomanly work of the librarians."

³³ At the time the library was established at Topkapi Palace, a large selection of books was brought from Edirne, the former capital. The Palace also commissioned books and a large personnel of staff were employed for this purpose during the reign of Bayezid II. The Palace's personnel register from Bayezid II's reign, lists the employment of copyists, binders, and numerous ornamentors: See İsmail E. Erünsal, 'The Establishment and Maintenance of Collections, p.6; see also: İsmail Erünsal, 'Collections in the Ottoman Libraries', p.6; Ö. Lütfi Barkan, 'H. 933-934 (M. 1527-1528) Mali Yılına ait Bir Bütçe Örneği', *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* XV (1953), pp.309-10.

were transferred or seized after the conquest of Egypt and Syria.³⁴ Other books were simply purchased from the book market.³⁵

Two of the manuscripts of the *Sirr* from the Topkapı Palace library – Istanbul, SK, MS Ayasofya 2890 and SK Süleymaniye 872 - indicate that they were both copied and circulated in Mamluk Egypt or Syria, in the years 724/1323-4 and 808/1405-6, respectively, before they arrived at the Ottoman capital. The scribe's hand in both manuscripts and, in the case of the latter manuscript, the style of the original binding indicate the Mamluk provenance. As both manuscripts became part of the palace library before the Ottoman conquest of Egypt and Syria, it is likely they were either purchased from the book market and/or gifted to the palace. The titlepage of Istanbul, SK, MS Ayasofya 2890 provides a window into its transmission history and evidence that the manuscript changed hands at least three times from date of completion in the early-8th/14th century before it entered the imperial collection at Topkapı Palace. In addition to the imperial stamps referred to earlier, there are several earlier ownership notices. The ex-libris notice of the scribe who copied the text, Alī bin al- Ḥamawī (the *nisbah* alluding to his, or

³⁴ Many of the books in the imperial library were gifts presented to the sultan. Records from Bayezid II's reign show many entries of people presenting books to the Sultan and receiving gifts in return (See: İsmail E Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey*, p.25). In a document from the reign of Mahmud I that covers the years 1748-53, it can be seen that he was presented with no less than 5000 books. The Palace library also took receipt of books confiscated from people who had died or were executed (See: İsmail E. Erünsal, 'The Establishment and Maintenance of Collections', p.6). There were also at least several instances of the seizure and transfer of book collection of defeated rivals - with the libraries in Mamluk Syria and Egypt in 922/1516-923/1517 (during the reign of Bayezid II's son, Selim I (r.1512-20)) being the most noteworthy (See: Cemal Kafadar 'Between Amasya and Istanbul: Bayezid II, His Librarian, and the Textual Turn of the Late Fifteenth Century' in Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge*, pp.90-91).

³⁵ Cemal Kafadar 'Between Amasya and Istanbul: Bayezid II, His Librarian, and the Textual Turn of the Late Fifteenth Century' in Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge*, pp.90-91.

his family's, origins in Hamāh, Syria), indicates it was copied for the scribe's own personal library.³⁶

* * *

4.2: GRAND VIZIERS, OTTOMAN ETHICAL TREATISES & THE CIRCLE OF JUSTICE

Manuscript evidence from the 10th/16th century onwards, demonstrates that the *Sirr* was not only owned and read by Ottoman rulers, but also by statesmen and political thinkers outside the realms of the Palace and was a favoured text for Grand Viziers and statesmen. Literary evidence points to the various ways it influenced the works of writers in related fields too. The 10th/16th-century Ottoman author, 'Alī Kinalizāde (d.979/1572), had a particular interest in the *Sirr*'s concept of justice and cited its Circle of Justice in his famous Turkish work, *Akhlāq-i 'Ala'ī* (*Alian Ethics*). Kinalizade also gave the Circle its name, *Daire-i 'Adliye*. Composed in 972/1565, towards the end of Süleymān's reign, *Akhlāq-i 'Ala'ī* was modelled on earlier ethical treatises: the *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī* (Nasirean Ethics) of Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d.672/1274), the *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* of Dawānī (d.908/1503) and also made extensive use of the *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī* by Kāshifī (d.910/1504).³⁷ As noted in chapter 3, Dawānī had connections with the Ottoman courts, including that of Meḥmed II and via *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* the eight-line Circle of Justice had already been transmitted to Ottoman readers. In Kinalizāde's *Akhlāq-i 'Ala'ī*, the Circle of Justice was

³⁶ The fine hand suggests he may have been a commercial scribe. There are also two transfer of ownership notes, one of which has been erased.

³⁷ Composed in Herat during the cultural peak of Timurid rule, either 900/1494-95 or 907/1501-2, *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī* is a late medieval ethical and political advice treatise. See: Maria E. Subtelny, 'A Late Medieval Persian *Summa* on Ethics: Kashifī's *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*, *Iranian Studies*, Vol.36, No. 4 (December, 2003), pp.601-14.

given a new lease in the Turkish language. Featuring prominently in its section on political ethics, the Circle became part of a work that was perceived as a canonical exposition of Ottoman ethical ideals. His work integrated the Ottoman system of governance with Greco-Islamic political philosophy and voiced the contemporary consensus that the reign of Süleymān I was worthy of comparison with Plato's utopian vision of the Virtuous City.³⁸ Kinalizāde's interpretation of the Circle was less allegorical than the Persian translation (see Chapter 3), but continued to present the world as a garden protected by a wall. This Ottoman Circle emphasised the necessity and inter-dependency of existing Ottoman institutions – the religious, the administrative, the military and the socio-economic – to achieve the ideal state:

The world is a garden, its wall is the state;
 The Arranger of the state is the *sharī'ah*;
 There can be no guard for the *sharī'ah* except the sovereign;
 The sovereign cannot govern without the army;
 He cannot assemble the army without wealth;
 Those who gather the wealth are the subjects;
 Justice enslaves the subjects to the banner of the sultan;
 It is justice that is the cause of the goodness of the world.³⁹

In the late 10th/16th century, the *Sirr* was translated into Ottoman Turkish by Nāsuh Nevālī Effendī (d.1003/1594) extending the *Sirr*'s influence on Ottoman thought beyond those who could only access it in its Arabic form or via Persian and Ottoman works of ethics and advice that discussed its Circle of Justice.⁴⁰ Nevālī taught at advanced colleges of learning, which

³⁸ 'Alī Çelebi Kinalizāde, *Akhlāq-i 'Ala'ī* (Bulāq; Matba'at Bulāq, 1228/1832-3), 2, pp.105-6. See also: C. H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: the historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)*, (Princeton, New Jersey; Princeton University Press, 1986), p.291.

³⁹ Kinalizāde, *Akhlāq-i 'Ala'ī*, 3 p.49, based on trans. C. H. Fleischer, "Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism, and 'Ibn Khaldûnism' in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Letters," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 18 (1983) [pp.198-220], p.201 with alterations by Linda Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power*, p.140.

⁴⁰ Naşûh Nevālī, *Ferrukhnameh*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hafid Efendi 253.

included the Süleymaniye. His translation of the *Sirr*, under the title *Ferrukhnāmeḥ*, was completed in 969/1571 at the behest of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, the Grand Vizier to Süleyman I's son and successor, Selīm II (r.974/1566-982/1574). Nevālī did not state which exemplar he used for his text, but we know that the Arabic *Sirr* had been available to palace readers, including the grand vizier who made the request, for over a century.⁴¹ *Ferrukhnāmeḥ* is an abridgement of the *Sirr* rather than an exact translation, as indicated in its lengthy preface where Nevālī introduces the reader to the significance of Aristotle and Alexander. Nevālī also integrated Islamic values into the work by inserting aphorisms, *ḥadīth* and Quranic verses. Furthermore, he bridged the historical distance of the central figures and provided an Ottoman political and administrative context by using contemporary terms such as caliph (Alexander), grand vizier (Aristotle), and *mu'allim* (tutor), amongst others.⁴²

In 990/1582, during the reign of Murad III (r.982/1574-1003/1595), Nevālī was appointed as the tutor to the future sultan, Mehmed III (r.1003/1595-1012/1603). Having ensured that the *Sirr* was given an enduring place in Ottoman political literature and thought through his translation, there is no doubt that he would have deemed it worthy as a work of instruction for the twenty-two-year-old prince when he began to tutor him. In addition to the *Sirr*, Nevālī also translated Kāshifī's *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī* from Persian, a work that had a profound influence on

⁴¹ The colophon of Nevālī's work states that it was translated from Greek. However, as there is no further evidence to support this assertion, it cannot be taken as credible. Grignaschi vehemently asserted that Nevālī's work was based on the *Risālah 'Āmmiyah* but as there is no further supporting evidence for this and we know based on the manuscript and archival evidence that a number of manuscripts of the *Sirr* were available to Nevālī, Grignaschi's view does not hold up.

⁴² Hüseyin Yilmaz, *The Sultan and the Sultanate: Envisioning Rulership in the Age of Süleymān the Lawgiver (1520-1566)*, PhD Thesis (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 2005), pp. 59-62, 71.

Ottoman political works and ethical thought in the 10th/16th century.⁴³ Another related important work for Ottoman political writers that was translated into Turkish during this century was al-Ṭurṭūshī's *Sirāj al-Mulūk*.

New and translated works of ethics and manners (*adab*) in Ottoman Turkish gained popularity in the 10th/16th century, often quoting the Circle as fundamental to good governance. The goal of much of these works was to improve the behaviour of the elite. In addition to the presence of the Circle in the works already discussed, Mustafā Jelālzāde offered another Turkish version in his *adab* work, *Mevāhibü'l-Hallāk fī Merātibü'l-Akhlaq* (*Gifts of God on the Degrees of Ethics*). His version likened the ruler to a shepherd and summarised the eight-part version of the *Sirr* into four lines, that were attributed to the caliph 'Alī instead:

The ruler resembles a shepherd who with an army becomes strong.
The army is helpers who by money are fed.
Money is bounty by the people collected.
The people are a prosperous district by justice enslaved.
Justice is the foundation that the peoples of the world rest upon.⁴⁴

Thus, by the end of the 10th/16th century, there was widespread familiarity with themes and ideas contained in the *Sirr*, especially on ethics and good governance. The Circle of Justice in particular had a direct influence on the Ottoman writers of original ethical works. Statesmen

⁴³ Hüseyin Yilmaz, *The Sultan and the Sultanate*, p.45.

⁴⁴ Mustafā Celālzāde, *Mevāhibü'l-Hallāk fī Merātibü'l-Akhlaq*, Istanbul, SK, MS Süleymaniye Bağdathi Vehbi 763, fol.218b; the Turkish text reads:

“Pâdişâh çobâna benzer ki asker ile anakût gelir asker a'vândır ki mâl ile beslenir mâl berddir adet ra'iyet anı cam' eder ra'iyet savâddır ki 'adl ile kullanır 'adl esâsdir ki 'âlemin kavımı anıgeledir.” See Fleischer, 'Royal Authority,' p.201.

too were familiar with the *Sirr* and held it in enough esteem to request that it be translated by esteemed academics and royal tutors. The Turkish translation of the *Sirr* and the use of the Circle in Ottoman works ensured that its ideas influenced the education of young royals (and perhaps future statesmen), as well as coming to the attention of a whole new demographic of readers. At least one book of the *Sirr* – in the form of the Onomancy extract – would have been found amongst the private libraries of the members of the Köprülü political dynasty, which first emerged with Köprülü Mehmed Paşa (d.1071/1661), the Grand Vizier to Mehmed IV (r.1058/1648-1099/1687) and went on to include six Grand Viziers, numerous statesmen, and warriors.⁴⁵

The historian, bibliographer and retired finance official, Kâtip Çelebi (d.1068/1657) (also known as Hâjjī Khalīfah), was familiar with the *Sirr* and refers to it amongst a list of 15,000 Arabic, Persian and Turkish titles in his bibliographic encyclopaedia, *Kashf al-Zanūn* (*The Removal of Doubt*), a work that was completed in the mid-11th/17th century. He also attested the presence of the *Sirr* within the modest collection in the old Ayasofya mosque's library in two entries – a century before Mahmud I endowed the library that he established there with at least one further manuscript from the imperial library.⁴⁶ The Circle was well-known to Çelebi and he drew on it to re-frame the concepts into his own version when he wrote his advice work, *Düstūru'l-'amel li-İslahī'l-Halel* (*Code of Practice for the Rectification of Defects*). His treatise was written in 1063/1653, prompted by the dire economic situation of the Ottoman Empire at the time.

⁴⁵ Istanbul, Köprülü Library, MS Köprülü II 342.

⁴⁶ Muṣṭafā ibn 'Abd Allāh Çelebi Hâjjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed and tran. G. Flügel, 7 vols. (Liepzig: 1835-58), entries 7102 and 10202.

Çelebi's Circle stresses the state's need for troops, money and peasants, which were also the topic of the three main chapters of his treatise.⁴⁷ Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah*, which also cites the Circle, was also a source of influence on his thought. Other historians, such as Muṣṭafā Na'imā (d.1128/1716) and Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, referred to Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah* as part of their analysis of the growth and decline of the Ottoman Empire. They too would have engaged with Ibn Khaldūn's extended discussion of the principles of the Circle of Justice as found in the *Sirr*.⁴⁸

Linda Darling has argued that the use of the Circle in this period can be understood in the context of a series of protests and popular rebellions by janissaries, urban workers and artisans, and 'ulemā' in the late 11th/17th century and the first half of the 12th/18th century. These uprisings generated a rhetoric of injustice that delegitimated sultans and their advisors and demanded justice for the urban populace: the rebellion of 1099/1687 had toppled Mehmed IV; Mustafa II (r.1106/1695-1115/1703) was unseated after the rebellion of 1115/1703; and, in 1143/1730 Ahmed III was deposed by the rebellion led by Patrona Halil.⁴⁹ Na'imā reintroduced

⁴⁷ Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice*, p.148: "There can be no royal authority without men, no men without the sword, no sword without money, no money without peasants, and no peasants without justice." Hacı Halife Kâtip Çelebi, *Düstu'ûru'l-amel li-islâhi'l-halel* in Ayn 'Alî Efendi, *Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osman der hülâsa-i mezâmin-i defter-i dîvân*, ed. M. T. Gökbilgin (Istanbul: Enderun, 1979), p.124.

⁴⁸ Bernard Lewis, 'Ibn Khaldūn in Turkey' in David Ayalon, Moshe Sharon, *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization: in honour of Professor David Ayalon* (Jerusalem, Cana and Leiden: Brill, 1986), pp.527-30; repr. In *Islam in History: Ideas, People, and Events in the Middle East*, (new ed. Chicago and Salle: Open Court, 1993) pp.233-6.. On his influence in Turkey, see also Findikoğlu Z. Fahri, *Türkiye'de Ibn Haldunizm*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı* (Istanbul: 1953), pp.153-63.

⁴⁹ Linda Darling, *A History of Social Justice*, p.150: The 1099/1687 rebellion against Mehmed IV was caused by high taxes, food shortages, and starvation as a result of the War of the Holy League, which caused unpaid janissaries to rebel in conjunction with the masses, the notable and the *ulemā* of Istanbul. The 1703 rebellion that toppled Mustafa II was a response to the oppression of the chief religious official, Feyzullah Efendi, who had seized control of the administration for his own benefit(s) and that of his allies. The protests by janissaries, overtaxed artisans and merchants of Istanbul and religious students denied employment resulted in the deposition of Mustafa II and Feyzullah's execution. The revolt of 1730 was directed by the Albanian migrant

the Circle into Ottoman political discourse at the beginning of the 12th/18th century when he included it in the first preface of his history, *Tarih-i Na'ima: Ravzatü'l-Huseyn fî Hulâsat-i Ahbari'l-Hafikayn* (*The Gardens of Husayn, Being the Choicest of News of East and West*). Na'imâ offered the eight-part Circle as a path to remedy the social disequilibrium and the laxness of the elite that had brought the Ottoman world into decline. Whilst it is possible that Na'imâ was familiar with the Arabic form of the Circle as cited in the *Sirr* (which was widely available by the 12th/18th century) or through the influence of Ibn Khaldûn's *Muqaddimah*, his citation of the Circle was probably based on Kinalizâde's (Turkish) version of the Circle - which was, of course, itself ultimately inspired by the *Sirr*.⁵⁰

Manuscript evidence further supports these literary uses of the *Sirr* during this period, confirming that the *Sirr* was a familiar presence in libraries across society, including those of statesmen. Şehit 'Alî Pasha (d.1128/1716), the Grand Vizier and son-in-law of Ahmed III, and Muştafâ Efendi, who was a statesman equivalent to foreign minister to Mahmud I, both had the *Sirr* in their personal libraries in the first half of the 12th/18th century.⁵¹ The latter owned Istanbul, SK, MS Aşir Efendi (Reisülküttab) 1002, a beautifully illuminated manuscript with

Patrona Halil, a janissary, a marine and various merchants and artisans. They demanded justice against what they saw as the excesses of the elite whilst the urban lower classes and provincial migrants faced unemployment, poverty, high food prices and starvation. The revolt culminated in the deposition of Ahmed III and the execution of the Grand Vizier.

⁵⁰ Muştafâ Na'ima, *Tarih-i Na'ima: Ravzatü'l-Huseyn fî Hulâsat-i Ahbari'l-Hafikayn*, (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı 'Amire, 1281-3/1864-6), p.40; Muştafâ Na'ima, *Tarih-i Na'ima: Ravzatü'l-Huseyn fî Hulâsat-i Ahbari'l-Hafikayn*, ed. M. İpşirli (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007), p.30: "The kingdom and state exist by means of soldiers and men, they are found by money, and money is gathered by the subjects and the subjects are (ordered) by justice. The weakness and lassitude that threaten the entire state are always caused by the disorder of these four pillars." English translation: Muştafâ Na'ima, *Annals of the Turkish Empire from 1591 to 1659 of the Christian Era*, trans. C. Fraser (London: John Murray, 1832; repr. New York: Arno Press, 1973).

⁵¹ MS: Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Şehit Alî 1350/2; MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Aşir Efendî, *Reisülküttab*, 1002.

another didactic text from the mirror for princes' genre, *Kitāb al-Asad wa-l-Ghawās*, affirming that the *Sirr* was presented and read as a work of political advice to the elite. For Sari Mehmed Paşa, an imperial treasurer who was caught up in the changes due to the rebellions between the reigns of Mustafa II and Ahmed III, the Circle of Justice served as a warning against contemporary events. He had lifelong experience in government positions and in 1703, he wrote an advice work, *Naṣā'ih al-Wuzerā wa-l-Umarā'* (The Book of Counsel for Viziers and Governors), advocating for the sultan to watch over his flock like a shepherd and ensure the protection, order, and prosperity of the governed.⁵² In this work he paraphrases the Circle to caution viziers (as the primary enforcers of justice):

A country endures not unless there be men.
 But for men of substance, wealth is needed.
 Wealth is produced by the subject people.
 It comes from the culture of vineyard and garden.
 Unless there be justice, the subjects are restless.
 Without justice, the tent becomes not a lasting home.
 Justice is the basis of the order of the world.⁵³

The discontent in Istanbul also sparked other protests in Ottoman provinces around the middle of the 12th/18th century with bread riots that extended to Damascus with demands for justice and fair taxation. Darling has noted that after the Ottoman wars with Russia and Austria concluded in 1188/1774, new advice works started appearing with the Circle of Justice being cited within the context of debates on modernizing the empire. Nehifi Mehmed Efendi revived

⁵² Linda Darling, *A History of Social Justice*, p.150.

⁵³ Sarı Mehmed Pasha, the *Defterdār*, *Ottoman Statecraft: The Book of Counsel for Vezirs and Governors*, trans. W. L. Wright Jr. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1935); (Westport, CT: repr. Greenwood Press, 1971), p.64 (p.5, fol.3v); p.76 (p.20, fol.11r). Translation amended.

the Circle's eight lines in 1189/1775 when he translated into Turkish the Arabic *adab* work of al-Shayzārī, *Al-Nahj al-Maslūk fī Siyāsat al-Mulūk* (which had been written in the 6th/12th century for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn).⁵⁴ The concepts within the Circle were revived in popular thought yet again in the second half of the 13th/19th century as part of widespread discussions about the importance of justice in the modernisation of society and the bureaucratic centralisation of the *Tanzimat* reforms. The Young Ottomans were a new generation of intellectuals who sought to temper bureaucratic autocracy through the adoption of a new constitutional government and individual political participation whilst still being rooted in Islam. Namık Kemal (d.1305/1888), the renowned writer who was influential in the formation of the Young Ottomans, referred directly to a number of the philosophical sources of the Circle - Ṭūsī, Kāshifī, Dawwānī, Kinalizade - in his writing about the place of justice as part of the state's respect for the political autonomy of its citizens. It was Kinalizade's Circle in particular that informed his understanding of the term.⁵⁵ In 1868, Kemal wrote a newspaper article considering constitutionalism in which he discussed the measures needed "for the government to stay within the Circle of Justice."⁵⁶

The broad readership of the literate urban classes and the secondary elite can also be understood in the way the *Sirr*, specifically the Circle of justice, continued to be invoked – even in the final stages of its career - as part of political, economic, and social debates of the time in

⁵⁴ Linda Darling, *A History of Social Justice*, p.152. See: Nehîfî Mehmed Efendi, *Nehcû's-Sulûk fî Siyâeti'l-Mülûk* (Istanbul: 'Alî Rıza Efendi, 1869) trans. H. Algül (Istanbul: Tercüman, 1974); 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr al-Shayzārī, *Al-Nahj al-Maslūk fī Siyāsat al-Mulūk* (Beirut: Dār al-Manār, 1994). Nehîfî's work was printed several times in the 19th century.

⁵⁵ Linda Darling, *A History of Social Justice*, p.172.

⁵⁶ "For the government to stay within that Circle of Justice, therer are two basic measures, of which the first is to announce to the world that it has the purpose of freeing the basic organization of the administration ... the second is a plan for a council which ... is to take from the hands of the men of the government [the bureaucrats] the power of laying down the law." Namık Kemal, "Wa-shāwirhum fī'l-'amr," *Hürriyet*, 20 July 1868:1.

the far reaches of the Ottoman empire. Although there is little information available, Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Ḥamida ibn Khuja (d.1279/1862) is thought to have written a commentary on the Circle, titled *Risālah fī Sharḥ al-Ḥikam*, which was published in Tunis a little over a decade after his death, in 1290/1873.⁵⁷ The Tunisian chief minister (1290/1873-1294/1877), Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī, also cited the *Sirr* and its Circle to legitimate local reforms and changes he introduced in the reorganisation of taxes to encourage economic growth. He justified his approach by linking progress and order with unity and social justice. In *Aqwām al-Masālik fī Ma‘rifat Aḥwāl al-Mamālik* (*The Surest Path to Acquaintance with the Conditions of the Nations*), he discussed the virtues of political justice as a basic requirement of good government, referring to the example of European modernisation, before citing the Circle as found in the *Sirr*:

The basic requirement is good government from which is born that security, hope and proficiency in work to be seen in the European kingdoms. ... It is God’s custom in His world that justice, good management and an administrative system duly complied with be the causes of an increase in wealth, people and property. And one of the wise maxims of Aristotle pictures:

The world is a garden whose fence is the state.

The state is the legitimate authority through which the *ummah* is given like.

The *sunnah* is the policy followed by the king.

The king is the organiser who is supported by the army.

The army is the bodyguard paid by the treasury.

The treasury is the wealth accumulated by the subjects.

The subjects are slaves protected by justice.

Justice is custom, which serves as the foundation of the world.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Regula Forster, *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, p.38.

⁵⁸ Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī, *Aqwām al-Masālik fī Ma‘rifat Aḥwāl al-Mamālik* (1868) (Tunis: Bayt al-Ḥikmah, 2000), 1:120. English trans: Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī, *The Surest Path: The Political Treatise of a Nineteenth-Century Muslim Statesman*, trans. By L. C. Brown (Cambridge MA: Centre for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University, 1967) pp.74, 81, 97.

The Circle continued to have a place in discourses on modernization towards the end of the 13th/19th century. However, its hierarchical structure was challenged in some quarters. The Syrian physician and social reformer, Shiblī Shumayyil (d.1335/1917) quoted the Circle in full, ascribing it to Aristotle, but then went on to devise his own version that incorporated modern economic concepts and advocated for a new basis for it in which the parts of society were equal just as the cells in the body were equal:

There can be no justice without freedom; no learning without justice; when knowledge is absent, there is no strength because strength is contingent on wealth, and the instruments of wealth (agriculture, commerce and industry) are dependent for success on education.⁵⁹

These literary citations leading up to the 14th/20th century, support what is found in the manuscript evidence, which demonstrates that the *Sirr* continued to be copied and form part of the private libraries of scholars and the literate urban class right up until the late 13th/19th to early 14th/20th century with a presence in the personal collections of Ottoman officials and prominent Egyptian intellectuals. Some of these collections went on to form the founding collections of national libraries in the first half of the 14th/20th century. One manuscript of the *Sirr* was owned by the finance official, ‘Alī Emīrī Efendi (1270/1854-1343/1924). He collected rare and unpublished books as he travelled the Ottoman world, copying those he could not acquire. Upon his return to Istanbul after his retirement in 1326/1908, he brought with him forty boxes of books (of which 4424 were manuscripts), which were later donated to the Millet

⁵⁹ Linda Darling, *A History of Social Justice*, p.173. See: Shiblī Shumayyil, “Shakwah wa amāl marfū‘ah ilā jalālat al-Sultān al-Mu‘azzam ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Khān,” trans. C. E. Farah, “Reformed Ottomanism and Social Change” in *La Vie sociale dans les province arabes à l’époque ottomane*, ed. A. Temimi (Zaghouan : CEROMDI, 1988), 3 : 141. Shiblī Shumayyil, “True Socialism” trans. S. A. Hanna in S. A. Hanna and G. H. Gardner, *Arab Socialism: A Documentary Survey* (Salt Lake City: Univesity of Utah Press, 1969) pp.292-6.

Kütüphanesi.⁶⁰ The library of the Egyptian writer, historian and bibliophile, Aḥmad Taymūr Pasha (d.1349/1930) included one copy of the *Sirr*.⁶¹ His personal library was established in 1319/1901 with selected works, which was described by Joseph Schacht as, “the most important private library in the orient.”⁶² It contained more than 20,000 books at the time of his death, which were bequeathed to the Egyptian National Library.⁶³ The personal library of yet another intellectual and collector of manuscripts, Aḥmad Tal‘at Bey, had three manuscripts of the *Sirr* (two of the LF and one SF). His collection of more than 9000 books was bequeathed to Dār al-Kutub in Cairo upon his death – forming the largest collection within the library.

⁶⁰ MS: Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, ‘Alī Emīrī Arab. 2894 (7ff), (fragment). ‘Alī Emīrī was a historian, poet, biographer and publisher. He was interested familiarising new generations with Ottoman-Turkish heritage in the face of movement of modernisation in the ‘Tanzimat’ period and copied the *Divan Lughat al-Turk* of Mahmud Kashgari from the original copy, thus making it available to new audiences. See: Günay Kut ‘Manuscript Libraries in Istanbul’, *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, Vol. 16, no.1 (Middle East Association of North America, July 1982), pp.24-43: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23058134> (accessed 19/09/2020).

⁶¹ Cairo, Egyptian National Library, MS Taymūr 102. Taymūr’s collection included 2390 vols on *lughā*; 2675 vols on *Adab*; 4956 vols on *Dīn/Akhlāq/ULūm Shar‘iyyah*; 3974 vols on *lughāt*, *Mu‘ajam*; 4273 vols on *Tarīkh* etc. [His sister Ā’isha and two sons, Muhammad and Mahmūd were also intellectuals and collectors]. See Torsten Wollina, ‘The Library of Ahmad Taymur’ in *Damascus Anecdotes: Reading Historical Bilād al-Shām* (2019): <https://thecamel.hypotheses.org/1546> (Accessed: 12/10/2020). With thanks to Torsten for his explanations on the origins of Egyptian collections and directions to further reading (personal communication).

⁶² Quoted from Schacht’s obituary for Taymūr: Joseph Schacht, , Aḥmad Pascha Taimūr. Ein Nachruf’, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlänischen Gessellschaft*, 84 (1930), p.255. See also: Ignatij Yulianovich Kratchkovsky, *Among Arabic Manuscripts: Memories of Libraries and Men*, trans. By Tatiana Minorsky (Leiden: Brill, 2016). Although there is no major study dedicated to him, several other earlier studies point to Taymūr’s relationships with other Egyptian and Syrian intellectuals including Muhammad Kurd ‘Alī (founder of the Arab Academy of Damascus) and Ṭāhir al-Jazā’irī (first director of the Damascus Public Library), whose own writings refer to the Taymūr library. See: Joseph H. Escovitz, “‘He was the Muhammad ‘Abdūh of Syria’: A Study of Ṭāhir al-Jazā’irī and His Influence”, *IJMES*, Vol.8, No.3 (August, 1986), pp.293-310 - on reformist ‘ulemā’, secular intellectuals, philologists and pan-Arabists in the early 20th century. Al-Jazā’irī moved from Damascus to Cairo in 1905, taking with him his extensive personal library. He developed close personal friendships with Aḥmad Zakī Pasha and Aḥmad Taymūr Pasha, who were members of the Arab Academy of Damascus. Al-Jazā’irī also supported himself by buying and selling Arabic manuscripts; eventually, selling most of his books to Aḥmad Taymūr Pasha. For further background, see also: Umar Ryad, “‘An Oriental Orientalist’: Aḥmad Zakī Pasha (1868-1934), Egyptian Statesman and Philologist in the Colonial Age”, *Philological Encounters* 3 (2018), pp.129-166; ‘Isā Iskandar al-Ma’lūf, ‘Khazā’in al-Kutub al-‘Arabiyyah: 1) al-Khizāna al-Taymūriyya’, *Majallat al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmī al-‘Arabī* 3, no.8 (1923), pp.225-230; Kurd ‘Alī, Muḥammad. “الـخزانة التيمورية / al-Khizāna al-Taymūriyya.” *al-Muqtabas* 7 (1912): 437-458. (see [Till Grallert’s digital edition](#)).

⁶³ The family of Taymūr Pasha was of Albanian origin and from the Egyptian elite. His father, Isma‘īl Taymūr, was a member of the royal entourage of the Muhammad ‘Alī dynasty.

Alongside the multitude of copies that continued to be made in the late-13th/19th century, the presence of multiple copies of the *Sirr* in these two collections is evidence that it continued to be actively read and sought up until the early 14th/20th century.

* * *

4.3: SCHOLARS, SCRIBES & THE COMMERCIAL BOOK MARKET

The Ottoman period witnessed an increased presence of the *Sirr* in the collections of scholars and ordinary readers. This is linked to the increased availability of our treatise on the commercial book market. After the 7th/13th century, there are an increasing number of manuscripts copied by professional scribes for non-elite libraries. Berlin, SBB, MS SBPK Or. Quart 968 (7th/13th century) and SBB MS Landberg 121 (8th/14th century) are the earliest extant examples of copies produced in the commercial market for non-elite libraries. Of the twenty-four medieval manuscripts, ten (forty-two per cent) were copied as private commissions for non-elite libraries and fourteen (fifty-eight per cent) were more ordinary copies produced presumably for scholars, students and other readers who would have bought them via the commercial book market. Four of these have obvious markers that they were copied by professional scribes working in the book market. The rest are presumed to have also been copied for the same purpose based on appearance. In contrast, manuscripts from the Ottoman period show a marked rise in the copying of the *Sirr* away from commissions in elite libraries. There was a trend towards the *Sirr* being copied for the commercial book market with fifty-one of the fifty-seven manuscripts (eighty-nine per cent) copied between the 10th/16th-13th/19th centuries falling under this category (only six were commissioned within elite libraries). Of the

fifty-one, three were directly commissioned by scholars, seven were copied for personal use, and seventeen (thirty per cent) had other markers indicating they were produced and circulated on the commercial book market (fourteen of which ended up in western European Oriental libraries). A further thirty-eight manuscripts, copied in various periods and contexts, were purchased by Oriental scholars and collectors. Many of these would also have been circulating on the commercial book market at some point (at least at the time of the last purchase) – see **Table 3 (a-d)** for details.

It is difficult to assess the relationship between the number of extant manuscripts from each century and the true number of *Sirr* manuscripts that were produced in that period or whether the numbers represent any peaks in its circulation as there are fewer manuscripts from the earlier centuries than there are from subsequent ones – which is to be expected due to attrition rates and there is a lack of specific research on the subject.⁶⁴ In addition, there is the likelihood of higher attrition rates for more ordinary and widely-circulated manuscripts produced for the non-elite libraries of scholars and students, which would create some bias in the data as they are less likely to survive due to more wear. Taking this into account, the higher numbers of *Sirr* manuscripts that circulated on the commercial market over the later Ottoman period compared to the medieval period is perhaps even more significant.

⁶⁴ Adam Gacek proposes that there are “hundreds of thousands, if not several millions” of Islamic manuscripts extant today but does not attempt to estimate how many there once were. With reference to specifically Arabic language manuscripts, Jonathon Bloom notes that one estimate would put the number of surviving manuscripts from the period before print was introduced at 600,000 and states, “they must represent only a fraction of what was originally produced. See Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), p.x; Jonathon Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p.93.

SCRIBAL PRACTICES & THE COMMERCIAL BOOK MARKET

Identifying individual manuscripts of the *Sirr* that were copied for the commercial market provides more specific evidence of its readers and circulation, thus aiding further understanding of its appeal outside the libraries of the governing elite. Unlike the manuscripts that were commissioned for elite libraries, manuscripts produced for the commercial market are unlikely to feature colophons or titlepages that provide details on the context of production. However, manuscripts of the *Sirr* that were produced for, or later circulated in, the commercial book market can be identified from codicological and palaeological features, and scribal practices, supporting the argument made here of the increased presence of manuscripts on the book market and evidence for the process and context of production.

The copying of a text required the investment of time and money so, apart from short popular liturgical texts or pamphlets, it was rare for books to be produced without either a direct commission from the buyer or via a bookseller who would commission scribes to copy books requested by customers. Some copyists also worked as booksellers or stationers (*warrāq*); others worked for stationers in their stalls and/or could be hired for specific tasks.⁶⁵ Books produced for the commercial book market were produced for a clientele of scholars, students and other members of the literate urban class and secondary elites. As such, they were more austere and utilitarian in comparison to commissioned books for elite libraries. Without the elaborate decorations and detailed dedications to patrons, the skilled craftsmanship and direct

⁶⁵ Johannes Pederson, *The Arabic Book*, trans. Geoffrey French (Princeton, New Jersey; Princeton University Press, 1984) pp.49-50. *Warraqūn* had a range of functions “including the production of paper and the sourcing, storing, selling, and assessing of books, even though not every stationer would engage in all of these activities (Beatrice Gruendler, *The Rise of the Arabic Book* (Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard University Press, 2020), pp.58-62).

presence of the scribes may appear to be lacking. Nevertheless, the traces left by commercial scribes producing manuscripts for the book market can still be identified through distinct, albeit more subtle, scribal and book practices. In addition to the copyist's professional hand in Berlin, SBB, MS Landberg 121, we find corrections in the margins where the text was checked for accuracy against another copy. The same can be found in Gotha, Gotha Research Library (GRL) MS Or.Arab.1869 - another copy from Egypt. Dublin, CBL Arabic 5153 contains a note stating it had been inspected ('*nazar fī kitāb At'af 'ibād Allāh ta'ālā wa-ahwajhum ilayh Muḥammad*' (f.70)), to indicate it was checked for accuracy and a concern to demonstrate the reliability of the text. Similar inspection notices can also be found on f.54 of Vienna, ÖNB MS (NF) 1828 (FIGURE 4.2).

Three of the surveyed manuscripts included a note indicating an interruption in the process of collation of quires (*balāghāt*, *tablīghāt*).⁶⁶ The collation process was a common practice used by scribes to establish the correct transmission of the text by comparing the copy with the exemplar manuscript. This practice initially emerged within the context of religious texts to indicate that written *ahādīth* had been checked and were approved for transmission (thus providing greater confidence in the copy) and eventually became a more widespread practice amongst scribes. As the collation of such texts was usually done over the course of a number of session (*majālis*), a word was inserted in the margins of the manuscript, most often '*balagha*'

⁶⁶ A quire is a gathering of several stacked sheets of paper that were then folded to form a group of leaves or folia, ready to be sold. If folded once, each sheet is referred to as a 'bifolium', thus providing two leaves/folia. The most common form of paper quire (*kurrāsah*) across the Arab and Ottoman world was a quinion (i.e. five bifolia, ten leaves/folia). In the Iranian world and in India, especially from the 11th/17th to 12th/18th centuries, quaternions (four bifolia, 8 leaves) predominated.

(بلغ), to indicate where the collation was interrupted.⁶⁷ The *balagha* collation mark can be found in a number of manuscripts including London Royal Asiatic Society (RAS) MS 57 and Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Arab. 1870.⁶⁸ This checking process provided greater confidence in the accuracy of the copy and improved its commercial value.

Collation (*muqābalah*) statements and inspection notices are another related feature noted in the manuscripts surveyed that show the text has been checked for accuracy and/or collated against another copy. This was done by someone other than the copyist who writes a statement to that effect in the manuscript, sometimes including further information about the copy that was used to collate the text. Such markers of accuracy in non-commissioned manuscripts can serve as indicators that these manuscripts were copied as a commercial text to be sold on by booksellers. Several manuscripts can help us trace back to an early exemplar copy; for example, Beirut, Dār Al-Sharfah, MS Armalet Nr 17/3, which was dated 432/1040-41 – just over 50 years after the earliest citation of the *Sirr*.

⁶⁷ Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp.65-9.

⁶⁸ It is possible that these manuscripts were copied or checked for accuracy in a context where the scribes were more familiar with copying religious texts, as this collation practice first originated amongst scribes copying *hadith* and religious texts. However, this is only a possibility as the practice eventually became common amongst scribes, including Christian scribes (as in the case of MS Cambridge CUL 1083).



FIGURE 4.2: Vienna, ÖNB, MS (NF) 1828, f.54v;
an inspection notice indicates that the manuscript was checked for accuracy (© Österreichische Nationalbibliothek).

Copies made for scholars, whether made by for personal use or by commercial scribes, can sometimes be better, in terms of accuracy, than copies commissioned by a patron where the elegance of the calligraphy and decoration may have taken precedence.⁶⁹ The latter are not, however, always lacking in accuracy or care: the scribe commissioned to produce Princeton, PUL, Garrett 462H makes corrections in the margins of the manuscript, numbering them for ease of reference (FIGURE 4.3). He also glosses certain phrases to clarify or add meaning, for example, with the addition of ‘dishonourable’ (*sāqīṭan lā sharaf lah*) under the phrase ‘lazy like the swine’ (*khumūlan kalkhanzīr*) on f.39r.

⁶⁹ Adam Gacek, *A Vademecum*, p.78.

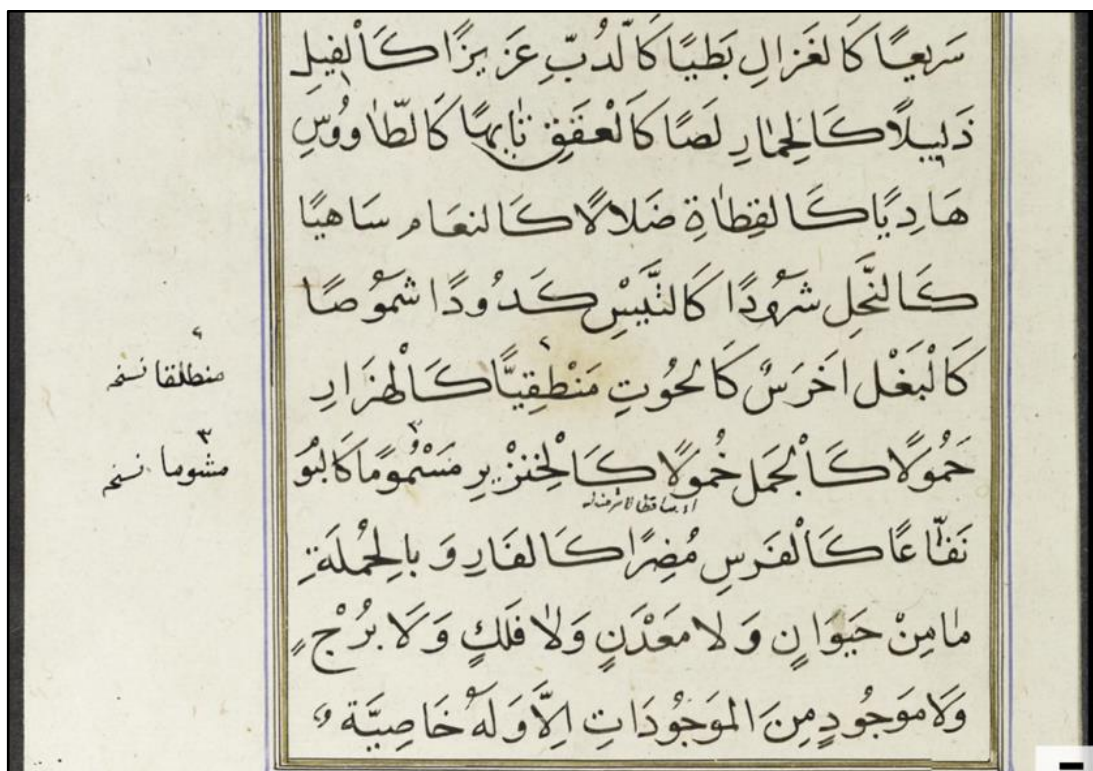


FIGURE 4.3: Princeton, PUL, MS Garrett 462H, f.39r;

corrections to the text have been made in margins and numbered for ease of reference (© Princeton University Library).

Evidence of book practices associated with the commercial market are sometimes in the form of other collational memoranda, such as 'quire numbering'. Once all the text was copied, the quires were then sewn and bound. It was common for the scribe to place a 'catchword' below the last line of the verso of each folio in order to ensure the correct sequence of leaves, with the first word that should appear on the next folio.⁷⁰ Quire signatures (numbering of quires) were also used as an additional method by some of the scribes, in order to ensure the correct sequence in the collation of quires, as found in London, RAS, MS 57 and Istanbul, SK, MS Reisülkütab 1002. Both manuscripts also note the total number of quires (*kurrās*) in the codex on the opening flyleaves of the codex, as an indication of the size of the volume. This

⁷⁰ Adam Gacek, *A Vademecum*, pp.210-13; see also, François Déroche, *Islamic Codicology: a study of manuscripts in Arabic script*, (London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2006), pp.54, 86.

information would have been noted by the bookseller and would be a factor in establishing the sale price. Bookseller's notes can also be found in Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya (DAK), MS Ijtima' Tala'at 615 and DAK, MS 11153 W, where we find the total number of pages is stated for the same purpose. Another manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS Arabe 2419, makes note of the price for which it was sold in the second half of the 13th/17th century - 2 *piastres* (equivalent to 200 *aḳçe*) – providing us with a market value and data that can be compared to labour costs and costs of living.⁷¹ Taken together, alongside other codicological evidence, scribal practices such as collation, correction and inspection notes, and catchwords, assured potential buyers of the accuracy of the text. Alternatively, other markers, such as quire numbers and page numbers, bear witness to the transmission and circulation of the *Sirr* on the book market and indicate a market value for *Sirr* manuscripts.

In some of the manuscripts, scribes reveal other details about the context and circumstances at the point of copying the *Sirr*, such as the particulars of the master or exemplar copy that the scribe was using. Alexandria, Alexandria Municipal Library (AML), MS D2060, which contains the Onomancy extract, was copied in 1117 / 1706 by 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Ḥallāq. Here the scribe also provides details of the exemplar: a book belonging to Zayd ibn Salāḥ al-Dīnārī. Beirut, Dār al-Sharfah, MS Armalet 17/3, is an undated copy of the SF7 (described as a 11th/17th century copy in the catalogue) where the scribe states it was copied from a manuscript dated 432

⁷¹ According to Meredith Moss Quinn in her study of books in 11th/17th century Istanbul, the median book value in the mid-17th century was 150 *aḳçe*. She also helpfully provides comparative costs at the time: a skilled labourer could earn 30 *aḳçe* per day; an unskilled labourer could around 20 *aḳçe*; an *oḳḳa* (equivalent to around 1.3 kilos) of bread cost 3 *aḳçe*; and a *kīle* (equivalent to around 37 litres) of rice, or flour, was worth approximately 60-90 *aḳçe* and 70-100 *aḳçe*, respectively (Meredith Moss Quinn, *Books and Their Readers in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul*, PhD Thesis (Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard University, 2016), pp.42-3, and notes 74-5).

(1030-1). Here, the scribe is emphasising the authority of the early date of the exemplar that was used for copying, revealing that concerns about the origins and authenticity of a copy were a consideration when copying. The scribe of Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2420, Muḥammad ibn al-Faqīh Mūsa ibn Muḥammad ‘Alī, (who helpfully also provides a detailed lineage going back five generations), states that he made his copy from a text belonging to the heirs of one Abū Madīn al-Shāfi‘ī, the *wālī*. In both these examples, the scribe uses the colophon to provide an assurance to the reader of the authority of the copy.

The most comprehensive use of the colophon tool to verify the authenticity of the copy, however, can be found in Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2421, a 12th/18th century copy of the SF where there is not one but three detailed colophons, presented over three pages. The first colophon, placed immediately after the end of text proper, reiterates the information that is in the prologue (dedicating it to the caliph and the details of how the *Sirr* was translated into Arabic). The second colophon appears to be a copy of the colophon in the exemplar manuscript, providing the date it (the exemplar) was copied: in city of Fez on Saturday Jumada II 1119 (1707), from a unique copy present in Fez and in the library of Sultan Mawlay Isma‘īl ibn Sharīf of Morocco (r.1083/1672-1139/1727).⁷² The final colophon is written by the present scribe,

⁷²(f.45r): وذكر كاتبها أنه كان الفراغ من نسخ هذا الكتاب ظهر يوم السبت السادس في جمادى الآخر سنة ألف ومائة وتسعة عشر في الهجرة النبوية على صاحبها أفضل الصلاة وأزكى السلام بخط العبد المذنب أحمد بن السيد عبد القادر الرفاعي المكي الحسيني وذلك في محروسة فاس مدينة العلم والأدب [بحومة المعاد] كتبت من نسخة قوبلت يقول صاحب النسخة التي نقلها منها ليس لهذا الكتاب وجود غير عند الملك إسماعيل وفي فاس نسخة أخرى وفي أولها خرم هكذا اتفق في النسختين المذكورة وهو عزيز جدًا وصلى الله تعالى على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم.

The scribe of this book mentioned that he finished copying it on Saturday afternoon 6th of Jumada II, 1119 A.H - Peace be upon prophet Muhammad – by the sinful, Ahmed bin El-Sayed Abdel Qader Al-Refaay Al-Makky Al-Husseiny in Fez – city of science and literature [...]. This book was written from another copy, whose owner claims that it is only with King Ismail alongside another copy in Fez. Therefore, the book has only these two copies and is considered so valuable. Allah bless prophet Muhammad, his family, and companions.

Khalil bin Hussein Al-Damashqī Al-Qadrī, who names a Ṣūfī scholar as the esteemed patron and provides the place and date of copying: Jerusalem, 15th Sha‘bān 1144 (12th February 1732).⁷³ This information is also found, almost identically, in the colophon of Princeton, PUL, MS Garrett Yahuda 1235, another copy of the SF8. The scribal practices identified here demonstrate the importance of including this aspect of codicological evidence when considering the context in which manuscripts were produced and the processes involved.

THE *SIRR* IN THE MAMLUK & OTTOMAN BOOK MARKETS

Any discussion of the circulation of the *Sirr*, or other Arabic works, on the Ottoman book market inexorably requires a consideration of how the Ottoman book trade was influenced by the scholarly landscape and book markets of the regions it conquered. Most of the extant medieval manuscripts of the *Sirr* were copied in Mamluk Egypt and *Bilād al-Shām*, where manuscript culture and the commercial book trade had been a flourishing feature of the major cities since the second half of the 7th/13th century. This was a period that witnessed a significant political, economic and cultural shift to Cairo and the major Mamluk cities. This shift was paved by the Mongol invasion of Baghdad in 656/1258, their subsequent defeat at ‘Ayn Jalūt in 658/1260, and the relocation of the Abbasid caliph to Cairo in 659/1261. The continuation of the

⁷³(f.45v): وقد كتبت لجناب صدر الموالي العظام وعمدة العلماء الفخام وزين العارفين الكرام سلالة العصابة الهاشمية ویتمة الشجرة العلوية مفخر السادات المكرمين سليل آل طه وياسين جناب أفندينا ومولانا السيد محمد هاشم زاده لطف الله به في الدارين وبلغه ما يتمناه وما يريده باللطافة الخفية أمين على يد العبد الضعيف الفقير الحقير المذنب خليل بن حسين الدمشقي القادري في بيت المقدس في خامس عشري شعبان المبارك سنة أربع وأربعين ومائة وألف. وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم أجمعين.

I wrote to the Excellency of Mr. Mohamed Hashem; the lead of great masters, head of senior scholars, best venerable knowers of Hashemite dynasty and Alawi's ancestry, pride of honourable gentlemen, and a descendant of the family of Prophet Muhammad, may God's kindness surround him in this world and the Hereafter, and all his wishes come true. Amin. This was written by the poor weak guilty man, Khalil bin Hussein Al-Damashqi Al-Qadri in Jerusalem on 15th of Shaaban, 1144 A.H. Allah bless prophet Muhammad, his family, and companions.

movement that saw the Ayyubid military elites and the wealthy building and endowing mosques and institutions of learning had transformed the intellectual culture of these cities. Thomas Bauer describes how the developing education system extended to smaller towns during the Mamluk period, leading “to the spread of mass education that brought about a broad, literate and semi-literate middle class [...] eager to find pleasure in literature, to improve their literary knowledge, and to gain social prestige as cognoscenti of literature and the subtleties of the Arabic language.”⁷⁴ The military elite were generous patrons of the book arts as well. This cultural efflorescence was reflected in the commercial book trade with most of the manuscripts copied not only for scholars and students, but also other members of the secondary elite. One example of this development can be found in al-Maqrīzī’s observation that yet another bookseller’s market appeared on the ‘Palace Walk’ of Cairo, c.700/1300.⁷⁵

From the 10th/16th century onwards, although Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo continued to be important centres of learning, the book trade in Istanbul expanded immensely with valuable manuscripts from various parts of the Islamic world being brought to Istanbul to be sold.⁷⁶ Istanbul became part of a thriving transregional network in the flow of information and books. It was noted in Chapter 3 that the majority of the *Sirr* manuscripts circulating in Egypt and Syria during the Mamluk era were also produced within that region. Many of these books, including several manuscripts of the *Sirr*, were brought to Istanbul from Aleppo and Cairo after the

⁷⁴ Thomas Bauer, *EI3*, s.v. “Anthologies (Part 2: Post-Mongol Period).”

⁷⁵ Noah D. Gardiner, *Esotericism in a Manuscript Culture*, p.272-3. See: Al-Maqrīzī, *Les marches du Caire : traduction annotée du texte de Maqrījī*, trans. André Raymond and Gaston Wiet (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire, 1979), p.189.

⁷⁶ İsmail E Erünsal, ‘The Istanbul Book Trade and Sahafs (Booksellers)’, p.316.

Ottoman conquest. Due to the ways books and knowledge circulated during the Ottoman period, it is not always possible to locate the provenance of manuscripts to a specific region or city, but it is possible to trace the journey some of the *Sirr* manuscripts took over their history. For example, in addition to the aforementioned manuscripts (Istanbul, SK, MS Ayasofya 2890 and SK, MS Süleymaniye 872), which both indicate a Mamluk provenance, SK MS Aşir Efendi (Reisülküttab) 1002 also appears to have been produced in Mamluk Egypt or Syria before it was transferred to Istanbul.⁷⁷ Whilst it does not have a dedication to identify a particular patron, the quality of production, the elaborate illuminated frontispiece corresponding to other commissioned Mamluk designs and the companion text, *Kitāb al-Asad wa-l-Ghawwāş* (a mirror for princes) suggest it was commissioned for a Mamluk ruler or member of the military elite. The Coptic numbering to the folios that was later added points to a Coptic-Christian owner at some point in its history. There are several *ex-libris* notices and on two occasions the pages and quires were counted – presumably to set a price at the time of sale – before it eventually ended up in the personal collection of the Ottoman statesman Muştafā Reisülküttab Efendi in the 12th/18th century.⁷⁸

By the middle of the 10th/16th century, Istanbul had established a thriving book market of its own.⁷⁹ An example of a *Sirr* manuscript that was part of the influx of books to Istanbul is

⁷⁷ It is a very fine illuminated copy that would have been commissioned for a wealthy patron – perhaps a governor or member of the military elite.

⁷⁸ A *Reisülküttab* was the head of the Grand Vizier's administrative offices and a member of the Imperial Divan. From the middle of the 18th century, the role was equivalent to Minister of Foreign Affairs.

⁷⁹ There are early records dating back to December 1519 of booksellers (*sahaf*) in the complex known today as the Grand Bazaar. At this time only three or four book stores were noted there, yet the activities of booksellers across the city must have been notable enough as they appear in one of the clauses of the Fatih Kanunname (the law code of Mehmed II): "The business of the bookbinders was quite good, and the *sahafs* did not sell books at a profit of more than ten [percent]" [See: Yunis Koç, 'La Fixation par Ecrit des Lois Ottomanes et le Role des Codes

London, BL, MS Or 3118, which was copied for the library of the Zaydī Imams of Yemen before it ended up in Ottoman hands, after which it was bound with a Turkish treatise. Another copy belonged to the Grand Vizier to Ahmed III, Şehit ‘Alī Paşa (d.1128/1716), who built up his large collection from across the Ottoman world. Whilst we do not know the exact details of how and from where he acquired his books, we do know where much of it ended up: a major part of his rich library (including the *Sirr*) was endowed to the three libraries he established, the rest were confiscated by the Ottoman Palace after he died on campaign.⁸⁰ The Ottoman official, ‘Alī Emīrī, returned to Istanbul at the beginning of the 20th century after his retirement; he brought with him forty boxes of books that he had collected from various regions over the course of his career, which also included a copy of the *Sirr*. From the 11th/17th century we start to find manuscripts of the *Sirr* produced and purchased in Istanbul being disseminated outward bound to the Ottoman provinces instead. Tracing evidence of this network helps to build a broader picture of the history, places, and contexts in which manuscripts of the *Sirr* were being produced and circulated, particularly in the second half of the *Sirr*’s career. Examples of such exports include Cairo, DAK, MS Taymūr ‘Ijtimā’ 102, a manuscript that was copied Istanbul in 1172/1759 but was exported to Cairo in the late-12th/18th century. Gotha, GRL, MS Turk 1

de Lois, *Etude Accompagnée de l’Edition du Manuscrit de Munich (XVe-XVIe siècles)* (PhD Thesis), Université de Paris I, 1997), p.235 as quoted in İsmail E Erünsal, ‘The Istanbul Book Trade and Sahafs (Booksellers)’ in Coşkun Yılmaz (ed.) *History of Istanbul: From Antiquity to the 21st Century*, Vol.VIII (Istanbul: İSAM, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı), p.313. However, books were expensive, and bookbinders were greater in number than booksellers at the time: due to the high prices of books and insufficient availability of books, *madrasah* students, for example, would copy their own books - During this period in Istanbul, bookbinders did not only bind books but also sold necessary writing materials such as paper, ink, pens etc. By the middle of the 16th century, the booksellers had a bazaar (*Sahafklar Bazaar*) of their own and by the end of that century there are accounts that many books could be found in Istanbul from all over the world. Booksellers could also be found in the courtyards and surroundings of Fatih Mosque - bookselling here likely began in order to meet the book demands of students after teaching was introduced in the Fatih *madrasahs* and continued until the 20th century where book auctions regularly took place in the courtyard of the mosque. [See: İsmail E Erünsal, ‘The Istanbul Book Trade and Sahafs (Booksellers)’ in Coşkun Yılmaz (ed.) *History of Istanbul*, p.315-21].

⁸⁰ İsmail E Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey*, p.134.

includes the Onomancy extract of the *Sirr* within a Turkish-language volume that ended up in Aleppo at the beginning of the 13th/19th century.

Following the provenance of manuscripts before they arrived at their present locations is a particularly useful tool in understanding the history, location and context of production for a significant number of manuscripts currently held in European and north American libraries. Whether produced in the Ottoman capital, or imported to/from the Ottoman provinces, the libraries of European collectors and institutions was another major destination in the trade of Ottoman books. This development is of particular relevance to the present study not only because it informs the wider context of the markets in which the *Sirr* was circulating in the latter stages of its career, but also due to the fact that fifty-two extant manuscripts (forty-nine per cent) surveyed as part of this study are presently held in western European and north American libraries. Most of them were purchased from Istanbul or major provincial cities (mainly in Egypt and *Bilād al-Shām*), either directly or later via book dealers. Since the locative provenance of these manuscripts is not always readily available from catalogue entries and existing documentation, closer examination of the colophons and material evidence and investigation of the acquisition history of western Oriental institutions, has been a necessary tool in identifying the origins and mapping out the places and contexts of production of many of the extant manuscripts in the present survey.

Tracing the provenance of the manuscripts of the *Sirr* in the European Oriental collections (including Berlin, Paris, Leiden, Vienna, St Petersburg, London, Oxford, and Cambridge) finds they mainly hailed from either Istanbul or the major cities in Ottoman provinces, particularly

Cairo, Aleppo, and Damascus, where the presence of multiple copies have already been noted were readily available for purchase. From the second half of the 10th/16th century onwards, Istanbul had become a focus for many western European figures who acquired books from there. Embassy members often took a significant number of books back with them to their countries.⁸¹ Whilst serving as resident of the Dutch Republic to the Ottoman Court in the mid-11th/17th century, Levinus Warner (1618-65) formed a private collection of more than 900 manuscripts. He commissioned his amanuensis to copy the SF8 *Sirr* based on a Maghribi master copy (Leiden, Leiden University (LU), MS Warner 749), which he then bound with a *qasīdah* in praise of Niẓām al-Mulk and another poem, as part of a composite volume. Warner also purchased another two books that included extracts of the *Sirr*. Ex-libris annotations from Warner's manuscripts demonstrate that many of them were originally hailed from senior Ottoman officers or *ulemā'*, and some could be traced to the private libraries of Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers. His collection was bequeathed to Leiden University after his death.⁸²

Sponsored by the dukes of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, Ernest II (1745-1804) and August (1772-1822), the German scientist Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1767-1811) purchased three manuscripts of the LF *Sirr* from Cairo between 1808 and 1809, and one of the Onomancy from Aleppo. Gotha,

⁸¹ İsmail E Erünsal, 'The Istanbul Book Trade and Sahafs (Booksellers)', p.316. For more detailed studies, see: G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1996), pp.26-27; Robert Jones, 'Piracy, War, and Acquisition of Arabic Manuscripts in Renaissance Europe', *Manuscripts of the Middle East* (1987), vol.2, pp.96-110; Sonja Brentjes, 'XVI-XVII. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Batı Avrupalı Gezinler ve Bilimsel Çalışmalar', translated by Meltem Begüm Saatçi, *Türkler*, edited by Hasan Celal Güzel, Kemal Çiçek and Salim Koca (Ankara: Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), pp.251-59.

⁸² See: 'Collection Levinus Warner', Leiden University Libraries:

<https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/1887390> (Accessed 03/11/2019). Levinus Warner moved to Istanbul in 1645 and lived there until his death in 1665, having served as resident for the Dutch Republic since 1654. There is also documentary evidence showing that Warner purchased items at auctions.

GRL, MS Turk 1 was also purchased from Aleppo. Although Seetzen travelled to and purchased books from Istanbul, Damascus, Jerusalem Aleppo, and Cairo, he purchased most of his manuscripts from the latter two cities.⁸³

The transfer of these manuscripts to European libraries reflects the broader pattern of acquisitions of books, mainly from the Ottoman world, to furnish the developing collections of European Oriental libraries. Other manuscripts of the *Sirr*, for example Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud 210, were acquired via commercial establishments such as the Levant Company, which had set up exclusive trading rights with the Ottomans. It is beyond the remit of the present discussion to detail the history of each group of manuscripts that ended up in Oriental libraries, or address the history of Ottoman-European book trade sufficiently. The extent of the trade can be summarised by the fact that the Grand Vizier, Şehit ‘Alī Paşa, was so disturbed at the level of European activity in the book market in the early 12th/18th century that he persuaded Sultan Ahmed III to pass a law banning the sale of books to foreigners.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the sale of books to Europeans continued, somewhat surreptitiously, with Turkish subjects connected or working for foreign missions continuing to assist in the purchase of books.⁸⁵

⁸³ For details of Seetzen’s collecting see: ‘Orientalia’: <https://www.uni-erfurt.de/en/library/welcome-to-the-gotha-research-library/collections/manuscripts-oriental/> (accessed October 2019).

⁸⁴ When the French Orientalist Guillaume Postel returned to France after living in Istanbul during the years 1534-37 and 1549-50, he took with him a considerable number of manuscripts [see: G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1996), pp.26-27; Sonja Brentjes, ‘Seeking, Transforming, Discarding Knowledge’, *Travellers from Europe in the Ottoman and Safavid Empires, 16th-17th Centuries* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010), p.27].

⁸⁵ İsmail E Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey*, p.46; see also: *Râşid Tarihi*, vol. IV (Istanbul: 1282 AH), p.238. The ambassador to Istanbul during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, Busbecq, provides the following account of the books he took back to Vienna in the 16th century: “I brought a significant amount of old coins, most of which I will present to His Majesty. Additionally, I sent if not a ship load, then a wagon load of ancient Greek manuscripts and around 240 books by sea to Venice. They will be transported to Vienna to be placed in the king’s library.” There is documentation from Jacobus Golius (1596-1667) and Levinus Warner (1619-65) of books they purchased from booksellers in Istanbul, which were then used to create they basis for the Oriental

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4.4: NEW READING PUBLICS & THE EMERGENCE OF INDEPENDENT PUBLIC LIBRARIES

The ongoing boom in the Ottoman book market was driven by an increasing demand for private ownership of books for those with the means to purchase. Private ownership was partly influenced by changes to reading practices and increasing rates of literacy amongst the urban classes, which created greater access to books (and brought with it new readers). Whilst there is still a lot of work to be done in the field of reading, writing and book practices over the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, there is evidence to suggest that by the 9th/15th century, there was a general shift away from communal book practices (such as the popularity of audition sessions where books were read aloud to an audience) towards private reading practices. This development meant that alongside their wider accessibility, books were increasingly accepted as independent sources of knowledge that did not require the authority of living teachers as vehicles to transmit the knowledge contained in them. With reference to the 8th/14th-century Mamluk context, Hirschler has observed that the phrase *qara'a bi-nafsihi* ('he reads on his own') "occurred only occasionally in biographical dictionaries referring to scholars [...] such as al-Dhahabi's *History of Islam*. In the dictionaries that dealt with scholars of the following century, however, we observe a veritable explosion of this phrase".⁸⁶ This move towards

collection in Leiden University. Throughout the seventeenth century, western scholars, including Greaves, Pococke, Ravius, Colbert and Erpenius, acquired large collections that went on to furnish the libraries of their native countries. Antoine Galland came to Istanbul with the French ambassador Marquis de Nointel and mentions in his diary, dated 1672-73, that he saw more than a hundred books [see: İsmail E Erünsal, 'The Istanbul Book Trade and Sahafs (Booksellers)', p.315-17].

⁸⁶ Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word*, pp.14-15. According to the studies by Vajda and Leder, the practice of audition sessions whereby a text was read out loud and studied in a group setting reached its peak in the 6th/12th through to 8th/14th centuries and then declined sharply in the 9th/15th century.

private reading practices would have been a factor in the increased commercial book trade and private ownership of books.

The continued flourishing and expansion of the book market in major cities can also be understood in light of the work of several other historians who have studied the increase in the number of non-scholarly, non-elite readers over the course of the Ottoman period. Although it is unclear what percentage of people were literate, there have been some studies offering insights. Derin Terzioğlu has focussed on the example of Ottoman catechisms to argue that by the late 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries urbanisation and the availability of Qur'anic primary schools meant that non-scholarly groups such as craftsmen, merchants, and soldiers, became readers and consumers of books. This led to the emergence of “a new reading public in major cities like Istanbul” to an extent not previously seen.⁸⁷ The emergence of new reading communities was not just limited to Istanbul. Nelly Hanna has argued that there was higher literacy and increased consumption of books in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th century Cairo as result of a strengthening of its “middle class” and an increase in book output. Hanna's work includes the many ways literacy was acquired, attributing the increased book output to lower book prices and higher demand.⁸⁸ Dana Sajdi has studied the emergence of non-scholarly

See also: Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria (1250-1517): Scribes, Libraries and Market* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018).

⁸⁷ Derin Terzioğlu, ‘Where ‘Ilm-i Hāl Meets Catechism: Islamic Manuals of Religious Instruction in the Ottoman Empire in the Age of Confessionalization’, *Past & Present* 220, no.1 (August 2013), pp.84-5. See also: Meredith Moss Quinn, *Books and Their Readers*, p.11.

⁸⁸ Nelly Hanna, *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Syracuse, NY; Syracuse University Press, 2003), p.2. See also: Meredith Moss Quinn, *Books and Their Readers*, p.12 - Hanna's argument for increased output partly rests on a higher rate of manuscript survival from the 18th century over the 17th century, but as this is to be expected, there is some weakness in her argument about this.

authors in 12th/18th century Damascus, arguing that they enjoyed “several and diverse audiences”, linking this development to a “cultural literacy” among “regular people.”⁸⁹

The booming book market and rising rates of literacy over the Ottoman period resulted in increased access to the *Sirr* - and books in general - for a broader demography of readers. However, it does not necessarily follow that these developments resulted in increased ownership of books. In the 13th/17th century Ottoman context, book ownership was still limited. A minority of collectors accounted for most of the books held in private libraries. Book ownership was highly concentrated among wealthy men who bore the title of *efendī* (master, or sir), who were often scholars and judges educated in religious colleges (*medreses*) and other members of elite society.⁹⁰ The marks of ownership and transfer in the manuscripts of the *Sirr* point to the documented owners and primary readers all being men, but that is not to say there were no female readers. Private libraries would have been accessible to all members of the household, and women would have had a share in the inheritance of any libraries that were passed down too.

It was the establishment a new type of library, initially concentrated in Istanbul, that provided greater open access to readers than ever before - the endowment of independent public libraries. These independent libraries often included copies of the *Sirr*, giving access to our treatise to these ‘new reading publics’ in major cities. These broad demographics of readers no

⁸⁹ Dana Sajdi, *The Barber of Damascus: Nouveau Literacy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Levant* (Stanford, CA; Stanford University Press, 2013), pp. 6, 8, 113-14.

⁹⁰ Meredith Moss Quinn, *Books and Their Readers in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul*, pp.5, 29, 85-90.

longer required access to books via institutional libraries or private ownership; a factor that no doubt impacted the remarkable longevity of the *Sirr*'s career as well. Of course, endowed libraries had been a common feature of large parts of the Islamic world since the 6th/12th to 7th/13th century, but up until the 11th/17th century they were attached to institutions.⁹¹ It has already been noted in Chapter 3 and earlier in the present chapter that the *Sirr* could be found in a variety of collections in these libraries where they offered more public access. From palace and elite libraries, the private collections of scholars, bibliophiles and statesmen, to the libraries annexed to public institutions, each of these types of libraries included manuscripts of the *Sirr* and had varying degrees of access to readers beyond the immediate owners. Although the palace and other private libraries in which the *Sirr* could be found were essentially for the benefit of the owner (and his household), some of them also served a public (or at least semi-public) function since it was common practice to provide access to members of the court and urban elite, and for scholars and students to be permitted to consult the collection and carry out research there.⁹²

⁹¹ These libraries soon became a common feature across the Islamic east, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, the eastern Mediterranean and north Africa - within mosques, colleges, Sufi, or dervish, convents, and other institutions. The size of what is referred to as a library in sources (*khizāna*) could be anything from a book chest or a group of shelves for storing manuscripts to several thousand volumes. See: Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: a social and cultural history of reading practices* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), . See also: Ruth Mackensen, 'Arabic Books and Libraries in the Umayyad Period (continued)' in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 53 no.4 (July, 1937) pp.239-50, esp. pp.240-42]. Larger private collections include that of scholars like Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭawūs (d. 664/1266), who lived in Baghdad [see: Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭawūs and His Library* (Leiden: Brill, 1992)].

⁹² Of course, there was some variation between libraries in the amount of access that was granted to these groups. Most palace libraries were open at least to the courtiers, with others open to scholars too. See: Ruth Mackensen, 'Arabic Books and Libraries', pp.239-50; Ahmed-Chouqui Binebine, *Histoire des Bibliothèques au Maroc* (Rabat: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de Rabat, 1992); Julián Ribera, *Bibliófilos y bibliotecas en la España musulmana* (Zaragoza: La Derecha, 1896); Youssef Eche, *les Bibliothèques Arabes Publiques et Semi-Publiques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie et en Égypte au Moyen Age*, (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1967) p.26; Olga Pinto, *The Libraries of the Arabs during the Times of the Abbasids* 3 (1929), pp.210-43, esp. p.220; Ribhi Mustafa Elayyan, 'The History of the Arabic-Islamic Libraries: 7th to 14th Centuries' in *International Library Review* 22, no.2 (June 1990), pp.119-35, esp. p.123; Marie-Geneviève Balty-Guesden, 'Le Bayt al-Ḥikmah de Baghdad' in *Arabica* 39, no.32 (1992) pp.131-50, esp p.132. For Palace libraries of the Ottoman

In the Ottoman context, the Palace Treasury lent books within the palace.⁹³ The private collections and manuscripts holdings of scholars and members of the elite were also sometimes open to other scholars and people outside the owner's household or family. Certainly, access could be granted through personal acquaintance, but essentially it was the individual owner who controlled the level of access to the books meaning there was a limit to the overall number of readers that would have been able to access or engage with an individual manuscript - even if it exchanged hands several times throughout its history.⁹⁴ In the Ottoman context, a good example of this is Faḍil Aḥmad Paşa who was known for making his considerable collection available to others.⁹⁵

Over the course of the Ottoman period, a large network of institutional libraries evolved in Istanbul and across present-day Turkey.⁹⁶ These libraries created access to books for a greater

rulers see: Ismail E. Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey of the History, Development and Organisation of the Ottoman Foundation Libraries* (Cambridge, Mass.; The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures, Harvard University, 2008), pp.18-25.

⁹³ Meredith Moss Quinn, *Books and Their Readers*, p.68.

⁹⁴ The earliest private libraries in Madīnah were established as early as the 1st/7th century - for example, scholars had access to *Bayt al-Jumuḥī* or *Bayt Ibn Abī Laylā*; over the centuries other private libraries offered similar levels of access (Celeste Gianni, *History of Libraries in the Islamic World: A Visual Guide*, (Fano: Gimiano Editore, 2016), p.12 and *passim*).

⁹⁵ Meredith Moss Quinn, *Books and Their Readers*, p.70: [see: Bekir Kütükoğlu, *Kâtib Çelebi Fezleke 'sinin Kaynakları* (Istanbul: Edebiyat Kakültesi Matbaası, 1974), pp.17-56; Mustafa Naima, *Târih-i Na 'îmâ*, p.4]. The historian Muḥammad Emin Muḥibbî (d.1111/1699) was granted access to use the private library of his teacher and noted bibliophile 'Izzetî Meḥmed Efendi (d.1092/1681) [see: İsmail Durmuş, 'Muḥibbî, *Tükiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* c.31 p.35].

⁹⁶ Libraries and book collections attached to mausoleums, *madrasahs* and Şūfī *ribāṭs* (*khāniqāh*) were established through *waqf* donations in and around Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriqīn (See: Youssef Eche, *les Bibliothèques Arabes*, p.201).

By the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, in addition to the libraries founded in mosques, *madrasahs* and mausoleums, the Ottomans established numerous college libraries that had begun to appear in cities like Bursa, Balıkesir, Merzifon, Edirne, Skopje (now in Macedonia) and, after its conquest in 1453, in Istanbul. See: İsmail E Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey of the History, Development and Organisation of Ottoman Foundation Libraries*, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 84 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2008), pp.11-19.

number and range of readers. The *Sirr* has been shown to have been present in at least three of these types of institutional libraries, namely teaching institutions and mausoleums (the Ashrafiyyah Library) and mosques (from Tunis and San'ā to Istanbul). The size of these libraries was variable, but they were all founded as a pious foundation, or endowment (*waqf/vaqfiye*), for the benefit of the students, the public or anyone seeking knowledge. Some of these library collections consisted of the basic collection that was endowed through the foundation deeds, others grew as subsequent endowments were made to the founding collection.⁹⁷ This was followed by a new impetus in the development of libraries after the period known as the 'Tulip Period' (1130/1718-1143/1730) in the second part of Ahmed III's reign.⁹⁸ The reign of Mahmud I oversaw many large-scale library projects including the Ayasofya (in 1153/1740), Fatih (in 1155/1742) and Galata Sarayı (in 1167/1754) libraries. These libraries were distinguished by their rich collections, large staff and sophisticated organisation.⁹⁹ The founders were generally part of the ruling elite looking to emulate the Sultan in their charitable works. It was normal

⁹⁷ From the beginning of the 10th/16th century, prominent Ottoman figures began donating books, or their own libraries (anywhere from 37 to 210 books) to libraries within existing institutions in the capital and other provincial towns and cities.

⁹⁸ The Tulip period witnessed a burst of creativity including the building of palaces, various entertainments and cultural activities, the translation of works into Turkish and the introduction of printing.

⁹⁹ İsmail E Erünsal, 'Ottoman Foundation Libraries: Their History and Organisation' in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, XXX (2007), pp.12-14; İsmail E Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey*, pp.17-30. The size of these libraries overall would vary anywhere between a dozen books in smaller mosques up to several thousand books in large libraries. Other large libraries at the time, such as those of Atıf Efendi (1741), Fatih (1742) and Reisülküttab Mustafa Efendi (1747) contained between 1000 and 2000 books. By the reign of Mahmud II (r.1808-39), the Ayasofya had the largest collection, which is reported to have contained 4000 volumes - the Ayasofya library was under the care of more than 20 staff [Şubhî, *Tarîkh* (Istanbul: 1198), p.174b as mentioned in İsmail E. Erünsal, 'The Establishment and Maintenance of Collections', p.4, see n.24]. The richest library collection in the 12th/18th century was that of Nurosmaniye Library (1755), which contained over 5000 books donated by Osman III (r.1754-57), the brother of Mahmud I (see Erünsal, 'The Establishment and Maintenance of Collections', p.4 n.23 which cites Şükrü Yenal, 'Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Enderun Kitaplığı, *Güzel Sanatlar* 6 (Istanbul; 1949) p.90).

practice for scholars and the *'ulemā'* to bequeath their books either to an institutional library or left them along with their house, which became a library for local people.¹⁰⁰

Endowment libraries meant that new readers could now access the *Sirr*, and other books, more generally without the prerequisite of financial means to purchase or personal acquaintance of someone with a private collection. Endowment deeds usually specified for whom and for what purposes the books were to be made available. Those with access would have been able not only to read the *Sirr* in these libraries, but also to use the books to make their own copies. According to the deeds endowing the library of Fāḫil Aḥmad Paṣa (in the late 1670s), the library was intended for “seekers of knowledge, and stationers,” for them “to come, and to read, and to copy.”¹⁰¹ Comments in Kātip Çelebi’s bibliographical citations that a given book could be found in the library of the Ayasofya or the Mehmed II Mosque, demonstrate that scholars had access and were aware of the contents of endowed libraries. He specifically mentions having seen the *Sirr* in Ayasofya.¹⁰² It was also possible for the books to be lent out to readers to read

¹⁰⁰ İsmail E. Erünsal, ‘The Establishment and Maintenance of Collections’, pp.1-17, esp. pp.1-2.

¹⁰¹ Meredith Moss Quinn, *Books and Their Readers in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul*, p.64. See also: “*Talebe-yi ‘ilm ve varrākīn varup ḥizāne-i mezbūrede mütāla ‘a ve istinsāḥ idüp ...*” Fāḫil Aḥmad Paṣa vakfiya (Köprülü Kütüphanesi Ekler 2447), f.43a. In his PhD thesis, Yavuz Sezer notes that the architecture of 18th century Ottoman libraries had evolved to facilitate the copying of manuscripts: Yavuz Sezer, *The Architecture of Bibliophilia: eighteenth century Ottoman libraries*, PhD thesis (Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2016).

¹⁰² For the reference to Mehmed II mosque, see Kātip Çelebi, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn ‘an Asāmī al-Kutub wa-l-Funūn*, Edited by Şerifettin Yaltkaya and Kilisi Rifat Bilge (Istanbul; Maarif Matbaası, 1941), p.1651; see his entries no. 7102 and 10202 for reference to the *Sirr* in the Ayasofya.

at home, to copy, or to commission a scribe to copy.¹⁰³ However, the full extent to which any member of the public was freely granted access is not quite certain.¹⁰⁴

The emergence of independent public libraries from the second half of the 11th/17th century was much more significant in terms of granting real public access to collections. That is, public libraries established through pious foundations that were endowed with collections and housed independently in their own building (not attached to other institutions), where the *Sirr* soon had an expected presence too.¹⁰⁵ This development gave a new lease of life to the *Sirr* manuscripts that were identified earlier in this chapter as belonging to the private collections of Ottoman statesmen and officials. The copies of the *Sirr* that were endowed to these libraries became publicly available in a truer sense than before; they were accessible to an even broader readership as the library had no affiliation to any other institution. The first independent library, the Köprülü library, was founded by Köprülü Mehmed Paşa (d.1071/1661), the Grand Vizier to Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87). This library was established with the endowment of 2000 volumes to which his son, and later other members of this family, endowed their own personal libraries.

¹⁰³ In the memoirs of his stay in Istanbul in 1672-73, Antoine Galland wrote that it was possible to borrow copies of books from the Hâfız Aḥmad Paşa Mosque in order to read or copy. He also provides details of the lending process:

“Each of the books is made up of seven volumes. Each person who comes is given one of [the volumes] as long as he leaves two piastres, which he receives back whenever he brings back the volume. The money serves as a pledge for the purpose of buying another volume, in case the one that was borrowed is not returned.” [Galland, *Journal d’Antoine Galland*, pp.234-6 as cited and translated by Meredith Moss Quinn, *Books and Their Readers in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul*, p.65].

¹⁰⁴ Meredith Moss Quinn, *Books and Their Readers in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul*, p.69: “A 1583 ferman to the trustee of the Selimiye institution in Erdine ordered that a poet be able to use the book collection there. Evidently, a Sultan’s order was necessary to ensure that this happened.” [see: İsmail E. Erünsal, *The Archival Sources of Turkish Literary History, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures, Turkish Sources 75* (Cambridge, MA; NELC, Harvard University, 2008), p.24.

¹⁰⁵ Independent libraries had their own foundation deeds and provisions for their future through endowments that generate the income to maintain and run the libraries.

One of these members, Hacı Ahmed Paşa, endowed the Köprülü with a 6th/12th century volume that included the Onomancy extract (one of the earliest extant manuscript witnesses), reflecting its contemporary reputation for rare books.¹⁰⁶ The library was completed in 1678 within a complex that was intended to include a college, a mosque and public baths, all surrounding Köprülü's mausoleum. As it was a general rule that a college would have its own library, the Köprülü library was originally intended to be a college library and therefore its contents were largely college textbooks, mainly in Arabic, that were regarded of interest to a college readership.¹⁰⁷ The Onomancy extract of the *Sirr* was included here as part of a volume that was intended to be read by teachers and students at the time it was endowed.¹⁰⁸

The Köprülü Library represented a major transformation in the endowment of libraries, but it would be another fifty years before another independent library was established. In 1715, the Grand Vizier Şehit 'Alî Paşa endowed his personal collection containing between 1000 and 2000 books (which as noted earlier included a copy of the *Sirr*) to the library he established, providing another example of a copy of the *Sirr* made available to the public.¹⁰⁹ Over the 12th/18th century there was an eruption in the number of independent libraries in Istanbul.

¹⁰⁶ Meredith Moss Quinn, *Books and Their Readers in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul*, pp.81-2.

¹⁰⁷ It was only due to Köprülü Meḥmed Paşa's untimely death that his library came into being the first independent library. At the time of his death in 1661, Köprülü Meḥmed Paşa had only managed to complete the building of the public baths, the college and mausoleum. It fell to his sons, Fāḫil Aḥmad Paşa and Fāḫil Muşṭafā Paşa, to complete the building of the library. By the time the library was completed, and the foundation deeds needed to be prepared, the other buildings had been open and had their own foundations deeds. Therefore, Fāḫil Mustafa Paşa established deeds specific to the library and its employees independent of the rest of the complex. See: İsmail E. Erünsal, 'The Establishment and Maintenance of Collections', pp.1-17, esp. pp.2-3. See also: M. Gökman, *Kütüphanelerimizden Notlar* (Istanbul: 1952), p.36.

¹⁰⁸ Istanbul, Köprülü Library, MS Köprülü II 342.

¹⁰⁹ MS: Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Şehit 'Alî 1350/2. See: İsmail E. Erünsal, 'The Establishment and Maintenance of Collections', p.4. When Şehit 'Alî Paşa died on campaign, a large part of the remaining part of his rich library was confiscated by Sultan Ahmed III (İsmail E Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey*, p.134).

Another Grand Vizier, Muṣṭafā Efendī ‘*Reisülküttab*’, endowed his personal library, which included a manuscript of the *Sirr*, as the founding collection of the library he established. Istanbul, SK, MS Aşir Efendi (Reisülküttab) 1002 was intended to be endowed to the library Muṣṭafā Efendī planned to establish in Istanbul. His *waqf* stamp can be seen on the illuminated titlepage of this manuscript dated 1154/1741, the year he made provision for his library to be shared among a mosque and college he had built. By 1160/1747, Mustafa Efendī had plans to construct a library in Istanbul and made provision in a new will for his books to be donated to it, but he died before the task could begin. It was then left to his son, *Şeyhülislam* Aşir Efendi, to eventually complete the task; he finished the construction in 1215/1800. The Aşir Efendi Library contained a reading room, a classroom for teaching, and, in addition, the observation of religious activities such as the recitation of religious poems (the *mevlid-i şerif* on special occasions) and reading passages of the Qur’an in dedication to the founder.¹¹⁰ Here the *Sirr* was part of a collection that was conceived to have an emphasis on teaching. Whilst in other libraries the librarians were often expected to carry out any associated teaching functions, in this library separate teachers were appointed.¹¹¹

In line with the broader interest in the *Sirr* that continued into the late 13th/19th century, the *Sirr* could still be found as part of private collections that were donated as part of an endowment to public libraries right up until the early 14th/20th century. In 1334/1916, ‘Alī Emīrī Efendi (1270/1854-1342/1924) donated his copy of the *Sirr* to the Millet Kütüphanesi (Istanbul,

¹¹⁰ İsmail E Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey*, p.61.

¹¹¹ The library also received large additional endowments from his relatives and descendants. (İsmail E Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey*, p.167).

Millet Kütüphanesi, MS ‘Alī Emīrī Arab 2894).¹¹² He presented the library with 15,000 volumes, of which 4424 were manuscripts. His books were augmented with the earlier *madrasah* library of Fayzullah Efendi (of 2162 manuscripts) to establish the founding collection.¹¹³ Similar donations of manuscripts of the *Sirr* to national libraries occurred across the Islamic world around this time as the era of manuscript culture came to an end.

The presence of the *Sirr* in independent libraries - and the greater access this gave to the new reading publics – raises the question of collecting practices and how library users would have engaged with the *Sirr*. Were the contents of the libraries based on chance or designed with their patrons in mind? How much and what kind of access did these libraries create? What is unique to the *Sirr* here in comparison to any other work that formed part of the collections? And how does this add to our understanding of the *Sirr*’s reception history and career? Although it is beyond the remit of such a diachronic study to satisfactorily answer all these questions about one specific aspect of the *Sirr*’s career, a few observations can be made here.

Firstly, the types of books available in independent libraries covered a broad range of subjects that would appeal to a range of readers. Unsurprisingly, some of them reflected the personality and particular tastes of the founder. Although many of the books belonging to Şehit ‘Alī Paşa,

¹¹² Millet Kütüphanesi is also known as the Millet National Library.

¹¹³ Emīrī was its director until he died. In 1962 the Millet Kütüphanesi was named İhalk Kütüphanesi. Günay Kut ‘Manuscript Libraries in Istanbul’, pp.24-43: <https://www.istor.org/stable/23058134> (accessed 19/09/2020).

for example, were on history, his collection also covered philosophy, literature and the sciences - in particular astronomy.¹¹⁴

Secondly, the fact that the *Sirr* was a staple of the (small and large) personal libraries of Grand Viziers and the elite that subsequently formed the founding collections of independent libraries, was a significant factor in its inclusion in so many independent libraries. Yet the contents of libraries were not just limited to what was endowed by the founder and his family. Sometimes, books were acquired in response to readers' requirements. There are records, for example, that show that one of the administrators of Köprülü library, Asım Bey, acquired books that students sought and left a sum of money to meet their future needs as part of an endowment to the library.¹¹⁵

Thirdly, as with institutional libraries, manuscripts of the *Sirr* found in independent libraries could be used in a number of ways: to read and consult, to copy, as part of teaching, or to borrow for the purposes of either reading at home or copying (which was standard practice).¹¹⁶ Furthermore, public access to these libraries was more of a universal given rather than the sometimes-discretionary practices that may have existed in some institutional libraries (and private collections), making them public institutions in a truer sense. Housed in independent buildings, the barriers that might have existed in some of the libraries affiliated to institutions

¹¹⁴ İsmail E. Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey*, p.8. Other examples of this include the libraries of the poets Ragib Paşa (est. 1762) and Halet Efendi (est. 1820), which included many literary books.

¹¹⁵ İsmail E. Erünsal, 'The Establishment and Maintenance of Collections', p.5. See also: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Archive No. 580, pp.13-14.

¹¹⁶ The foundation deed of the Köprülü Library included conditions for the lending of books, with safeguards to ensure their return. İsmail E. Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey*, pp.43-44.

were removed. As such, the routine inclusion of the *Sirr* in these libraries means that from the second half of the 11th/17th century they served a crucial part in its circulation to a broader demographic of readers than ever before.

Whilst some of the observations made about the *Sirr* within the context of broader changes in book history in the Islamic world are equally applicable to *any* work that continued to circulate and be found in libraries, this does not detract from the significance of the fact that the *Sirr did* survive when many other works fell out of favour or were forgotten over time and that these developments in the history of the Arabic book are manifested in the material evidence of the *Sirr's* career. The fact that it was selected as a staple presence in every sort of library and collection - and that it continued to circulate up until the early 14th/20th century - even when the primary focus of its companion books was theological or historical, for example speaks to its universal appeal.

* * *

4.5 CONCLUSION

Although literary references to the *Sirr* in Egypt and *Bilād al-Shām* appear to diminish after the 9th/15th century, there is plenty of evidence of its ongoing production and circulation in the region up until the late 13th/19th to early 14th/20th century - in fact, until the demise of manuscript culture itself. Nevertheless, there were changes in the way the *Sirr* was transmitted, copied, and the people for whom it was copied. The extant manuscripts demonstrate that although the SF was still being copied and circulated, the LF was more favoured for copying in

the Ottoman period. The ownership patterns also changed, with fewer being commissioned by rulers and members of the elite. The few extant manuscripts that were commissioned for elite libraries, were produced outside the Ottoman world (these manuscripts will be discussed in Chapter 5). That is not to say that the Ottoman elite of the 10th/16th to 13th/19th century were not interested in the *Sirr*. There were at least seven copies of the work in the Ottoman imperial library in 908/1502-3 when the royal librarian, ‘Atūfī, was given the task of making an Inventory of Bayezid II’s library; some of these books would have been present since the time of Mehmed II. The classification of entries in his Inventory show that it was invariably read as a work of advice, a work of Sufi interest, and as a work of the occult sciences – speaking to the different reading communities who engaged with the *Sirr* even in one library. The *Sirr* could also be found in other elite Ottoman libraries: amongst the personal collections of grand viziers, statesmen, and other officials.

Alongside Chapter 3, this chapter represents the first attempt to provide a comprehensive history on the career of the *Sirr* and is the only study that has gathered and analysed evidence of all known extant manuscripts to argue for a reception and transmission history and goes beyond the scattered references in secondary studies on other subjects. This chapter has synthesised the literature on studies related to concepts of justice (particularly the relevant examples from across the Middle East noted by Linda Darling), the emergence of public libraries (İsmail Erünsal), book history and developments in the book trade (Konrad Hirschler, Meredith Quinn) along with my own analysis of the provenance of *Sirr* manuscripts and has used this as a lens through which to understand patterns of manuscript survival and offer further insights into the new lease of life the work was given under the Ottomans. I have argued

that, despite a decrease in citations of the *Sirr* in the work of writers from elsewhere in the Islamic world, Ottoman writers embraced the *Sirr* - in particular the Circle of Justice – first, within Persian texts that made reference to the Circle (such as Dawānī and Kashifī) and the Persian translation of the *Sirr*, and then, through the Arabic text itself. Next, came the Turkish translation of the Circle by Kinalizade in 1565, followed shortly after by Nevalī's Turkish translation of the abridged text of the *Sirr* carried out at the behest of the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa in 969/1571. These developments brought widespread familiarity with the *Sirr* amongst readers in major Ottoman cities, who continued to draw from it in their political commentary, demands for justice and economic reform up until the late 13th/19th century.

I have drawn on manuscript evidence to demonstrate that although the *Sirr* had an appeal to a range of readers throughout its history, the Ottoman period witnessed a distinct shift in readership towards scholars, students and the rising numbers of the literate urban class who became the primary sources of commissions. Additionally, copies were produced for personal use and for library patrons. I have demonstrated the value of the identification of provenance and codicological analysis of scribal book practices in understanding some of the shifts in reading patterns, as well as the contexts, purposes and processes involved in the production of the manuscripts that transmitted the text. This method of investigating reception history has helped identify the extensive evidence of the increasing circulation of the *Sirr* on the commercial book market up until the 13th/19th centuries. I have shown that these developments also need to be understood within the context of the broader changes in reading and book practices over the Ottoman period: the continued flourishing of the commercial book trade that built on a booming Mamluk book market; the move towards private reading

practices from the 9th/15th century; and the rise in the number of non-scholarly readers in major cities in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries.

Furthermore, we can add the availability of the *Sirr* in endowed libraries, initially attached to teaching institutions from the 7th/13th century, and later as a staple feature of the independent public libraries that were established from the second half of the 12th/18th century onwards. Many of the copies of the *Sirr* that have been traced to the personal libraries of grand viziers and statesmen were later endowed to these newly established libraries. Independent libraries gave access to the work to a whole new community of readers who could read, copy, and borrow the work without requiring the financial means, or the personal connections to private owners, or libraries within institutions, that had previously been a pre-requisite. The inclusion of our treatise in so many types of libraries and collections is a testament to the range of readers who engaged with it: rulers and members of the elite; scholars, and students who read it in private libraries or within teaching collections or mosques.

Such a wide-angled history looking at broad shifts in reception and transmission as the one presented in the chapters thus far does not permit space to explore, in detail, the broad demographics of scholars and students who read and engaged with the *Sirr*. This requires a detailed analysis of its own and forms the focus of the next chapter.

* * *

CHAPTER 5

MANUSCRIPTS, READERS & READING COMMUNITIES

5.0 INTRODUCTION

There were broad shifts in the types of readers who commissioned, copied, owned, and read the *Sirr* from the 10th/16th century onwards. Close examination of the extant manuscripts of the *Sirr* points to some of the diverse contexts and heterogeneous reading communities in which the *Sirr* circulated, as well as interesting details about the circumstances of production. Analysis of distinct features of manuscripts can reveal a range of reader interests: from material evidence of scribes guiding potential readers through certain sections of the text, to reader notes, paratextual features (including aspects of presentation of the text as carried out by the scribe and readers' notes), and other features of direct reader engagement with the text. Analysis of such elements builds a micro-level picture of the manuscript readers and the reading communities to which they belonged. Sometimes these readers' interests traversed the material; at other times interest was more focussed on specific sections or elements of the work.

Parallel to the micro-level study, examination of the other contents with which the *Sirr* was physically bound as a codex allows us to further contextualise the reading communities who engaged with the *Sirr* as part of a repertoire of works customised for individual reader interests – either as part of multiple-text manuscripts (MTM) where all the component works in a volume were copied together by the same scribe, or composite manuscripts (CM) where the component works were copied at different times by different scribes and later bound together.

Examining the manuscripts in this way builds a more comprehensive picture of readers and reading communities: it provides a macro-level understanding of readership patterns, and the way readers classified the *Sirr* via the types of texts that were read alongside the *Sirr*. Macro-perspectives can also be gathered from archival evidence (such as the Ashrafiyyah library catalogue and ‘Atūfī’s Inventory of the Imperial library) that points to the reception history of the *Sirr* and the way it was classified within historical collections.

The present chapter continues the aims of this thesis as the first study that reconstructs the career trajectory of the *Sirr*, but shifts the focus to readers and how they engaged with the text. In this chapter, I will examine the manuscript evidence to understand the interests of readers who engaged with the *Sirr*, building a picture of the reading communities and the multi-faceted ways in which readers engaged with the *Sirr*. I will begin by providing a brief overview of the types of material evidence that have been used to identify the heterogeneous nature of the reading communities engaging with the *Sirr* between the 10th/16th and 13th/19th centuries. What kind of cues can be used as signs of the personal interests of readers? How were readers invited to engage with the work in particular ways through scribal practices? The chapter then moves to the more substantial part of the chapter, which argues that there were five broad categories of reading communities who primarily engaged with the *Sirr*, particularly in the second half of its career. As stated in the previous chapter, the fact that most of the surviving corpus of manuscripts originates from the Ottoman realm after the 10th/16th century onwards means that much of the discussion pays attention to the Ottoman period, but where possible, earlier manuscript contexts will also be referred to. In addition, the discussion will include

evidence of the transmission of the *Sirr* outside the Ottoman realms where it provides new insights into its career history.

In terms of methodology, this chapter argues for the importance of using manuscript evidence as an integral part of identifying reading communities and in any studies on the reception history of a text. It will also draw on some of the *Sirr* manuscripts that were discovered whilst I was compiling the Manuscript Catalogue that had not been included in previous lists, including those showing that the *Sirr* was being read in regions where the reception of the *Sirr* was previously unknown.

* * *

5.1 FROM STUDENT NOTEBOOKS TO THE LIBRARIES OF SCHOLARS & INTELLECTUALS:

HETEROGENEOUS READERS IN THE 10TH/16TH–13TH/19TH CENTURIES

Archival and manuscript evidence points to widespread familiarity and dissemination of the *Sirr* throughout the work's history. It was noted in the previous chapters that the *Sirr* began to appear in the endowed libraries of teaching institutions of *Bilād al-Shām* in the 7th/13th century. Its presence in these libraries, particularly as the general focus of the holdings would have been theological and religious texts, served as an important part of the continued familiarity and circulation of the *Sirr* across different reading communities. The *Sirr* was also being copied and circulated on the commercial book market, as established through a manuscript dated

697/1298 that was copied in Egypt.¹ From the 8th/14th century onwards, there is evidence that it was increasingly scholars from Egypt and *Bilād al-Shām* who commissioned the production of *Sirr* manuscripts. Scholars and students were also copying the work for their own personal study.² These shifts in the purpose of production away from elite libraries became more pronounced after the 10th/16th century, with extant manuscripts showing that the majority of them were copied for, and read by, scholars, students and a literate urban class. These readers had heterogeneous interests, varying from health and healing to theology and mysticism. Berlin, SBB, MS Sprenger 943, for example, is a copy of the SF7 that was commissioned in the late 11th/17th century for a scholar who was mainly interested in the section on the health and the healing properties of stones: most of the text is written in thick, ‘bold’, strokes to highlight sub-sections, with rubricated overlining used to add emphasis to the text on this topic. The manuscript was circulating (and possibly also produced) in Damascus, as evident from the ownership note above a cancellation stamp (on f.1r – see **FIGURE 5.1**) belonging to al-Jarrāhī (d.1162/1748-9) – a Damascene *ḥadīth* scholar who spent his life in the city.³ Study of these

¹ Berlin, SBB, MS SBPKOr Quart 968.

² Dublin, CBL, MS Arabic 5153 is a scholar’s copy dated 762/1360-1; Istanbul, SK, MS Ayasofya 2890 was copied in 724/1324 for the scribe’s personal use. The copyist’s personal use of the *Sirr* is apparent from the fact that the name ascribed to the scribe in the colophon, ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥamawī, is also found in a statement of ownership and transfer notice on the title page (f.1r). The copyist-reader who produced this very fine manuscript appears to have been a professional scribe.

³ The date on the cancellation stamp, however, is 1231 / 1815 and falls outside his lifespan, suggesting that it may have remained within a family collection and perhaps sold by a descendant who inherited his collection. The Austrian orientalist Aloys Sprenger (1813-93) purchased it in Damascus some forty years later when he travelled through Syria and began forming his own library of Arabic, Persian and Hindustani manuscripts, and printed material, thus it became part of an Orientalist scholar’s collection towards the end of its history.

Sprenger (1813-1893) was an Austrian orientalist. He graduated with an MD from Leiden University in 1841 with a dissertation on the origins of Arabic medicine. In 1843 he moved to Calcutta with the East India Company, working as a physician. Sprenger also worked in various other government and academic roles and later became the principal of Delhi College. In 1848, he began preparing a catalogue on Persian poets in the royal library in Awadh for the last *nawab*, Wājid ‘Alī Khān. In 1858 Sprenger moved to the University of Bern, Weinham, to teach oriental languages. He later moved to Heidelberg (in 1881). Since the 1850s, Sprenger had begun forming his own oriental library of Arabic, Persian and Hindustani and other manuscripts and printed material. He sent his family

scholarly manuscripts shines a light on why readers were interested in reading the *Sirr* and how they engaged with its contents.

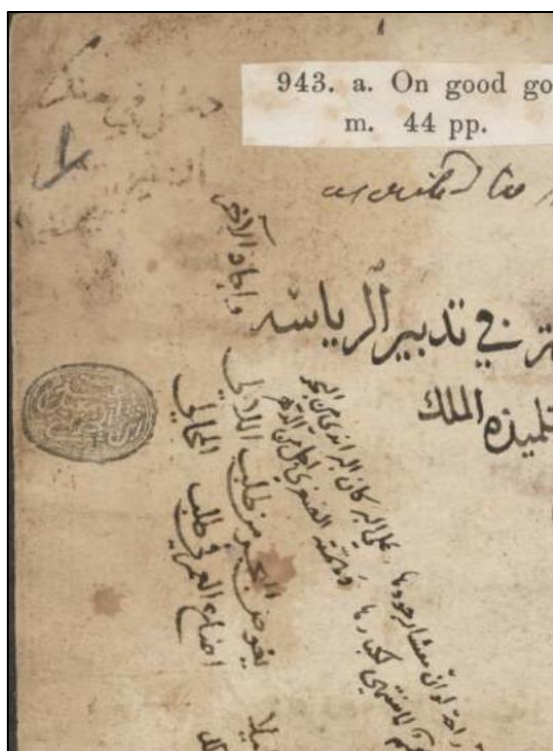


FIGURE 5.1: Berlin, SBB, MS Sprenger 943, f.1r; an ownership note above a cancellation stamp belonging to al-Jarrāhī (d.1162/1748-9) – a Damascene *ḥadīth* scholar (© Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).

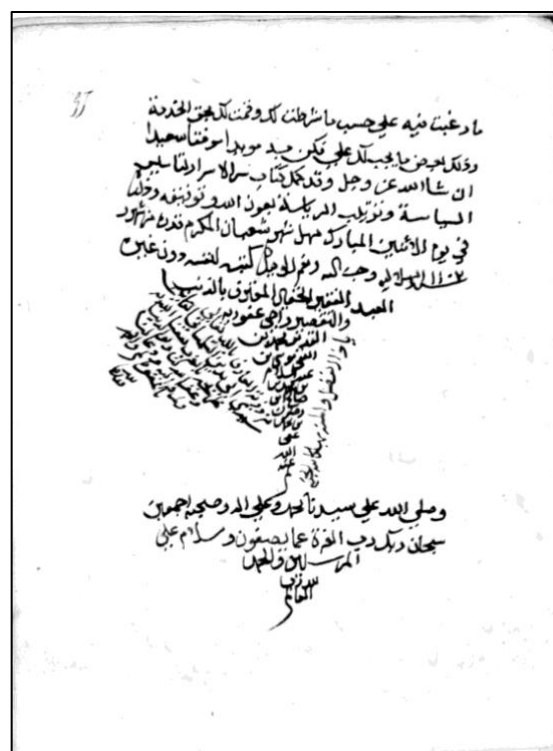


FIGURE 5.2: Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2420, f.37v; a colophon where the scribe states the manuscript has been copied for his own personal use (©gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France).

The commercial book market and the work of professional scribes co-existed with the extensive practice of personal copying. At least a further nine Ottoman manuscripts, produced from the 10th/16th century onwards, were copied by scribes specifically for their own personal study or reference. These humble manuscripts often have a plain, unremarkable appearance apart from

to Germany in 1854 and for the next 2 years he travelled widely: Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Muscat (his private papers in Berlin provide an account of his tour). At Weinham he drew up a catalogue 'Bibliotheca Orientalis Sprengeriana' with more than 2000 entries, which was published in 1857. This was originally prepared for him to sell the collection. The collection was secured by Herr Punder for the Prussian State Library at Berlin in 1858 (now SBB) (Source: <http://www.allamaigbal.com/publications/journals/review/apr95/5.htm>, accessed 15/10/2020).

the use of a rough, sometimes even careless, hand that was usually used to copy the text. It was a common practice for readers to copy their own books; sometimes for reasons of economy but also to achieve a close reading of the work as they copy. It was significantly cheaper to copy a text oneself rather than commission a new copy - and it was an extensive practice.⁴

The most significant cost in the production of a manuscript was the cost of paper. Paper was widely available in Istanbul by the end of the 10th/16th century. By the middle of the 11th/17th century, much of the writing paper was imported from Europe (mostly Italy); Quinn estimates that paper constituted less than one-third (perhaps even as little as one-eighth) of the overall purchase price of a manuscript. Considering that the only other cost was negligible as the standard carbon-based black ink could be made from household soot, there were financial incentives to copying the text oneself.⁵

These otherwise inconspicuous personal notebooks were a key vehicle in text circulation and offer a unique view of the interests of copyists-as-readers engaging with the text at the point of copying. In some cases, we know the *Sirr* was copied for personal use from the scribe's own statements in the colophon. In Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2420 (f.37v) the scribe states it is being copied for his own personal use (FIGURE 5.2). With other copies, its personal use is evident from its size, appearance, and the style of the copyist's hand. For example, Gotha, GRL, MS

⁴ For example, Taşköprüzâde (d.968/1561) reported that he read, copied, then thoroughly corrected texts himself (Meredith Moss Quinn, *Books and Their Readers in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul*, p.73).

⁵ Meredith Moss Quinn, *Books and Their Readers in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul*, pp.56-59.

Or.Arab.1264, GRL MS Arab.1435, and Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL) MS Arabic 920 (where the hand is particularly rough with badly formed letters). Again, the interests of the copyist-readers of these personal notebooks were varied and can be gleaned from both their own engagement with the text and the other works they copied into the personal miscellanies that served as their own 'mini-libraries': ranging from the sciences of health, astronomy, or physiognomy, to esotericism, Onomancy and religious obligations and practices. By providing the context of readership at the point of production, these manuscripts also reveal the copyist-readers' personal interests, beliefs, and even social background, thus also providing a more general perspective into provincial Ottoman life and culture.

Scribes were by no means passive transmitters of the text they were copying. Paratextual evidence of the scribal practices of professional copyists can also point to the ways scribes themselves read the text and mediated how the contents were presented to potential readers. Apart from the more direct engagement and intervention of the scribe through colophons and dedicatory passages, scribes used additional interventions at their disposal to assist readers such as navigation tools, *mise-en-page*, the use of rubrication, illumination and highlighting. Sometimes, other tools such as overlining (highlighting words with a line above the text) were used - although this was often added by later readers too – thereby guiding us towards understanding how readers themselves engaged with the *Sirr* and where their interests lay. These practices can be seen in manuscripts from at least the late Mamluk/early Ottoman period in the form of finding aids to navigate readers through the material. Hirschler observes that tables of contents were increasingly used by authors and compilers of volumes. He also notes the use of indexes for biographical dictionaries, which he attributes as a development in the

8th/14th century.⁶ Maaïke Van Berkel has noted that scribes used the arrangement of contents and *mise-en-page* in the form of headings and scripts in different sizes as finding aids in voluminous texts such as al-Qalqashandī's (d.821/1418) *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*.⁷ Examining these features provides an insight into both how the scribes themselves engaged with the *Sirr* and how they invited potential readers to engage with it.

The most noticeable method used by scribes to assist the reader to navigate through the *Sirr*'s contents is through illumination and illuminated headings or titles at the beginning of each 'book' or chapter, and further sections that are either in a decorative script or the use gold lettering. The scribe of Dublin, CBL, MS Arabic 4183 illuminates Alexander's name in the vocative case (*Yā Iskandar* – see **FIGURE 5.3**) throughout the text, which along with the unique title given to the *Sirr* here, *Naṣā'ih al-Iskandar* (Counsels of Alexander), demonstrates the scribe's emphasis on Alexander's role as the worthy recipient of the advice that was now being presented to the Timurid prince (and, by extension, creating an association between the two rulers). In non-illuminated manuscripts, the most common tool used by scribes was either larger lettering to highlight the name of the next chapter, and the use of rubrication or coloured inks to highlight the words (primarily in red and occasionally in blue, green or another colour). Rubrication was also used to highlight keywords such as 'O Alexander' (*Yā Iskandar*) – as part of a rhetorical device throughout the text – and red lines to 'underline' certain sections of the text.

⁶ Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word*, p.18.

⁷ Noah D. Gardiner, *Esotericism in a Manuscript Culture* p.273. See also: Hirschler, *The Written Word*, p.18; Maaïke Van Berkel, 'The Attitude towards Knowledge in Mamlūk Egypt: Organisation and Structure of the *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* by Al-Qalqashandī (1355-1418)', in Peter Binkley (ed.) *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 79 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp.161-68.

In addition to the in-text list of Books within the *Sirr*, some of the multiple text manuscripts (MTM) and composite manuscripts (CM) list the order of contents (*fihris*t) in the opening flyleaves in order to guide readers through the material, including in Berlin, SBB, MS Wetzstein 1720 and SBB, Wetzstein MS 1784.

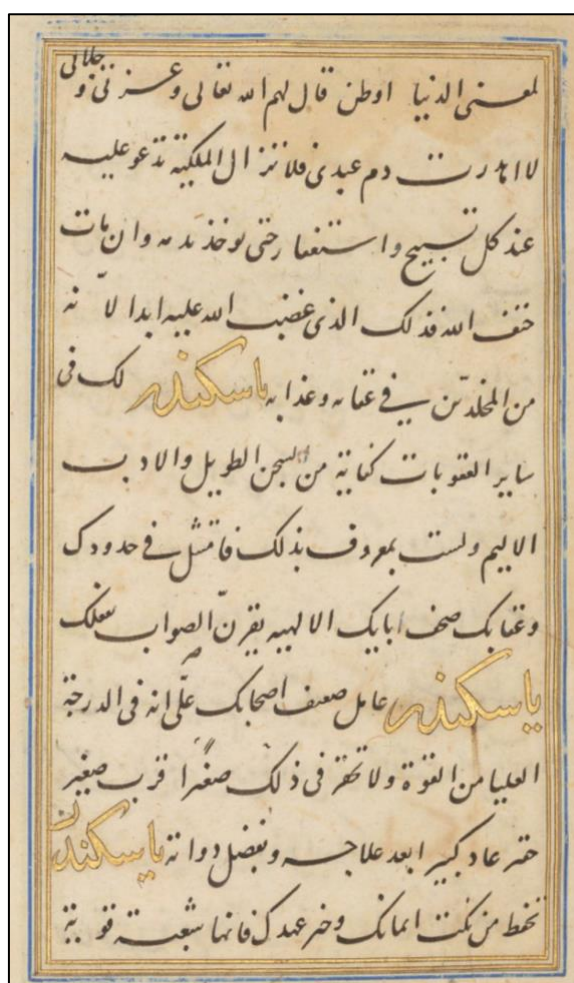


FIGURE 5.3: Dublin, CBL, MS Arabic 4183, f.8r;
Alexander's name (*Yā Iskander*) is illuminated in gold here – and
throughout the manuscript (@ Chester Beatty Library).

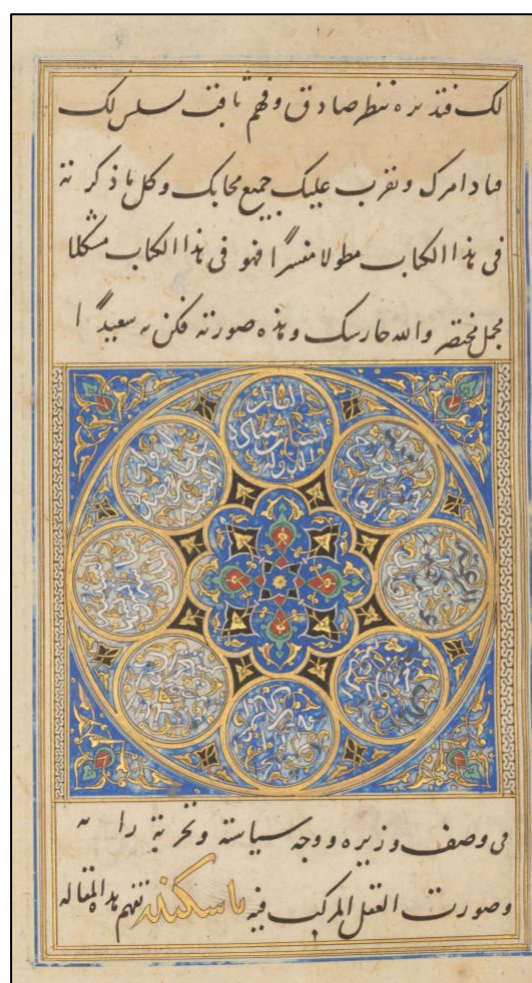


FIGURE 5.4: Dublin, CBL, MS Arabic 4183, f.8r;
an illuminated diagram of the Circle of Justice (@ Chester Beatty
Library).

Diagrams and illustrations are another tool used by the scribe to illustrate or draw the attention of readers to certain parts of the text. In *Sirr* manuscripts, it was most frequently the Circle of Justice that was emphasised in this way; often presented as part of a circle or decorative

octagon. A diagrammatic depiction of the Circle was noted in at least 18 manuscripts (see Appendix 2 for all the manuscript entries that note this). The illuminated manuscripts generally also illuminate the Circle of Justice. The following manuscripts have some of the finest illuminations of the Circle: Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1828 (f.11v); Leiden, LU, MS Arab.749 (f.89v); Rabat, BNRM, MS J94 (p.217); Istanbul, SK, MS Aşir Efendi 1002 (f.119v); Princeton, PUL, MS Garrett 462H (f.24r) and Dublin CBL Arabic 4183 (f.8r) – the latter presenting perhaps the most exquisite depiction of the Circle (**FIGURE 5.4**). In the non-illuminated manuscripts, coloured inks were used to depict the Circle. In addition, at least seven manuscripts of the LF contain an illustration of the instrument of Yayastus and another has an astronomical diagram that labels the planets and parts of the solar system (London, British Library (BL), MS Or.6421, f.41v – see **FIGURE 5.5**). A number of the manuscripts, including Rabat, Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), MS 586 (f.47v), present the Onomancy section in neatly drawn tables that both draw the attention of the reader and make it easier to navigate (**FIGURE 5.6**).⁸ Whilst the attempts of scribes did no doubt bring certain elements of the text to the reader's attention, it did not necessarily follow that later owners and readers would have equal interest in all parts of the *Sirr*. The scribe of Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Arab.1870 (a late 12th/18th-13th/19th century copy of the LF) made extensive use of rubrication to demarcate and highlight words and sections throughout the text; however, the only evidence of reader engagement is the attention paid by a reader to the calculations within the Onomancy section and mentions of Alexander, which were highlighted with bright red horizontal strokes to overline. Nevertheless, scribes were by no means passive participants in the transmission of texts. They played an active role in the transmission of a

⁸ See: Cairo, DAK, MS Ijtima' Tal'at 617; Rabat, MH, MS 586; Rabat, MH, MS 896; Rabat, BNRM, MS J94.

work as can be seen in the codicological evidence in *Sirr* manuscripts, which points to the use of tools to help the reader navigate through material, the use of mise-en-page, the overall quality of presentation, and emphasis or highlighting of certain sections that guide the reader to engage in a particular way or towards certain sections.

The details of the shifts identified in this brief overview will be explored over the following sections of this chapter. Suffice to say at this point, that the scholarly and personal notebooks that bear witness to the *Sirr* in the second half of its career, along with its continued presence in the private libraries of intellectuals and its use by political, economic, and social reformers (as noted in Chapter 4), demonstrate that the *Sirr* was read widely and by heterogeneous reading communities. The analysis of codicological evidence points to the emergence of five broad categories of readership communities who engaged with the *Sirr*, particularly between the 10th/16th and 13th/19th centuries: readers interested in the *Sirr* as an advice text or 'mirror for princes'; those who read it as a work of political philosophy or ethics; readers with an interest in Sufism and/or other religious material; occult or esoteric readership; and readers interested in its medical and scientific content. Some of these categories of readers have already been loosely identified in this thesis as some of the early readers of the *Sirr* in discussions on the reception history of the *Sirr*. However, for the present purpose, the main difference is that the manuscript analysis in this chapter provides more detailed evidence to support the identification of distinct categories of reading communities.



FIGURE 5.5: London, British Library, MS Or.6421, f.41v; an astronomical diagram depicting the planets and parts of the solar system (© The British Library).

باب ثلاثة									
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ

باب خمسة									
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ
الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ	ال木星	الเสาร์	الشمس	القمر	الزهرة	المريخ

FIGURE 5.6: Rabat, Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah, MS 586, f.47v; the Onomancy section is presented as a table (©Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah).

* * *

5.2 THE *SIRR* IN THE LIBRARIES OF THE RULING ELITE: STILL A MIRROR FOR PRINCES?

Earlier chapters established the presence of the *Sirr* in courtly circles and royal libraries in the medieval period: from al-Andalus and Morocco in the Islamic West, to the Ayyubid, Mamlūk and Zengid libraries of rulers in the eastern Mediterranean, to the Timurid courts in the East. As a new hub of scholarship and knowledge exchange emerged in Istanbul during the Ottoman period, the *Sirr* continued to be a staple of the elite libraries established at the seat of Ottoman imperial power. Whether the owner was a ruler governing a city or principedom, a grand vizier, or the sultan of an empire, the *Sirr* was an essential part of a ruler's library and was read as an advice work on good governance (which is also clear from catalogue information on how it was

classified within a collection and how it was referred to by other writers who incorporated its contents into their own works). As a guide to good governance, its relevance to these patrons is obvious. In addition to its arrival at the Ottoman capital in the second half of its career (as documented in Chapter 4), this study has also found that between the mid-10th/16th and 13th/19th centuries, the *Sirr* was circulating in regions where its reception has never been documented – neither in previous lists of *Sirr* manuscripts, nor in any literary references from the region. Manuscripts identified as originating from Yemen and from the Indian subcontinent demonstrate that the *Sirr* was more widely transmitted than previously thought. As the presence of the *Sirr* in elite libraries during the medieval and Ottoman period has been well-documented in earlier chapters it will not be repeated here. Instead, I will focus on a few examples that build on earlier observations that although the *Sirr* continued to be read as an advice text for rulers and other members of the elite (or, as a ‘mirror for princes’), it was also read for other purposes alongside its political contents.

Berlin, SBB, MS Glaser 135 serves as the earliest evidence of the presence of the *Sirr* in Yemen. This copy of the SF7 was copied in 980/1572-3. It features a dedicatory inscription (f.1r) that states it was copied for the library of a leader (see FIGURE 5.7).⁹ Two further (LF) manuscripts from Yemen were commissioned for the Zaydī Imāms who ruled the upper Yemen highlands, in the area north of Ṣan‘ā’ including Ṣa‘dah, Shahārah and Hajjah. Despite the Ottoman control of some parts of Yemen in the 10th/16th to 11th/17th centuries, these regions had remained in

⁹ This manuscript was obtained in Yemen by the Austrian orientalist, Eduard Glaser (1855-1908). Glaser made several trips to Yemen. He sold 264 volumes in 1884 and 1886 to Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin - now Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (SBB) (Source: <https://www.ias.edu/digital-scholarship/zaydi-manuscript-tradition>, accessed 23/10/2020).

the hands of Zaydī Imams until the 1040s/1630s, when the Ottomans were defeated and the Zaydīs extended their authority to most of greater Yemen.¹⁰ These two copies of the LF were commissioned for the same Zaydī patron during the period of Ottoman expansion in this region. The route of the *Sirr*'s transmission to Yemen was either via northern Iran during the period of the transfer of knowledge from the Caspian Zaydīs or the trade and knowledge transfer links with Egypt and *Bilād al-Shām*. The early 6th/12th century witnessed unification of the two politically and culturally separate Zaydī states that had emerged in the 3rd/9th century and the exchange of knowledge between them.¹¹ The other likely route of transmission to Yemen is following the Mamlūk or Ottoman conquests, which brought another influx of literary and cultural influences from the early 10th/16th century. In total, at least ten of the manuscripts surveyed indicated a Yemeni provenance.¹² For some of these manuscripts, it is possible to establish their Yemeni provenance through a detailed examination and analysis of their features: for example, where the colophon identifies the location in which the manuscript was copied. For others, it is apparent from dedications to patrons, the copyist, the gathering / quires (chiefly quaternions in contrast to the more prevalent use of quinions),¹³ the use of coloured inks such as green or yellow, the use of large bold headings, and the thicker horizontal strokes

¹⁰ Abdol Rauh Yaccob, 'Yemeni Opposition to Ottoman Rule: An Overview' in *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 42 (2012), pp.411-420.

¹¹ This exchange of knowledge was particularly notable in the early 6th/12th century when a library was founded in Ṣafār by the ruling Imam, which was further developed by his successors. Zaydī literary traditions covered a spectrum of disciplines and works from other communities, which was further influenced by their interactions with surrounding powers. Parts of Yemen invariably came under the control of the Rasūlids, Mamlūks and, for a period from 1538, by the Ottomans.

¹² It is likely there are more in Yemen itself, but it was not possible to access the contents of Yemeni collections or consult any of the catalogues there.

¹³ Françoise Déroche, *Islamic Codicology* (p.87) ; Adam Gacek in 'A Yemeni codex from the library of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥaymī (d.1140 / 1727' in *Essays in Honour of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid* (London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2002), pp.643-657.

in the script. Other characteristics of Yemeni scribal hands include the tendency to scarcely point the letters.¹⁴

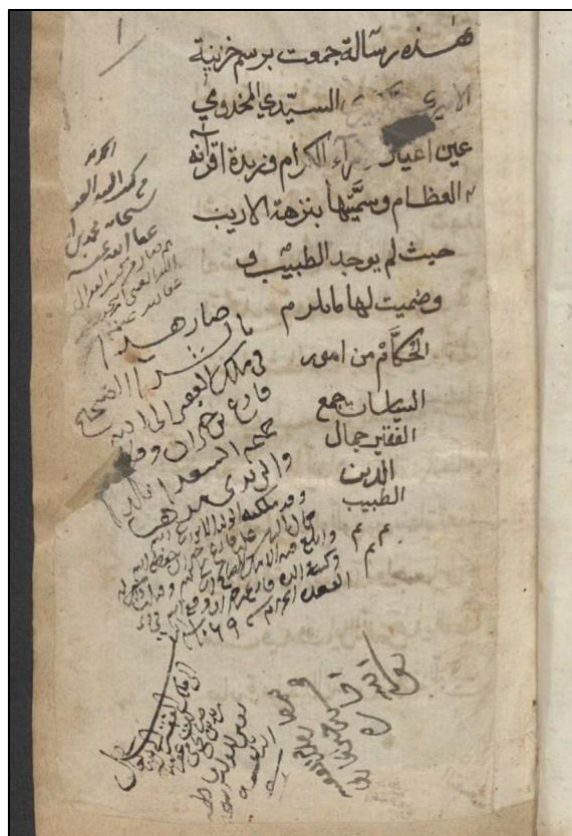


FIGURE 5.7: Berlin, SBB, MS Glaser 135, f.1r;
a dedicatory inscription (centre) states that the manuscript was
copied for the library of a leader (© Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).



FIGURE 5.8: Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2418, f.1r;
a dedication on the frontispiece identifying a Zaydī Shī'ī Imam as the
patron (© gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France).

A dedication on the frontispiece of London, BL, MS Or. 3118 describes the patron as the 'leader of the believers', 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Nazzārī [*al-malik al-fādil Amīr al-mu'minīn... Shujā' al-Dīn 'Umar b. mawlānā ... Waḥīd al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ma'n al-Nazzārī*] [f.1r]. The patron's library is described as 'Yamaniyyah', indicating that the manuscript was commissioned for the Zaydī Shī'ite Imam, who was ruling Yemen at the time. This copy of

¹⁴ Some of these features can also be found in the codex from Yemen studied by Gacek in 'A Yemeni codex from the library of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥaymī (d.1140 / 1727'.

the LF was produced for the same patron as Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2418 (f.1r), which was completed some ten weeks earlier, on 7th Muḥarram 1037 / 18th September 1627 (see **FIGURE 5.8**).¹⁵ The dedication to the ruler and the presentation of both these manuscripts suggest that the *Sirr* was considered significant for its political content and advice on good governance, as does the extract copied at the end of Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2418 from *Ḥikāyāt Ḥikmiyyah fī al-Siyāsah al-Mulūkiyyah*, a treatise on politics and kingship. The text of the *Sirr* in this manuscript is supplemented with notes in the margins, sometimes very detailed, on the significance of Aristotle's authorship, his relationship to other philosophers, clarification of terms and the significance of some of the political concepts and the roles of administrative officials discussed. At some point, perhaps after the second Ottoman conquest in 1265/1849, both manuscripts travelled to other parts of Ottoman world: Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2418 contains a table on the correspondence between the Islamic, Byzantine and Coptic calendars in one of the last leaves (f.60). It was likely purchased in Cairo before it made its way to Paris. Whereas London, BL, MS Or. 3118 is followed by a short treatise in Turkish on the astrolabe, *Hidāyat ut-Tallāb*, copied into the blank leaves on ff.65-70, indicating that it was owned by a Turkish reader at some point (most likely in the decade or so after it was copied when the Ottomans were still controlling parts of Yemen) before it was acquired by Baron von Kremer for the British Museum in 1886. The presence of the *Sirr* in a ruler's library does not necessarily mean that it was read as only a political or advice text. The marginal notes in the medical section of London, BL, MS Or. 3118, clarify the uses and properties of remedies and amounts to be used, demonstrating that the

¹⁵ Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2418 is presented in the same style, with an almost identical title-frontispiece as BL 3118, and by the same scribe, who identifies himself as 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Ḥanafī b. Muḥammad. We can also deduct from length of time between the production of the two copies that it would have taken the scribe anything up to ten weeks to complete his task.

medical section of the *Sirr* was also of some significance to the volume's readers; as was the physiognomy section, which is accompanied by detailed marginal notes. Berlin, SBB, MS Glaser 135 forms part of a larger medical volume that was all copied in the same hand.

The circumstances under which the London, BL, MS Or. 3118 and Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2418 manuscripts left the ruler's library in Ṣafār are not clear but in 1929 whatever remained of the Zaydī library was donated as part of an endowment to the newly-established al-Khizānah al-Mutawakkiliyyah (also known as Maktabah al-Awqāf) situated within the complex of Ṣan'ā's Great Mosque, which also includes other manuscripts of the *Sirr*. Ṣan'ā', Grand Mosque Library, MS 2236 and Cairo, DAK, MS 11153 are another two manuscripts of the *Sirr* with seals confirming that they were part of the endowment to Khizānah al-Mutawakkaliyyah to *Jāmi' Ṣan'ā'*, although the latter manuscript has since been housed in Cairo.¹⁶ Other copies have survived in private libraries, such as Ṣan'ā', 'Ali bin Ibrahīm Library, MS 317.

Other manuscripts that were commissioned and purchased for the royal library in Morocco can be found in the private library in the palace of the Alouite dynasty that has ruled Morocco since the 11th/17th century. The Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH) in Rabat contains no fewer than

¹⁶ Sabine Schmidtke, 'The Zaydi Manuscript Tradition: Preserving, studying and democratizing access to the world heritage of Islamic manuscripts' in *The Institute Newsletter*, Spring 2017 (Princeton: Institute of Advanced Studies, 2017). The manuscripts that were transferred to al-Khizānah al-Mutawakkiliyyah do not represent the whole of the Zaydī manuscript tradition. In addition to the manuscripts that can be found in and around Yemen, there are around 10,000 mss across several European and North American libraries. Some can be found in other Middle Eastern libraries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Iraq, Iran.

There are several examples of orientalist and merchants from the late 19th century who went to Yemen and accumulated manuscripts later sold on to European libraries; the most significant figures being Eduard Glaser (1855-1908), Giuseppe Caprotti (1862-1919) and Luca Beltrami (1854-1933). See: David Hollenberg, Christopher Rauch, Sabine Schmidtke (eds), *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); see also: *The Zaydi Manuscript Tradition*. Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. Last modified on April 11, 2017. <https://www.ias.edu/digital-scholarship/zaydi-manuscript-tradition> (Accessed 03/11/2019).

eleven manuscripts of the *Sirr*. The majority of these can be dated to the 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries. Whilst the royal status of the owner is indicated by the quality of some of the manuscripts, others are plainer. Nevertheless, the status of the reader can be understood from the ownership stamps: Rabat, MH, MS 66 (p.6) contains the SF *Sirr* as part of a composite manuscript and includes stamps of the *emir*, ‘Abbās, who acquired a large private library and was the brother of Sultan Ḥasan I (r.1873-94). The presence of the *Sirr* in the royal library of successive rulers of the region marks its significance as a text that was read within royal and courtly circles. The use of marginalia in some of the manuscripts, most notably in Rabat, MH, MS 896, indicates that it was a text with which its owners and readers actively engaged. The heaviest use of marginalia in this manuscript is in Book 4 on the qualities of ministers (for example, f.19r). In Rabat, MH, MS 586, the *Sirr* is the second of two political treatises copied by the same scribe; here, the active reader engagement with the *Sirr* is apparent from the paper tabs that have been pasted on to fore-edges of the folios (in the *Sirr* only) to guide the reader through the contents, such as the Circle of Justice (f.139r). As with earlier readers, it is clear from the manuscripts that the Circle of Justice was one particular element of the treatise that was given emphasis. Rabat, MH, MS 466 includes a note that Book 3, which contains the Circle of Justice, contains all that is essential for a king to know (f. 283).

Some of the manuscripts contain only extracts of the *Sirr* as part of larger multiple text or composite manuscripts. These are noteworthy as they demonstrate that certain sections of the *Sirr* may have held particular merit and were also circulating and being read independently up until the beginning on the 14th/20th century. Rabat, MH, MS 14059 contains the *Sirr*’s section on health and medicine as part of a huge composite volume from the 13th/19th or early 14th/20th

century, comprising more than fifty treatises on a variety of subjects. The health extract of the *Sirr* demonstrates significant evidence of engagement with the text in the form of overlining, notes in margins including indicators of places to stop or reflect and explanatory notes. The regular usage of this volume as a reference is also indicated again by paper tabs that have been pasted to the fore-edge of the folios to ease navigation between different sections. The physiognomy section was also being transmitted independently in the Islamic West; as evidenced by Rabat, MH, MS 12338, copied in 998/1589, where the extract of '*Maqālah fī 'ilm firāsah* ' is one of twelve texts that form CM. The Onomancy section also circulated independently in the region: Rabat, MH, MS 13957 contains the '*Ghalib wa Maghlūb*' with further evidence of the importance of this section of the *Sirr* to readers through the way some manuscripts present it as part of decorative or carefully presented tables that draw the reader's attention.¹⁷

As stated earlier, research for the Catalogue of *Sirr* Manuscripts (Appendix 2) uncovered manuscripts that had not been documented in previous lists, demonstrating that the *Sirr* had circulated further than previously thought. Two manuscripts attesting the dissemination of the *Sirr* across the Indian subcontinent during the 13th/19th century can be found in the Rāmpur Rāza Library, which was founded in 1774 by the Indian *nawab* of Rāmpur (Uttar Pradesh), Faizallāh Khan, and further added to by his descendants.¹⁸ There is also evidence of the circulation of the Persian translation of the *Sirr* in the region during the same period: Khuda

¹⁷ This includes: Rabat, Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), MS 66; MH, MS 466; MH, MS 586; MH, MS 3203; MH, MS 896; and Rabat, BNRM, MS J94.

¹⁸ Rāmpur, Rāmpur Rāza Kitāb Khānah, MS 2905 [mid-19thC LF10] and MS Arabic 2447.

Bakhsh Oriental Library (Patna, Bihar) holds a Persian translation of the Onomancy extract. The manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh library are based on the collection of Maulvi Muḥammad Bakhsh (d.1876). His son, the bibliophile Khuda Bakhsh (d.1908), inherited the collection of c.1400 manuscripts and went on to establish the library, opening it to the public in 1891.¹⁹ It is likely there are further manuscripts of both the Arabic and Persian *Sirr* in private and public libraries across the Indian subcontinent, but due to the limited documentation of the collections outside the Indian subcontinent, it has not been possible to widen the scope of the present research to explore this further. The presence of the Arabic text and the Persian translation of the *Sirr* amongst the libraries of provincial Indian rulers can be understood within the context of Persianate ideals of kingship and model rule that permeated the elite culture in India.²⁰ The ideals of Sassanian kings, who were held up as paragons of justice, were a particular point of reference on the subcontinent, with Firdawsī's *Shahnameh* considered an obligatory reference book at Mughal and other Persianate-influenced courts.²¹ Classical works of *adab* literature were frequently read at court and original mirrors for princes were also produced, such as the *Mirzanameh* and the *Mau'izah-i Jahangīrī* – the latter being a work of advice on governance dedicated to Emperor Jahanghīr (r.1605-27), which was written in the early 11th/17th century by Muḥammad Bāqir Najm al-Thānī.

¹⁹ M. Shafique Qaisar Rabwah, *Kutub Khanay Urdu* (India; 2009), pp.310-11.

²⁰ Although Arabic was an important language in terms of scholarship, particular in the religious sciences, Persianate culture and literature permeated Mughal courts and the education of the administrative classes in India with Persian used as the official language of the court. Large elements of the Mughal ruling elite were either of Persian origin or at least educated in Persian.

²¹ Ebba Koch, 'How the Mughal *Pādshāhs* Referenced Iran' in Peter Fibier Bang and Dariusz Kolodziejczyk (ed.s), *Universal Islam: A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasian History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp.194-209.

In addition, provenance study of one manuscript that was previously listed uncovered further support for the *Sirr*'s circulation in India. Manchester, John Rylands Library (JRL) Arabic 418 is a STM of the LF copied in 1227/1812 that did have any further provenance information in previous lists or the library catalogue. Upon personal inspection, the first identifiable owner, who may well have also commissioned it, can be traced through a black seal dated 1233/1817-8.²² The other ownership stamps are dated with the following details: 1241/1825-6 bearing the name Sulaymān Jāh; 1260/1843-4, bearing the name Amjad 'Alī Shāh Zaman 'Ali-Janāb, with a seal that features large ornaments; the last ownership seal is dated 1263/1846-7 and bears the name Wājīd 'Alī Sulṭān 'Alim, which also features ornaments above (FIGURE 5.9). The catalogue describes the seals as belonging to 'some Indian libraries', and the ornaments as crowns. Closer examination and comparison to Indian seals in manuscripts at the British Library, however, reveals that the ornaments do in fact represent the flag of the princely State of Awādh in India. The names and dates correlate with *nawābs* and kings of Awādh: Sulaymān Jāh' (r.1827-37) the second king of Awadh; Amjad 'Alī Shāh (r.1842-47), the fourth king of Awādh; and his son and successor, the tenth *nawāb* and last king of Awadh, Wājīd 'Alī Shāh (r. 1847-56). These manuscripts were looted from the royal library by Colonel George Hamilton (1807-68) and soldiers of the British East India Company in the aftermath of the 1857 Indian Rebellion (FIGURE 5.10).²³

²² This provides us with an approximate date of the *Sirr*'s presence in the library. The date on the seal is usually of the date the seal was made and does not necessarily always correlate with the exact year it was stamped in books.

²³ See obituary of Hamilton in Royal Asiatic Society, 'Proceedings of the Forty-Fifth Anniversary Meeting of the Society', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, n.s., 3 (1868), viii-ix. Another obituary was published as Anon., 'George William Hamilton', *Colburn's United Service Magazine, and Naval and Military Journal*, 473 (1868), 601. See also Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1883), 3, pp. xxiv-[xxvi].

The manuscripts presented here support the argument that provincial rulers and the political elite, both within and outside Ottoman realms, still formed a significant element of the *Sirr*'s readership in the second half of the *Sirr*'s career as it continued to be commissioned well into the 13th/19th century. In addition to this, we can add manuscripts that were commissioned for elite libraries in the Mamlūk period that were then later acquired by the Ottoman ruling elite from the 10th/16th century onwards. However, it can also be noted that fewer were commissioned for such libraries during this period, and when they were, it was for the libraries of emerging dynasties.

The question of how the manuscript arrived in the John Rylands Library can be addressed by the ex-libris stamps of 'Hamilton' and 'Bibliotheca Lindesiana' found on the inside of the back binding. The three red seals belonging to the kings of Awadh can also be found in the majority of other manuscripts bearing the stamps of both Hamilton and Lindesiana. Colonel George William Hamilton (1807-68) was a soldier and a scholar and served as an interpreter with the East India Company. Hamilton played a role in the 1857 Indian Rebellion for which he was described as having "marvellously held his ground and kept the soldiery from breaking out into violence" (obituary of Hamilton in Royal Asiatic Society, 'Proceedings of the Forty-Fifth Anniversary Meeting of the Society', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, n.s., 3 (1868) as cited in John Hodgson, *Class Acts: the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Earls of Crawford and their Manuscript Collections* PhD Thesis (University of Manchester, 2017), p.188). Hamilton was despatched to Lucknow to support the besieged East India Company forces posted there and is thought to much of his collection is thought to have been looted from the royal library in the aftermath of the Rebellion.

In July 1868, the executors of his estate offered his library for sale and Lord Lindsay (later 25th Earl of Crawford) purchased 717 manuscripts from the premier bookseller of the second half of the 19th century, Bernard Quaritch. The British Museum had already picked over the Hamilton Collection. Both Quaritch and British Museum's Charles Rieu informed Lord Lindsay that many of the manuscripts were looted from the royal library of the kings and *nawābs* of Awadh. The entire Crawford Collection, of some 6000 manuscripts, was purchased by Enriqueta Rylands in 1901 from the 26th Earl of Crawford (for £155,000). It was formally passed to the John Rylands Library in 1908 after her death. Information on G.W. Hamilton was kindly supplied by via email by John Hodgson, Head of Special Collections, John Rylands Library on 11/09/2019, who extracted it from his PhD on the Bibliotheca Lindesiana: John Hodgson, *Class Acts: the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Earls of Crawford and their Manuscript Collections* PhD Thesis (University of Manchester, 2017), esp. p.188.



FIGURE 5.9: Manchester JRL Arabic 418, f.ir;
Ownership stamps of the *nawābs* of Awādh, indicating this manuscript was once part of the royal library (© Neelam Hussain).

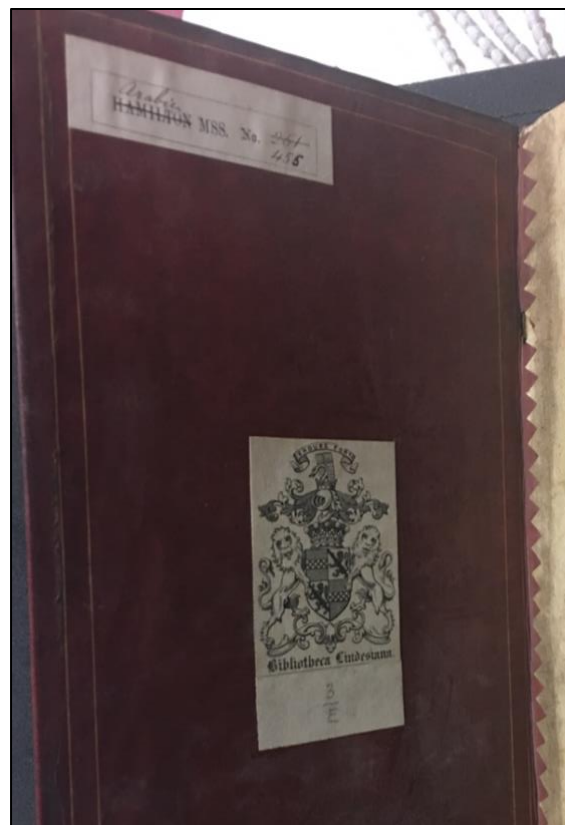


FIGURE 5.10: Manchester JRL Arabic 418, inside of back binding;
Bookplates of Colonel Hamilton (top-left) and Lord Lindsay - later 25th Earl of Crawford (in the centre) (© Neelam Hussain).

* * *

5.3 THE *SIRR* AS AN ETHICAL-PHILOSOPHICAL TREATISE

As noted in Chapter 2, by addressing Alexander as its direct recipient with a unique ability to decipher Aristotle's secret knowledge, the text of the *Sirr* emphasises the esoteric nature of its contents whilst also suggesting that its audience includes others who are worthy enough to comprehend its hidden meaning (f.4r). Similarly, it appeals to an even broader and more diverse potential audience by stating that it contains knowledge that is useful for every worthy person, therefore broadening its audience by offering something of value for everyone. Whilst the context and attribution of Aristotle imparting privileged knowledge to Alexander was

central to establishing the authority of its contents, it was additionally a text that comprised useful moral teachings that were applicable to any well-educated person. This is reflected in the fact that books containing the *Sirr* were bound with philosophical, ethical and wisdom literature in a number of composite and multiple text manuscripts. MS London Royal Asiatic Society (RAS), MS 57 is a 12th/18th century MTM from Egypt where a large extract of the SF7 is placed fourth of six works, all copied in the same hand. The companion texts to the *Sirr* are about the wise sayings of sages and philosophers, apothegms, and aphorisms.²⁴ The copyist-reader's interest in works of wisdom is clear and is further revealed through the prefatory notes and marginalia on Jalinus and the wisdom of sages, placed before the text of the *Sirr* begins. Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 176 is an MTM that is followed by *Kitāb Daf' al-Hamm* (*Book on Dispelling Anxiety*) by Elias, Bishop of Nisibis (975-1046). *Daf' al-Hamm* is an extended essay, inspired by al-Kindī's *Risālah fī Ḥilāh li-Daf' al-Ahzān* ('The Art of Dispelling Sorrows') that considers ways to dispel anxiety through Christian ideas. The treatise appeals to reason as the mediator of personal behaviour and of public morals.²⁵ The various Persian and Turkish ethical works demonstrating engagement with the *Sirr* as a work of ethics (described in Chapters Three and Four) also fall under this category of readership but will not be repeated here.

It is worth analysing one of the manuscripts considered under this category in closer detail to demonstrate the methods used to extrapolate layers of different readers of a given manuscript

²⁴ The contents of London, RAS, MS 57 are as follows: [1] ff.1-47, Anonymous: *Wasayah al-hukma*; [2] ff.48-54, Luqmān al-Ḥakīm: *Wa-hadhihi amthal wa-ma'ani Luqman al-hakim*; [3] ff.55-79, Anonymous: *Hadha Kitab al-ithnayn wa sab'in tariq alladhina dakhalu li-majis Sulayman Abi Da'ud*; [4] ff.87-93, Ps-Aristotle: *Kitab al-siyasah fi tadbir al-riyasah*; [5] ff.94-108, Anonymous: *Sharh Tulu al-shi'ra al-yamaniyah bi-al-buruj wa-ma la-ha min al-bilad wa-al-mudun wa ghayirha*; [6] ff.109-113, Anonymous: *Hadhihi al-asma' al-husna wa-hiya tis wa-tis'in isman*.

²⁵ Sidney Griffith, *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 7 (2007), p.64

and their engagement with the text. Dublin, CBL, MS Arabic 5153 includes an 8th/14th century copy of the SF7 from Egypt that can be classified as ethical-philosophical-scientific in nature. The *Sirr* is placed second of three works bound as part of a CM; it is preceded by *Kitāb Ghuthadīmūn* (ff.1-49), a gnostic treatise attributed to Hermes; and followed by *al-Farā'id wa-l-Qalā'id* (ff. 70-91) of Abū l-Ḥuşayn Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī (fl. 330 AH / 941 AD), a work on ethical conduct in governance and other affairs. The three texts were bound together at different stages: the first treatise was copied in 662/1263-4; the text of the *Sirr* begins on the verso of the last folio of *Kitāb Ghuthadīmūn*; and the final treatise, *al-Farā'id wa-l-Qalā'id*, was bound to the first two at a later stage. This particular combination of treatises indicates the codex was compiled for a reader interested in ethical-philosophical content, which is also borne out by the paratextual markers in the manuscript.

There is additional evidence to suggest the *Sirr*, and the bound volume in general, had different layers of readership. The first layer of (intended) readership is demonstrated through the liberal use of rubricated titles and keywords in the sections on Onomancy, medicine, and physiognomy. The Onomancy and physiognomy sections in particular make use heavy rubrication of keywords. The emphasis on its physiognomical content is also reflected in its slightly adapted title, *Kitāb al-Siyāsha fī-Tadbīr al-Riyāṣah wa-l Firāṣah*. It is not possible to say whether this use of rubrication to highlight some content more than others was simply replicated from a master copy, initiated by the scribe for an intended reader, or whether the scribe and initial owner were one and the same. In addition to the copyist's intervention to highlight to the reader certain sections or words, particularly from the Onomancy, Physiognomy, and Health sections, different readers were drawn to different material.

There is evidence of direct engagement with the text by at least four distinct readers, as indicated by reader notes in four different hands using different inks. ‘Reader 1’ demonstrates an interest in the discussions on justice in Book 3 and draws attention to the circle of justice with a note in the margin at the end of the book (f.51v): *al-Maqālah al-Thālithah: fī ṣūrah al-‘adl alladhī yakmal wa-bihi yasās al-khāṣiyah wa-l-‘āmmah* (Book 3: the picture of justice [i.e., circle of justice] completes the specialist and the general). ‘Reader 2’ also demonstrates engagement with the political-ethical content early in the *Sirr* by using three rubricated dots in the form of a triangle being placed in the margin to highlight content on the qualities and conduct of a ruler (FIGURE 5.11). These dots are placed next to the sections on the qualities of a king and the need for magnanimity or ‘high-mindedness’ (*aẓīm al-himma*), avoiding lechery and other brute features that are likened to animals, and how the alignment of the stars at nativity pre-determine the qualities and skills of an individual (ff.53v, 54v and 56v, respectively). The CM was perhaps compiled at the behest of Reader 2 whose hand lists the contents of the present codex.

‘Reader 3’, however, demonstrates a more spiritual engagement with the contents of the *Sirr*: the margin of Book 5 (on the qualities of messengers) is annotated with a statement on how the book is a testament to the oneness of Allah and belief in His messenger (f.59r). There is a similar statement written in the same hand and ink in the text preceding the *Sirr* (f.41v). In addition, there are various inscriptions in the codex such as prayers – including one about healing – and inscription of ownership. The interest of ‘Reader 4’ in the Onomancy material is apparent from the use of underlining in black ink to highlight numbers associated with each of the letters in this section (f.61v). The reader also makes tabulated notes calculating values in

the adjacent margin and overlines what is presumably the outcome of the calculation on f.62r: *ithnayn wa-arba‘ah-al-athnayn taghlib al- arba‘ah* (two and twenty-four wins over four). The combination of the contents of this codex and its paratextual features indicate that there was a range of reader engagement with the *Sirr* that was broader than the category of a mirror for princes or an ethical-philosophical treatise. This analysis also highlights the importance of considering together the companion texts and the evidence of distinct readers.

Evidence of interest in the *Sirr* as a mixture of an ethical-philosophical and scientific work can be seen in Berlin, SBB, MS Landberg 121, an 8th/14th-century /LF from Egypt, which contains various marginal notes on Alexander, Aristotle and the latter’s ascension to heaven in a column of light. F.1r also has a footnote that demonstrates the reader’s reverence for philosophers and medical authorities mentioning the wise sages (*hukamā*) of the past (*Aristātālīs*, *Jālīnūs*, *Aflātūn*, *Abaqrāt*, *Hurmuz*), and emphasis on Aristotle’s authorship (FIGURE 5.12). In the marginalia, the reader makes note of terms used in the text such as ‘*karam*’ (generosity) in Books 1 and 2, and throughout the health, Onomancy, and talisman sections, indicating that this particular manuscript was referred to more broadly as an encyclopaedic text or had a utilitarian purpose for its owners and readers.

The fact that there was a significant readership of the *Sirr* that engaged with the *Sirr* as a work of ethical-philosophical-scientific nature is also reflected in its career in the Latin West and Hebrew traditions. Philip of Tripoli regarded the *Sirr* (or the *Secretum Secretorum* as the Latin translation was known in Europe) as both a philosophical treatise and as something encyclopaedic in character: he described it as a “most precious philosophical pearl” that “the

most expert prince of philosophers, Aristotle, composed [...] at the request of Alexander, his pupil.” Philip regarded the treatise as more than simply a treatise on rulership; he related that it “contained something useful about almost everything.”²⁶ Soon after Philip’s translation, the *Secretum* was transmitted to Europe’s newly created universities of Paris and Oxford where scholars, including Albertus Magnus, were studying the Aristotelian corpus and referred to it in their work.²⁷ Shamma Boyarin has studied the place of the Hebrew translation, *Sod ha-Sodot*, within the context of literary and scientific circles, focussing on the companion texts of the *Sod* in manuscripts from the mid-15th to early-16th century. He observes that although other contents of these manuscripts are primarily physician readings, there are also aphorisms and other material that suggest the *Sod* was part of an ethical-philosophical-medical reading list of Jewish physicians at the time.²⁸

²⁶ Steven Williams, *The Secret of Secrets*, p.364.

²⁷ Albertus Magnus delivered a series of lectures in 1250-51 on the Dionysian corpus, *Super Dionysii epistulas*, which contained reference to the complete *Secretum*. Around 1250-52, he presented a course on the new complete text of *Nichomachean Ethics* and cites Philip’s translation in several instances. See: Steven Williams, *The Secret of Secrets*, p.193-4. There are a great number of extant manuscripts connected to the scholastic milieu from this period: some twenty-five of them from the 13th and early-14th centuries have been identified, with sixteen of them originating from the Paris-Oxford context. The English philosopher and Franciscan friar, Roger Bacon, thought so highly of the value of the work after he came across it in Paris, that in 1275 (after he returned to Oxford), he prepared an annotated redaction of the text, adding an introductory treatise (see: Steven Williams, *The Secret of Secrets*, p.193).

²⁸ Shamma A. Boyarin, ‘The Contexts of the Hebrew ‘*Secret of Secrets*’ in *Trajectoires européennes du Secretum secretorum du Pseudo-Aristote (XIII – XVI siècle)*, ed. Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas, Margaret Bridges and Jean-Yves Tilliette, *Alexander Redivivus AR.6*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp.451-472. Boyarin points out that the sections of the *Sod* dealing physiognomy, preservation of the body and the properties of stones and gems were all areas of particular interest to physicians. Medieval lapidaries were replete with medical information and Boyarin suggests that the *Sod* may have become part of the medical tradition due to its concluding lapidary section. Other reasons suggested for its reception and the role it might have played in medieval Jewish thought include the association with Alexander and Aristotle considering the popularity of the Hebrew Alexander Romance.

The earliest stages of the reception of the *Sirr* in the Jewish context, whether in Arabic or Hebrew traditions, have not yet been thoroughly studied and is beyond the scope of the present study. However, together with the surviving Hebrew manuscripts, the early Arabic manuscripts do provide us an indication of the timespan of its influence and its popularity in Jewish literary traditions between the 13th and 16th centuries.

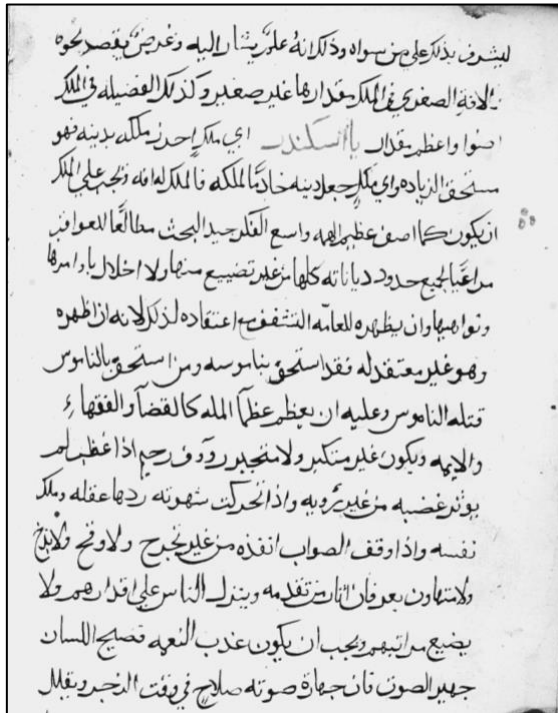


FIGURE 5.11: Dublin, CBL, MS Arabic 5153, f.53v; three dots in the shape of a triangle are used to highlight the text on the qualities and conduct of a king (© Chester Beatty Library).



FIGURE 5.12: Berlin, SBB, MS Landberg 121, f.1r; a note at the foot of the page refers to Aristotle's authorship of the *Sirr* and mentions the wise sages (*hukamā*) of the past (Aristātālīs, Jālīnūs, Aflātūn, Abaqrāt, Hurmuz) (© Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin).

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5.4 SUFISM & SPIRITUALITY: THE *SIRR* ALONGSIDE TRADITIONS & TEXTS ON PIETY

There is evidence of the long-standing circulation of the *Sirr* among Sufi reading communities. Although the Sufi tradition represents a heterogeneous group of adherents or religious practices, there is evidence of Sufi interest in the text throughout its history. It was noted in Chapter 3 that the *Sirr* was circulating amongst Sufi readers by the end of the 6th/12th century when Ibn al-‘Arabī (560/1165-638/1240) was introduced to it via al-Mūrūrī. Al-Mūrūrī asked Ibn al-‘Arabī to write his own work on the governance of the human kingdom inspired by the *Sirr*, in response to which the *Tadbīrāt* was written – a work heavily influenced by the *Sirr* in both its structure and some its contents. Sufi writings on politics became increasingly popular

in the Ottoman period with the treatment of government as part of broader Sufistic cosmology. In relation to ethical works, *taṣawwuf* and *ilm al-akhlāq* were terms that could be used interchangeably.²⁹ Dawwānī, Kāshifī and Kinalizade wrote some of the most popular and widely read ethical treatises during the Ottoman period, and all three of these authors wrote from a Sufi perspective. Furthermore, these works had incorporated the *Sirr*'s Circle into their work and could also be found on the same shelves as the *Sirr* in Bayezid II's library.

The extant manuscripts of our work provide further evidence of the circulation of the *Sirr* amongst Sufi reading communities stretching from Fez to Isfahan and include the various recensions of the text. The manuscript of Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2421 was commissioned in the 12th/18th century for a Sufi patron whose name is provided in the final colophon, Khalīl ibn Husayn al-Dimashqī al-Qādirī (f.45r – see **FIGURE 5.13**). This SF8 manuscript was copied in Jerusalem based on a master text from Fez. Here, the *nisbah* of the patron indicates his affiliation to the Qādirī *ṭarīqah* (Sufi order). The reference to later owners as *mawlay* suggests it continued to circulate amongst Sufi readers until it became part of the BnF collection in the late 13th/19th century. Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2419 is a 10th/16th century copy of the SF7 that contains purchase and cancellation notices with pietistic references of humility that suggest the possible Sufi orientation of its readers. The titlepage (f.1r) documents the use of terms such as '*faqir ila-Allāh* (poor towards Allah)' before the name, 'Alī al-Dīn al-Qifāf, and elsewhere that the ownership had been transferred from the poor servant to his master (*mawlā*). Although the use of such terms of humility and pietistic reverence was not exclusive to the adherents of

²⁹ Hüseyin Yilmaz, 'Books on Ethics and Politics: the art of Governing the Self and Others at the Ottoman Court' in Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3 – 1503/4)*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill 2019), p. 511.

Sufism (they came to be used quite generally among scribes), they were most common within Sufi communities and therefore provide additional supporting evidence of Sufi readership.³⁰

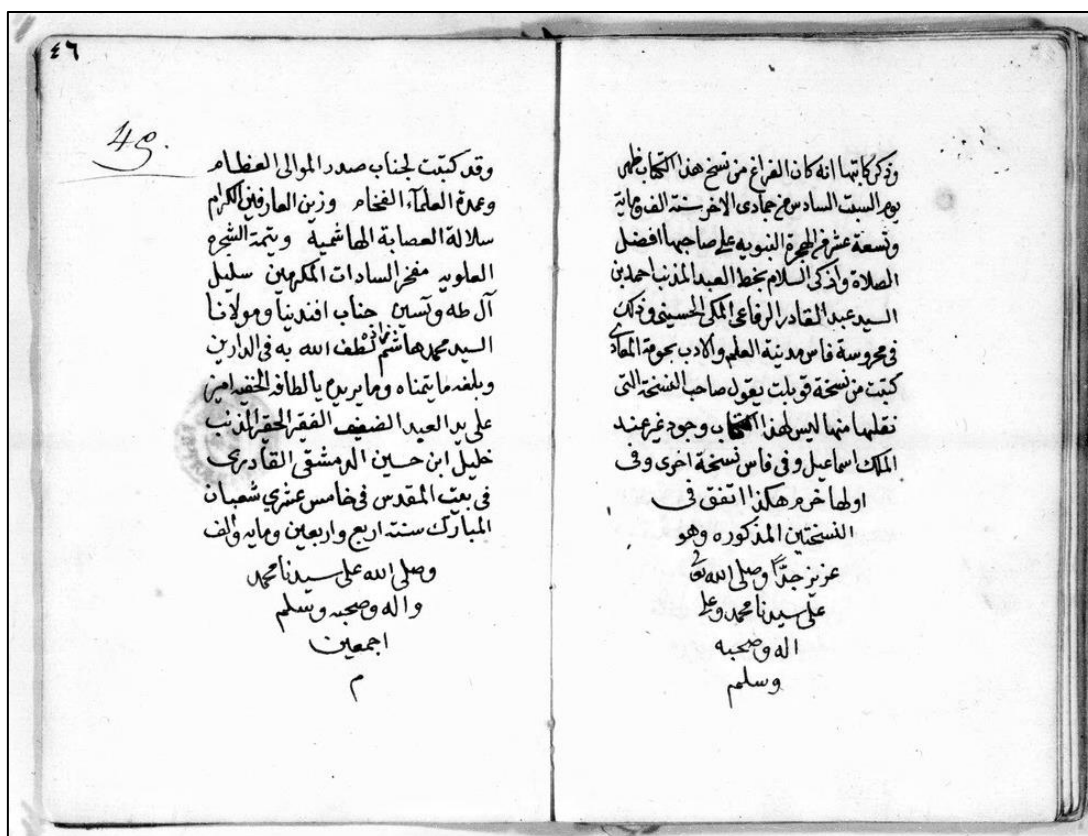


FIGURE 5.13: Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2421, ff.44v-45r;

the colophon on f.45r names the Sufi patron for whom the manuscript was commissioned as Khalil ibn Husayn al-Dimashqi al-Qadiri (©gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France).

The *Sirr* could also be found as part of a large study compendium (*majmūʿa*) containing works essential to the library of a scholar of the philosophical-mystical traditions of the School of Illumination (*Ishrāq*). Tehran, Tehran University Library (UB), Dāniškada-i Ilāhīyāt MS 242B is a codex from Safavid Isfahan that includes a copy of the LF *Sirr* as one of three works attributed

³⁰ In his PhD thesis on the readers of the works of Aḥmad al-Būnī during the Mamlūk period, Noah Gardiner has argued their use alongside owner names as an indication of Sufi readership: Noah D. Gardiner, *Esotericism in a Manuscript Culture: Ahmad al-Buni and His Readers through the Mamlūk Period*, (Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Michigan; 2014), pp.266, 269.

to Aristotle. The companion texts of this MTM, which was later bound as part of a CM, cover a breadth of philosophical and Illuminationist works, including the work of Shihab al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d.1191). Suhrawardī founded the Illuminationist school of thought, which fused Neoplatonic mystical philosophy with philosophical theology. The Illuminationist school had a significant revival in 11th/17th century Isfahan, at the time this manuscript was produced.³¹ Suhrawardī's works cited the texts of ancient Greeks such Hermes Trismegistus, Pythagoras, Plato, and Plotinus. The placement of the *Sirr* within such a textbook can be understood as part of a broad selection of works that were of interest to Illuminationist scholars: in addition to Suhrawardī's works, the *Sirr* sits alongside two other pseudo-Aristotelian texts (the *Kitāb al-Zabarjad wa-l-Yāqūt* and the *Uṭūlūjiyā (Theology)*), and the works of philosophers from both the ancient Greek and Islamic traditions, such as Qutb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī, al-Shahrazūrī, Ibn Bājjah, Ibn Sīnā, al-Kindī, pseudo-Polemon, pseudo-Plato, Jābir ibn Hayyān and Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī among others.³²

Other manuscripts surveyed contain the *Sirr*'s Onomancy section as an independent extract, *al-Ghālib wa-Mahglūb*, alongside companion texts that point to Sufism-orientated reading communities. MS Cambridge CUL Ll.6.8 is a personal notebook (MTM) copied in the 10th/16th century alongside Sufi views on *dhikr*, *fikr*, *ṭarīq*, and *simā'* and other texts on the ceremonies of pilgrimage, religious obligations, and a short work on *tanwīn* in grammar. As a personal

³¹ M. Amin Razavi, *Suhrawardi and the School of Illumination* (Richmond, Curzon, 1997), *passim*.

³² This codex has been described in detail by Gerhard Endress, 'Philosophische ein-Band-Bibliotheken aus Isfahan', *Oriens* 36 (2001) pp.10-55; Further descriptions can be found in Sayyid Muhammad Bāqir Huggati, Muhammad Taqī Dānišpažūh: *Fihrist-i nushahā-i hatti-i Kitābhāna-i Dāniskada-i Ilāhiyyāt wa-ma'ārif i Islāmi-i Dāniscgth-i Tihṛān* (Tihṛān 1345 h.s./1966), 1439. See also: Muhsin Mahdi: 'The Arabic text of Alfarabi's Against John the Grammarian', in *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, ed. by Sami A. Hanna (Leiden, 1972), 268-84, S. 270 (zur hier edierten Nr. 70 der Handschrift).

notebook, the reader would have deliberately selected the texts he copied to be bound together and would be more intimately familiar with the contents than the average reader having gone through the entire contents at least twice during the process of copying – once when copying and then again when comparing the contents against the master.

The companion texts to the Onomancy in Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Arab.1262 also point to a Sufi milieu. Copied in the 11th/17th century, the works in this codex are all an occult and astrological in nature. The first, and main, item in the codex is the work of the Ifriqian Sufi author Aḥmad al-Būnī, *Shams al-Ma‘ārif wa Laṭā’if al-‘Awārif* (*The Book of the Sun of Gnosis and the Subtleties of Elevated Things*), an influential 7th/13th century grimoire on the uses of magic and the achievement of esoteric spirituality.³³ The contents include the use of talismans and other occult material on the sciences of letters, alchemy, astrology, and geomancy. Considering its detailed discussions on the sciences of letters, the placing of the Onomancy extract alongside the *Shams al-Ma‘ārif* has an overlapping focus and is a natural fit. Both texts make an association between the occult sciences and Sufism.³⁴ Al-Būnī’s treatise was written with the esoteric practices of erudite Sufi readers in mind (although it would eventually come to circulate more widely among scholars and bureaucrats).³⁵ The remaining contents are short

³³ The other contents include: a section from the astrological text, *Muntakhib al-Fawā'id min 'ilm al-Nujūm*; a work on magic, *Mushkilāt al-Anwār fī Khawāṣṣ al-Ḥurūf wa-l Asrār*; and a talismanic work. The copyist of this manuscript carefully selected this group of works to read alongside each other as a corpus of texts for personal study.

³⁴ Pierre Lory, 'Soufisme et sciences occultes' in *Les voies d'Allah : les orders mystiques dans l'islam des origines à aujourd'hui*, ed. A. Popovic & G.V.Veinstein (Paris : Fayard, 1996), pp.186-89.

³⁵ The work was both popular and suppressed over its history. For a detailed account of its history see: Noah D. Gardiner, *Esotericism in a Manuscript Culture, passim*. Gardiner’s study focusses on the spread and reception of al-Būnī’s works. Gardiner also discusses the popularity of occult works despite authorities who denounced his works as heretical.

texts or extracts from larger works on astrology, magic, and talismans. Here again, the Onomancy section is copied as part of an MTM.

There was also interest in both the independent extracts of the Onomancy and the full text of the *Sirr* from other readers with an interest in religious or theological material (but without any obvious Sufi orientation). Princeton, PUL, MS Yahuda 4278 contains the Onomancy extract as part of a 9th/15th century MTM, which was copied in a scholarly setting and is preceded and followed by *ḥadīth* collections, namely the *Arbaʿūn* (forty *ḥadīth*) collections of Ibn Wadʿān and Nawawī. The aforementioned Cambridge CUL MS Arabic 920 includes the Onomancy extract as part of a MTM that includes pietistical material. Both these manuscripts were copied for personal study. Elsewhere, we find readers of religious and theological material had an interest in the full text of the *Sirr* as well, with manuscripts of the full text having extracts of religious material copied into blank pages after it was copied: Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2420 is an 11th/17th century copy of the LF followed by three folios of *ḥadīth* from *Dīwān al-Rashīdī* that was copied for personal use; Vienna, ÖNB, MS 1827, another 11th/17th century copy of the LF, is followed by extracts of *Kitāb al-Irshād* ('Book of Guidance' on the lives of the twelve (Shiʿī) Imāms; and Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud Or. 210 the *Sirr* (SF7) forms part of a MTM that includes a text on chess and extracts of *ḥadīth* (that was later bound with a manuscript of the advice text attributed to al-Ghazālī, *Kitāb Naṣiḥāt al-Mulūk*). In addition, Milan, Ambrosiana, MS NF D467 is a fairly complete copy of the full text of the *Sirr* that was originally copied as part of a single-volume manuscript (with a fragment of a treatise on the Companions of the Prophet

Muhammad on the last folio, f.39v).³⁶ It was later bound with four other works within a composite volume of a mainly theological nature, that includes works by Aḥmad ‘Abdallāh al-Khuzā‘ī al-Muzayḥifī, by Ibn Da‘sayn,³⁷ and two short treatises by the theologian and writer of commentaries, ash-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d.1434).

In addition, as noted earlier, the *Sirr* was also present in the library at the Ashrafiyyah teaching institution in Ayyubid Damascus. The catalogue of this library, the earliest-known Arabic library catalogue, shows that at least two, or possibly three, copies of the *Sirr* were present in the library at the time the catalogue was written in 670s/1270s.³⁸ In light of this rare evidence, it is worth studying the type of library in which the *Sirr* could be found in the 7th/13th century to further our understanding of how and where it was being read.³⁹ The Ashrafiyyah catalogue allows us to see the kinds of books that would have been found and read alongside the *Sirr* in similar private medieval libraries.⁴⁰ Considering the collection was attached to a Sunni religious

³⁶ The fragment is from *Mu‘jam fī Tarājim al-Ṣaḥābah* by ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz.

³⁷ *al-Muqaddimah fī ‘Ilm al-Ḥisāb li’āmmat aḥdāth al-Kuttāb* and [*Minḥāt al-malik al-waḥḥāb*] *bi-Sharḥ mulhat al-i’rāb (li-l Ḥarīrī)*, respectively.

³⁸ Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue*: entries 554 and 1237c in the catalogue both list titles that refer to the *Sirr*; entry 509 lists *Risālah Aristāṭālīs ila al-Iskandar*, which could either refer to the Alexander epistles or the *Sirr*.

³⁹ The Ashrafiyyah library, and the (religious) educational institution to which it was attached, was endowed by the elite of Ayyubid society in Damascus. See: Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library – The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016). Hirschler’s book presents an annotated translation and a facsimile of the Ashrafiyya catalogue manuscript. The original manuscript of the Ashrafiyya catalogue can be found in Istanbul. At the time of the foundation of the Ashrafiyya library, Damascus had emerged as a hub of cultural and scholarly activity. Traditionally, the two cities at the heart of political and economic control, Baghdad and Cairo, had overshadowed Syria. However, from the mid-6th/12th to the mid-7th/13th century (the emergence of the Mamlūk Empire), the Syrian region became more autonomous from neighbouring regions. With sustained economic growth, local rulers competed to patronise scholarly and artistic activities accompanied by intense construction of buildings, including mausolea and educational institutions (Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue*, pp.10-12).

⁴⁰ Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue*, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Fatih 5433, ff.246b-270a.

institution, the intellectual range of the library's contents were notably broad and diverse. In addition to copies of the Quran, *ḥadīth*, works on religious sciences and ancillary subjects that one would expect to find within the 2,000 books that formed the collection, there were titles on philosophy, Muʿtazilī theology, Shiʿī devotional books, handbooks on medicine and trade, as well as popular literature such as the 1001 Nights. At least eighteen titles in the library were ascribed to the ancient Greeks (Aristotle, Plato, Galen, and Socrates). Of these, two of the four titles attributed to Aristotle can be confidently regarded as referring to the *Sirr* and another is either the *Sirr* or a briefer work that sits within the same tradition of advice works. Although it is unlikely that this means the *Sirr* was used as part of the formal teaching curriculum, the presence multiple of copies of the *Sirr* suggest that it was accessible, and of interest, to a teachers and students at such a religious institution.⁴¹

Endowed libraries like the Ashrafiyyah expanded rapidly after the 6th/12th century and stood at the heart of book circulation in Egypt, *Bilād al-Shām* and other major cities of the Islamic world. The Ashrafiyyah continued to serve as a teaching institution with its library accommodating readers until the 9th/15th century, after which the teaching activities stopped, and the library remained available to the public as part of a non-teaching endowment.⁴² Considering the widespread familiarity with Aristotle as an intellectual giant, it is noteworthy that in such an 'average-sized' library within a religious institution (one of many such endowed libraries across

⁴¹ To support its ongoing teaching activities, the Ashrafiyyah had an endowment that included a provision for a professor and a librarian (whose duties would have been to keep the books in good repair and appoint scribes, as necessary, to correct and collate manuscripts).

⁴² Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: The Ashrafiya Library*, pp.40-45. It was dissolved in the 10th/16th century with some its contents (including the catalogue) transferred to Constantinople (Istanbul) after the Ottoman conquest of Syria in 922/1516.

the Muslim world), readers were most likely to encounter Aristotle through the text of the *Sirr*. A similar picture of the *Sirr* being the most predominantly available of Aristotle's work emerges from the Ottoman imperial library from the 10th/16th century, and the endowed and independent public libraries that were established by the Ottomans from the 11th/17th century onwards. It was noted in Chapter Four, for example, that according to 'Atūfī's Inventory of Bayezid II's library, five of the eight titles attributed to Aristotle refer to the *Sirr* (plus a sixth title referring to Aristotle's advice to Alexander where it is unclear if it was the *Sirr*, and potentially another under the occult section of the Inventory). For an average reader in these libraries, their only or main encounter with Aristotle's works was through the text of the *Sirr*. For general non-specialist readers, the *Sirr* formed the most significant, and perhaps only, part of their understanding of Aristotle's thought. Even where his other works were also available, readers would find multiple copies of the *Sirr* compared to his other works, where there were only single copies.

* * *

5.5 THE ONOMANCY SECTION & OCCULT READERSHIP

As is becoming clear, the Onomancy section was a particularly popular aspect of the *Sirr*. Of the manuscripts surveyed, seventeen from the total of 106 manuscripts (sixteen per cent) were extracts of the Onomancy that were circulated independently of the full text (yet acknowledged as being part of the *Sirr*).⁴³ This is reflective of popular interest in the subject in the Islamic

⁴³ It has previously been noted that the Onomancy chapter had circulated independently in Arabic and Syriac. See: Robert Steele, *Opera Hactenus*, lix-lx; cf. M. Plessner, 'Review of A. S. Fulton et al., *Secretum Secretorum*' in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 11/12 (1925), col. 917.

world.⁴⁴ The Onomancy section was received as one part of a broader “Islamicate tradition of the occult science of letters (*‘ilm al-ḥurūf*) [...] that posits the metaphysical entanglement of the letters of the alphabet with the created world”.⁴⁵ Despite its long history, the subject was not without controversy: a number of theologians, scholars and jurists including Ibn Taymiyyah (d.728/1328) and Ibn Khaldūn (d.808/1406) had condemned occult works with accusations that those who engaged it were in the thralls of devils or that it was “a form of sorcery (*siḥr*) and a violation of God’s law”.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the occult works remained popular and the short Onomancy extract of the *Sirr* with its specific objective within the context of war escaped any such censure. The popularity of the Onomancy section reflects a commonplace cultural practice in the early modern era, as evidenced by the active engagement with this section by readers. It therefore follows that it enjoyed an independent career of its own, and in many of the full text manuscripts of the *Sirr*, the Onomancy section either demonstrates substantial reader engagement or is even the only area where evidence of a reader’s direct interaction with the treatise can be found.

⁴⁴ See: Alexandria, Alexandria Municipal Library, MS D 2060; Gotha, GRL, MS Arab. 1262; Gotha, GRL, MS Arab.1435; and Princeton, PUL, MS Garrett 351Y for extracts of the Onomancy in multiple text manuscripts from Egypt and Syria. The earliest extract is Istanbul, Köprülü Kutuphanesi, MS Köprülü II 342.

⁴⁵ Noah Gardiner, ‘Forbidden Knowledge? Notes on the Production, Transmission, and Reception of the Major Works of Aḥmad al-Būnī’ in Antonella Ghersetti and Alex Metcalfe (eds.), *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies: The Book in Fact and Fiction in Pre-Modern Arabic Literature*, 12 (2012), p.82. Pierre Lory’s work on the subject has been collected in one volume: Pierre Lory, *La Science des lettres en islam* (Paris; Editions Dervy, 2004); for another examination of the subject see Denis Gril on Ibn ‘Arabī’s *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyah*: Denis Gril, ‘The Science of Letters’ in *The Meccan Revelations*, edited by Michel Chodkiewicz, 2:103-219 (New York; Pir Press, 2004).

⁴⁶ Noah Gardiner, ‘Forbidden Knowledge? Notes on the Production, Transmission, and Reception of the Major Works of Aḥmad al-Būnī’, p.83. Gardiner refers to passages from: Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqddimah: An Introduction to History*, tr. F. Rosenthal (New York, Princeton University Press, 1958), pp.171-82. For more on ‘the science of letters and names’ within the context of esoteric works, see the PhD thesis: Noah D. Gardiner, *Esotericism in a Manuscript Culture*. For some of the most recent publications in this area, see also: Juan Acevedo, *Alphanumeric Cosmology from Greek into Arabic* (Tübingen; Mohr Siebeck, 2020); Michael-Sebastian Noble, *Philosophizing the Occult: Avicennan Psychology and ‘The Hidden Secret’ of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (Berlin; De Gruyter, 2021); Liana Saif, Francesca Leoni, Matthew Melvin-Koushki, and Farouk Yahya (eds.), *Islamicate Occult Sciences in Theory and Practice* (Leiden and Boston; Brill, 2021).

The Onomancy extract is not just found in manuscripts indicating a link with Sufi readers. It can also be found within manuscripts where the reader shows an interest in occult material and there is no obvious indication of a Sufi readership. Both the Onomancy extract and the full text of the *Sirr* can be understood as part of a broader reader interest in occult works that crossed different reading communities. This is apparent from signs of reader engagement with the material and some of the companion texts with which the extract was bound. In Rabat, MH, MS 586, a reader in the Moroccan royal library demonstrated his interest in both the Onomancy and the astronomical discussion of the SF8 *Sirr* through explanatory marginal notes added to these two sections. Here, marginal notes clarify how to read the calculated results to understand who the victor and the vanquished will be when two parties go to war. Evidence of engagement with the Onomancy section in Dublin, CBL, MS 5153 (SF7) is noted through the reader's highlighting of the text through the section.⁴⁷ In Berlin, SBB, MS Wetzstein 1720, the reader pays particular attention to the value ascribed to letters, noting names and numbers used to calculate the victor in the marginalia. In addition to these examples of reader engagement, we can add the manuscripts that emphasised the Onomancy via the mise-en-page and the use of coloured tables that draw the readers' attention and help navigate the material.⁴⁸ Reader engagement with the Onomancy through marginalia can also be noted in other manuscripts.⁴⁹ Other readers demonstrate a reading of the *Sirr* that engages with its esoteric nature: Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Arab. 1870 contains an inscription on f.1r describing the value of this work as guidance "for those who have understanding and knowledge for it

⁴⁷ This is in addition to the scribe's use of rubrication. Extensive use of rubrication is evident in Cairo, DAK, MS Ijtima' Ṭal'at 617.

⁴⁸ Cairo, DAK, MS Ijtima' Ṭal'at 617; Rabat, MH, MS 586; Rabat, MH, MS 896; Rabat, BRNM, MS J94.

⁴⁹ Berlin, SBB, MS Landberg 121; Rabat, BRNM, MS D754; Rabat, BRNM, MS J94.

contains hidden secrets and concealed knowledge (FIGURE 5.14).⁵⁰ Here, direct reader engagement with the text can be noted from the sporadic insertion of minor marginal notes and corrections, but the main sign of interaction is with the Onomancy section (from f.54v), thus echoing the above inscription on the esoteric value of its contents and wider interest in occult material.

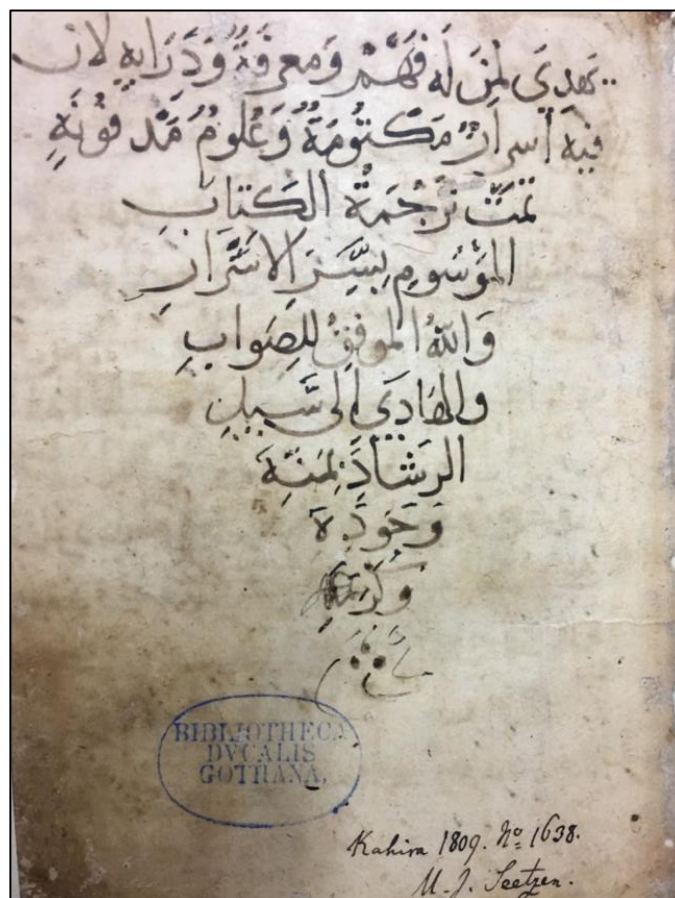


FIGURE 5.14: Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Arab.1870, f.1r;
an inscription describing the value of the work as guidance “for those who have understanding and knowledge, for it contains hidden secrets and concealed knowledge” (© Neelam Hussain)

⁵⁰ Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Arab. 1870, f.1r [diacritical marks have been transcribed as per manuscript]:

يَهْدِي لِمَنْ لَهُ فَهْمٌ وَمَعْرِفَةٌ وَذَرَايَةٌ لَانْ فِيهِ اَسْرَارٌ مَكْتُومَةٌ وَعُلُومٌ مَدْفُونَةٌ

The survey shows that the Onomancy extract circulated independently of the *Sirr* from at least the 6th/12th century, which is from when the earliest surviving independent extract can be traced - circulating in Ayyubid Egypt-Syria region.⁵¹ The extract continued to circulate from Morocco to across the Ottoman world up until the 13th/19th century. The following manuscripts all contain the Onomancy as part of multiple text manuscripts (MTM) from Egypt and Syria that were copied for personal use: Alexandria, Alexandria Municipal Library, MS D 2060, Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Arab. 1262, Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Arab.1435 and Princeton, PUL, MS Garrett 351Y. Milan, Ambrosiana, MS NF D292, a seventeenth-century MTM consisting of more than 200 folios which contains the extract titled, *Faṣl fī Maʿrifat al-Ghālib wa-l Maghlūb*. The companion texts in this volume vary in content: from *Kharīdat al-Ajāʾib*, a cosmography by 8th/14th century historian, ʿUmar b. al-Wardī (which at 140 folios and forms the main bulk of the codex); works on the end of time and the duration of the world by Maḥmūd bin Muhammad as-Suhrawardī and al-Suyūtī; on the causes of the solar eclipse al-Nīshābūrī; to an anonymous collection of *hikāyāt* on pious members of the prominent Yemeni Ḥushaybir family, *Karāmāt as- Ṣaliḥīn min āl Ḥushaybir*.

Gotha GRL MS Or.Arab. 1262, Leiden LU MS Arab. 1225, Princeton PUL MS Yahuda 4278, Rabat MH 13957 and a further three manuscripts with a provenance of Yemen in the Milan, Ambrosiana Library (MSS NF D292, D252, D467), all contain the Onomancy extract as part of CMs with a focus on works of magic, astrology, talismans, astronomy and amulets. Leiden, LU, MS Arab. 1225 is a composite manuscript where the Onomancy forms one of eight short tracts

⁵¹ Istanbul, Köprülü Kutuphanesi, MS Köprülü II 342.

dealing with magic, amulets, prognostications, enchantments, medicine, ethics, the properties of stones and astronomy. Here, the extract is referred to as both *Kitāb al-Ghālib wal-Maghlūb* and *al-Maqālah ‘ala al-Ikhtiyarat*. Manuscripts demonstrating reader interest in astrology include Beirut, St Joseph University, MS 705, an 11th/17th century LF manuscript containing various astrological notes in the pages following the *Sirr* and explanations on the Julian and Hijri calendars. Whether via engagement with the occult material within the full text manuscripts of the *Sirr* (both in the SF and the LF where there is more such material) or through independent extracts, these sections were of particular interest to many readers even in manuscripts where the companion texts were not specifically in occult in nature.

* * *

5.6 READERS OF SCIENTIFIC & UTILITARIAN MATERIAL

The above discussions on readers of the philosophical content and the Onomancy section has shown that many of the *Sirr*'s readers were interested the 'scientific' material in the *Sirr* as well. Other readers were primarily focussed on the medical and/or physiognomy sections, whilst others were interested in a combination of sections, including the passages on astronomy and the section on talismans. Companion texts and readers with an interest in astronomy alongside the Onomancy have already been noted and will not be repeated here. Of the readers interested in the scientific material over the more discursive elements of the *Sirr*, those interested in the medical material formed a significant group. Even from its earliest reception in the late 4th/10th century in the work of the court physician, Ibn Juljul, the *Sirr* was read by physicians and readers with an interest in its health section. The *Sirr* continued to attract these

readers throughout its career up until the late 13th/19th and early 14th/20th century. This interest can be seen in extant manuscripts from as early as the 8th/14th century where one reader writes some notes – in an early hand - in the margins of the medical section of Berlin, SBB, MS Landberg 121. Berlin, SBB, MS Glaser 135 comprises a late 10th/16th century copy of the SF7 *Sirr* which forms the second of two treatises; the first being a medical work by Jamāl-al-Dīn aṭ-Ṭabīb.⁵² Both works were copied by the same hand. It is evident that the volume was produced specifically for its medical content from the dedicatory inscription on the opening flyleaf (f.1r), which states it was copied for the library of a ruler as a text on governance and for ‘when a physician cannot be found’ (*haythu lam yawjid al-ṭabīb*). It also has another note referring to the work of physicians. Jamāl al-Dīn’s work is the lengthier of the two and appears to have been the primary reference text for the reader – apparent also from its position as the first text, the use of marginalia clarifying meanings, and rubrication and overlining to guide the reader through the contents.

Beirut, Dār Al-Sharfah, MS 17/3, an 11th/17th century copy of the SF7 which belonged to the Syrian Catholic Patriarchate at Dayr al-Sharfah, demonstrates a noteworthy medical interest in the *Sirr* in the context of eastern monastic medicine. Dayr al-Sharfah is one of four monasteries in Lebanon that contain holdings on the Christian heritage of the region. Situated in the municipality of Dar‘ūn-Ḥarīṣā in Lebanon, the convent was established in 1200/1786 as the

⁵² It includes the following description on the titlepage: ‘*Nuzhat al-arīb ḥaiṭu lam yūjad aṭ-ṭabīb wa-ḍammamat ilaihā mā yalzimu al-ḥukkām min umūr as-siyāsāt*’ [ff.1v-148v]

patriarchal See of Ignatius Michael III Jarweh.⁵³ The *Sirr* is described in the catalogue as written in a 11th/17th century hand, with a colophon that states it was copied from a manuscript dated 432/1030-1. The *Sirr* forms the second of two medical texts – the first is a compendium of medicine, '*Mukhtaṣar fī Ṭibb*'. The manuscript was also catalogued alongside other medical texts by Isaac Armalet in the 1936 catalogue. Its use as a medical text that entered the Christian monastery during the 12th/18th century bears witness to the active practice of medicine in monasteries of the Levant with clerics, especially monks from both the Greek Catholic orders, collecting and copying manuscripts during this period. The 18th century witnessed a flourishing of interest in medicine within the newly formed orders of the young Greek Catholic Church. Dayr al-Shuwayr of the Melkite (Greek Catholic) order of St John was the most active in the field of medicine.⁵⁴ Aleppo was already a thriving centre of Arab medicine in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries. Alongside this, the acquaintance of these clerics with medical practices introduced by the large numbers of Western missionaries who began to arrive in the region in the early 11th/17th century, provided an environment for medicine to flourish in the Greek Catholic monasteries, which soon spread across Mount Lebanon. Unlike the local monasteries that had operated under the Eastern churches, they also became centres for medical care and consultation with clerics practicing medicine in many places including al-

⁵³ David G.K. Taylor, "Isaac Armalet, Catalogue of the Syriac and Arabic Manuscripts at the Patriarchal Library of Charfet [Gorgias Press 2006; ISBN 1-59333-365-X], xii*, [iv], 15, 526, [ii], 12, 14, [vi]" *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 10.2. Dayr al-Sharfah developed an impressive collection of Syriac and Arabic manuscripts.

⁵⁴ Carsten Walbinder, '*Monastic medicine in eighteenth-century Bilād al-Shām: Some preliminary observations*', *Parole de l'Orient* 42 (2016), pp. 489-509, [pp.489-492].

Khunshāara (al-Shuwayr), Beirut, Baalbeck, Zūq, Muṣbiḥ, Ghazīr and other areas that might otherwise have escaped the influence of Arab medicine.⁵⁵

There are several other manuscripts from the 11th/17th century and beyond. Another copy of the SF7 that circulated within the medical community of readers is Berlin, SBB, MS Sprenger 943. The *Sirr* forms the main text in this volume and is followed by an extract of a medical text, *Kitāb al-Ad‘iyyah al-Muntakhabah wal-‘Adwiyyah al-Mujarrabah* ascribed to al-Biṣṭāmī (f.21v).⁵⁶ The marginal notes in the medical section of London, BL, MS Or. 3118, clarify the uses and properties of remedies and the amounts to be used, demonstrating that the medical section of the *Sirr* was of some significance to this volume’s readers. It wasn’t only the SF that had medical readership. Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Arab. 1869, a late-12th/18th to early-13th/19th century copy of the LF from Cairo, is rubricated in the medical section. MS London BL 6421 is another LF, which was copied in the 13th/19th century, with a Persianate medical readership. This is evident from the increased use of rubrication, overlining, marginalia and heavy annotations of the medical material. This is most conspicuous on ff. 28v-29r, 34v-46r, and 55v-56v on health, hygiene, and the seasons, respectively. In addition, there is a diagram in the margin of f.83r on three parts of the stomach. The presentation of the Arabic text with interlinear Farsī translations, along with annotations and marginalia written in the same hand,

⁵⁵ Carsten Walbiner, ‘Monastic medicine in eighteenth-century Bilād al-Shām: Some preliminary observations’, *Parole de l’Orient* 42 (2016), pp. 493-94.

⁵⁶ Aloys Sprenger may have had a personal interest in this volume when he purchased it as had studied medicine at Vienna before working on a project in London on ‘Military Sciences Among the Mussalmans’ for the Earl of Munster before moving to several posts in India. The type of *naskh* suggests he likely acquired it during his travels to Egypt and Syria, which is when he began his collection.

on a number of pages attests to its Persian readership, possibly from Iran.⁵⁷ In fact, the enduring relevance of the health material can be seen up to the late 13th/19th to early 14th/20th century: Rabat, MH, MS 14059 contains an independent extract of the *Sirr*'s health section as part of a huge composite volume that is encyclopaedic in nature, comprising more than fifty treatises on a variety of subjects. It contains an extract of the health, the properties of stones, and the talisman sections of the SF8 that demonstrate significant evidence of engagement in the form of overlining, notes in margins including indicators of places to pause and reflect (قف) and notes summarising the advice being given – for example f.112v on the recommendation that sleeping after food is better than before eating (FIGURE 5.15). These reader notes are used on specific pages to draw attention to the text and could also be used as navigation tools. The regular usage of the volume as a reference is also indicated by paper tabs that have been pasted to the fore-edge of the folios (including the *Sirr*) to ease navigation between different sections. Through its range of contents outside the *Sirr*, and the sheer size of a volume that runs into more than 500 folios, this manuscript demonstrates evidence of a readership that engaged with the text as a scientific-encyclopaedic text. It is worth pointing out that the work's medical readership can even be seen in the European strand of its career after it was first (partially) translated into Latin by John of Seville as a guide for health and diet (as noted in Chapter 3).

⁵⁷ Other than an inscription that the British Museum purchased the manuscript in 1902 from an 'E. Hindamian' (an art dealer based in Paris in the first half of the twentieth century), there is a lack of information on the provenance of this manuscript. However, the use of Farsi along with the texture of the paper suggest an Iranian provenance.

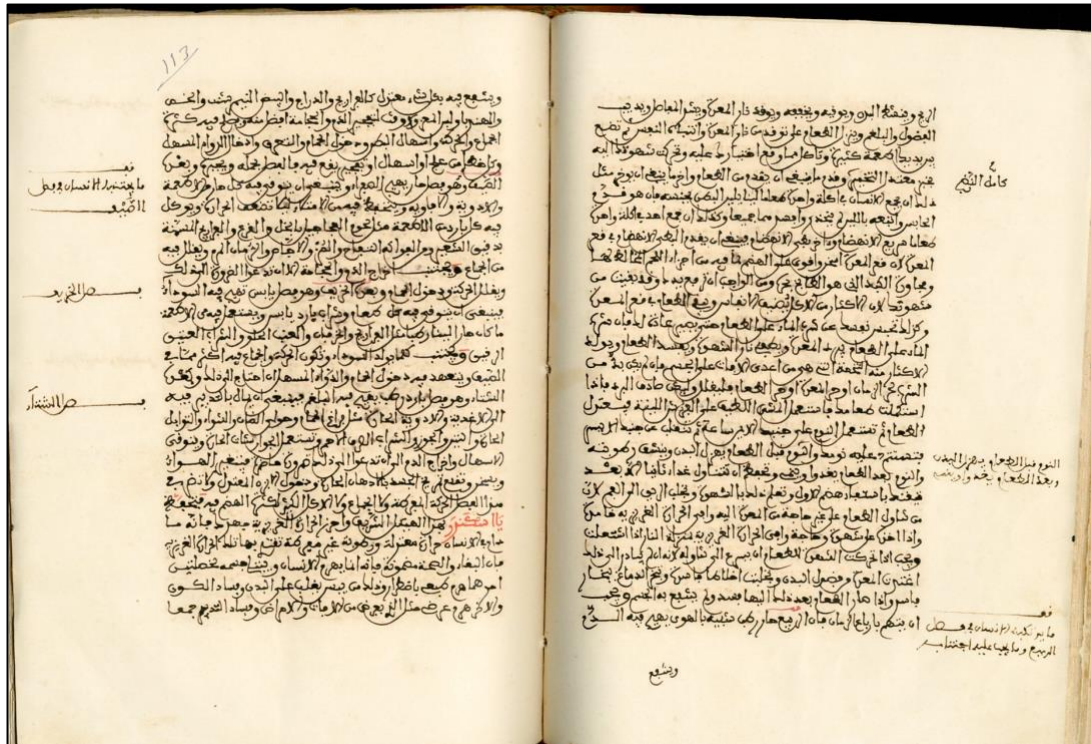


FIGURE 5.15: Rabat, Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), MS 14059, f.112v-113r;

evidence of engagement with the health extract shown here includes notes in the margins summarising the recommendation that sleeping after food is better than before eating, an indicator to pause (قف) at the beginning of the section on the seasons and diet, and headings for the seasons. These reader notes are used on specific pages to draw attention to the text and could also be used as navigation tools. There is also some minor overlining in red ink (© Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah).

By all accounts, the health section of the *Sirr* enjoyed a successful career in the east and west. A related discipline that was also of interest to some of these readers is the Physiognomy section, for which the earliest evidence of its impact is in the direct influence it had on Ibn al-‘Arabi’s *Tadbīrāt* at the end of the 6th/12th century. Detailed marginalia written by an Egyptian reader can be found in both the sections of health and the Physiognomy in Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2418. The emphasis on the physiognomy content is sometimes suggested in the title: Dublin, CBL, MS Arabic 5153; Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2419, Beirut, St Joseph University, MS 705 and Istanbul, SK, MS Ayasofya 2890 use an alternative form of the title, *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī-Tadbīr al-Riyāsah wa-l Firāsah* (*The Book of Politics and Good Governance and Physiognomy*). The significance of the Physiognomy section to readers can also be seen in Dublin, CBL, MS Arabic

5153 through the scribe's extensive use of rubrication of keywords and by a reader's use of overlining. Similarly, Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Arab. 1871 makes use of rubrication to emphasise the physiognomy (and subsections of the health). The Physiognomy also circulated as an independent extract. Bethesda, US National Library of Medicine (NLM) MS A 57 and Milan, Ambrosiana, MS NF D252 contain both the Physiognomy and the Onomancy sections. In the former, it is titled, *Fawā'id fī 'Ilm al-Firāsah wa-Ahwāl al-Nās* (*Useful Lessons in the Science of Physiognomy and the Conditions of Man*), and in the latter it is simply referred to as *Bāb fī-l Firāsah*. Dated 998/1589, the Physiognomy extract can also be found in Rabat, MH, MS 12338, where it is copied in the same royal *Majawhar* Maghribi hand as the preceding text, *Kitāb al-Wafayāt* (Book of Obituaries - listing the death dates of notable Muslims). Here, the extract titled *Maqālah fī 'ilm firāsah* is one of twelve texts that form this composite volume.

Some manuscripts suggest reader interest in astronomy: London, BL, MS Or. 3118, which contains the LF text that was later bound for a later Ottoman Turkish reader with a short treatise on the astrolabe, *Hidāyat ut-Ṭallāb*; in Milan, Ambrosiana, MS NF D252 we find a CM where the Onomancy extract sits alongside various astronomical texts with tables (*jadāwil*) for the years 597/1201-699/1300, details of the best times to take certain actions, and explanations on the properties of the moon and planets. Interestingly, a separate extract of the *Sirr's* Physiognomy, titled *Bāb fī al-Firāsah*, was added at a later stage by another reader who understood it was from the *Sirr*.⁵⁸ Related to reader interests in the scientific elements of the

⁵⁸ Contents of Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, Nuovo Fondo D252:

I: Ff. 2-4, 20-32: minor astronomical texts and tables (*jadāwil*) for the years 1201-1300, by 'Ali b. Ḥasan al-Akwa'. II: ff.5-16r, Anonymous texts: a) *fī mā'rifat khawāss khulūl al-qamar fī l-manāzil*; b) f.9v, *bāb fī'l mā'rifat 'alāmāt al-manāzil wa-ṣihāhātiha*; c) f.13r, *bāb fī'l mā'rifat ashrāf al-kawākib as-Sab'a* (with *jadwal*); d) f.13v, *Bāb Ḥisāb al-Ghālib wal-maghlūb wal-ṭālib wal-maṭlūb* (*li-Aristūṭalīs*); e) f.14v, *al-qawl fī'l Ikhtiyārāt as-sa'āt fī'l layl wa-*

Sirr, we can add the manuscripts cited in earlier discussions where the scientific interest was broad or ‘encyclopaedic’ in range: namely Rabat, MH, MS 14059 and Berlin, SBB, MS Landberg 121 where the reader demonstrates an encyclopaedic interest across the scientific material of the LF, including Physiognomy, Onomancy, talismans, the aforementioned health section, as well as a reverence for the Greek philosophers – as evidenced through the use of overlining and marginalia. In addition, we can also consider the readers who were interested in the occult and esoteric portions of the text (as noted above) as an extension of a broader definition of ‘scientific’ readership. Overall, the picture that emerges of the reading communities that engaged with the *Sirr*, is one of diverse interests with variation in the contents with which readers engaged.

* * *

5.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have built on earlier observations about readers and have examined the manuscript corpus to reconstruct a picture of heterogeneous reading communities and the multi-faceted ways in which readers engaged with the *Sirr* between the 10th/16th to 13th-19th centuries. I have argued that codicological evidence in the form of reader notes, paratextual elements and identification of the other works alongside which the *Sirr* was either copied or later bound, can be used to demonstrate that whilst the *Sirr* was still being read as an advice text for readers in elite libraries, there were also four other broad categories of readers: those

nahār; f) f.15v, *qismat at-manāzil wa-daraj ‘alā l-burūj*, taken from *Jadwal az-Zabīdī*; g) f.16r, *Dā’ira fī ma’rifat al-fuṣūl*. III: ff.16v-19, Extract from the *Sirr*, *Bāb fī al-firāsah*. IV, Later additions: a) f.1r, poetry; b) *qā’ida fī ma’ālim az-zirā’a*; c) f.9r; d) f.12v.

who read it as a work of political philosophy or ethics; readers with an interest in Sufism and/or other religious material; occult or esoteric readership; and readers who engaged with it for a more utilitarian purpose with interest focussed on its medical and scientific content. Of course, that is not to say, that readers belonged to distinct categories where the interests never overlapped: as noted in this chapter, Sufi readers sometimes show a particular interest with the Onomancy section.

I have analysed the extensive data I gathered as part of my survey of manuscripts (Appendix 2) to argue that scribes played an active role in transmitting and engaging these different types of readers with the text of the *Sirr*. Scribal notes, colophons, rubrication, the *mise-en-page*, navigation tools, illustrations and other paratextual features all served as significant points of interaction between scribes and the readers of the manuscripts. Scribes were not passive conduits via whom the text was transmitted from copy to copy, they were active intermediaries and even interlocutors in the process of transmission between the text and the reader. Identification of these micro-level features of the material evidence has been an essential tool in building a picture of how readers engaged with individual copies and the broader manuscript culture within which copies of the *Sirr* were produced. I have also demonstrated that examining the other contents of the manuscript codices in which the *Sirr* was bound – whether multiple-text manuscripts (MTM), composite manuscripts (CM) or archival evidence – in parallel to the micro-level features allows us to build a more comprehensive picture of readers, and provides a macro-level understanding of readership patterns, reading communities and the way the *Sirr* was classified to readers.

In terms of methodology, this chapter has established the value of using manuscript evidence as an integral part of identifying reading communities and in any studies on the reception history of a text. Moreover, during the course of compiling the Manuscript Catalogue, I was able to identify a further thirty manuscripts that had not been included in previous lists, including those showing that *Sirr* was being read in royal libraries as far as the Indian subcontinent – a region where the reception of the *Sirr* was previously unknown.

* * *

CONCLUSION: THE *SIRR* THROUGH TIME AND SPACE

This thesis set out to trace the career of the *Sirr* from its composition in the 4th/10th century to its transmission, reception and influence on writers and readers until the beginning of the 14th/20th century. One of the overarching lines of enquiry of this study was asking what can the materiality of the extant manuscript corpus and patterns of manuscript survival reveal about the history, transmission and reception of the *Sirr*? What can it reveal about the contexts in which the *Sirr* was copied and circulated?

Part I of this thesis (Chapters 1 and 2) examined the cultural, literary and intellectual context of the 4th/10th century, asking if there is evidence that the *Sirr*'s contents reflect an Arabic-Islamic character. This question was situated against the focus of much of the previous scholarship identifying any Greek, Persian or Indian influences on the treatise. I considered questions about the sources and the dating of the *Sirr*'s composition, the intentions of the writer when the authorship of the *Sirr* was attributed to Aristotle through the lens of medieval concepts of authorship and authority, and the learned traditions from which the *Sirr* emerged. Part II of this thesis (Chapters 3-5) traced the career trajectory of the *Sirr* up to the 14th/20th century, drawing largely on my survey of a corpus of 106 extant manuscripts (presented in a descriptive Catalogue of *Sirr* Manuscripts in **Appendix 2**), and any published archival evidence on the contents of medieval and Ottoman libraries, reading this against citations of the *Sirr* in other works and any reference to its influence in previous studies. These chapters represent the first comprehensive attempt to chart the reception history and career of the *Sirr*, drawing extensively on the manuscript evidence to build a narrative of writers, readers and copyists who engaged with the *Sirr*. Another aim of these chapters was to test the hypothesis that the

materiality of the manuscript corpus can give much broader and useful insights into the *Sirr*'s reception history and how readers engaged with the text than can be gained from any literary citations alone.

In Chapter 1, I argued that the overall sources and influences of the *Sirr* point to it being an original and creative Arabic composition with an Arabic-Islamic character. Despite what seems to be an eclectic range of cultural influences, the overall character, particularly from Book 2 onwards, is very much of the Arabic-Islamic world. In terms of initial origins, even though a Hellenistic pseudo-Aristotelian epistle may well have been the source of the *Siyāṣah 'Āmmiyah*, which may well have later served as the nucleus for some of the opening portions of the *Sirr* (as previous studies have argued), this forms only a portion of the beginning of the *Sirr*. Rather than providing the *Sirr*'s core identity, it was simply a stem upon which supplementary material and revisions were added when it was re-formed for its present purpose. The Arabic sources that influenced the *Sirr* - including the *Murūj al-Dhahab* of al-Mas'ūdī, *Rasā'il* of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, al-Ṭabarī's *Hifẓ al-Ṣiḥḥah* and *al-Manṣūrī fī al-Ṭibb* by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī - had a direct impact on its core contents and character. These sources were added at some point after the life of the real Yaḥyā Ibn Bīṭrīq when 'pseudo-Aristotle' compiled the core material of the *Sirr*, adding a preface and giving the treatise its current structure. In the final revision of the Arabic text, further scientific material on health, physiognomy and some theoretical passages at the beginning of sections were added as *abwāb*.

The Arabic sources also help establish the dates for the composition of the treatise: between 332/943 and 377/987. This chapter has also demonstrated the methodological usefulness of

incorporating palaeographical and codicological analysis to evaluate the disputed dates of manuscripts. In conjunction with the Arabic sources that were identified in the chapter, being able to rule out London, BL, MS Or.12070 through such analysis has permitted narrowing the timeframe within which the *Sirr* was composed to forty-four years. It has also meant that the manuscript's mixed use of the SF and LF no longer detracts from drawing firmer conclusions about the formation of the *Sirr*.

Chapter 2 sought to consider the intentions of the writer at the time the *Sirr* was composed through a consideration of Aristotle's attributed authorship and the intended audience of the work. The aim was to situate the contents of the treatise within the intellectual and literary landscape from which the *Sirr* emerged in the 4th/10th century to address the question: who is speaking and to whom? Authorship and audience during the early medieval period are complex issues, particularly with a pseudonymous text such as the *Sirr*. Nevertheless, there was an original 'author', albeit anonymous to us, who consciously drew from a range of available sources and influences and compiled the material into the overall form we presently have. I argued that within the literary and cultural context of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, the attribution of authorship to Aristotle was a deliberate stratagem employed to provide authority to the text, to invite its audience to interact with its contents in a particular way, and to place it alongside the canon of scholarly texts that were being studied at the time. I proposed that the attribution of authorship to Aristotle and the recommendation in the text that he is an authority to be deferred to, is used to establish the authority of the *Sirr*'s contents. This objective is achieved, not only via the prologue, but throughout the text: via the text's invocation of the esteem and authority of the figure of Aristotle within the landscape of Arabic

scholarship and literature at the time; by drawing on the reputation of the body of Aristotle's translated works in Arabic that were at the centre of scholarship and debate; and by locating itself within and drawing from features of several learned traditions: mirrors-for-princes, esoteric, philosophical and encyclopaedic works.

Having established the authority with which the *Sirr* will be received, the variety of contents ensured its appeal to a broad range of audiences and was further supported by the emerging 'writerly culture' and the expanding readership of books since the 3rd/9th century, which meant there was a broader social profile of the potential audience that extended beyond the elite. The manner in which the *Sirr* touches upon a range of political, philosophical and scientific concepts that were being discussed and written about in the intellectual milieu of the 4th/10th century in broad and accessible terms – and sometimes without much detail – is perhaps the reason that the *Sirr*'s contents have not really been given much attention, but this is probably also the secret to its success: the writer employs an air of erudition whilst yet remaining accessible to a broad audience. As such, the *Sirr* should be viewed as a microcosm of the cultural, literary and intellectual interests of the 4th/10th century, presented in a form that would appeal to audiences with a range of interests.

In Chapter 3, I examined the reception of the *Sirr* until the end of the 9th/15th century and considered whether, since the earliest citation of the *Sirr* came from the Islamic West and it was widely circulated there, it is possible that the *Sirr* emerged from there too. I argued that amongst its early readers in the Islamic West were physicians, jurists and theologians who engaged with the *Sirr* in a variety of ways: from al-Murādī who engaged with it as a work of

political advice, or mirror for princes, to Ibn al-‘Arabī who engaged with it as both a work on political governance and an esoteric text (with references to its Physiognomy and Onomancy sections). An esoteric reading was also emphasised by the 13th century translator who rendered it into Hebrew. I considered citations in other works and evidence of the influence of the *Sirr* along with manuscript evidence to argue that the influence of the *Sirr* in the Iberian Peninsula continued until the end of Muslim rule in the region at the end of the 9th/15th century, with later Andalusian writers who were influenced by the pseudo-Aristotelian tradition drawing on it, with particular reference to the Circle of Justice.

Drawing on extant manuscripts of the *Sirr*, I argued that despite a lack of references to it in secondary literature after the 9th/15th century, it was still widely circulated in the Maghrib up until the 13th/19th century. The number of manuscripts in the royal library of Rabat, Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah, and their dating, suggest that it continued to be read as a work of governance or political advice throughout this period. The most striking new insight from the manuscripts, however, is that although late copies of other versions did reach the Maghrib, it was predominantly the SF8 - what is understood to be the earliest version of the *Sirr* - that circulated in the region. Moreover, apart from one Timurid manuscript from the East, other copies of the SF outside this region are either of the later SF7 or can be traced back to the use of SF8 exemplars from Morocco. Based on this, and alongside the evidence of the early reception of the *Sirr*, I proposed that the *Sirr* was originally composed in the Islamic West, most likely in the al-Andalus, shortly before Ibn Juljul’s citation.

The case for the *Sirr*'s composition in al-Andalus is further strengthened when we consider the alternatives. The lack of any firm evidence of engagement or citations by eastern writers until the 7th/13th century and the absence of any manuscript evidence east of Mosul until the 9th/15th century makes this very unlikely. I have shown that the manuscript evidence suggests that revision of the order of SF8 material into the SF7 version was carried out in this region during the Fatimid period. The additional material that was inserted to create the LF tradition of ten books was also carried out in Fatimid Egypt, some time before 516/1122, when the Andalusian scholar, al-Ṭurṭūshī, wrote *Sirāj al-Mulūk*. Further manuscripts from the 5th/11th century bear witness to its dissemination in Egypt and across the eastern Mediterranean, as does Philip of Tripoli's familiarity and translation of the treatise in the first half of the 7th/13th century.

I have drawn on manuscript evidence to argue that both the SF7 and the LF were widely circulated in the region during the Zengid, Ayyubid and Mamluk eras, where it could be read in the private libraries of scholars including political philosophers and historians, in endowed institutional libraries that were established from the late 6th/12th century onwards, or the royal libraries of Ayyubid rulers, Mamluk sultans and other members of the military ruling elite. The *Sirr* was copied both as part of royal commissions and for the commercial market. Although the Circle of Justice inspired much engagement with the *Sirr*, readers were also interested in its wider discussions about justice. From the 6th/12th century, some readers were engaging more with individual sections, such as the Onomancy and the Physiognomy, which began to be disseminated independently. As Chapter 3 has shown, an abundance of information can be found through an analysis of the manuscript corpus and one of the methodological uses of gathering and incorporating manuscript evidence as an integral part of investigating

transmission and reception histories of a text. Without the data gathered for the manuscript catalogue prepared for this thesis, anyone tracing the *Sirr*'s history would only have a few scant references to its use and influence based on secondary studies of other works, which provide a very limited picture of the *Sirr*'s adventurous career and suggest that it was barely read after the 11th/17th century.

I employed the same approach in Chapter 4, where I proposed that although literary references to the *Sirr* in Egypt and *Bilād al-Shām* appear to diminish after the 9th/15th century, there is plenty of evidence of its ongoing production and circulation in the region up until the late 13th/19th to early 14th/20th century - in fact, until the demise of manuscript culture itself. Nevertheless, there were changes in the way the *Sirr* was transmitted, copied, and the people for whom it was copied. The extant manuscripts demonstrate that although the SF was still being copied and circulated, the LF was more favoured for copying in the Ottoman period. The ownership patterns also changed, with fewer being commissioned by rulers and members of the elite. The few extant manuscripts that were commissioned for elite libraries, were produced outside the Ottoman world. That is not to say that the Ottoman elite of the 10th/16th to 13th/19th century were not interested in the *Sirr*: there were at least seven copies of the work in the Ottoman imperial library in 908/1502-3 when the royal librarian, 'Atūfī, was given the task of making an inventory of Bayezid II's library - some of these books would have been present since the time of Mehmed II. The classification of entries in 'Atūfī's Inventory show that it was invariably read as a work of advice, a work of Sufi interest, and as a work of the occult sciences – speaking to the different reading communities who engaged with the *Sirr* even in

one library. The *Sirr* could also be found in other elite Ottoman libraries: amongst the personal collections of grand viziers, statesmen, and other officials.

Reading manuscript evidence against literary references, I argued that despite a decrease of citations of the *Sirr* in the work of writers from elsewhere in the Islamic world, Ottoman writers embraced the *Sirr* - in particular the Circle of Justice – first, within Persian texts that made reference to the Circle (such as Dawānī and Kashifī) and the Persian translation of the *Sirr*, and then, through the Arabic text itself. Next, came the Turkish translation of the Circle by Kinalizade in 1565, followed shortly after by Nevalī's Turkish translation of the full text of the *Sirr* carried out at the behest of the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa in 969/1571. These developments brought widespread familiarity with the *Sirr* amongst readers in major Ottoman cities, who continued to draw from it in their political commentary, demands for justice and economic reform up until the late 13th/19th century.

Although the *Sirr* had an appeal to a range of readers throughout its history, the Ottoman period witnessed a distinct shift in readership towards scholars, students and the rising numbers of the literate urban class who became the primary sources of commissions. Copies were also produced for personal use and for library patrons. In addition to this, we can add the availability of the *Sirr* in endowed libraries, initially attached to teaching institutions from the 7th/13th century, and later as a staple feature of the independent public libraries that were established from the second half of the 12th/18th century onwards. Many of the copies of the *Sirr* that have been traced to the personal libraries of grand viziers and statesmen were later endowed to these newly established libraries. Independent libraries gave access to the work to

a whole new community of readers who could read, copy, and borrow the work without requiring the financial means, or the personal connections to private owners, or libraries within institutions, that had previously been a pre-requisite. The inclusion of our treatise in so many types of libraries and collections is a testament to the range of readers who engaged with the *Sirr*: rulers and members of the elite; scholars, and students who read it in private libraries or within teaching collections or mosques.

Chapter 4 also demonstrated the value of the study and identification of provenance and codicological analysis of scribal book practices in understanding some of the shifts in reading patterns, as well as the contexts, purposes and processes involved in the production of the manuscripts that transmitted the text. This method of investigating reception history has helped identify the extensive evidence of the increasing circulation of the *Sirr* on the commercial book market up until the 13th/19th centuries. I have shown that these developments also need to be understood within the context of the broader changes in reading and book practices over the Ottoman period. Namely, the continued flourishing of the commercial book trade that expanded on a booming Mamluk book market; the move towards private reading practices from the 9th/15th century; the rise in the number of non-scholarly readers in major cities in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries; and the presence of the *Sirr* in endowed libraries.

Chapter 5 built on previous chapters of this thesis, which alluded to the various types of readers and the way the *Sirr* was classified. In this chapter, I examined the manuscript corpus from different perspectives to reconstruct a picture of heterogeneous reading communities and the

multi-faceted ways in which readers engaged with the *Sirr* between the 10th/16th to 13th-19th centuries. I argued that codicological evidence in the form of reader notes, paratextual elements and identification of the other works alongside which the *Sirr* was either copied or later bound, can be used to demonstrate that whilst the *Sirr* was still being read as an advice text for readers in elite libraries, there were also four other broad categories of readers: those who read it as a work of political philosophy or ethics; readers with an interest in Sufism and/or other religious material; occult or esoteric readership; and readers who engaged with it for a more utilitarian purpose with interest focussed on its medical and scientific content.

I analysed the extensive data I gathered for the Catalogue of *Sirr* Manuscripts (**Appendix 2**) to argue that scribes played an active role in transmitting and engaging these different types of readers with the text of the *Sirr*. Scribal notes, colophons, rubrication, the *mise-en-page*, navigation tools, illustrations and other paratextual features all served as significant points of interaction between scribes and the readers of the manuscripts. Scribes were not passive conduits via whom the text was transmitted from copy to copy, they were active intermediaries and even interlocutors in the process of transmission between the text and the reader. Identification of these micro-level features of the material evidence has been an essential tool in building a picture of how readers engaged with individual copies and the broader manuscript culture within which copies of the *Sirr* were produced.

I also demonstrated that examining the other contents of the manuscript codices in which the *Sirr* was bound – whether multiple-text manuscripts (MTM), composite manuscripts (CM) or archival evidence – in parallel to the micro-level features allows us to build a more

comprehensive picture of readers, and provides a macro-level understanding of readership patterns, reading communities and the way the *Sirr* was classified to readers. In terms of methodology, this chapter established the value of using manuscript evidence as an integral part of identifying reading communities and in any studies on the reception history of a text. Moreover, while compiling the Manuscript Catalogue I was able to identify a further thirty manuscripts than had not been included in previous lists. A study of their provenance revealed that some of them originated in regions where the reception of the *Sirr* was previously unknown, such as in Herat and the Indian subcontinent; others, such the manuscripts from Yemen and Morocco, supported the case for a greater circulation in regions that had only been given cursory attention to date.

Throughout Part II of this thesis, I have shown that over the course of the *Sirr*'s career, its readership was diverse, ranging from physicians, theologians, Sufis, jurists, philosophers and political thinkers to sultans, grand viziers and members of the military and administrative elite. I argue that, whether presented in the form of a deluxe book commissioned for the refined library of rulers, a fine copy commissioned on the commercial book market, or the scrappy personal notebook of a student or scholar, the *Sirr* was a staple text in both elite and ordinary private libraries, as well as in public libraries, including endowed libraries attached to institutions and independent libraries. This is a testament to the significance of this often-overlooked text. Since the *Sirr* was either the only, or at least major, representation of Aristotle's works in the inventories of the Ashrafiyyah and the Ottoman imperial library, I have proposed that it is possible that for some non-specialist pre-modern readers, the *Sirr* was the main, if not only, source of familiarity with Aristotelian thought. This claim would, of course,

benefit from examination of further library inventories (either present in archives or published such as those edited by Hirschler and Neciploğlu et al) before it could be more firmly established. It would be very interesting if future studies on the *Sirr*, or more broadly the reception of Aristotle in the Islamic world, extend this line of enquiry.

One of the core research processes in this study was the survey of the manuscript corpus, which yielded many new insights. There are, however, weaknesses in relying on surveying extant manuscripts as the quantity and range of even a significant corpus, will still only provide a limited portrait of the books that circulated: there might be gaps of time; the corpus may not necessarily provide enough information on how a text was transmitted to a region, and in some cases the conclusions derived from the data may even be interpreted differently or revised in the light of new data – in particular any judgements about the age of undated copies that rely on palaeographical analysis in the absence any further indications of age, such as calendrical tables or ownership marks. Although a substantial portion of the corpus was analysed in detail, it may be that analysis of the remaining unstudied manuscripts would give further insights or perhaps even place greater emphasis on particular groups of readers. Moreover, in terms of implications for future studies, other works will not all have the good fortune of such a large extant manuscript corpus. For those that don't, however, there are still broader implications of this research. Whatever the size of the corpus, manuscripts will always provide an abundance of information – far more than is typically explored in a reception history limited to textual references. They will still provide details, *inter alia*, on the owners and readers of a text, the ways actors engaged with it, or the works alongside which it was read. In some cases, manuscripts may identify dissemination in regions otherwise undocumented.

Future research may build on the list of manuscripts by looking more closely in the library holdings of regions not represented in this catalogue such as in South-East Asia or sub-Saharan Africa. Another avenue for future research may be to use the descriptions and data in the Manuscript Catalogue to pursue further lines of enquiry. In terms of the *Sirr*'s reception history, it is striking that no female readers have been identified. Whilst a gendered history was not the focus of this study, it may be that the lack of evidence for female readership relates more to cultural norms about whether women are documented as readers. They would have still had access to the *Sirr* in household and independent public libraries and it may be that new methodologies need to be developed to address this – such as checking court records about the division of inheritance (where women's ownership of libraries might be documented). Finally, it is hoped that the working edition of the SF text provided in this thesis is improved with a future critical edition. It may also be submitted to the 'KITAB' project to see if there is further evidence of influence or 'text re-use' by later writers to investigate whether there is still further potential in exploring the influence of the *Sirr*.¹

This study engages with the broader scholarship of the *Sirr*'s history, which to date has largely focussed on its origins and the possibility of Greek and Persian cultural influences or an analysis of its contents. As a popular mirror-for-princes, the history of the *Sirr* has a place in the study of political history. Likewise, in the study of the esoteric, occult and scientific traditions in which it participated. The work presented here also offers a case study on the utility of surveying the corpus of extant manuscripts of a given text to investigate its history and reception, to look for broader patterns in how readers engaged with a text over time or focus on how different

¹ <https://kitab-project.org/methods/text-reuse>

manuscripts reflect broader patterns of book history. Furthermore, this thesis contributes to a developing field of manuscript studies whereby researchers examine the paratextual features and materiality of manuscripts to study how readers engaged with them, either at the level of individual manuscripts, as groups or as part of broader collections. The research required for this thesis has been more than a journey on the history of a particular Arabic work and its manuscript readers: it has also been a journey on the history of the Arabic Book itself and the various currents of Islamic intellectual history as the *Sirr* moved through time and space.



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Manuscript references in square brackets are either manuscripts I am unsure of or may be duplicate entries from the same library as other confirmed entries – they refer to MS references listed by Regula Forster based on catalogue numbers, but I was unable to confirm with the library whether they match the ones I viewed.

Alexandria, Alexandria Municipal Library, MS D. 2060	[Onomancy]
Beirut, St Joseph, MS 705	[LF10]
Beirut, Ash-Sharfah, Armalet Nr 17/3, 2 (S.267)	[SF7]
[Beirut, University Library MS 209?]	
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Glaser 135	[SF7]
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Sprenger 943	[SF7]
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Landberg 121	[LF10]
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS SBPKOr, Ms, Or. Quart 968	[SF7]
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS SBPKOr, Wetzstein 1720	[Onomancy]
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS SBPKOr, Wetzstein 1784	[Onomancy]
Cairo, Egyptian National Library, Taymūr Ijtimā' 102	[LF10]
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS Ijtima' Tala'at 606	[SF8]
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS Ijtima' Tala'at 615	[LF10]
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS Ijtima' Tala'at 617	[LF10]
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS 11153 W	[LF10]
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS Ihtiyātī 167 [same as Suhag, 167?]	[SF?]
[Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS 811, 10 tj]	[Onomancy]
[Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS Firāsa 39]	
[Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS 1, s.469]	
[Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS s.208 (=93-4)]	

[Cairo, Muṣṣauwara 1, s. 551 = 26]

[Cairo, Muṣṣauwara 1, s. 552f = 37]

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Qq 293 [LF10]

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Add. MS. 3222 [LF10]

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ll.6.8 [Onomancy]

Damascus, Zāhariyya Library, MS Fals. S.42

Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS Arabic 5153(2) [SF7]

Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS Arabic 4183 [SF8]

Fez, Qarawiyyin, MS 3263 [SF]

Florence, Biblioteca medicea Laurenziana, MS Arabo n.59

Gotha, Erfurt-Gotha Research Library (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha), MS Or.Ar.1869 [LF10]

Gotha, Erfurt-Gotha Research Library (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha), MS Or.Ar.1870 [LF10]

Gotha, Erfurt-Gotha Research Library (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha), MS Or.Ar.1871 [SF]

Gotha, Erfurt-Gotha Research Library (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha), MS Or.Ar.1262.4
[Onomancy]

Gotha, Erfurt-Gotha Research Library (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha) MS Or.Ar.1435a
[fragments]

Grozny, Chekhov National Library, MS Arabic 327[1]

Grozny, Chekhov National Library, MS Arabic 67[3]

Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (SK), MS Süleymaniye 872 [LF10]

Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (SK), MS Aşir Efendi (Reisülküttab) 1002 [SF7]

Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (SK), MS Aya Sofya 2890 [LF10]

Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (SK), MS Aya Sofya 2843

Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (SK), Şehit Ali 1350/2

Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, MS Ali Emiri Arab. Nr. 2894

Istanbul, Köprülü Library (Köprülü Kütüphanesi), MS Köprülü II 342 (1)	[Onomancy]
Istanbul, Topkapi Saray, MS Ahmed III, 1600 (3)	[Onomancy]
Leiden, Bibliotheek Universiteit Leiden, MS Or. 749(3)	[SF8]
Leiden, Bibliotheek Universiteit Leiden, Or. 1225	[Onomancy]
Leiden, Bibliotheek Universiteit Leiden, Or. 786(5)	[Onomancy]
London, British Library MS Or. 3118 (formerly 739)	[LF10]
London, British Library MS Or. 6421	[LF10]
London, British Library MS Or. 12070	[Physiognomy]
London, Royal Asiatic Society, MS Arabic 57	SF? (partial ms)
Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Arabic 418	[LF10]
Milan, Ambrosiana, MS Nuovo Fondo D.252	[Onomancy]
Milan, Ambrosiana, MS Nuovo Fondo D 467	[LF]
Milan, Ambrosiana, MS Nuovo Fondo D 292	[Onomancy]
Milan, Ambrosiana, MS Nuovo Fondo D 502	[Onomancy]
Montgomery County, US National Library of Medicine Bethesda (NLM), MS A 57	
Mosul, Madrasat Jāmi' al-Bāshā [Maktabah Al-Awqāf bi-l Mawṣil], MS 55/134	[LF10]
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Or. 177	[LF10]
New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS), MS. JTS, Misc. 2309, Acc. 0900	
New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS), MS ENA 3316	
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud 210	[SF7]
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Arabe 82	[LF10]
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Arabe 176	[LF10]
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Arabe 2417	Badawi text [LF10]
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Arabe 2418	[LF10]

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Arabe 2419	[SF7]
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Arabe 2420	[LF10]
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Arabe 2421	[SF8]
Patna, Khuda Baksh, MS No.2323	[Onomancy]
Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, MS LJS 456	[SF8]
Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, MS LJS 459	[LF]
Princeton, Princeton University Library (PUL), MS Garrett 780	[SF7]
Princeton, Princeton University Library (PUL), MS Garrett 779	[LF10]
Princeton, Princeton University Library (PUL), MS Yahuda 1235	[SF8]
Princeton, , Princeton University Library (PUL), MS Garrett (Yahuda) 4278	
Princeton, , Princeton University Library (PUL), MS Garrett 351Y	
Rabat , BNRM [Khizānah al-‘Āmmah], D754 (2407)	[SF8]
Rabat BNRM [Khizānah al-‘Āmmah], J94.	[SF8]
Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 66 [6]	[SF7]
Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 466 [5]	[SF7]
Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 586 [2]	[SF8]
Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 896	[SF8]
Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 3203	[SF8]
Rabat [Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah] (MH), 6802	[SF8]
Rabat [Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah] (MH), 10175 [1]	[SF8]
Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 12146	[LF]
Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 12338	[Physiognomy]
Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 13957	[Onomancy]
Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 14059	[Medical]

Rampur, Kutubkhāna Riyāsat Rāmpūr, MS Arabic 2905

Riyadh, King Faisal Research Centre, 2815

San‘ā, ‘Ali bin Ibrahīm Library, MS 317

San‘ā, The Grand Mosque Library, MS 2236

St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, MS Nr. 6736

Suhag, Suhag Municipal Library, History (*Tarikh*) no.167 [SF8]

Tehran, UB, MS 2967

Tehran, UB, Dānishkada-yi ilāhīyāt, 242B

Tehran, UB, Dānishgah 10, s.1867

Tehran, UB, Dānishgah 14, s.3662

Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūra-yi Miilī, MS 4802

Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis 13, s.200

Tirana, Albania, Nationalbibliothek, MS An. VII/38 D

Tunis, Zaytounta Mosque Ahmadiyya Library MS 5091

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS 1708 (1)

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), MS 1828 (Neue Folge 278) [SF7]

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), MS 1827 (A.F. 354 d) [LF10]

Unclassified Forms/ Location Unknown:

Sbath 884 Unknown whereabouts [SF8?]

Antaki (SBath, Al-Fihris [218] 1/9, no.10) Unknown whereabouts

Basile (Sbath, Al-Fihris [218] 1/9, no.10) Unknown whereabouts

Alexandria Municipal Library D.2060 Catalogued but missing

TABLE 2: COMPARISON OF HEALTH REGIMEN SECTION

A table comparing passages from the Health Regimen of the *Sirr* SF8 (based on Appendix 1: Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2421, ff.34r-38v) with the Health Regimen in the *Sirr* LF (edited by Abdurrahman Badawi) and Ṭabarī's Health section in *Ḥifẓ al-Ṣiḥḥah* (based on Oxford, Bodleian, MS Marsh 413).

KEY:**Highlighted text:**

Unsure of reading in

Black text:

Shared with SF8

Red text:

text additional to SF8

Red + underlined:

text additional to SF8 that is shared by both LF and *Ḥifẓ*~~Strikethrough text:~~SF8 text that is absent in LF/*Ḥifẓ* text

Blue text:

Text in LF/*Ḥifẓ* only (absent from SF8)

Translation of SF8 Paris BnF Arabe 2421	SF8: Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2421	LF Badawi	Ṭabarī Medical Text: Oxford, Bodleian, MS Marsh 413
	صفحة ٣٤ (أ) و(ب)		
Chapter in the good rank in measuring the body that is strange from the secrets of the medicine	باب في الرتبة الحسنة في تدبير الجسم نيكث غريبة من أسرار الطب		
Since this mortal species is subject to corruption through the opposition of compositions which occur in it, I have therefore decided to set down for you in this chapter some of the strange secrets of healing, which if you will observe and adhere to them, for it is not necessary for a king to show all his maladies to the doctor, you shall have	يا إسكندر لما كان هذا الجسم الفاني يدخله الفساد بتضاد الأخلاط الكائنة فيه رأيت أن أثبت لك في هذه المقالة نكتًا غريبة من أسرار الطب وحسن تدبيره إذا امتثلتها ووقفت عليها أغنتك عن طبيب إذ لا يحمل {يحمل} بالملك أن يظهر جميع ما يحدث عليه من ألم إلى الأطباء فإذا اقتضرت على هذه الرتبة الفاصلة {الفاضلة} التي أرسمها لك		

no necessity for a doctor save in those rare occurrences which no man may eschew.	أغنتك إلا فيما لا بد منه من الصدمات الدورية التي لا تعرض إلا في الندرة.		
It is necessary for you, O Alexander, that when you rise from your sleep you should take a short walk and stretch your limbs moderately and comb your hair. For verily, the stretching of the limbs hardens the body, and walking drives out vapors which rise to the head during sleep.	ينبغي لك يا إسكندر إذا قمت من منامك أن تستعمل شيئاً من المشي، وتمد أعضائك مدّاً معتدلاً وتمشط، فإن التمدد يصلب البدن، والتمشط يخرج البخارات من الرأس المتصعدة إليه في حين النوم من المعدة.	الرتبة الفلضلة: [p.89, 1] فينبغي لك يا إسكندر! إذا قمت من مقامك أن تستعمل شيئاً قليلاً من المشي، وتمد أعضائك مدّاً معتدلاً وتمشط، فإن التمدد يصلب البدن، والتمشط يخرج البخارات من الرأس المتصعدة إليه في حين حال النوم من المعدة.	
Then bathe yourself—in summer with cold water, as it strengthens the body and keeps in the natural heat, and thus helps to increase appetite.	ثم تغتسل في زمن الصيف بالماء البارد فإن ذلك يشد الجسم ويحبس الحرارة الغزيرة فيكون ذلك سبباً إلى الشهوة .	ثم تغتسل في زمن الصيف بالماء البارد فان ذلك يشد الجسم ويحبس الحرارة الغزيرة فيكون ذلك سبباً إلى للشهوة .	
	صفحة ٣٥ (أ)		
Then put on clean garments and clothe yourself in goodly apparel, for the sense of sight rejoices to look thereat and the spirit is strengthened by delighting therein.	ثم تلبس من الثياب أنظفها وتترى بأجل الزي، فإن حاسة العين تُسرّ بالنظر فتقوى القوة النورية التي في البدن بانبساطها.	ثم تلبس نظيف من الثياب أنظفها وتترى بأجل الزي، فإن حاسة العين تُسرّ بالنظر إلى ذلك فتقوى القوة النورانية التي في البدن بانبساطها.	

<p>Then brush your teeth with a tooth-stick made of bitter-astringent and acid wood and not of an unknown wood. For verily there are numerous advantages in brushing the teeth. It cleanses the teeth and the mouth, melts away the phlegm, frees the tongue and polishes it, creates appetite for food.</p>	<p>ثم تستاك بمساويك من أشجار مرة عفصة حريفة، فإن منفعه عظيمة وذلك أنه ينقي الأسنان والفم ويذيب البلغم ويطلق اللسان ويحسن الكلام ويشهي الطعام.</p>	<p>ثم تستاك يساويك من أشجار مرة عفصة حريفة، ولا يكون من أشجار مجهولة فإن منفعه عظيمة وذلك أنه ينقي الأسنان والفم ويذيب البلغم ويطلق اللسان ويحسن الكلام ويشهي الطعام.</p>	
<p>Then take medicinal snuff, according to the season of the year. For there are great advantages in taking it: it opens the pores of the brain, thickens the neck and the upper arm, beautifies the complexion, strengthens the senses, and prevents the premature greyness of hair.</p>	<p>ثم تستعط بعد ذلك بما يشاكل الزمان الذي أنت فيه فمنافع السعوط عظيمة وذلك أنه يفتح يسدد {سدد} الدماغ ويغلظ العنق والعضد ويرطب الوجه ويقوي الحواس ويبطئ بالشيب.</p>	<p>ثم تستعط بعد ذلك بما يشاكل الزمان الذي أنت فيه فمنافع السعوط عظيمة وذلك أنه يفتح يسدد {سدد} الدماغ ويغلظ العنق والعضد {ويُدَسِّم} ويرطب الوجه ويقوي الحواس ويبطئ بالشيب.</p>	
	<p>ثم تتطيب بعد ذلك بما يوافق زمانك الذي أنت فيه. فإنه لا غذاء للنفس الروحانية إلا باستنشاق الروائح الطيبة وهو غذاؤها، فإنها إذا تغذت النفس وقويت، تقوى الجسم وفرح القلب وجرى الدم في العروق بانبساط النفس.</p>	<p>ثم تتطيب بعد ذلك بما يوافق زمانك الذي أنت فيه. فإنه لا غذاء للنفس الروحانية إلا باستنشاق الروائح [10] العطرة والرياحين المستلذة؛ الطيبة وهو غذاؤها، فأنه إذا تغذت النفس وقويت، يقوى الجسم ويفرح به القلب</p>	

		ويجري الدم في العروق بانسباط النفس القلب .	
Then put in your mouth a seed of clove, and a piece of fresh aloes-wood or a piece of nutmeg because it drives out phlegm from the mouth and removes diseases of the whole of the throat and the mouth.	ثم تأخذ من جوارش العود والرواند زنة أربعة دراهم فإن منافع ذلك يجلب البلغم من فم المعدة ويخرجها إلى البراز ويشهي الطعام ويؤكد الحرارة الغريزية ويدفع الرياح ويطيب الفم.	ثم ضع في فيك حبة من قُرْنفل وقطعة من جوزبوا، تأخذ من جوارش العود والرواند زنة أربعة دراهم فإن منافع ذلك أنه يجلب البلغم من الفم المحلّة ويذهب بأوجاع جميع الحلق والفم - ويخرجها إلى البراز ويشهي الطعام ويؤكد الحرارة الغريزية ويدفع الرياح ويطيب الفم.	
	صفحة 35 (ب)		
Then give an audience to the great men, converse with them and exchange courtesies and transact necessary business.	ثم تلقى أكابر الناس وتستعمل معهم الكلام وتقضي حق ما يجب عليك من شؤونك.	ثم تتلقى أكابر الناس وتستعمل لهم معهم الكلام والمرأضة، حوائج الذي قد وتقضي حق ما يجب عليك {قضاؤه} من شؤونك من دين أو دنيا، وغير ذلك كله من شؤونك فلا يجدون في فمك خلوفاً. [15]	
In addition, when you feel the desire of food, first you should perform some physical exercise, as wrestling, hard walking, riding, weight-lifting, or the like. For the advantage of this is to break up the wind, strengthen and lighten the body, kindle up the heat of	فإذا تحركت الشهوة للطعام فاستعمل حركة تتعب بها أعضائك بصراع أو مراوضة أو ركوب عنيف أو ما أشبه هذا، ومن منافع ذلك أن يطرد الريح وينشط البدن ويقويه ويجففه ويوقد نار المعدة ويشد المفاصل ويذيب الفضول والبلاغم وينزل الطعام على توقد من نار المعدة.	فإذا تحركت الشهوة للطعام مع وجود وقت العادة فتقدم إلى النبانام - تفسيره: إتعاب البدن للضمور - فاستعمل حركة تتعب بها أعضائك بصراع أو شيء مراوضة أو ركوب عنيف أو ركوب أو دفع أثقال، وما أشبه هذا. ومن منفعه أنه يكسر خللك أن يطرد الريح وينشط البدن ويقويه ويجففه ويوقد نار	

the stomach, and rouse the soul.		المعدة وانتباه النفس. ويشد المفاصل ويذيب الفضول والبلاغم وينزل الطعام على توقد من نار المعدة.	
Then let there be placed before you various kinds of food and eat the kind on which your choice falls and to which your appetite is excited and eat bread evenly raised, perfectly baked. Then, eat at first what should be eaten at first, and last, what ought to be eaten last. As, for instance, when one wishes to take a soft and a binding diet at one and the same meal, he should take the soft first and the binding one afterwards, in order to make a free passage for the food after its digestion; but if the binding food is taken first and the soft one afterwards there is no free passage and both foods become corrupted.	ثم تضع بين يديك أطعمة كثيرة وتأكل مما وقع اختيارك عليه وتحركت شهوتك إليه بحبز معتدل التخمير كامل النضج. وقدم ما ينبغي أن يقدم من الطعام وآخر ما ينبغي أن يؤخر مثال ذلك أن يجمع الإنسان في أكلة واحدة طعامًا يلين البطن وطعامًا يحبسه فإن هو قدم الملين وتبعه الآخر أسهل انحذار الطعام بعد جودة انهضامه. ومتى قدم الحابس وأتبعه الملين لم ينحدر وأفسدهما جميعًا.	ثم تضع بين [p.90] يديك أطعمة كثيرة وتأكل مما وقع اختيارك عليه وتحركت شهوتك إليه بخبز معتدل التخمير كامل النضج. فان أمكنك أن لا تتعدى الحد ولا تستتم الأكل إلى غاية الشبع فهو المراد والبغية. وإن لم يمكنك فقل، وقدم ما ينبغي أن يُقدم من الطعام وأخر ما ينبغي أن يؤخر مثال ذلك أن يجمع الإنسان في أكلة واحدة طعامًا يلين البطن وطعامًا يحبسه فإن هو قدم الملين وتبعه الآخر سهل انحذار الطعام بعد جودة انهضامه. ومتى قدم الحابس وأتبعه الملين لم ينحدر وأفسدهما جميعًا. [5]	
Similarly, if he takes at one and the same meal food which is quickly digestible and	وكذلك إن جمع أحد في أكلة واحدة طعامًا سريع الانهضام وآخر بطيء	وكذلك إن جمع أحد في أكلة واحدة طعامًا سريع الانهضام وآخر بطيء	

<p>food which is slow of digestion, he should take the food which is slow of digestion into the bottom of his stomach, because the bottom of the stomach is warmer and stronger in digesting on account of its being formed of a stronger and warmer substance and being situated closer to the liver, which is a cooking agent.</p>	<p>الانخفاض ينبغي أن يقدم البطيء الانخفاض لأن قعر المعدة، أسخن وأقوى على الهضم، لما فيه من أجزاء اللحم المخالط له ومجاورة الكبد الذي هو الطابخ بحره.</p>	<p>الانخفاض فينبغي أن يقدم البطيء الانخفاض لأن قعر المعدة أسخن وأقوى على الهضم، لما فيه من أجزاء حرارة اللحم المخالط له ومجاورة الكبد الذي هو الطابخ بحره. وأعلى المعدة عصبى بارد ضعيف الهدم، فلذلك إذا طفا الطعام على رأس المعدة لم ينهضم سريعاً.</p> <p>[10]</p>	
<p>Another point in eating is to withhold your hand when there is still some of your appetite left. Because eating to satiety shortens the breath and causes the food to remain lying in the bottom of the stomach.</p>	<p>ومن الواجب أن ترفع يدك عن الأكل وقد بقيت بقية من شهوتك لأن الإكثار يضيق الأنفاس ويضعف الحرارة الغريزية التي بها يتم الهضم</p>	<p>ومن الواجب أدب الأكل أن ترفع يدك عن الأكل وقد بقيت بقية من شهوتك لأن الإكثار من الأكل يضيق النفس ويبقى الطعام في قعر المعدة، ويضعف الحرارة الغريزية التي بها يتم الهضم</p>	
<p>You should also restrain yourself from drinking immediately after food until refraining becomes a habit. Because water taken soon after eating cools the stomach, extinguishes the heat of the appetite, corrupts the</p>	<p>وكذلك تحبس نفسك عن شرب الطعام {الماء} على الطعام حتى يصير عادة، فإن شرب الماء على الطعام يبرد المعدة ويطفئ نار الشهوة ويفسد الطعام ويولد عند الإكثار منه التخمّة التي هي من أعداء الآفات على الجسم.</p>	<p>ولذلك تحبس نفسه عن الشرب عقب الطعام {الماء} على الطعام حتى يصير عادة، فإن شرب الماء إثر على الطعام يبرد المعدة ويطفئ نار الشهوة ويفسد ويشيط الطعام ويولد التخمّة التي هي أعدى عند الإكثار منه التخمّة التي هي من</p>	

<p>food, and brings on indigestion, which is the worst of bodily afflictions {and is named 'deferred poison'}.</p>		<p>أُحْدِثَتِ الْآفَاتُ عَلَى الْجِسْمِ وتسمى بالسم المؤجل. [15]</p>	
<p>However, if it is found necessary to drink water, because of either the hot weather, or the heat of the stomach or of the food, then drink a little very cold water.</p>	<p>فإن لم يكن بد من شرب الماء بحر الزمن أو حر المعدة أو حر الأطعمة فلتقلل وليكن صادق البرد.</p>	<p>فإن لم يكن بُدٌّ من شرب الماء لحر الزمن أو حر المعدة أو حر الأطعمة فليقلل وليكن صادق البرد. ثم يتناول في آخر طعامه قليلاً من الخمر الممزوج نحو عشرة أستاتير.</p>	
	<p>صفحة 36 (أ)</p>		
<p>When you finish eating you should walk a little on soft carpets, and lie down and sleep for an hour on the right side and then turn on to the left and fall asleep.</p>	<p>فإذا استكمل طعامك استعمل المشي اللطيف على الفرش اللينة؛ ويعتدل ثم يستعمل النوم على جنبك الأيمن ساعة ثم تنقلب على جنبك الأيسر وتنام.</p>	<p>فإذا استكمل تنظيف من طعامه استعمل المشي اللطيف على الفرش اللينة؛ ويعتدل ثم يضطجع يستعمل اليوم على جنبه الأيمن ساعة ثم تنقلب على جنبك الأيسر وتنام. الأيسر فيستتم على نومه؛ فان الشق الأيسر بارد، فهو يحتاج إلى ما يسخنه. فان أحس بثقل في [p.90] الشراسيف فينفعه أن يضع على بطنه ثوباً ثقيلاً مدفعئاً، أو يعانق صبية حارة الجسم. فان أحس بجشأ حامض دلّ على برد المعدة فليشرب الماء الحر بالسكنجين ثم يتقايأه، فإن حبس الطعام الفاسد في المعدة مفسدة عظيمة على</p>	

		<p>جسم. والحركة قبل الطعام توقد نار المعدة، فأما بعده فردية لأنها تنزل الطعام غير نضيج فتورث لذلك سدًا وأسقامًا.</p>	
<p>And know that sleeping before food emaciates the body and dries up its moisture. However, sleeping after food is nourishing and strengthening.</p>	<p>واعلم أن النوم قبل الطعام يهزل البدن وينشف رطوبته والنوم بعد الطعام بضد ذلك،</p>	<p>واعلم أن النوم قبل [5] الطعام يهزل البدن وينشف رطوبته والنوم بعد الطعام بضد ذلك يغذو ويقوى، لأنه حينئذ إذا نام الإنسان برد ظاهر البدن واجتمعت الحرارة الغريزية المنتشرة في البدن كله إلى المعدة وما والأها فتقوى حينئذ المعدة على إنضاج ويخلو البدن بالخدمة وتذهب القوة النفسانية لراحته. ولهذا ما فضلوا العشاء على غداء، لأن الغداء يستقبل حر النهار مع شغل الحواس والنفس بما يسمع الإنسان وبما يباشره ويفكر فيه، وبما جسمه من [10] يحاول التعب والحركة فتنتشر لذلك الحرارة الغريزية في ظاهر البدن، فتضعف المعدة عن إنداج الطعام. وأما العشاء فانه بخلاف ذلك، لأنه يستقبل به سكون البدن وهدوء الحواس والنفس وهجوم الليل البارد الذي تهرب الحرارة الغريزية منه إلى أغوار البدن.</p>	

<p>Beware of taking nourishment a second time before you have become certain that the first meal is fully digested. You will know this by a feeling of appetite, and the collecting of saliva in the mouth.</p>	<p>وتتحفظ من أن تتناول غذاءً ثانيًا إلا بعد تيقنك باستيفاء الهضم الأول، وتعلم ذلك بالشهوة وتجلب الرقيق إلى الفم.</p>	<p>وتتحفظ من أن تتناول غذاءً ثانيًا إلا بعد تيقنك باستيفاء الهضم الأول، وتعلم ذلك بالشهوة وتجلب الرقيق إلى الفم.</p>	<p>[15]</p>
<p>Because whenever one eats food before the body requires it, the food meets with the natural heat in the state of the latter's quiescence, as fire is quiescent under ashes. However, when a man takes food in a state of true appetite and need for it, it meets with a strong natural heat like a fire, which is kindled up.</p>	<p>لأن من تناول الطعام على غير حاجة إليه وافى الطعام الحرارة الغريزية خامدة وإذا أخذه على شهوة وحاجة وافى الطعام الحرارة الغريزية بمنزلة النار إذا اشتعلت.</p>	<p>لأن من تناول الطعام على غير حاجة من البدن إليه وافى الطعام الحرارة الغريزية خامدة بمنزلة النار الخاملة في النار. فإذا أخذه على غير شهوة وحاجة وافى الطعام الحرارة الغريزية متقدة بمنزلة النار المستعملة. إذا اشتعلت الغريزية</p>	
<p>In addition, as soon as you feel hunger you should hasten to take your meal, for, if you delay, the stomach will consume the superfluous matter of the body, will collect foul humours and cause noxious vapors to rise to the brain. In addition, if food is taken after that, it is</p>	<p>ويجب إذا تحركت الشهوة إلى الطعام أن يسرع إلى تناوله، لأنه إن لم يبادر إلى ذلك اغتذت المعدة من فضول البدن وتجلبت أخلاطاً فاسدة وتبخر الدماغ ببخار فاسد. فإذا أخذ الطعام بعد ذلك فسد بما تقدم.</p>	<p>ويجب إذا تحركت الشهوة إلى الطعام أن يسرع إلى تناوله، لأنه إن لم يبادر إلى ذلك اغتذت المعدة من فضول البدن [92] وجلبت إليها أخلاطاً فاسدة وتبخر الدماغ ببخار فاسد. فإذا أخذ صار الطعام فيها بعد ذلك فسد بما تقدم ولم ينتفع الجسم. ومن اعتاد أكلتين في يومه واقتصر على</p>	

spoilt and does not do any good to the body.		واحدة، عظم ضرر ذلك عليه. كما أنه من كانت أكلته واحدة فجعلها أكلتين لم يستمرئ طعامه. ومن كان عادة أن يجعل طعامه في وقت من الأوقات فنقله إلى غير ذلك الوقت تبين له عيب ذلك، لأن العدة طبيعة ثانية؛ فان وجدت شيئاً مما يدعو إلى الانتقال عنها فأوفق الأمور في ذلك أن تنقل عنه قليلاً درجة بعد أخرى.	
	صفحة 36 (ب)		
You should care about the season of the year, and to have the suitable food and medication in each season.	ويجب أن تهتم بأرباع الزمان وتتلقى كل زمان بما يصلح فيه من غذاء ودواء.	وما يجب أن تمثل ذكره في هذا الباب ذكر تهتم بأرباع الزمان وأربعة وتغيرات الهواء: وتتلقى كل زمان بما يصلح فيه من غذاء ودواء.	
This season is warm, moist and temperate, resembles in its nature air, and stirs the blood. In this season, it is useful to take moderate food, as chickens, partridges, and pheasants, half cooked eggs, lettuce, endive, and goats' milk.		فأول ارباع الزمان فصل الربيع: إذا حلت الشمس أول دقيقة من برج الحمل فهو أول زمن الربيع. ومُدَّتْهُ على رأى الأطباء ثلاثة وتسعون يوماً وثلاث عشرون ساعة وربع ساعة، وذلك من عشر تبقى من آذار إلى ثلاث وعشرين يوماً تخلو من حزينان، وهو الاستواء الربيعي. فإذا كان هذا، استوي الليل والنهار في الأقاليم واعتدل الزمان	[f.9r, 1.12] إن الربيع زمان معتدل حر رطب {شبيهه} بالهواء يهيج

<p>فيهِ والدم ممزج ينفع فيه كل شيء معتدل القوى وسط مثل الفراريج والطبوج والدراج والبيض المبرشت والنيمرشت والخس والهندبا والجرجير ولبن المعز، والضآن</p>	<p>وطاب الهواء وهب النسيم وذابت الثلوج وسالت الأودية ومدت الأنهار ونبتت العيون وارتفعت الرطوبات إلى فروع الأشجار ونبت العشب والطاب الزرع ونشأ الحشيش وتألأ الزهر وأورق الشجر وتفتح النوار واخضر وجه الأرض وتكونت الحيوانات وتجت البهائم ودرت الضروع وانتشر الحيوان في البلاد عن أوطانها وطاب عيش أهل الوبر وأخذت الأرض زخرفها وازينت وصارت الدنيا كأنها جارية شابة قد تزينت وتجلت للناظرين. — وهذا الفصل حار رطب شبيه معتدل نسبة الهواء يهيج فيه الدم وينفع فيه كل شيء معتدل مثل الفراريج [93] والقوى والطبوج والدراج والبيض المبرشت والنيمرشت والخس والهندبا ولبن المعز،</p>	<p>ولا وقت للتفجير أفضل منه ويصلح يكره فيه كثرة الجماع والحركة وإسهال البطن وأخراج الدّم ودخول الحمام والتعريق، والدواء المسهل وكل كثير من الاستفراغ فيه الفصل يحمله ويحجر</p>	<p>ولا وقت للتفجير أفضل منه ويصلح يكره فيه كثرة الجماع والحركة وإسهال البطن وأخراج الدّم ودخول الحمام والتعريق، والدواء المسهل وكل كثير من الاستفراغ فيه الفصل يحمله ويحجر</p>
<p>No other time than this is better for bleeding and cupping. In addition, it is allowable to commit excess in this season in cohabitation, use of purgatives, and baths and bringing on perspiration. Any error in medical</p>	<p>ولا وقت للتفجير أفضل منه ويصلح فيه كثرة الجماع والحركة وإسهال البطن ودخول الحمام والتعريق، والدواء المسهل وكل كثير من الاستفراغ فيه الفصل يحمله ويحجر</p>	<p>ولا وقت للتفجير أفضل منه، ويصلح فيه كثرة الجماع والحركة وإسهال البطن ودخول الحمام والتعريق، والدواء المسهل وكل كثير من الاستفراغ فيه الفصل يحمله خطأ في علاج أو إسهال أو تفجير</p>	<p>ولا وقت للتفجير أفضل منه ويصلح يكره فيه كثرة الجماع والحركة وإسهال البطن وأخراج الدّم ودخول الحمام والتعريق، والدواء المسهل وكل كثير من الاستفراغ فيه الفصل يحمله ويحجر</p>

treatment, purging, or bleeding, which may take place at this time the season safeguards it and sets it right.		يقع فيه فالفصل يحميه ويجبره إن شاء الله تعالى.	
The summer season is hot and dry, and it stirs up the red gall. Therefore one ought to avoid all hot things, whether food, drink, or medicine.	وبعد الصيف وهو حار يابس تحيج فيه الصفراء، وينبغي أن يتوقى فيه كل حار من الأطعمة والأشربة والأدوية والأفاويه،	[5] وجعل فصل الصيف: إذا حلت الشمس أول دقيقة من السرطان فهو أول زمن الصيف. ومدته اثنان وتسعون يوماً وثلاث وعشرون ساعة وثلاث ساعة، وذلك من ثلاث وعشرين يوماً تمضي من حزيران إلى أربعة وعشرين يوماً تمضي من أيلول. فإذا كان هذا تناهى طول النهار وقصر الليل في الأقاليم كلها، وأخذ النهار في النقص وليل في الزيادة، واستوى الحر وهي الهواء وهبت السائم ونقصت المياه ويس العشب واستحكم الحب وأدرك الحصاد ونضجت الثمار وسمنت البهائم واشتدت قوة الأبدان وصارت الدنيا كأنها عروس منعمة بالغة تامة كثيرة العشاق. - وهذا الفصل وهو حار يابس، سلطانه المزة تحيج فيه الصفراء، وينبغي أن يتوقى فيه كل شيء حار. من الأطعمة والأشربة والأدوية والأفاويه،	في تدبير ألبدن في الصيف: وجعل فأما الصيف وهو فحار يابس تحيج فيه الصفراء وينبغي أن يتوقى فيه كل شيء حار من الأطعمة والأشربة والأدوية والأفاويه،

<p>In addition, one ought to beware of over-eating, that the heat of the stomach may not be quenched. One should eat all kinds of cold food, such as veal cooked with vinegar, gourds, fat chickens, and fine flour, and of fruits, sour apples, plums, and sour pomegranates. And the scents and oils used of a cold nature. Extreme moderation should be observed in cohabitation.</p>	<p>ويتحفظ من الامتلاء لئلاً تنطفئ الحرارة. الغريزية ويؤكل فيه كل بارد من الأطعمة والأغذية كلحوم العجاجيل بالخل والقرع والفرايح المسنة {المسمنة} ومن الفواكه: التفاح المرّ والأجاص والرمّان المرّ</p>	<p>ويتحفظ من الامتلاء لئلاً تنطفئ الحرارة الخفيفة. ويؤكل فيه كل بارد من الأطعمة والأغذية مثل لحوم العجاجيل بالخل والقرع والفرايح المسنة {المسمنة} ودقيق الشعير، وتؤكل الحصرمية. ومن الفواكه: التفاح المرّ والأجاص والرمّان المرّ الحامض. ويكون المشموم وما يدهن به بارداً. ويشرب الماء المبرد بالثلج،</p>	<p>ويتحفظ من الحرارة الامتلاء لئلاً تنطفئ الحرارة. الغريزية ويؤكل فيه كل بارد من الأطعمة والأغذية مثل لحوم العجاجيل مطبوخاً بالخل والقرع والفرايح المسنة بدقيق الشعير وتدبر بما الحصرم ومن الفواكه: التفاح وحمّاض الأنزج المرّ والأجاص والرمّان المرّ الحامض وأن يأكل فيه البيض النيمرشت وتكون ريّاحينة وبقوله وفواكه وادهانه باردة كلها</p>
<p>Bleeding and cupping should be avoided, unless there is a necessity. However, the bath may be used not much and movement should be reduced.</p>	<p>ويقلل فيه من الجماع ويتجنب فيه إخراج الدم والحجامة إلا أن تدعوا إلى ذلك ضرورة ويقلل الحركة فيه ودخول الحمام.</p>	<p>ويقلل فيه من الجماع ويتجنب فيه إخراج الدم والحجامة [94] إلا الحمام فهو موافق، ويستعمل فيه القيء، لأن فضول البدن ترك في الضيف وتطفو فوق المعدة. ولا تُستعمل الغرغرة والإسهال فيه إلا عند أن تدعوا إلى ذلك ضرورة. ويقلل الحركة فيه ودخول الحمام.</p>	<p>وأن يقلل فيه الحركة والجماع ويتجنب فيه إخراج الدم يقلّ اللبث في الحجامة إلا أن تدعوا إلى ذلك ضرورة ويقلل الحركة فيه ودخول الحمام ويستعمل فيه القيء لأن فضول البدن ترق في الصيف وتطفو فوق المعدة ولاستعمل فيه العرعره ولا ألسهال إلا عندا الضرورة والحاجة إليه.</p>
	<p>صفحة 37 (أ)</p>		
<p>Next is the autumn season, which is cold and dry, and it, stirs up the black gall. In this season, you should</p>		<p>ويصل فصل الخريف: إذا حلت الشمس أول دقيقة من الميزان فهو أول زمن الخريف. ومدته ثمانية وثلاثون يوماً</p>	

<p>abstain from eating or drinking anything cold and dry, as it suits such foods and drinks as are warm, soft, and moist, as chickens, mutton, sweet grapes, and well-matured wine.</p>	<p>وبعده الخريف وهو فصل بارد يابس تهيج فيه السوداء، وينبغي أن يتوقى فيه كل طعام وشراب بارد يابس ويستعمل فيه من الأطعمة ما كان حارًا لينًا رطبًا مثل الفراريج والخرفان والعنب الحلو والشراب العتيق.</p>	<p>وسبع عشرة ساعة ونصف سادس ساعة، وذلك من أربعة وعشرون يوماً تمضى من أيلول إلى اثنين وعشرين يوماً من كانون الأول. فإذا كان هذا، استوى الليل والنهار مرة أخرى، ثم ابتداء الليل في الزيادة على النهار وانصرف الصيف ودخل الخريف وبرد الهواء وهبت الشمال وتغير الزمان ونقصت المياه وجفت الأنهار وغارت العيون والجف الثبت وفنيت الثمار وخرن الناس الحب والثمر وعُرى وجه الأرض من زينتته وماتت الهوام وانجحرت الحشرات وانصرف الطير والوحش يطلب البلدان الدفئة وخرن القوت للشتاء وتغير الهواء وصارت الدنيا كأنها كهلة مدبرة قد تولت عنها أيام الشباب. - وهو وهذا فصل بارد يابس، تهيج فيه سلطانه المرة السوداء، وينبغي أن يتوقى فيه كل طعام وشراب بارد يابس، ويستعمل فيه من الأغذية والأطعمة ما كان حارًا لينًا رطبًا مثل الفراريج والخرفان والعنب الحلو والشراب العتيق.</p>	<p>في تدبير البدن في الخريف: ويجعله الخريف وهو فصل بارد يابس تهيج فيه السوداء فينبغي أن يتوقى فيه كل طعام وشراب بارد يابس ويستعمل ويؤكل فيه من الأطعمة ما كان حارًا لينًا رطبًا مثل الفراريج والخرفان والعنب الحلو والشراب العتيق.</p>
<p>Such things as produce black bile</p>	<p>ويتجنب كل ما يولد السوداء. وتكون الحركة</p>	<p>ويُتجنب كل ما يولد السوداء. وتكون الحركة</p>	<p>ويتجنب كل ما يولد السوداء. وتكون الحركة</p>

<p>should be avoided. Motion and cohabitation may be indulged in in this season more freely than in summer, but less than in winter (and spring). The frequent use of the bath is recommended, and purging if need be. [...]</p>	<p>والجماع فيه أكثر مما في الصيف وأقل مما في الشتاء ويتعاهد فيه دخول الحمام والداء المسهل إن احتيج إلى ذلك</p>	<p>والجماع فيه الغرغرة أكثر مما في الصيف وأقل مما في الشتاء وربيع. ويتعاهد فيه ويتعاهد فيه دخول الحمام والداء المسهل إن احتيج إلى القيء كان ذلك وسط النهار، لأن الفضول يجتمع في الإنسان في هذين الفصلين. ويسهل البطن بالافثيمون والغاريقون وكل مرّ يخرج السوداء ويرقق الأخلاط بعون الله.</p>	<p>والجماع والغرغرة فيه أكثر منها مما في الصيف وأقل مما منها في الشتاء والربيع ويتعاهد فيه دخول الحمام والداء المسهل إن احتيج إلى ذلك ويتمرّخ فيه بالخيري وما اعتدل من الأدهان فان احتيج إلى القي كان ذلك وسط الشهر أو في آخره لأن الفضول تحتج في الإنسان في هذين الفصلين ويسهل البطن بالافثيمون وغاريقون <u>ويقل إخراج الدّم فيه.</u></p>
<p>The following season winter characterized by being cold and moist and phlegm predominates in it.</p>	<p>وبعده الشتاء وهو فصل بارد رطب يهيّج فيه البلغم،</p>	<p>[95] وبعده و فصل الشتاء إذا حلت الشمس أول دقيقة من الجدى فهو أول زمن الشتاء ومدته تسعة وثمانون يوماً وأربعة عشرة ساعة، من تسع تبقى من كانون الأول إلى إحدى عشرين يوماً تخلو من آذار. فإذا كان هذا تناهى طول الليل وقصر النهار، ثم أخذ النهار في الزيادة وانصرف الخريف ودخل الشتاء واشتد البرد وخشن الهواء وتساقط ورق الشجر ومات أكثر النبات، وانجحر أكثر الحيوانات في باطن الأرض وكهف الجبال من شدة البرد وكثرة الأنواء وتواترت الغيوم وأظلم الجو</p>	<p>وبعده الشتاء وهو فصل بارد رطب يهيّج فيه البلغم في تدبير البدن في الشتاء</p>

		<p>وكلح وجه الزمان وهزلت البهائم وضعفت قوى الأبدان وصارت الدنيا كأنها عجوز قد هرمت ودنا منها الموت.</p> <p>— وهذا وهو فصل بارد رطب، يهيج فيه سلطانه البلغم،</p>	
<p>Therefore, in the matter of nourishment and medicine, it is necessary to seek after warm things, such as young pigeons, figs, walnuts, thick red wine. Hot clysters may be used.</p>	<p>فينبغي أن يمال بالتدبير فيه إلى الأغذية والأدوية الحارة مثل فراريج الحمام والتين والجوز والشراب الصنف الأحمر وتستعمل الجوارشات الحارة</p>	<p>فينبغي أن يمال بالتدبير فيه إلى الأغذية والأدوية إلى ألا شياء الحارة مثل فراخ- فراريج الحمام والتوابل الحارة والتين والجوز والثوم والشراب الصنف الغليظ الأحمر وتستعمل الجوارشات الحارة <u>والحقن،</u></p>	<p>قال جالينوس أن فضول البدن ... وقال ابقراط الحكيم المقدم أن البطون في الخريف والشتاء حارة والنوم فيها كثير لطول الليل فينبغي أن يكون الطعام فيها أكثر والبطون في الصيف والربيع باردة فينبغي أن يؤكل فيهما دون ما يؤكل في الخريف والشتاء وأن يؤكل في شتاء الأشياء ... فينبغي أن يمال بالتدبير فيه إلى الأغذية والأدوية الحارة مثل فراخ فراريج الحمام والعصافير وحولى الضان والبقول والتوابل الحارة والكاب والمزاث والتين والجوز ولا يضر فيه كثرة الجماع والحركة والشراب الصنف الأحمر وتستعمل الجوارشات <u>والحقن</u> الحارة</p>
<p>Purgatives, bleeding, and cupping should be avoided, except in case of necessity,</p>	<p>ويتوقى الإسهال وإخراج الدم إلا أن تدعوا إلى ذلك، ضرورة حافة</p>	<p>ويتوقى الإسهال وإخراج الدم إلا أن تدعوا إلى ذلك ضرورة حاضرة</p>	<p>ويتوقى الإسهال وإخراج الدم إلا أن تدعوا إلى ذلك ضرورة حاضرة</p>
	<p>صفحة 37 (ب)</p>		

<p>Then the air should be changed and heated, and first of all hot drinks should be taken and the body rubbed with warm oils, and one should enter a temperate bath. In this season even excess in exertion, cohabitation, and eating does not do much harm, because the digestive power increases?</p>	<p>فيغير الهواء ويسخن ويقدم تمريخ الجسم بالأدهان الحارة ودخول الأذن المعتدل. ولا يضر في هذا الفصل الحركة المفرطة ولا الجماع ولا الأكل الكثير لكثرة الهضم فيه.</p>	<p>فيغير الهواء ويسخن وينعدم بالأشربة الحارة ويقدم ويمريخ الجسم بالأدهان الحارة ودخول في الأذن المعتدل. ولا يضر في هذا الفصل الحركة المفرطة ولا الجماع الكثير ولا الأكل الكثير لكثرة الهضم فيه لأن انحجاز الحرارة الغريزة إلى قعر البدن يجعل الهضم فيه أكثر ، والبطون في الربيع والصيف باردة لانتشار الحرارة وانتفاح مسام الجسم، والحرارة الغريزية قليلة والهضم فيها يقل والاخلاط تتحرك. فاعلم ذلك.</p>	<p>لأن يضطر إليه بتغير الهواء ويسخن ويستعمل الأفوية والأدهان والأشربة الحارة ودخول الأذن المعتدل. ولا يضر في هذا الفصل الحركة المفرطة ولا الجماع ولا الأكل الكثير لكثرة الهضم فيه.</p>
		<p>الكلام على أجزاء الجسم [p.96]</p> <p>اعلم أن البدن أربعة أجزاء: الأول منها الرأس، فاذا اجتمع فيه فضول كان آفة ذلك ظلمة العينين وثقل الحاجبين وضربان الصُدْعَيْن ودوى الأذنين وانسداد المنخرين. فمن أحس بذلك فليأخذ الأفسنتين ويطبخه بشراب حلو مع أصول السعتر حتى يذهب نصفه ويتغرغر به كل غداة حتى يخف؛ ويستعمل في طعامه الخردل المصنوع بالشماروزنة درهمين من غبار ايارج ذي</p>	<p>في علامات وعلاجات اطباء... [f.10v,l.16]</p> <p>احلم قالو أن البدن أربعة أجزاء: الأول منها الرأس، وما يليه فاذا اجتمع فيه فضول كان آفة ذلك ظلمة العينين وثقل الحاجبين وضربان الصُدْعَيْن ودوى الأذنين وانسداد المنخرين. فمن أحس بذلك فليأخذ الأفسنتين ويطبخه بشراب حلو مع أصول السعتر حتى يذهب نصفه ويتغرغر به كل غداة حتى يخف؛ ويستعمل في طعامه أو يكمل الخردل بالعسل ...</p>

		<p>الإثني عشر عقاراً عند النوم. فانه متى أهمل ذلك هاجت عليه علل مخوفة كفساد البصر والحنازير والذبحة وأوجاع الدماغ.</p>	<p>... المصنوع بالشماروزنة درهمين من غبار ايارج ذي الإثني عشر عقاراً عند النوم. فانه متى أهمل ذلك هاجت عليه علل مخوفة كفساد البصر والحنازير والذبحة وأوجاع الدماغ.</p>
		<p>الجزء الثاني، الصدر: فاذا اجتمع فيه فضول كان آفة ذلك ثقل اللسان وملوحة الفم وحموضة الطعام على رأس المعدة ووجع الصدغين والعسل. - فينبغي أن يخفف من طعامه ويستعمل القيء ويأخذ - بأثر ذلك - مرئى الورد بالعود والمصطكى. وعلى أثر طعامه قدر الجوزة من معجون الانيسون الكبير المعمول بالعود والخولنجان؛ فانه من أعفل ذلك أورثه ذات الجنب ووجع الكلى والحمى.</p>	<p>والجزء الثاني، الصدر: فاذا اجتمع فيه فضول كان آفة آية ذلك ثقل اللسان وملوحة الفم أو مرارته وحموضة الطعام على رأس المعدة ووجع الصدغين والعسل. - فينبغي لمن أحسن بذلك أن يخفف من طعامه ثم يتقياً فانه أن ويستعمل القيء ويأخذ بأثر ذلك - مرئى الورد بالعود والمصطكى. وعلى أثر طعامه قدر الجوزة من معجون الانيسون الكبير المعمول بالعود والخولنجان؛ فانه من أعفل ذلك أورثه ذات الجنب ووجع الكلى والحمى.</p>
		<p>[p.97] الجزء الثالث، البطن: فاذا اجتمعت فيه فضول كان آفة ذلك النفخ ووجع الركب والقشعريرة والمليلة والرياح الجائلة. - فينبغي لمن أحس بذلك أن يستعمل إسهال البطن ببعض المليينات اللطيفة</p>	<p>والجزء الثالث، البطن: وما يليه فاذا اجتمعت فيه فضول كان آفة ذلك النفخ النقطير ووجع الركب والقشعريرة والمليلة والرياح الجائلة. - فينبغي لمن أحسن بذلك أن يستعمل</p>

		<p>ويستعمل التدبير الذي قدمنا في الصدر. فان أغفل ذلك أورثة وجع الوركين والظهر والمفاصل واستطلاق البطن وفساد الهضم وسدد الكبد.</p>	<p><u>يسهل البطن</u> ببعض المليينات اللطيفة ويستعمل التدبير الذي قدمنا في الصدر. فان أغفل ذلك أورثة استطلاق البطن وجع الورك والظهر والمفاصل والبواسير.</p>
		<p>الخزء الرابع، المثانة: فاذا اجتمعت فيها فضول كان آفة ذلك فتور الشهوة وظهور البشر على الإليتين والعانة. — فينبغي لمن أحس بذلك أن يأخذ من الكرفس والراز يانج ومن أصولها فينقعهما في شراب أبيض طيب الرائحة؛ ثم يأخذ منه كلغدة ممز وجأ بالعسل والماء على الريق، ويحتمى من كثرة أكله. فان أغفل ذلك أورثه وجع المثانة والكبد وحصر البول في الدبر.</p>	<p>الخزء الرابع، المثانة: ومل يليها فاذا اجتمعت فيها فضول كان آفة ذلك فتور الشهوة وظهور البشر على الإليتين والعانة. — فينبغي لمن أحس بذلك أن يأخذ من الكرفس والراز يانج ومن أصولها فينقعهما في شراب أبيض طيب ثم يأخذ منه في الرائحة؛ كل غداة ممز وجأ بالماء والعسل والماء على الريق، ويحتمى من كثرة الأكل. فان من أغفل ذلك أورثه وجع المثانة والكبد وحصر البول في المحجر والرتو.</p>
		<p>ومذكور في بعض الكتب القديمة أن ملكاً من الملوك جمع أطباء الروم والهند والفرس، وأمر أن يصف كل واحد منهم شيئاً إذا ازمه الإنسان واستعمله نفعه وصرف عنه الأدواء. فكان ما اختاره الرومي وأشار به شرب جرعات من ماء حار عند كل غداة. وما أشار به</p>	<p>وذكرت الاعاجم في بعض الكتب القديمة أن ملكاً من الملوكها جمع أطباء الروم والهند والفرس، وأمرهم أن يصف كل واحد منهم شيئاً إذا لزمه الإنسان واستعمله في أيام السنة نفعه ولم يضره وصرف عنه الأدواء. فكان ما اختاره فكا الرومي وأشار به الطبيب الرومي</p>

		<p>الماء الحار وما شابهه الطبيب الهندي الهليج الأسود المرئي: شرب بجرحات من ماء حار عند كل خداتة وما أشار به الطبيب الفارسي: الحرف وقد ينقع كل واحد منها مفردًا من دواء كثيرة ، وهو حب الرشاد. وما أشار به الهندي: الإهليلج الهندي.</p>	
		<p>[p.98] وأنا أقول، يا إسكندر، من أمسى وليس في بطنه ثقل طعام لم يخف الفالج ولا وجع المفاصل. ومن أكل كل غداة سبع مثاقيل من زبيب صادق الحلاوة لم يخف شيئاً من أدواء البلغم وجاد حفظه وفاق ذهنه. ومن استعمل في فصل الشتاء أكل شيء من الحلثيت الحلو غير المنتن أمن حمى الربيع وريح الشراسيف. ومن أكل جوزتين بثلاث حبات من التين مع أوراق يسيرة من السذاب أمن من السم يومه ذلك.</p>	<p>وقالت الفرس أن من {...} وأنا أقول، يا إسكندر، من أمسى وليس في بطنه ثقل طعام لم يخف الفالج ولا وجع المفاصل. ومن أكل في كل شهر سبعة أيام في كل غداة سبعة مثاقيل من زبيب صادق الحلاوة لم يخف شيئاً من أدواء البلغم وجاد حفظه وكذلك أن أكل بدل الزبيب سبعة أيام اعواد زنجبيل مربي بالعسل او عوداً الطيقاً من الوج المرئي بالعسل ومن أكل في كل عداة كل يوم من أيام التناء ثلث لقم من الشهدم لم يصبه البرسام شتوته تلك ومن أكل كل غداة من الصيف خيارة ... وفاق ذهنه. ومن استعمل في فصل الشتاء أكل شيء من الحلثيت الحلو غير المنتن</p>

			<p>أمن حتى الرّيح وريح الشراسيف. ومن أكل جوزتين بثلاث حبات من العين مع أوراق يسيرة من السذاب أمن من السم يومه ذلك.</p>
<p>O Alexander, preserve, and take care of your natural heat. Because as long as there is temperate heat and moderate moisture in man, the heat feeds upon the moisture, and verily that heat is the principle of life and health.</p>	<p>فتحفظ يا إسكندر بهذا الهيكل الشريف وإحراز الحرارة الغريزية جهداً ، فإنه ما دام في الإنسان حرارة معتدلة ورطوبة غير مفرطة تغذي بها تلك الحرارة الغريزية فإن البقاء والصحة مضمونة،</p>	<p>فتحفظ يا [p.98, 1.7] إسكندر بهذا الهيكل الشريف وإحراز بالحرارة الغريزية جهداً ، فإنه ما دام في الإنسان حرارة معتدلة ورطوبة غير مفرطة تغذي بها تلك الحرارة الغريزية فإن البقاء والصحة مضمونة،</p>	
<p>Man becomes old and his body grows weak from two causes: firstly, from natural decay which is unavoidable, and is brought on by the predominance of dryness in the body and corruption of the being. In addition, secondly, accidental decay, which accidents, diseases, or evil treatment brings on.</p>	<p>فإنه إنما يهرم الإنسان ويبلَى بدنه لخصلتين إحداهما هرم طبيعي باضطراب وذلك من يُسّ يغلب على البدن وفساد الكون، والأخرى هرم عرضي مثل الذي يعرض من الآفات والأمراض وفساد التدبير.</p>	<p>فإنه إنما يهرم الإنسان ويعيا بدنه بخصلتين: إحداهما هرم طبيعي باضطراب وذلك من يُسّ يغلب على البدن وفساد الكون، والأخرى هَرَمٌ عرضي مثل الذي يعرض من الآفات والأعراض وفساد التدبير.</p>	
		<p>[p.98, 1.12] ذكر الأغذية اعلم أن من الأغذية ما هو لطيف، ومنها ما هو غليظ،</p>	<p>[f.12r, 1.7] في الأغذية ... أن من الأغذية ما هو لطيف، ومنها ما هو</p>

		<p>ومنها وسط. فاللطيف منها يولد دماً صافياً جيداً، مثل الخنطة والفرايج المرباة والبيض. وأما الغليظة فأنها تنفع المحرورين ومن كر تعبهم قبل الطعام ونومه بعد الطعام. فأما المتوسط من الأطعمة فانه لا يولد السدد ولا فضول الرديئة. وكيموسه جيد، مثل الصافي من الخبز الخنطة والجداء والحوالي من الضأن وجملته الحملان فأنها كلها حارة رطبة وإنما تختلف في الصنعة: فما شوي منه فانه يستفيد قوة من النار وحرارة ويئسأ، إلا أن يعالجه آكله بشيء يكسر من حره كالخل والليمون أو ما أشبه ذلك كالتمر هندي والقراصيا؛ فاذا أطفئ فيها ما يشوي من اللحم كسر من حرارة وأصله وكذلك ما يقلى [p.99, 1.5] منها بالتوابل.</p>	<p>غليظ، ومنها وسط. فاللطيف منها يولد دماً <u>صحيحاً</u> صافياً جيداً، مثل الخنطة والفرايج المرباة والبيض غير أنها تضعف من استعمالها. فأما ما كان من الأغذية الغليظة فأنها ينفع المحرورين ومن كر تعبهم قبل الطعام ونومه بعد الطعام. <u>ولمن تحتاج إلى أن يكون له جلد فليأخذ المتوسط من الأطعمة فانه لا وبطش غير أنها تولد السدد أو ولا فضولا غليظة للرديئة.</u> وكيموسه جيد، مثل الصافي من الخبز الخنطة والجداء والحوالي من الضأن وجملته الحملان فأنها كلها حارة رطبة وإنما تختلف في الصنعة: فما شوي منه فانه يستفيد قوة من النار وحرارة ويئسأ، إلا أن يعالجه آكله بشيء يكسر من حره كالخل والليمون أو ما أشبه ذلك كالتمر هندي والقراصيا؛ فاذا أطفئ فيها ما يشوي من اللحم كسر من حرارة وأصله وكذلك ما يقلى منها بالتوابل.</p>
Those things that fatten and moisten the body are: ease and comfort, sweet	فمما يسمن الجسم ويرطبه الراحة والدعة وأكل الأسفيداجات	وأما ما [p.103, 1.14] يسخنه يسمن الجسم ويرطب بدنه فالراحة والدعة والرائحة	

<p>perfumes, eating Asfedbajat (kind of dish made of meat, onions, butter, and cheese, milk, and bread), and drinking warm milk and sweet syrups; and sleeping after food on soft beds in cool places;</p>	<p>{الاسفيدياجات} والأطعمة الحلوة وشرب الألبان السخنة والشراب الحلو والنوم بعد الطعام على الفراش الوثيرة والحشايا اللينة في المواضع الباردة؛</p>	<p>الطبية الرقية، وأكل الأسفيداجات {الاسفيدياجات} والأطعمة الحلوة الرطبة وشرب المثلجان السخنة والشراب الحلو من الربوبات والعسل الرطب المربي بالجوز في الأوقات الباردة؛ والأقتصاد في هذا كله؛ والنوم بعد الطعام على الفراش الوثيرة والحشايا اللينة في المواضع الباردة في الصيف والدفقة في الشتاء؛</p>	
	<p>صفحة 38 (ب)</p>		
<p>bathing in warm and sweet water, without staying too long in the bath, for that lessens the moisture of the body; smelling sweet-scented plants according to the time of the year, e.g. jessamine in winter, roses and violets in summer; using an emetic once in a month, especially in summer,</p>	<p>والاستحمام بالمياه العذبة الرقية {الرطبة} وقلة اللبث في الحمام لئلا يأخذ الحمام من رطوبته وبلته بل يأخذ البدن من بلة الحمام ورطوبته، وشم الرياحين الفواحة في كل زمان مثل الياسمين في الشتاء والورد والبنفسج في الصيف؛ ويستعمل القيء في الشهر ولو مرة واحدة لاسيما في الصيف،</p>	<p>والاستحمام بالمياه الدفقة العذبة المرقية {الرطبة} وقلة اللبث في الحمام لئلا يأخذ الحمام من رطوبته وبلته بل يأخذ البدن من بلة الحمام ورطوبته، وشم الرياحين الفياحة في كل زمان مثل الياسمين في الشتاء والورد والبنفسج في الصيف؛ ويستعمل القيء ثلاث مرات في الشهر ولو مرة واحدة لاسيما في الصيف،</p>	
<p>for vomiting cleanses the stomach and frees it from injurious matter and corrupting moisture, which being expelled, natural heat becomes more powerful to digest</p>	<p>فإن القيء يغسل المعدة وينقيها من المواد الرطبة والرطوبات العفنة فإذا قلت تلك المواد فيها قويت الحرارة الغريزية على هضم الأغذية فابتل البدن لذلك وامتلأ.</p>	<p>فإن القيء [p.104] يغسل المعدة وينقيها من المواد الرديئة الرطبة والرطوبة العفنة. فإذا أقبلت تلك المواد فيها قويت الحرارة الغريزية على هضم الغذاء للأخنية فابتل البدن لذلك وامتلأ.</p>	

<p>food, so that the body becomes fresh and full.</p>			
<p>In this course, a man will derive assistance and increased benefit from joy, wealth, honor, victory over enemies, realization of hopes, amusements, seeing beautiful faces, reading interesting books, listening to pleasant songs, the joking of friends, the stories told by agreeable companions, listening to interesting discourses and amusing tales, wearing colored garments of silk and linen, and scented oils according to the time of the year.</p>	<p>وأنفع من ذلك مع هذا التدبير الفرح والغناء والعزة والغلبة على الأعداء ودرك الرجاء والتشاغل بالملاهي والنظر إلى الوجوه الحسان أو قراءة الكتب المؤنسة وسماع الأغاني المطربة والمضحكات مع الأحبة والملابس المصبغة الموشى والأدهان بالأدهان الموافقة للأزمان.</p>	<p>ويعينه على وأنفع من ذلك مع هذا التدبير ويزيده ونفعاً الفرح والغناء والعزة والغلبة على الأعداء وإدراك الرجاء والتشاغل بالملاهي والنظر إلى الوجوه الحسان أو وقراءة الكتب المؤنسة وسماع الأغاني المطربة والمضحكة الأحبة وأحاديث الحذاق من الرجال ذوى المودات والصدقة الخالصة ونقله الأخبار الغريبة والحكايات المستحسنة، مع المسجبة والملابس المصبغة الموشاة من الحرير والخز، والشراب الفاخر — فان هذا كله مما يجمل بالملوك استعماله وهو أليق بهم من سائر الناس لأنهم أقدر عليه وأولى به؛ وتعاهد السواك، والأدهان بالأدهان الموافقة للزمان.</p>	
<p>As for the things that emaciate and dry up the body, they are the contrary to all those mentioned above, namely, insufficient eating and drinking, excess in exertion, movement in the sun and heat, long sleeplessness,</p>	<p>وأما ما يهزل البدن ويبيسه فخلاف ذلك كله من قلة الطعام والشراب وكثرة التعب والحركات في الشمس والسهر الطويل، والنوم قبل الطعام على الفرش الخشنة والرمل والتراب والاستحمام بالمياه الكبريتية وأكل الأطعمة المالحة والمخلولة</p>	<p>فأما [p.104, 1.10] ما يهزل البدن ويبيسه فخلاف ذلك كله ومضده: من قلة الطعام والشراب، وكثرة التعب، والحركات في الشمس والحرّ والسموم، والسهر الطويل، والنوم قبل الطعام على الفرش الخشنة لأن الحرارة تنعكس على ما</p>	

<p>sleeping with an empty stomach on hard beds (for heat counteracts the moisture of the body and dries it up); bathing in sulphurous; eating cold, pungent, and fried foods, and drinking old unmixed wines.</p>	<p>والباردة والحريفة والقلايا وشرب الشراب العتيق صرفًا،</p>	<p>في البدن من الرطوبة فتنشفها، والرمل والتراب والاستحمام بالمياه الكبريتية وأكل الأطعمة والمالحة والمحلولة والمخلولة والباردة في الشتاء، وأكل الحريفة والقلايا في الصيف وشرب الشراب العتيق صرفًا،</p>	
<p>Likewise, excess in purgation, bleedings, and cohabitation. In addition, anxiety, fear, bad thoughts, and related concerns.</p>	<p>والإكثار من إسهال البطن وإخراج الدم وإفراط المجامعة وشغل البال والخوف والأفكار الردية والهموم المتراصة.</p>	<p>والإكثار من إسهال البطن وإخراج الدم وإفراط المجامعة وشغل البال والفقر والخوف. وأما مل يستن البدن ويهيجه ويكثر لحمه: فقلة المجامعة وأكل الخبز السميد ولحم الدجاج المسمنة، والقئ في كل غذاء بالسكنجبين في أيام الصيف وركوب الفارحة الطيبة المشى من الدواب والشرب في الأواني وأما ما الجديدة [p.105] الطيبة الرائحة واطراح الهم والحزن. يهزله ويسقمه فكثرة الهم والخوف والسهر وشغل القلب والعشق المفرط والنوم على الأرض ومضاجعة المستنات من النساء والنظر إلى ما يكره المرء ويشنؤه ولا يمكن أن يفارقة. وأشد ذلك وأضره الأفكار الرديئة والهموم المتراصة.</p>	

		<p>[p.105, 1.4]</p> <p>القول في الحمام</p> <p>إن <u>الحمام</u>، يا إسكندر، من أعجب ما في العالم وأغرب ما وصفته حكما الأرض ودبرته لراحة الجسم ونقاء البدن وتحليل الأعضاء وفتح مسام الجسم وإظهار البخارات والفضلات ونقاء الجلد من بقايا الآلام والأمراض. وذلك أنه مبني على <u>فصول السنة</u>: فالحر للشتاء، والذي يليه للخريف، والذي يليه للربيع، والذي يليه للصيف، ومن صواب <u>التدبير فيه أن يلبث الداخل في البيت الأول قليلا</u>، ثم يصير منه إلى الثاني فيلبث فيه قليلا، ثم يدخل إلى البيت الثالث. وكذلك يفعل إذا خرج: يلبث في كل بيت هنيئة لئلا يهجم من حر الشديد إلى برد شديد، أو من برد شديد إلى حر شديد. — ويكون بناؤه مرتفعاً وهواؤه كثيراً وماؤه عذباً. وتوضع المجامر فيه بالدواخن الموقفة للأزمة — يعني الربيع والصيف — والدخنة فيهما بالنند المربع والمثلث، وفي الخريف والشتاء: الند المثنى والعود الرطب.</p>	<p>[f.10r, 1.15–f.10v]</p> <p>إن <u>الحمام</u>، يا إسكندر، من أعجب ما في العالم وأغرب ما وصفته حكما الأرض ودبرته لراحة الجسم ونقاء البدن وتحليل الأعضاء وفتح مسام الجسم وإظهار البخارات والفضلات ونقاء الجلد من بقايا الآلام والأمراض. وذلك أنه مبني على <u>فصول السنة</u>: ... فالحر للشتاء، والذي يليه للخريف، والذي يليه للربيع، والذي يليه للصيف، ومن صواب <u>التدبير في الحمام أن يلبث الداخل أرجل في البيت الأول قليلا</u>، ثم يصير منه إلى <u>البيت الثاني</u> فيلبث فيه قليلا، ثم يدخل <u>بصير منه</u> إلى البيت الثالث. وكذلك يفعل إذا أراد <u>الخروج</u>: يلبث في كل بيت هنيئة لئلا يهجم من حر الشديد إلى برد شديد، أو من برد شديد إلى <u>على حر شديد</u>. مفرط على برد يابس فان كان محروراً ويا بس المزاج اسرع صب الماء عليه وخرج وأن كان شيخاً أو بارد أمزاج أو كثير الرطوبات اطال لليث — ويكون</p>
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			<p> بناؤه مرتفعاً ومراؤه كثيراً ومأواه عذياً. وتوضع الحماير فيه بالدواخن الموققة للأزمنة يعني الربيع والصيف والدخنة فيهما بالنند المربع والفلث، وفي الخريف والشتاء: النند المشي والعود الوطب. </p>
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TABLE 3 (a-d): Summary Findings of Manuscript Survey

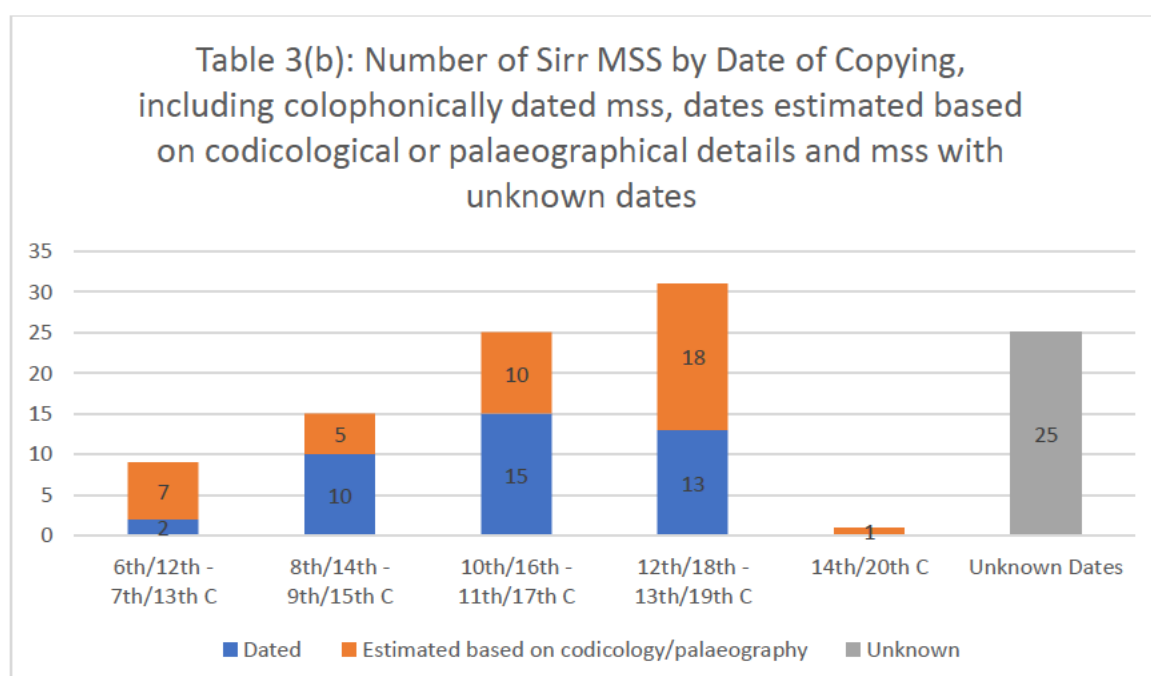
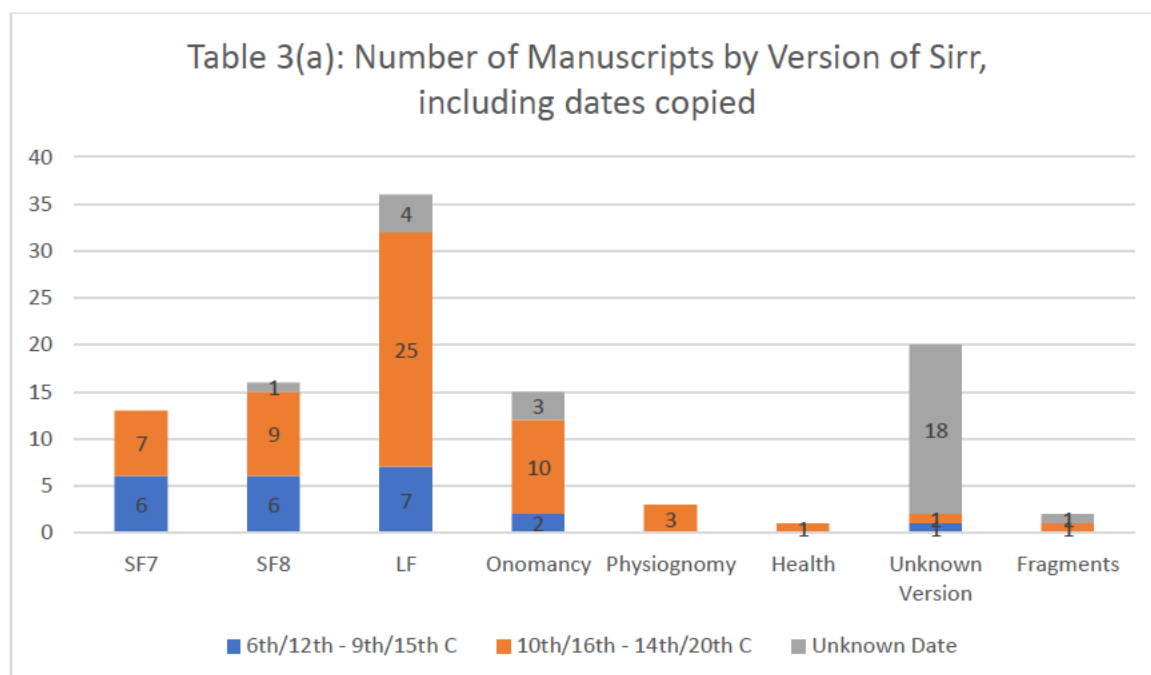


Table 3(c): Purpose of Copying MSS (6th/12th - 9th/15th Centuries)

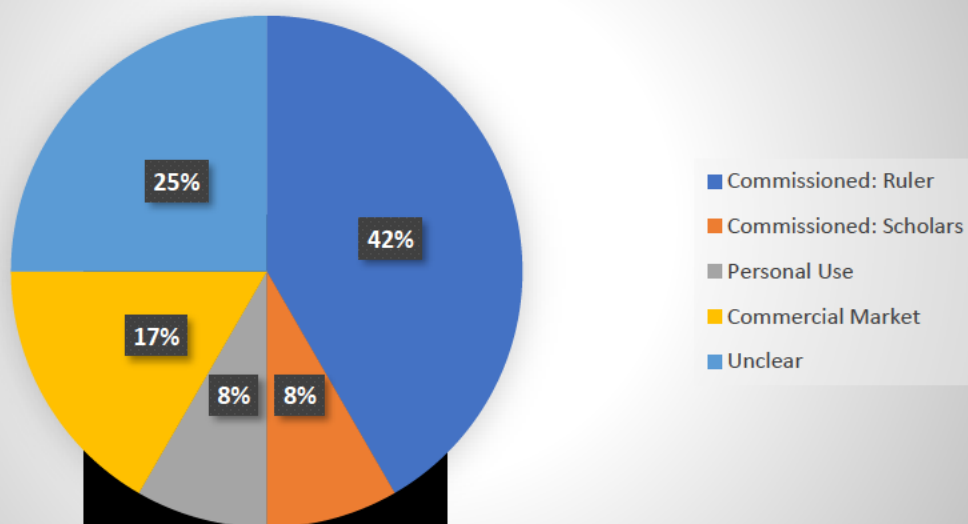
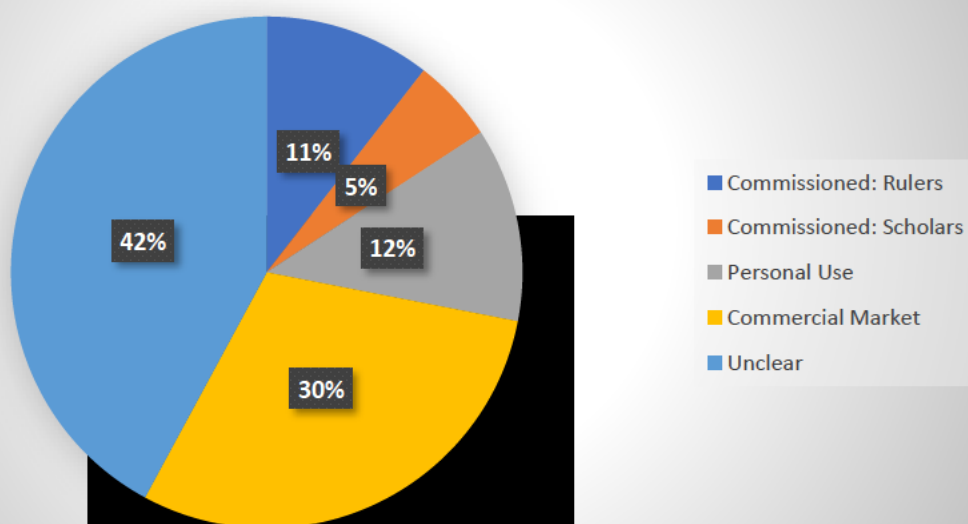


Table 3(d): Purpose of Copying MSS (10th/16th - 14th/20th Centuries)



APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: WORKING EDITION OF THE SF8 RECENSION OF THE *SIRR AL-ASRĀR*

APPENDIX 2: DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF *SIRR* MANUSCRIPTS

APPENDIX 1

WORKING EDITION OF THE SF8 RECENSION OF THE *SIRR AL-ASRĀR*

(BASED ON PARIS, BNF, MS ARABE 2421)

KEY:

{كتاب السياسة}: unfilled space (for rubrication?) in ms; text inserted from Leiden 749 (SF8)

{كتاب السياسة}: alternative text inserted from Leiden 749 (SF8)

{تلسمان؟}: own suggestion for correct reading

يعص : unsure if correct

{فإنما ذلك}: text found on previous/following folio

NOTES ON WORKING EDITION OF THE SF8 *SIRR*

Whilst comparing the text of the *Sirr* with potential sources, it became clear that the lack of an edited text of the earliest Short Form (SF) recension of the *Sirr*, was a major challenge. Although the Arabic text has previously been edited by Abdurrahman Badawi, his edition is essentially based on the later Long Form (LF) of the treatise; it incorporates some variant readings of the SF but does not sufficiently distinguish between the two versions or note where the expanded passages of the LF begin.¹ To overcome this challenge, I have produced this working edition of the SF in eight books (SF8), based on Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2421. This manuscript is a 12th/18th century copy selected primarily because it was a complete copy of the *Sirr* in a clear hand and is a collated manuscript that traces its exemplar to the Islamic West, which I argue is the region from which this version emerged.² Any references to the *Sirr* with the thesis are based on this edition and given by the folio number of the manuscript, which is replicated in the edition (unless otherwise indicated).

An English translation of the Long Form Arabic text was prepared by Isma‘īl ‘Alī and is included in Robert Steele’s edition of the Latin edition prepared by Roger Bacon.³ However, the base text for this was Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Arab.1869 varies in places from the Arabic text of the Badawi edition. A parallel English translation based on the same edition and version of the Arabic remains a desideratum .

¹ ‘Abdurrahman Badawi (ed) ‘*Sirr al-Asrār*’ in *al-Uṣūl al-Yūnāniya li al-Nazarīyāt al-Siyāsa fī al-Islām*, Part 1 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahda and Masriyyah, 1954).

² Whilst sufficient for the present purpose, a future edition would benefit from comparing textual variations with other complete manuscripts. An earlier complete copy of the SF8 is: Leiden, Bibliotheek Universiteit Leiden, MS Or.749, dated to the mid-10th/17th century but this was not used for a number of reasons: I was unable to procure a digitised surrogate in time to begin work on an edition away from the library; it does not have a direct link to the Islamic West – it was copied in Istanbul; it is written in an irregular hand that attempts to imitate the Maghribi script. I have, however, made use of comparisons with extracts that are studied in detail with the thesis – any variations have been noted, where relevant (the system of noting variations is explained at the beginning of the edition).

³ Robert Steele (ed) *Opera Hactenus Inedita Rogeri Baconi*, Vol. V (Oxon: Oxford University Press, 1920), pp.176-276

f.1v | صفحة ١ (ب)

بسم الله الرَّحْمَن الرَّحِيم

وصلى الله تعالى على سيّدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلّم

أما بعد أصلح الله أمير المؤمنين، وأيده على حماية الدين، وأبقاه لرعاية المسلمين . فان

عبدہ امتثل أمر المولى الجليل ما حَدَّه من البحث عن {كتاب السياسة} في تدبير الرياسة

{المعروف بسر} الأسرار الذى ألفه الفيلسوف الفاضل أرسطاطاليس ابن نيقوماخش

لتلميذه الملك الأعظم الإسكندر ذى القرنين بن فلبس الفلّوذى - حين كَبَرَ سنُّه | وَصَّعَتْ

قوته عن الغزو معه والتصرف له.

f.2r | صفحة ٢ (أ)

وكان الإسكندر قد استوزره واصطفاه، لما كان عليه من صحة الرأى واتساع العلم وثقوب

الفهم، وتفردّه بالخلال السنية والسياسة المرياضية والعلوم الإلهية العلوية مع التمسان

{/تمسك؟} بالورع والتقى والتواضع وحب العدل وايثار الصدق، ولهذا عَدَّه كثيرٌ من العلماء

في عديد الأنبياء الذين لم ينزل عليهم كتاب.

ولقد اتى في تاريخ اليونانيين أن الله أوحى إليه: "إِنِّى إِلَى أَن أَسْمِيكَ مَلِكًا أَقْرَبُ مِنْ أَن أَسْمِيكَ

إِنْسَانًا". وله حكمية يطول ذكرها. واختلف في موته : فقالت طائفة أنه مات موته وله قبر

معروف، وقالت طائفة أخرى إنه ارتفع إلى السماء في عمود من نور. فبلغ الاسكندر – بحسن

رأيه واتباع أمره – إلى ما شهر عنه من الاستظهار على المدن والأمصار وتملكه لجميع الممالك

في أقطار [2b] الأرض والمسالك طولاً وعرضاً ودانت له الأمم عرباً وعجماً حتى ملك الدنيا

باجمعها وكل ذلك بسياسة ارسطاطاليس له وتدبير امره ولم يعص له الأسكندر له قولاً

ولأخالف له رايًا.

f.2v | صفحة ٢ (ب)

وله إليه رسائل سياسية ألفت على محبتها القلوب وبلغنه **باتشاله** غاية المحبوب. فمنها: رسالته التي جاوب بها الاسكندر. وذلك أنه لما فتتح ارض فارس وتملك عظماءها خاطب ارسطاطاليس يقول له: "أيها المعلم الفاضل، والوزير الناصح العادل أعلمك أني وجدت اناسا بأرض **فارس** لهم عقول راجحة وأفهام ثاقبة وتراس على الممالك وعميان للمالك متوقع **اشالهم** على المملكة وقد عَزَمْتُ على قتل جميعهم - فرأيك في ذلك".

فجاوبه أرسطاطاليس: يا إسكندر إن كنت عارفا على قتل جميعهم وقادرا على ذلك بتملكك اياهم ، فلست قادراً على قتل بلدهم ولا تغيير **هوائهم ومائهم** .

f.3r | صفحة ٣ (أ)

فاملكهم بالاحسان اليهم والمبرة لهم - تظفر بالمحبة منهم . فإن طلبك ذلك باحسانك اليهم **ادومبقاء** منه **باعتسانك** عليهم واعلم انك لا تملك إلا **بدان** فتحطها الى القلوب إلا بصدق والمعروف واعلم ان الرعية إذا قدرت ان تقول قدرت ان تفعل فاجهد ان لا تقول تسلم من ان تفعل وسلام! . فبلغ الاسكندر جوابه فامتثله وعمل بما حده. فكانت الفرس أطوع أمة دانت له.

قال ابن البطريق الترجمان: فلم أدع هيكلًا من الهياكل التي أودعت الحكماء فيها أسرارها إلا أتيتّه ، ولا عظيمًا من عظماء الرهبان الذين **عرفو** بمعرفتها وظننت مطلوبى عنده إلا قصدته - حتى وصلت الى هيكل عبد الشمس الذى كان بناه هرمس الأكبر لنفسه ؛ فظفرت فيه بناسك مترهب ذى علم بارع وفهم ثاقب فتلطفت له بانواع التلطف واستنزله وأعملت الحيلة عليه حتي أباح لى مصاحف الهيكل | المودعة فيه

f.3v | صفحة ٣ (ب)

فوجدتُ في جملتها المطلوب الذى امر امير المؤمنين بطلبه مكتوبا بالذهب فرجعت الى الحضرة المنصورة ظافرا بالمراد وشرعت - بعون الله وسعد أمير المؤمنين وجده في ترجمته ونقله من اللسان اليونانى الى اللسان الرومى ، ثم من اللسان الرومى الى اللسان العربى. رلا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلى العظيم.

وكان أول ما رأيته فيه جواب الفيلسوف أرسطاطاليس الى الملك الاسكندر:

وَقَفْتُ أَيُّهَا الابن **البن** النبيل والملك العدل الجليل - أرشدك الله إلى سبيل الهدى ، وعصمك عن الزيغ الهوى ، ووفقك لحياة الآخرة والأولى - على كتابك الذى تذكر فيه ما داخلك من الاشفاق لتخلفى عنك وقعودى عن حضور مشهدك. ورغبتك فى أن أقيم لك قانونا تجعله لجميع تدبيرك ميزانا تقيمه مقامى وينوب فى جميع أمورك منابى. على أنك قد علمت أن قعودى | [4a] عنك لم يكن لزهد فيك ، ولا كان إلا لكبر سنى وضعف جسمي.

f.4r | صفحة ٤ (أ)

وبعد! فأن الذى سألته من ذلك الأمر لا تحمله الصدور الحية فضلا عن القراطيس الميتة. لكن الذى حقولك علىّ بسؤلك لزمى إسعافك، كإنه يجب لك أن لا تكلفنى إذاعة هذا السر أكثر ممّا أودعته هذا الكتاب، إذا بلغت فيه الى حد أرجو أن لا يكون بينك وبينى حجاب لما جبلك الله عليه من الفهم، ومنحك من نور العلم. فتدبّر رموزه بما تقدم من توقيفى لك عليه وارشادى اليه - يَسْلَسْ لك القياد ويمكنك من ذلك المراد، إن شاء الله تعالى.

وإنما رمزت لك الأسرار المحظورة **وعَوِّزْتُ** [?] لك المعانى المكتومة لئلا يقع كتابنا هذا بأيدي جور **مفتسدين** [?] وفراعة متجبرين فيطلعون على ما لم يجعلهم الله أهلاً لعلمه ولا ارتضاهم لفهمه، فيكونَ قد خترت العهد الذى أُخِذَ علىّ ، وفضحتُ سرّاً أظهره الله إلىّ، | وأنا أعهد إليك فى حفظه كما عُهد إلىّ. فمن إذا **عى** سره فهو غير آمنٍ من سوء عاقبة معجلة. والله يعصمك وإيانا برحمته.

f.4v | صفحة ٤ (ب)

وبعد! فاني أذكرك قبل كل شيء بما لم ازل اجعله ريحانة أنسك: من أنه لا بد لكل ملكٍ من وردين⁴ {مددين؟} يخصه أحدهما وهو قوى نفوس: تقوى بها نفسه ولا يتم له ذلك إلا باجتماعها، فان باجتماعا يقوى الرئيس على المرءوس، وأنا أوضح العلة التي توجب اجتماعها للرئيس. والعلة في ذلك علتان: ظاهرة وباطنة قد أوقفتك على الظاهر منها، وهو أن تسوسهم وتعينهم، وذلك مجموع في المال مع سياسة سيأتي ذكرها في موضعه. والمال هو المدد الثاني لمدد النفوس في العمل، وهو السابق في الرتبة. وله علتان: ظاهرة وباطنة. فالعلة الظاهرة هو ما تجمععه الرعية ببسط العدل فيها. والعلة الباطنة هو سر الأولياء الفضلاء الذين ارتضاهم | الله - جل و عز - له وأودعهم علمه.

f.5r | صفحة ٥ (أ)

وأنا أودع لك هذا السر المكنون مع غيره في فصول من هذا الكتاب ظاهره حكمة ووصية، وباطنها هي البغية. فاذا تدبّرت معانيها وتفهمّت رموزها، نلت بها غاية أمانيك وأقصى أراجيك؛ فكن بها سعيدًا. وفقك الله لفهم العلم وتفضيل أهله.

ويمنه وكتابي هذا ثمان مقالات: فالمقالة الأولى: في أصناف الملوك؛ المقالة الثانية: في حال الملك وهيئته وكيف يجب أن يكون مأخذه في نفسه، وفي جميع أحواله وتدابيره؛ المقالة الثالثة: في صورة العدل الذي به يكمل الملك وتساس الخاصة والعامة به؛ المقالة الرابعة: في وزرائه وكتابه والناظرين في رعيته وجنده ووجه سياستهم؛ المقالة الخامسة: في سفرائه ورسله وهيئاتهم ووجه السياسة في بعثهم؛ |

⁴ Badawi: {مدّين}. BnF 2421 reading is likely to be a copyists error as there is a reference to the second مدد later in passage.

f.5v | صفحة ٥ (ب)

والمقالة السادسة: في سياسة قوَّاده والأكابر والأساورة من أجناده ومن دونهم على اختلا فطبقاتهم؛ المقالة السابعة: في سياسة الحروب وصورة مكايدها والتحفظ من عواقبها وترتيب لقاء الجيوش، والأوقات المختارة لذلك، وفي وقت تديره وعقد تديره وعقد الويته ووقت خروجه، وحركته؛ المقالة الثامنة: في علوم خاصة واسرار ناموسية من الطلسمات واستمالة النفوس، وخواص الأحجار والنبات والحيوان ما تدفع برالسموم تغنى عن طبيب وغير ذلك مما ينتفع به فيما قدمناه – إن شاء الله تعالى وهو المستعان لا رب غيره .

المقالة الأولى في أصناف الملوك: الملوك أربعة، ملك سخي على نفسه وسخي على رعيته وملك لئيم على نفسه لئيم على رعيته، وملك سخي على نفسه لئيم على رعيته، وملك لئيم على نفسه {و} سخي على | رعيته،

f.6r | صفحة ٦ (أ)

فأما الروم، فقالت لا عيب على الملك إذا كان لئيماً على نفسه سخيّاً على رعيته، وقالت الهند، اللئوم على نفسه وعلى رعيته صواب، وقالت الفرس السخاء على نفسه وعلى رعيته صواب واجمع الكل منهم أن السخاء على نفسه مع اللئوم على رعيته عيب وفساد على الملك وقد وجب علينا إذا نصبنا أنفسنا للبحث أن بنين ما السخاء وما اللئوم وما الإفراط السخاء وما الآفة التي يكون في تقصيره وقد يظهر أن الكيفيات تعاب إذا ظهرت من الحاشيتين جميعاً وأن ما بين الحاشيتين من الاعتدال لا يلزمه ذمه وأن تدير السخاء صعب تدير اللئوم سهل وحد {وهذا؟} سخاء ما يحتاج إليه عند الحاجة وأن يوصل ذلك إلى مستحقه بقدر الطاقة فمن جاوز هذا فقد افراط وخرج عن حدّ السخاء إلى التبذير وذلك أن من بذل |

f.6v | صفحة ٦ (ب)

مالا يحتاج إليه كان غير محمود عليه ومن بذل في غير وقته كان كالهارق الماء المرّ على شاطئ البحر ومن بذل ما يحتاج إلى مالا يحتاج إليه وكان ذلك على غير استحقاق كان كالمقوي عدوّه على نفسه فكل ملك يبذل ما يحتاج إليه في وقت الحاجة اليه ويوصل ذلك إلى المستحقين به فهو سخي على نفسه وعلى رعيته مصيب في فصله سياس لا مره هذا الذي سمته الاوآيل سخياً كريماً لا الذي يبذل المواهب ويعطي الرغائب من لا يستحقها فذلك المبذر والمفسد لاموال المملكة والبخل بالجملة الى اسم لا يليق بالملوك ولا يقتزن بالمملكة ومتى كان في جبله ملك من الملوك فواجب عليه شطايا مملكته إلى ثقة يرتضيه من خاصته ممن يمسك عليه يا اسكندر أنا أقول لك أي ملك تجاوز في السعة ما ليس فيه تقصير عن المبالغة في تبذير وكلف مملكته ما لا تطيق فقد هلك واهلك كاني أقول | لك يا اسكندر وقديماً لم ازل أقول لك إن السخاء والكرم وبقاء الملك انما هو الإمساك عمّا في ايدي الناس والكف عن اموهمهم.

f.7r | صفحة ٧ (أ)

ولقد رأيت لهرمس وصايا في بعض وصاياه أن من المروة التامة للملك ورجاحة عقله وتمام ملكه ودوام ناموسه أن يكف عن أموال الناس. فقامت الجماعات عليهم فباد ملكهم وهذا أمر لازم لأن المال هو علة البقاء للنفس الحيوانية فهو حزم منها ولا بقاء للنفس بفساد الجزء وحسن السخاء والكرم ترك التجني والبحث عن بواطن العيوب والإمساك عن ذكر المواهب كما ان تمام الفضائل الصفح عن التوبيخ وإكرام الكريم والبشر عند اللقاء ورد التحية والتفافل عن خطأ الجاهل يا إسكندر قد بنيت لك ما لم أزل أبينه وقد تقرر من هذا في نفسك ما أرجو أن يكون بامتثالك له فوزك. ...

... إلا إني أقول لك حكمة مختصرة ولو لم أقل لك غيرها لكانت كافية في جميع سياسات |

الدنيا والآخرة،

f.7v | صفحة ٧ (ب)

يا إسكندر!، العقل رأس التدبير وهو صلاح النفس ومرآة العيوب وبه تزل المكروهات **وتعز** **البحموبات** وهو أصل المفاخر ورأس **الممدوحات**، فأول آلة العقل الميل إلى الذكر وأنه لمى مال إليه من طريقه سبب مرغوب فيه ولمن مال إليه من غير طريقه سبب مكروه مذموم فالذكر هو المطلوب والرياسة ليست تزداد لنفسها وإنما تُراد للذكر، فأول منازع العقل الذكر، والرياسة ينتج حب الذكر، فإن طلبت على غير وجهها انتجت الحسد، والحسد ينتج الكذب، والكذب هو أصل المذمومات ونتيجة الكذب النميمة والنميمة تنتج البغضاء، والبغضاء تنتج الجور والجور ينتج التصارم والتصارم ينتج الحقد والحقد ينتج المنازعة والمنازعة ينتج العداوة والعداوة تنتج المحاربة. والمحاربة تنقض السنة وتفنى العمارة؛ وذلك **يؤول** إلى مخالفة الطبيعة، ومخالفة الطبيعة فساد الأمر كله.

f.8r | صفحة ٨ (أ)

وإذا نازع | حب الرياسة العقل من جهتها ينتج الصدق والصدق ينتج الورع والصدق أصل الممدوحات وهو ضد الكذب ونتيجة التقى والعدل. ونتيجة العدل الألفة ونتيجة الألفة الكرم والكرم نتيجة المؤانسة، والمؤانسة تنتج الصداقة والصداقة تنتج البذل والمحاماة، وفي ذلك مما أقام السنة وعمر الدين وذلك موافق **للطبيع**. فقد ظهر أن طلب الرياسة من وجهها محمود باق.

المقالة الثانية في حال الملك وهيبته وكيف يجب أن يكون مأخذه في نفسه أن أول ما يجب على الملك لنفسه أن يختص باسم علم مشهور يعرب به عنه، ويخاطب به ليشف به على من سواه، وذلك أنه علم يُشار إليه ويقصد نحوه. يا إسكندر! أي ملك أخدم ملكه دينه فهو مستحق الرياسة وأي ملك جعل دينه خادماً ملكه فهو مستحق بناموسه، ومن استخف بالناموس قتله.

f.8v | صفحة ٨ (ب)

وأنا أقول لك يا إسكندر وطالما قا | المتفلسفون المطهرون الذين حذو ناحذوهم أن أول ما يجب على الملك أن يأخذ نفسه برعاية جميع حدود ديانتته كلها من غير تضییع لشيء من أوامرها ونواهيها وأن يظهر للعامة التقشف مع اعتقاد لذلك لأنه متى أظهره خلاف ما يضمّر لم تجمل حليته إذ لا تخفى على الأنام سريرته وأن لا يرضى بشيء من ترك واجباتها ولو جر ذلك المال الجسيم، فإن بهذا يرضى باريه ويتحبب إلى عباده ومما يقتزن بها تعظيم من تدو راعبآء الملة عليهم كالقضاة والفقهآء والأئمة، ثم يكون عظيم الهمة من غير جبروت واسع الفكرة جيد البحث متطلعآ إلى العواقب رؤوفاً رحيماً إذا غضب لم ينفذ غضبه من غير رويه، وإذا تحركت الشهوة فيه ردها بعقله وملك نفسه، وإذا وافق الصواب أنفذه غير لجوج ولا وقح ولا متهاون

وكذلك يترين لهم بزنة حسنة وكسوة شاذة تروق العيون تميز بها ممن سواه، ويجب أن يكون عذب | اللغة فصيح اللسان جهير الصوت،

f.9r | صفحة ٩ (أ)

وذلك أن جهارة الصوت مهابة له في وقت الزجر ويقلل الكلام بالجهارة إلا عند الضرورة وفي الندرة لئلا يكثر على الاسماع فتسكن النفوس إليه، وكذلك يقلل من مباشرة الناس ويخفف من مجالستهم ولاسيما العامة، فما أحسن مذاهب الهند في تدبير ملوكهم حيث قالوا أن ظهور الملك للعامة يجترئ عليه ويجب أن لا يظهر لهم إلا على البعد وفي خلال المواكب وحملة السلاح، فإذا كان في فصل جعل من فصولهم مرة في العام، ظهر للناس كافة، ويقوم بين يديه من فصحاء وزرآؤه من يخطب خطبة يشكر الله جل وعلا فيها ويحمده على طاعتهم له ويخاطبهم بالرضا عنهم وحسن الرأي فيهم ويرغبهم في الطاعة ويحذرهم المعصية ثم يتصفح رقاعهم ويقضى حوائجهم ويكثر منحهم ويعفوا عن مذنبهم ويريههم الإسعاف لكبيرهم وصغيرهم.

f.9v | صفحة ٩ (ب)

فإنما ذلك | مرة واحدة في العام ويخفف على نفسه ما يتحمل لهم فيه ويتجافى عنه فيجل
 وقع هذا في نفوسهم ويعظم سرورهم به وتتشرب لذلك قلوبهم ويتحدثون بذلك عند أهلهم
 وبينهم فينشأ الطفل منهم على طاعته وتحببه ويسر نساؤهم بما يسر به رجالهم فيحسن ذكره
 في السر والجهر ويأمن بهذا قيام الجماعات عليه ومداخلة المفسدين لهم ولا يطمع طامع في
 تعبير {تغير} شيء من رياسته

وكذلك يجب أن يحط عنهم كل خراج يسير إليه من طريقهم ولا سيما من يرد حضرته من
 التجار وجالي البضائع، فإن بالكف عن أموالهم وأنصافه يكثر ترددهم وتعظم فائدة بلاده من
 أنواع المتاجر والنعائم، وهذا سبب لعمارة بلاده وزيادة خراجه وجمال حاله والظهور على
 أعدائه، فازهد بقليل تظفر بكثير. ولا تمل إلى ما يبید وفقده قريب، واطلب الغنا {غنى} الذي
 لا يفنى والملك الذي لا يزول والبقاء الذي لا يضمحل وكن طيب الذكر نعم الخبر |

f.10r | صفحة ١٠ (أ)

ولا تمل إلى أخلاق الدواب والسباع في استلاب ما وجدته ومطالبة ما لم تفقده وإياك ومتابعة
 الشهوات من الأكل والشرب والنكاح والنوم. يا إسكندر، لا تمل إلى النكاح، فإنه من طباع
 الخنازير فما الفخر في شيء الدواب أكثر فيه منك، وهو يهلك الجسم ويضيي البدن وينقص
 العمر ويبسط النساء عليك.

يا إسكندر، لأجل خاصة أصحابك ووجوه رجالك من المواكلة معهم والمؤانسة بهم، ولا تكثر
 من ذلك ويكون مرتين أو ثلاثة في العام، ومما يجب أن تستعمله اذ ذاك معهم ترفيع من يجب
 ترفيعه وإنزالهم مراتبهم، ومن التحبب إليهم الثناء عليهم في وجوههم وقصدهم بالبر والتحية
 واحداً واحداً، وخلع الكسوات على من أمكن منهم وإن كان مما يخلعه الملك على نفسه كان
 أتم في المنحة ثم لا يزال تفعل ذلك بمن بقي منهم في غير تلك المرة حتى تأتي على آخرهم.

f.10v | صفحة ١٠ (ب)

ومما يجب على الملك | أن يلتزمه كثرة الوقار وقلة الضحك فإن كثرت الضحك تذهب الهيبة وتعجل بالهرم وأن يلتزم جميع من بحضرته الوقار وإظهار الخشية وأنه متى ظهر من أحد استخفاف، عوقب عليه وأن كان ممن تطف محله كانت عقوبته الإقصاءه عن المجلس زماناً حتى ينتهي عن استخفافه وإن صح عن أحد أنه بعد ذلك عن قصد الاستخفاف والمحطة، أبعد إبعاداً طويلاً بعد العقوبة وإن كان من الجند وحملة السلاح، كانت عقوبته قتله وفي كتاب للهند ما بين أن يملك الملك رعيته أو تملكه الأحزم أو توان فصل الأسفلابيوس قال خير السلاطين من أشبه النسر حول الجيف لا من أشبه الجيفة حولها النسر.

يا إسكندر! طاعة السلطان لا تكون إلا بأربعة وجوه، وهي الديانة والمحبة والرغبة والرغبة وبها حسم العلل عن الناس ورفع المظالم.

f.11r | صفحة ١١ (أ)

ولا تحوج | إلى القول، فإن الرعية إذا قدرت أن تقول قدرت أن تفعل فأجهد لا تقول تسلم من أن تفعل والسلام، واعلم أن الهيبة والعدل والإحسان تمام بهجة الملك ومن كتاب الهند لتكن هيبتك في النفوس امضى من سلاحك في المهج، فإنما مثل السلطان مثل الغيث الذي هو سقى الله وبركة سمائه وحياة أرضه وقد يتأذى به السفر ويتداعى به البنيان وتنزل به الصواعق وتدر السيول، فيهلك فيها الناس والدواب ويموج البحر فتشد البلية منه على أهله فلا يمنع الناس ذلك إذا نظروا إلى أثر رحمة الله التي أحيا بها النبات وأخرج الرزق ونشربها الرحمة وبلغ غير ذلك من البلايا التي حلت به، يا إسكندر، تفقد أمر الضعفاء جهاتك وواسهم عند المسغبة من بيت المال، فإن في رفع الحاحهم عن المسألة حرز للناس وتسكين للنفوس مع إرضاء الخالق.

f.11v | صفحة ١١ (ب)

يا إسكندر، استكثر | من إدخار الحبوب حذراً من السنين الجدبة وإذا كانت سنة جدبة، فأخرج ما أعددت من ذلك ورمز بلادك وبع من رعيتك ففي هذا تسكين كل فساد وبقاء للرياسة والعامّة. يا إسكندر، تفقد أمرك يصلح لك فعلك، ومن حسن التدبير أن يأمن أهل الورع والسلامة خوف عقوبتك ويوطن أهل الريبة والرعاة أنفسهم على نفوذ نعمتك حتى يتخلوا في خلواتهم أن لك عيوناً على صنائعهم.

يا إسكندر، أؤكد أمر أوصيك به فبامثاله يصح أمرك ويدوم ملكك وهو التعفف عن الدماء، فإنها عقوبة انفرد بها الخالق العارف بالسرائر وأنت أما تقدم في ذلك على شبهة ليست تعلم باطنها فتحفظ من هذا جهدك فقد صح عن هرمس الأكبر أنه قال أن المخلوق إذا قتل مخلوقاً مثله ضجت الملائكة السموات إلى باريها ينادون {...} عبدك فلان بك،

f.12r | صفحة ١٢ (أ)

فإن كان قتله | في قصاص، قال الله جل ثناؤه قتل فقتل وإن كان قتل لبغي أهل الدنيا أو ظن كذب، قال الله عز وجل "وعزّي وجلالي أن هدرت دم عبدي فلا تزال الملائكة تدعوا عليه عند كل تسبيح واستغفار حتى يؤخذ بدمه، فإن مات حتف أنفه فذلك غضب الله عليه لأنه من المخلدين في عقابه وعذابه.

يا إسكندر، لك في سائر العقوبات كفاية من السجن الطويل والأدب الأليم ولست لمعّرف ذلك فامثل في حدودك وعقابك صحف آبائك الإلهية يقتزن الصواب بفعلك. يا إسكندر، عامل ضعيف أعدائك على أنه في الدرجة العليا من القوة ولا تحقر صغيراً من ذلك، فرب صغير حقير عاد كبيراً ببعد علاجه حتى عظم دأؤه. يا إسكندر، تحفظ من نكت أيمانك واختر عهودك، فإنها شعبة قوية من ديانتك.

f.12v | صفحة ١٢ (ب)

يا إسكندر قد علمت أن عن يمينك | وشمالك ملكان يحصيان عليك الدقيقة والجليلة من قولك وفعلك ويعرفان به بارئك بحصى أمرك تحصي من يعرض جميع ما يسره ويعلنه على بارئه. يا إسكندر، ما الذي دعاك إلى الحلف، فوالله ما خربت مملكة **ايتاخ وسقور وهناهم** إلا أنهم استعملوا النكث في إيمانهم وديانتهم. يا إسكندر، لا تقل فيما قلت فيه نعم، ولا نعم فيما قلت فيه لا، إلا أن يؤدي إلى ذلك سياسة ضرورية، وبلاستثبات وخوض الرأي مع من تثقه تسلم من ذلك حتى لا يظهر اضطراب في قولك وفعلك.

يا إسكندر، لا تثق في خدمة نفسك من النساء إلا بما خبرت ثقتها على نفسك ومالك. فإنما أنت وديعة بأيديهن وتحفظ من السموم، فقديماً صرعت الملوك ولا تثق في طبك بواحد، فالواحد مخدوع، وإن أمكنك أن يكون أطباؤك عشرة فافعل ولا تستعمل دواء إلا باتفاق منهم،

f.13r | صفحة ١٣ (أ)

ولا يصنع | لك دواء إلا بمشاهدتهم جميعهم مع ثقة مأمون من ثقاتك مميز بأصناف العقير والتركيب والأوزان وتذكر أمر ملك الهند إذا بعث لك البعثة العطنية وفي جملتها الصبية الجميلة التي غذيت بالسم حتى صارت في طبيعة الأفاعي ولولا أني تفرست ذلك فيها مع ما كان في النفس من توقيع حذاق تلك الجهة وسواها حتى أخرجت التجربة أنها تقتل بعضها وعرقها لأهلكته.

يا إسكندر، تحفظ بهذه النفس الشريفة العلوية الملكوتية فإنما هي وديعة عندك ولا تكن من الجاهلين المستسلمين وإن أمكنك ألا تقوم ولا تقعد ولا تصنع شيئاً إلا على اختيار من النجوم فما خلق الله شيئاً عبثاً **وبهذا** البحث علم الفاضل أفلاطون مواقع الأجزاء المؤتلفات باختلاف ألوانها عند تصوّرها بالنسب التأليفية فقامت | له صناعة الديباج وجميع المصورات.

f.13v | صفحة ١٣ (ب)

ولا تصغا {تصغ} إلى كلام الجهال الذين يعتقدون لأن {بأن} علم النجوم علم غيب لا يوصل إليه ويجهل أن علمه في الأول لم يكن عن وحي من الله عز وجل أو من يعتقد علمه مما يكذب بما يندر به وأنا أقول أن تقدمه علمه واجب لازم لأن الانسان وإن كان غير ناج فما قدر عليه، فهو يوطن نفسه ويقدم موانعه بحسب استطاعته كما يفعل الناس لدفع برد الشتاء بجميع العدة من إصلاح الكن وأعواد الحطب والفراء وغير ذلك مما تستدفع به مضرتة وكذلك أيضاً لحر الصيف بأنواع المبردات وكذلك أيضاً سنين الغلاء {وكذلك} من خوف الفتن بالهرب منها وخصلة أخرى وهي أنه متى علم الناس بالحوادث قبل كونها أمكنهم أن يستدفعوا الله إياها ويتقدموا قبل نزولها بالدعاء والتضرع إليه والاستقالة {والاستقامة} والتوبة والإنابة والقرايين | والسؤال لله أن يصرف عنهم ما يخافون ويدفع عنهم.

f.14r | صفحة ١٤ (أ)

يا إسكندر، راع وزيرك بأكثر من مراعاتك لنفسك وشاوره في قليلك وكثيرك وأدنه من مجالستك، فإنه زينك في الملأ وأنسك في الخلاء وساترك في البأساء والضراء واعتبر الفرز مع الشاه في الشطرنج عند كونه معه وذهابه عنه فإنه أصح مثل في هذا المعنى ولا تعتقد أن رياسة {رئاسة} تقوم دون وزير فإنه من المحال.

المقالة الثالثة في صورة العدل. يا إسكندر، العدل صفة كريمة من صفات الله عز وجل، والملك من استرعاه الله أمر عباده وقلده حمل أمانتهم وتدير أمورهم وأطلق يده على أبشارهم وأموالهم ودمائهم فهو كالات لهم فكذلك، يجب أن يكون بهم رؤفاً رحيماً. فالحكمة يا إسكندر فيما أقول لك وذلك أن العدل ضد الجور، وضد الجور العدل. وبالعدل قامت السماوات |

f.14v | صفحة ١٤ (ب)

وبالعدل قامت السماوات والأرض، وبالعدل بعث الأنبياء المطهرون والعدل صورة العقل الذي وضعه الله في أحب خلقه إليه وبالعدل عمرت الأرض وقامت الممالك وانطاع العباد وبه أنس المستوحش وقرب المتباعد وسلمت النفوس من كل **دغل**.

ولذلك ماكنت الهند تقول عدل السلطان أنفع للعيرة من خصب الزمان، وقالت سلطان عادل خير من مطر وابل، ووجد في بعض الأحجار منقوش بالسرانية أن الملك والعدل أخوان لا غنى بأحدهما عن الآخر، والخاصة والعامة طبقات وأسباب العدل فيهم تختلف والعدل اسم معناه الأنصاف ورفع الجور وصحة الوزن وسوية الكيل. وهو اسم جامع لخلال المروءة، وخصال الكرم. والعدل ينقسم أقساماً، فعدله يجب فيه الحكم عند الحكام وعدل يلزم الانسان في محاسبة نفسه فيما بينه وبين خلاقه **{خالقه}**، ثم أقم | العدل فيم بينك وبين الناس على قدر الحالات ومنازل العلامات.

f.15r | صفحة ١٥ (أ)

وأنا ممثل لك شكلاً حكيماً سلفسياً **{فلسفياً}** ناموسياً إلهياً ثمانياً ينبئك على ما في العالم بأسره يحتوي على جميع سياسة العالم ويشتمل على طبقاتهم وكيف وصول الواجب من العدل إلى كل طبقة وقسمته قسماً دور يأكل قسم فيه طبقة، فإذا بدأت بأي قسم شئت توالى لك ما بعده كتوالي دور الفلك. ولما كانت التدابير كلها أسفلها وأعلاها وقفاً على العالم، رأيت أن أبدأ في هذه النصبه بالعالم.

وهذه الصورة يا إسكندر، زبدة هذا الكتاب وفائدة، ولو لم أبعث إليك فيما رغبته غير هذا الشكل لكان كان كافياً لك فتدبره بنظر صادق وفهم ثاقب يسلس لك قياد أمرك ويقرب ממليك جميع محابك وكلما ذكرته في هذا الكتاب مطولاً مفسراً في هذا الشكل | **{مجملاً مختصراً}** بحول الله وقوته لا بغيره ولا خير الأخيرة وهذه صورته... ..

f.15v | صفحة ١٥ (ب)

العالم بستان سياجه الدولة	الدولة سلطان تحميه ⁵ به السنّه
السنّة سياسة يسوسها الملك ⁶	الملك راع يعضده الجيش
الجيش أعوان يكفلهم المال	المال رزق تجمعه الرعيّة
الرعيّة عبيد يعبدهم العدل	العدل مألوف وهو حياة العالم

المقالة الرابعة في وصف وزيره ووجه سياسته وتجربة رأيه وصورة العقل المركب فيه يا إسكندر تفهم هذا **هذه** المقالة واعلم قدرها فوحقك لقد نصصت فيها جملاً من علم الفلسفة وماهية العقل وتركيبه وفصحت فيها أسرار الإلهية لم تكن بد من إرادها. |

f.16r | صفحة ١٦ (أ)

ولا يفارقك على حقيقة العقل وكيف وضعه الله في عبادته وكيف يتوصل إلى معرفة ذلك منهم فهو عليك أوكّد ما يحتاج إليه تكن به سعيداً موفّقاً إن شاء الله تعالى.

اعلم يا إسكندر أن أول شيء اخترعه البارئ جل وعز جوهرًا روحانيًا نيرًا في غاية الكمال والتمام والفضل صوّر فيه جميع الأشياء وسماه العقل وأن من ذلك الجوهر فاض جوهر آخر دونه في الرتبة تسمى النفس الملكية ثم ركبها بلطفه وتديره في الجسم المرئي المحسوس فجعل الجسم مدينة والعقل ملكها والنفس وزير كالخادم لهذه المدينة المدير لجميع أجزائها وأسكن العقل أشرق موضع في الجسم وأرفعه وهو الرأس والقلب وأسكن النفس جميع أجزاء الجسم كله ظاهره وباطنه فهي تخدمه وتدير العقل فإذا عرض في النفس شيء فسد الجسم والعقل وإذا عرض للعقل شيء وسلمت النفس | بقي الجسم سليماً إلى أن يأذن الله تعالى بفساد الكل عند نفاذ **نفاذ** العمر المقدر.

⁵ MS Rabat BNRM D754, f.24v (an SF8). Variant readings in other mss: تحيا به (MS Bodleian Laud. Or. 210, f.90r – an SF7); تعضده (MS Rabat BNRM J94, p.216 – an SF8). Other examples of minor variants found in the LF can be found translated into English in: Robert Steele (ed) *Opera Hactenus Inedita Rogeri Baconi*, Vol. V (Oxon: Oxford University Press, 1920), pp.226-7 (in English); see also, Badawi, *Fontes Graecae*, pp.128-9 (Arabic).

⁶ Although uncommon, some versions of the Circle have 'al-imām' instead of 'al-malik' (e.g. MS Rabat BNRM D754).

f.16v | صفحة ١٦ (ب)

فتفهم يا إسكندر هذا الكلام تدبره وإقتد بفعل الله في جميع أمورك وليكن وزيرك واجدًا تشاوره في جميع تدابيرك ومن رأيه إلى ما يخالف هواك فإنه أصح الرأي ولهذا قال هرمس لما قيل له لما كان رأي المستشار أفضل من رأي المستشار فقال أن رأي المستشار معرّي من الهوى وهذا كلام صحيح، وإذا صح لك الرأي معه فلا تعجل واتركه يختمر يومًا وليلة إلا فيما تخاف فواته فاستخر الله وعجله ومع التجربة وطول الخبرة يستبين لك حال وزيرك فعلى قدر محبة وزير فيك ورغبته في توجيه رئاستك يكون رأيه لك ولا تراع الاسان إذا كان الرأي **الشُّباني** صحيحًا فإني أقول أن الرأي تابع للجسم فإذا هرم الجسم هرم الرأي معه.

f.17r | صفحة ١٧ (أ)

مع أن ذلك وقف على المواليد فمولود يولد بطالع ما فلا يكون | في صناعته وعمله إلا طبائع الكواكب التي في تدبير مولده وإن عرج به والده إلى غير تلك الصنائع صرفه الطبع الأعلى وقد جرى مثل هذا القوم منجمين اجتازوا على قرية فباتوا عند رجل حايك فأتاه في تلك الليلة ولد فأخذوا طالعه وعدلوا كواكبه فدلهم مولده على أن ذلك المولود يكون عالمًا لطيف اليد حسن الرأي يدبر أمر الملوك ويزر لهم فعجبوا من هذا ولم يُعرفوا والده فشبه الولد ورام والده أن يعلمه شيئًا من صناعته فأبت طباعه قبول شيء من ذلك فيوجعه ضربًا إلى أن أعياه فتركه لرأيه فمال إلى أهل الأدب وتعلم العلوم وحفظ التواريخ وسياسة الملوك حتى صار وزيرًا. و ضد هذا من عجائب تأثير الكواكب ما جرى في مولد ابن ملك الهند إذ أعطت نسبة مولده أن يكون حدادًا فسروا هذا الطبع عن الملك فلما شب رام الملك تعليمه

f.17v | صفحة ١٧ (ب)

العلوم وسير الملوك فلم تنزع به همته ولا فاده طبعه إلا إلى صناعة الحدادين فهم الملك لذلك وجمع منجمي وقته لهذا الأمر فأطبق الكل منهم على ما ذهب إليه طبعه فكان كذلك. يا إسكندر لا تقدم أمرًا ولا تؤخره إلا بعد مشاورة وزيرك فلم يزل الأوائل تقول المشورة رأس الهداية وفي سير الفرس أن ملكًا من ملوكهم استشار وزراه **{وزرائه}** في سرّ عظيم كانت عليه أعمدة ملكه فقال أحدهم لا ينبغي للملك أن يستشير منا أحدًا في مهم من أموره وعظيم من شؤونه إلا خاليًا فإنه أصون للسرّ وأخرم للرأي وأعفى لبعضنا من غايلة بعض، فإن إفشاء السر إلى واحد واحد أخلص له وأكمل وقال بُهْتَم اليوناني يزداد الملك الحازم برأي وزيره كما يزداد **{تزداد}** البحور بمواده **{بموادها}** من الأنهار وينال بالحزم والرأي ما لا يناله بالقوة والجند.

f.18r | صفحة ١٨ (أ)

وفي وصية بعض ملوك الفرس لابنه عليك بالمشاورة فإنك واجد | في الرجال وشاور من يفصح عن المستكن ويوضح المُشْكَل ولا يدع لك في عدوك فرصة إلا انتهازها ولا لعدوك فرصة إلا حصنها ولا يمنعك شدة رأيك في طاعتك ولا علو مكانك في نقصك من أن تجمع إلى رأيك رأي غيرك فإن وافق رأيك رأي غيرك ازداد رأيك عندك شدة وإن خالف رأيك عرضته على نظرك وفهمك فإن كان معتليًا على ما رأيت قبلت، وإن كان متضعًا استغنيت.

ومما تجرب به وزيرك أن تريه الحاجة إلى نفقة المال فإن حملك على استخراج ما في خزائنك وسهل عليك ذلك فلا رأس مال له فيك إلا أن تدعوه لاستخراج المال الضرورة الشديدة العظيمة التي لا حيلة فيها فإنه لمثل ذلك عدوا دحروا وإن حملك على أخذ أموال الناس فهذا سيء السياسة يبغضك إلى الكافة وما فيه فساد المملكة وإن بادروا إلى ما كسبه من نعمتك فأنفقه في مصالح دولتك وما يقيم به بغيتك فهذا يجب |

f.18v | صفحة ١٨ (ب)

أن تشكر صنيعه وتعلم من جده حبه ووده فتضاعف له ما أنفق من ماله وتبلغه عند تمكن السعة في الأموال أقصى الآمال. وأفضل الوزراء من يدمن بناموسك وطاعتك ويسخط العالم في مرضاتك ويبيحك ماله ونفسك في إرادتك وتكون فيه هذه الخصلة التي أنا أذكرها أولها أن يكون تام الأعضاء موانئه على الأعمال التي من شأنها أن يكون بهاؤه منها. والثانية أن يكون جيد الفهم كثير العلم سريع التصور لكل ما يقال حساسًا ذاكراً فطناً يقظاناً متغافلاً إذا رأى على الأمر أقل دليل فطن له على الجهة التي قصدت به. والثالثة أن يكون جميل الوجه حسن الخلق غير صلف ولا وقح والرابعة أن يكون حسن العبارة يواتيه لسانه على ما في قلبه وضميره بأوجز الألفاظ. والخامسة أن يكون حسن الملبس نافذاً في كل علم لا سيما علم الحساب فهو العلم الحقيقي البرهان الذي يحذق الطبع.

f.19r | صفحة ١٩ (أ)

والسادسة | أن يكون صادق القول محباً له مجانباً للكذب حسن المعاملة سمح الخلق لين الجانب سهل اللقاء. والسابعة أن يكون غير شره للأكل والشرب والنكاح متجنباً للذات والمزاج. والثامنة أن يكون كبير النفس عالي الهمة محباً للكرامة أنوفاً من الهزيمة. والتاسعة أن تكون الدنانير والدراهم وسائر أعراض الدنيا هنية **هينة** عليه ولا يكون همه إلا فيما يقيم به جاه رئيسه ويحببه للناس. والعاشرة أن يكون محباً للعدل وأهله مبغضاً للجور والظلم يعطي النصفة لأهلها ويرثي لمن حل به الجور ويمنع منه ولا يمنعه من ذلك مساعدة أحد من خلق الله تعالى. والحادية عشر أن يكون قويماً العزيمة على الشيء الذي ينبغي أن يفعل جسوراً غير خائف ولا ضعيف النفس ثابت القلب يحسن الفروسية ومباشرة الحروب. عشر أن يكون كاتباً محسناً مرسلاً خطاطاً أديباً حافظاً للتواريخ |

f.19v | صفحة ١٩ (ب)

والثانية وأيام الناس وسير الملوك وعلم أخبار المتقدمين من الأمم الماضية والسياسات الماثورة وأن يكون ممن كان أبوه وزيرًا خادمًا فإنه وارث حالة مُنشأ عليها ودُرب فيها. والثالثة عشر أن يكون عالمًا بخدمة جميع جباياتك وخراجاتك كلها لا يخفى عليه وجه من وجود **{وجوه}** مصالحك ولا تتشكى رعيته إلى بخدمتك إلا علم وجه تشكيها ومداواتها وإذا علم الخدمة أن الوزير عالم بالخدمة لم يقدموا على إدخال داخله. والرابعة عشر أن لا يكون كثير الكلام مهذارًا كثير المزاح والتعريض بالناس والاستخفاف. والخامسة عشر أن يكون ممن لا يشرب الخمر ولا يشتغل بالراحات ولا باللذات ويكون ليله كنهاره في لقاء الناس وحسن النظرة والتدبير والفكر ويكون موطئًا للصادر والوارد من ذوي الحاجات مصغيًا إلى أخبارهم مسددًا لأحوالهم |

f.20r | صفحة ٢٠ (أ)

مصلحًا لأموالهم مؤنسًا لوحشهم **{لوحشهم}** صابرًا على تحاملهم واحذر أن يكون من الإلاهيين المعتقدين للربوبية ولا تثق من الإلاهيين إلا بمن يدين بناموسك ويعتقد شريعتك. واعلم يا إسكندر أن ابن آدم أرفع خلق خلقه الله سبحانه عز وجل وأن ما خلق خلقه الله من سائر الحيوان وخصه شيء وأفردته وطبعه عليه إلا وكلها توجد في ابن آدم شجاعًا كالأسد.. جبانًا كالأرنب.. سخيا كالديك بخيلًا كالكلب.. فخورًا كالغراب.. وحشيا كالنمر أنيسًا كالحمام.. خبيثًا كالثعلب.. **{سلميًا}** كالغنم سريعًا كالغزال.. بطيئًا كالذب.. عزيزًا كالفيل ذليلاً كالحمار.. لصًا كالعقرب.. تائهاً كالطاووس حاديًا كالقطاه.. ضالًا كالنعامة.. ساهرًا كالنحل شرهًا كالتيس.. مهينًا كالعنكبوت.. حليمًا كالحمل حقودًا كالجمل.. شموصًا كالبلغل.. أخرسًا كالحيوت |

f.20v | صفحة ٢٠ (ب)

منطقياً كالصرد {كالصرد}.. حمولاً كالخنزير.. مشموماً كالبيوم

نفاعاً كالفرس.. كدوداً كالثور.. مضرراً كالفار

وأعظم ما أوصيك به وأحذرك منه أن لا تستوزر أحداً من قرابتك ولا تثق إليهم بشيء من أعمالك وأن تتحفظ منهم جهدك تحفظك من الأفاعي الهندية التي تقتل بالنظر وكلما قربتهم كان أشد عليك فإن غيرهم إنما يحسدونك في مالك وقرابتك إنما يحسدونك في جميع حالك ولا يقنعهم منك إلا مكانك هذا. يا إسكندر لازم في الطبيعة ثابت في الجملة قد أبرزته التجربة على قديم الأيام إلى التحقيق وكان في بدء الخلقة من حسد ابن آدم قابيل لأخيه هابيل حتى قتله والله وليّ لكفايتك.

باب في صفة كُتَّابه وكتب سجلاته التي هي شرف الدولة ويجب لك أن تختار لكتب كتبك وسجلاتك التي هي أقوى دليل على مقدار عقلك ونفوذ فهمك وموقع |

f.21r | صفحة ٢١ (أ)

غرضك عند المتأملين لها من لا يوقعك موقع نقص في شيء من علمك وفهمك التي هي صفاتك وبها تستحق اسم الرياسة عند جميع الخاصة. فمعنى الكلام هو روحه وألفاظه هي جسمه والخط حليته فكما يجب أن يكون حياً ناطقاً حسن الصورة والحلية فكذلك يجب أن تستعمل من الكُتَّاب من يأتي بالمعنى الكامل في اللفظ الحسن البالغ بالخط الجميل الرائع فكتابك وجهك وما تفاخرت الملوك على {في} قديم الأيام إلا بكتبها ولا ارتقت إلى المنازل العليا إلا بالتشريع في خطاباتهما. وكما أنه يترجم عن إرادتك ويطلع على أسرارك ويقيم في المحافل وعند نظراتك ما يرفعه من رفيع أقدارك فكذلك يجب أن ترعى من أموره بمقداره ما يخدمه من إرادتك ويتحملة من أعباء رئاستك وأن تنزله منزلة الجزء منك الذي صلاحه بصلاحك وفساده بفسادك وإن | أمكنك أن يكون كاتبك وزيرك فهو أرفع لحاله

وأموت لسرك.

f.21v | صفحة ٢١ (ب)

باب في الناظرين على رعيته والمتصرفين في قبض جبايته

قد علمت يا إسكندر أن الرعية بيت المال، الذي تقيم به رئاستك وترعى به رعيته فانزل رعيته منزل البستان فيه ضروب من الأشجار ولا تنزلها منزلة الزرع الذي يأتيك في الحول مرة وتستأنف زراعته إلى حولٍ ثانٍ فإن الأشجار قائمة الأصول لا يستأنف بدر **{بذرهما}** فعلى مقدار منزلة بيت مالك من نفسك وأنه قوام ملكك وسلطانك يجب أن تكون رعايتك لأمرها إلا واحدًا يكون مجربًا للأمور غنيًا ثقةً أمينًا يجني لك الثمرة ولا يهلك الشجرة، ويكون حسن الخلق محتملاً صبورًا حليمًا فإنه إن لم يكن بهذه الصفة نفر النفوس المستأنسة وأفسد الضمائر الخالصة. ولا تكثر من المتولين لخدمة خراجاتك وجندك فيدخل الفساد عليك من حيث قدرت |

f.22r | صفحة ٢٢ (أ)

الحزامة بكثرتهم وذلك أن كل واحد منهم يريد الظهور على صاحبه بإفساد حاله ويسعى بإظهار الفائدة بإدخال الداخلة على الرعية وكل واحد يسعى لنفسه ما يقيم به حاله من الرشا فيفسد الكثير باليسير فاعلم ذلك واحسم علل.

المقالة الخامسة في سفرائه ورسله وهيئتهم ووجه السياسة في بعثتهم

اعلم وفقك الله أن الرسول يدل على عقل المرسل إذ هو عينه فيما لا يرى وأذنه فيما لا يسمع ولسانه عندما غاب عنه فيجب أن تختاره أرفع من بحضرتك عقلاً وبصيرة وهيئة ومنظرًا وأمانة وتجنب الجميع الريب. فإن وجدته كذلك فأرسل به وفوض إليه بعد أن يعرف غرضك ولا توصه بما يأتي به فربما وافق عند المشاهدة الصواب في غيره. وإن لم يكن بهذه الصفة فليكن أمينًا ثقةً يقظًا لا يزيد ولا ينقص فيما أرسلته ويكون حافظًا لوصيتك واعيًا لما يسمعه من الجواب عليه

f.22v | صفحة ٢٢ (ب)

فإن لم | تجده كذلك فليكن أميًّا فقط يؤدي كتابك إلى من وجهته إليه ويأتي عنه بالجواب ومن أحسست منه من رسلك حريصًا على المال في الموضع الذي توجهه إليه فلا تستعمله في رسالتك فما أعطى مالا في مصالحك ولا ترسل من يشرب الخمر فكانت الفرس إذا ورد عليها رسول كلفته أن يشرب الخمر فإن فعل علمت أن أسرار ملكه مفتضحة عندهم وتعرض عليه المال الكثير فإن حرص عليه علمت أن ذلك الملك في أكفهم. وإياك يا إسكندر أن ترسل وزيرك ولا تخرجه عن حضرتك فإن في ذلك فساد مملكتك فجميع صفات رسلك قد ذكرتها ومدارها على الثقة والأمانة فمتى لم يكن كذلك غشك بقبول الرشأ والهدايا وخانك فيما قلدته ودخل من النقصان في تدبيرك بمقدار ما أدخل عليك بخيائته.

المقالة السادسة في سياسة قوادك والأساورة من أجناده

يا إسكندر الأجناد زبدة المملكة وبهآء الدولة ومداد | أمرك على الزينة

f.23r | صفحة ٢٣ (أ)

والزينة الفاضلة في ترتيب الأجناد حتى لا يخفى عليك حال البعيد والقريب منهم وتخف مؤنة ترتيب البعث والمدد واستدعاء أي عدد تحب دون هرج. وذلك أن أقل الأمراء أربعة؛ وإنما قلت أربعة لأن كل موضع في الأرض أربع نواحي خلف وقدام ويمين وشمال وكذلك نواحي العالم أربعة شمال وجنوب وقبول ودبور فيتولى كل أمير سد رُبعه فإن أردت أكثر من ذلك فليكونوا عشرة لأن العشرة هي الأربعة الكاملة لأن الأربعة

واحد اثنان ثلاثة أربعة

ا ح ح عه

فإذا جمعت ذلك كان المجتمع عشرة وهو كمال ما أحاطت به الدائرة من الأعداد من المصورة في الطرة لإقامة البرهان على الشمال والجنوب والقبول والدبور ويتبع كل أمير عشرة نقباء ويتبع كل نقيب عشرة قواد ويتبع كل قائد عشرة عرفاء فذلك ألف فمتى احتجت إلى ألف أمرت نقيبًا واحدًا |

f.23v | صفحة ٢٣ (ب)

فانجذب معه عشرة قواد مع كل قائد عشرة عرفاء مع كل عريف عشرة رجال فذلك ألف مقاتل وإن احتجت إلى مائة أمرت قائداً واحداً فانجاب معه عشرة فتخف المؤنة عليك وتقف على ما تحب من أمورك ويقل تعبك بالجند لأن كل واحد يدبر عشرة ممن دونه فتخف المؤونة ويحضر من أحببت لأول دعوة ويكون الجند تحت رقبة من فوقه درجة.

ولابد للجند من كاتب حازم عالم ثقة مأمون بصير بالصفات نافذ في الفراسة عالم بالفروسية مأمون أن يدخل على الجند داخلية في أعطياتهم فتفسد بذلك ضمائرهم ومتى اطلعت على شيء من ذلك فاعزله عنهم واجمعهم لذلك مخبراً لهم أنك لما اطلعت على داخلية تدخلهم لم ترضها فيهم ويجب أن يكون سمح الخلق سهل اللقاء لا يغيب ولا يشتغل بغير خدمتهم {و} أحوالهم وتعهدهم أمورهم وأحسم عللهم ويجب أن يكون عليهم منك رقبة {رقابة} |

f.24r | صفحة ٢٤ (أ)

تبعثهم على مهابتك والتعظيم لك ولا تمكنهم من القرب منك عند السلام عليك ولا تجعل لهم سبيلاً إلى مكالمتك جهراً فكيف سرّاً فإن هذا سبب إلى الانبساط عليك والاستخفاف بك وربما كان في ذلك الهلكة بالغدر على ما جرى **لتامسطيوس** الملك وغيره. واعهد إليهم أن يرفعوا حوائجهم ورغباتهم إليك في بطائق تصل على يد خاصة لك تلزمه هذه الرتبة وتتصفي جميعها بحضرة وزيرك وخادم دولتك فما وجب النظر فيه نفذ العهد به على ظهر كتابه فإنه تشريف له وتنويه به وفخر يبقى في عقبه ويزيد في نصحه واستعباده ومتى لم يجب النظر فيه ترك فيصير صرفاً جميلاً وأطعمهم في الفصول والأعياد فإن هذا عندهم من أرفع ما تكرمهم به وتحبب إليهم من أجله.

f.24v | صفحة ٢٤ (ب)

المقالة السابعة في سياسة الحروب وصورة مكائدها والتحفظ من عواقبها وترتيب لقاء

الجيوش | **يا إسكندر** | لا تبأشر الحروب بنفسك ولازم أكابر خواصك ولا تستعمل ما يستعمله الهياكله المستسلمون من الاجتماعات فوالله ما اجتمع ملك بآخر إلا ودبر أحدهما في الفتك بصاحبه وهذا موجود كثير لازم في أصل الخلقة التي منها تناسل العالم وتفكر في صنع قابيل بأخيه هابيل وقد صح أن الحسد وحب الدنيا أوجبا ذلك كما كان في طبيعة هذا العالم والتحفظ منه واجب لازم. واعلم يا إسكندر أن الحرب جسد وروح يقوم من ضدين يتغالبان فروحهما اعتقاد الغلبة والظفر من كل واحد من الفريقين وجسمهما تلاقي الفئتين فمتى لم يقع اعتقاد الظفر منهما ماتت الحرب وبقاء الحرب ما دام التكافي وفناؤه بغلب إحدى الطائفتين فليكن همك في إقامة همة جيشك والإيقاع في نفوسهم أنك غالب وأن عندي دلائل على ذلك وبرهانات عملية تغري بها نفوسهم

f.25r | صفحة ٢٥ (أ)

| مثل الحنا ميروس والعفو والتي أنا أذكرها في موضعه من هذا الكتاب وألف كلمهم وعدهم بالصلاة والكسوات وأوف بذلك **وتوعد من كعّ وأحجم بمؤلم العقاب والتمثيل والفضيحة**. واعلم أنك لا تقا تل إلا مفحصًا أو متحصنًا فإن لقيت من أفحص إليك فليكن همك في التحصين على نفسك بالآلات والمحترسين والمتطلعين والترقب في كل حين من ليل أو نهار ولا تنزل بعسكرك إلا في موضع تستند إليه كالجبل وشبهه وعلى مقربة من الماء واستكثر من الازداد وإن لم تحتج إليها. وكثير من الآلات المهولة والأصوات المفزعة فإنها قوة لنفوس من معك وإقامة لهمهم وفزعًا وفرقًا لمن تلقاه واستعمل في أجنادك خلاف الهيات أمة بالدروع وأمة في الجواشن وأمة بالتحافيق وإذا بعثت طائفة للقاء فوجه معهم السور الفيلة والأبراج الخشبية فيها أصحاب السهام والذرافات |

f.25v | صفحة 25 (ب)

المُحرقة فإن رابهم ريب قويت نفوسهم باستكانتهم إلى تلك الجند وقامت السهام والزرافات والحراقات في وجوه أعدائهم وأعدائك ورتب أجنادك على ما قدمنا ذكره واجعل ميمنتك أهل الضرب والمجالدة وميسرتك أهل الطعن والقلب أهل المزارقة والرعي بالسهام والحراقات والأصوات المهولة المفزعة مثل الآلة المائية التي أقمته لك عند لقاء بلهلهة الهندي فلما سمعوها فرقت نفوسهم وفرت بهم خيلهم فكان ذلك سبب الظفر بهم ولتكن مشرفاً عليهم تطلع على محسنهم ومسيئهم فإنهم متى علموا بذلك راقبوك ومتى راقبوك حذروا. وتأمل أحوال العدو فحيث رأيت مخلخلاً فاجعل الصدمة فيه واستعمل البيات بكفؤ من العون فقل ما ظفر بمقدمة أمة إلا غلبت بانكسار نفوسهم ودخول الرعب عليهم واستكثر من الكمائن بالنيران والأصوات المفزعة فإنها من العدد والقوة الممدة | الباعثة على الغلبة وركن قوي من أركان الحروب

f.26r | صفحة 26 (أ)

واستعمل المهاوي والربا في بعض مواضع من الحرب وحذر منها أجنادك واستكثر من الدواب الخراسانية الحمالة فإنها مفزعة للخيول وملجأ عند الآفات وحصين مع حملها من الأقوات والمياه. وإن قابلت متحصناً فاستعمل الآلة التي دبرتها لك ترمي الأحجار على البعد وتهدم المباني وتهدم الأسوار واستكثر منها بقدر ما تدعوك الحاجة إليها وكذلك الآلات النطاحة ورماة السهام المسمومة وانصب قسقى اللوالب عليها فإنها تفرغ النفوس الجريئة وتوهن العدد الحصينة وإن ظفرت بمشرب عذب لهم فصب فيه السموم المهلكة وتحفظ من البيات فإنه محذور متوقع ولا تتبع مهزوماً وإن أمكنك أن يكون أمورك كلها خدائع فافعل فأصل السياسة كلها خديعة واجعل الحرب آخر أعمالك وأهل الهند أصحاب خدائع وتهاويل لا بأس لهم وأهل الترك أصحاب | بأس عظيم وجهل مفرط فقابل كل طبقة من هذه بما يشاكلها ولا تترك صغيراً يكبر وتلافاه بالتحيل والخداع قبل لحاقه حساب اليم الموصل إلى معرفة الغالب من المغلوب في أنواع الخدائع والحروب.

f.26v | صفحة 26 (ب)

هذا يا إسكندر السر الذي كنت أضعه لك عند لقاءك أعداءك وعند بعثتك لذلك قوادك وهو من الأسرار الإلهية التي أودعنيها الله تعالى. وقد خبرت من صحته وجربت من فائدته ما كنت به سعيدًا موفقًا ولم تزل تباحثني عنه وتحقق علي فيه فأكتم عنك علمه وأعطيك فائدته والآن أظهره لك على شريطتنا فاكتمه واعمل به فإنه لا يخطئك أبدًا: وهو أن لا تلقى من أعدائك إلا من تعلم بهذا الحساب أنك تغلبه فإن لم يتفق لك ذلك فاحسب أسماء قوادك وأرسل من يعطيه الحساب الغلبة وهو أن تحسب اسم أمير الجيش واسمك بهذا الحساب واحفظ ما يجتمع من كل واحد منهما ثم اطرح |

f.27r | صفحة 27 (أ)

ما اجتمع لك من كل اسم من العدد تسعة تسعه ثم احفظها حتى يبقى تسعه أو دون التسعة من الاسم الواحد ثم افعل بالاسم الثاني كذلك فما بقي من الاسم الثاني دون تسعة أو تسعه فاحفظه أيضًا ثم اعمد إلى الحساب الذي أضعه لك فاطلب فيه ما بقي من الاسمين فما ألفيت فيه فاعتقده فإنه الصحيح المطرد الذي لا يخالفك بحول الله تعالى حروف النيم

ي - ر - أ - ب	س - ن - ك - ج
ز - ل - ض - م	د - و - ص - ت
ح - ذ - ق - هـ	ف - ع - ش - خ
غ - ث - ظ - ط	

تحسب الاسمين بهذا الحساب على ما ذكرته فإذا طرحت تسعه **{أو}** تسعه تطلب ما بقي بيدك دون تسعه في هذا الحساب

باب واحد

واحد وتسعة الواحد يغلب التسعة
 واحد وثمانية الثمانية تغلب الواحد
 واحد وسبعة الواحد يغلب السبعة
 واحد وستة الستة تغلب الواحد
 واحد وخمسة الواحد تغلب الخمسة
 واحد وأربعة الأربعة تغلب الواحد
 واحد وثلاثة الواحد يغلب الثلاثة
 واحد واثنان الاثنان تغلب الواحد
 واحد وواحد الطالب يغلب المطلوب

باب اثنين

اثنان وتسعة التسعة تغلب الاثنين
 اثنان وثمانية الثمانية تغلب الاثنين
 اثنان وسبعة السبعة تغلب الاثنين
 اثنان وستة الستة تغلب الاثنين
 اثنان وخمسة الخمسة تغلب الاثنين
 اثنان وأربعة الأربعة تغلب الاثنين
 اثنان وثلاثة الثلاثة تغلب الاثنين
 اثنان واثنان المطلوب يغلب الطالب

باب ثلاثة

ثلاثة وتسعة الثلاثة تغلب التسعة
 ثلاثة وثمانية الثمانية تغلب الثلاثة
 ثلاثة وسبعة الثلاثة تغلب السبعة
 ثلاثة وستة الستة تغلب الثلاثة
 ثلاثة وخمسة الثلاثة تغلب الخمسة
 ثلاثة وأربعة الأربعة تغلب الثلاثة
 ثلاثة وثلاثة الطالب يغلب المطلوب

باب أربعة

أربعة وتسعة التسعة تغلب الأربعة |

أربعة وثمانية الثمانية تغلب الأربعة

أربعة وسبعة السبعة تغلب الأربعة

أربعة وستة الستة تغلب الأربعة

أربعة وخمسة الخمسة تغلب الأربعة

أربعة وأربعة المطلوب يغلب الطالب

باب خمسة

خمسة وتسعة الخمسة تغلب التسعة

خمسة وثمانية الثمانية تغلب الخمسة

خمسة وسبعة الخمسة تغلب السبعة

خمسة وستة الستة تغلب الخمسة

خمسة وخمسة الطالب يغلب المطلوب

باب ستة

ستة وتسعة التسعة تغلب الستة

ستة وثمانية الثمانية تغلب الستة

ستة وسبعة السبعة تغلب الستة |

ستة وستة المطلوب يغلب الطالب

باب سبعة

سبعة وتسعة السبعة تغلب التسعة
 سبعة وثمانية الثمانية تغلب السبعة
 سبعة وسبعة الطالب يغلب المطلوب

باب ثمانية

ثمانية وتسعة التسعة تغلب الثمانية
 ثمانية وثمانية المطلوب يغلب الطالب

باب تسعة

تسعة وتسعة الطالب يغلب المطلوب

تقسيم حروف النيم على ما استخرجه ارسطاطاليس الافراد تغلب ما تحتها من الأزواج وما فوقها من الافراد الازواج تغلب ما تهتها من الافراد وما فوقها الأزواج الافراد إذا اتفقت الطالب يغلب المطلوب الأزواج إذا اتفقت المطلوب | يغلب الطالب

f.29v | صفحة 29 (ب)

باب في الفراسة

يا إسكندر لما كان علم الفراسة من العلوم النظرية الفكرية التي يلزمك علمه وتفرسه لكثرة ضرورتك إلى الناس وتصرفهم بين يديك فأثبت لك في هذا الفصل من دلائل الفراسة ما صح على الأيام علمه وأيدت التجربة مع مر الزمان حقيقته. قد علمت يا إسكندر أن الرحم للجنين بمنزلة القدر للطبيخ والأمزجة مختلفة بحسب الخلق والطبائع متضادة على قدر التركيب فاعلم أن البياض الصادق مع الزرقاة والشقرة الكثيرة دليل على القحة والخيانة والفسق وخفة العقل وحسبك الصقلب عليه من هذه الخلقة وما جميعهم عليه من السفه والغدر فتحفظ من كل أشقر أزرق فإن استضاف إلى ذلك أن يكون واسعة الجبهة ضيق الذقن أوجن أزعر كثير شعر الرأس فتحفظ منه جدًا تحفظك من الأفاعي.

f.30r | صفحة 30 (أ)

يا إسكندر وفي العين دلائل | لا تكاد تخطئك حتى أنه يستبين فيها الرضى والسخط والمحبة والبغضاء فأردى {فأردى} العيون الزرق الفيرورجيه فمن عظمت عيناه وجحظت فهو كسلان مأمون فإن كانت زرقاء فردية وقل ما يسلم أن يكون عائنًا ومن كانت عيناه متوسطة مائلة إلى الغور والسواد والكحلة فهو يقظان فهم محب ثقة فإن كانت آخدة في طول البدن فصاحبها خبيث ومن كانت عيناه تشبع عيون البهائم في الجمودة وقلة الحركة وتماوت الملاحظة فهو جاهل غليظ الطبع ومن تحركت عيناه بسرعة وحدة نظر فهو محتال لص متربص غادر فإن كانت العين حمراء فصاحبها شجاع مقدام فإن كان حوالها نقط صفر فإن صاحبها أشر الناس وأردأهم. يا إسكندر إذا رأيت رجلاً يكثر النظر إليك ونظرت إليه فاحمّر وخجل وظهر منه تبسم لا يريده أو دمعت عيناه فهو محب فيك خائف لك متودد إليك لاسيما إن كانت |

f.30v | صفحة 30 (ب)

عيناه من العيون المحموددة المتقدمة الذكر وإن نظرت إليه فنظر إليك غير خجل ولا هائب
فهو حاسد لك مستخف بك غير مأمون عليك. يا إسكندر من كل ناقص الخلقة تحفظك
من عدوك يا إسكندر من كل ناقص الخلقة تحفظك من عدوك.

الشعر والشعر الخشن يدل على الشجاعة وصحة الدماغ والشعر اللين يدل على الجبن وبرد
الدماغ وقلة الفطنة وكثرة الشعر على الكتفين والعنق يدل على الجرأة والحمق وكثرة الشعر
على الصدر والبطن يدل على وحشية الطبع وقلة الفهم وحب الجور والشقرة دليل على
الحمق وكثرة الغضب وسرعته والتسلط والشعر الأسود يدل على العقل والأناة وحب العدل
والمتوسط بين هذين يدل على الاعتدال والعقل والحاجب الكثير الشعر يدل على **العي**
وغث الكلام وإذا كان الحاجب ممتدًا إلى الصدغ فصاحبه تيّاه صلف ومن رق حاجبه
واعتدل في الطول والقصر | وكانت سوداء فهو يقظان فهم.

f.31r | صفحة 31 (أ)

والأنف إذا كان رقيقًا فصاحبه نزق ومن كان أنفه طويلًا يكاد أن يدخل فيه فهو شجاع ومن
أفطس فهو شبق ومن كان ثقب **أنفه** شديد الانفتاح فهو غضوب وإذا كان الأنف غليظ الوسط
مائلاً إلى الفطوسة فهو مهزار كذوب وأعدل الأنوف ما طال غير طول فاحش وكان غلظه
متوسطًا **بقني** غير فاحش فهو دليل على العقل والفهم والجبهة المعتدلة التي لا غضون فيها
تدل على المخاصمة والشغب والرقاعة والصلف ومن كانت جبهته متوسطة في السعة **والتتو**
وكانت فيها غضون فهو صدوق محب ثقة فهم يقظان مدبر حاذق ومن كان واسع الفم فهو
شجاع ومن كان غليظ الشفتين فهو أحمق ومن كان متوسط الشفتين في الغلظ مع حمرة
صادقة فيها فهو معتدل.

f.31v | صفحة 31 (ب)

الأسنان من كانت أسنانه ناتية ملتزقة فهو خداع متحيل | غير مأمون ومن كانت أسنانه منبسطة خفاف بينهما فلج فهو عاقل ثقة مأمون مدبر حاذق ومن كان لحم وجهه منتفخ الشدقين فهو جاهل غليظ الطبع. ومن نحيف الوجه أصفر فهو رديء خبيث خداع شكس ومن طال وجهه فهو وقح ومن كانت أصداغه منتفخة وأوداجه ممتلئة فهو غضوب. ومن كان عظيم الأذن فهو جاهل إلا أنه يكون حافظًا ومن كان صغير الأذن فهو أحمق سارق ومن جهير الصوت فهو شجاع ومن كان كلامه معتدلاً في الغلظ والرقّة والكد والتأني فهو عاقل مدبر صدوق ومن كان كلامه سريعاً لاسيما إذا كان صوته رقيقاً فهو وقح جاهل كذوب فإن كان صوته غليظاً فهو غضوب سيء الخلق ومن كان أغنّ الصوت فهو حسود متحيل ومن كان خشن الصوت فهو دليل على الحمق وقلة الفطنة وكبر النفس ومن تحرك كثيراً فهو صلف |

f.32r | صفحة 32 (أ)

مهذار خداع ومن كان وقوراً في جلوسه متدارك اللفظ عند قوله محرراً ليده في فصول كلامه فهو تام العقل مدبر صحيح العقدة. ومن كان عنقه قصيراً جداً فهو مكار خبيث ومن كان عنقه طويلاً فهو صياح أحمق جبان فإن استضاف إلى طول عنقه صغر رأسه فهو أحمق سخي لا حيلة فيه ومن كان عنقه غليظاً فهو جاهل جبان أكول ومن كان كبير البطن فهو أحمق سخي لا حيلة فيه ولصاقة البطن وضيق الصدر يدلان على جودة العقل وحسن الرأي. عرض الكتفين والظهر يدلان على الشجاعة مع خفة العقل، انحناء الظهر يدل على شكاسة الخلق ونزاقة الصدر استواء الظهر علامة محمودة. **الكتف**: بروز الكتفين يدل على سوء النية وقبح المذهب وإذا طالت الذراعان حتى بلغ الكف |

f.32v | صفحة 32 (ب)

الركبة دل على الشجاعة والكرم ونبل النفس وإذا قصرت الذراعان فصاحبهما محب للشر
 جبان جدًا. الكف الطويلة مع الأصابع الطوال يدلان على النفوذ في الصناعات وإحكام
 الأعمال وتدير الرئاسة. **القدم:** اللحم الغليظ يدل على الجهل وحب الجور، القدم الصغير
 اللين يدل على الفجور، رقة العقب يدل على الجبن وغلظه يدل على الشجاعة، غلظ
 والقحة وقوة الجسم وكثرة اللحم في الورك يدل على الساقين مع العرقوين يدل على البله
 ضعف القوة والاسترخاء. ومن كانت خطاه واسعة فهو منجح في جميع أعماله مفكر في
 عواقبه ومن كانت خطاه قصيرة سريعة فهو عجول شكس غير محكم الأمور سيء النية فيها.
 والشكل المعتدل الفهم الجيد الطبع هو أن يكون لحمه لينًا رطبًا متوسطًا بين الرقة والغلظ
 ويكون بين القصير والطويل مائل إلى الحمرة أو الصفرة أسيل الوجه طويل الشعر بين
 السبط والجعد أصهب الشعر متوسط |

f.33r | صفحة 33 (أ)

كبير العين مائلة إلى السواد والغور والكحلة معتدل الرأس في رقبته استواء سائل الأكتاف
 عديم اللحم في الصلب والأوراك في صوته صفاء وجفاء مع الاعتدال في غلظة ورقبته سبط
 الكف طويل الأصابع مائلة إلى الرقة قليل الكلام والضحك إلا عند الحاجة إلى ذلك وميل
 طباعه إلى السوداء والصفراء كأنما يخالط نظره سرور وفرح غير شره إلى ذلك ولا متحكم
 عليك إلا ما لا قدر له فهذه أعيل خلقة خلقها الله عز وجل وهي التي أرضاها لصحبتك
 فاجهد جهدك في طلب من هذه صفته فإنك ترشد وتغتبط فقد علمت أن الرئيس أحوج إلى
 الناس من الناس إليه فتفهم هذه الدلائل التي ذكرت لك واعتبرها **بميزك** الصحيح ونظرك
 المصيب فإنك تنتفع بها كثيرًا إن شاء الله.

f.33v | صفحة 33 (ب)

باب في الرتبة الحسنة في تدير الجسم نبكت غريبة من أسرار | الطب

يا إسكندر لما كان هذا الجسم الفاني يدخله الفساد بتضاد الأخلاط الكائنة فيه رأيت أن أثبت لك في هذه المقالة نكتًا غريبة من أسرار الطب وحسن تديره إذا امتثلتها ووقفت عليها أغنتك عن طبيب إذ لا يحمل {يحمل} بالملك أن يظهر جميع ما يحدث عليه من ألم إلى الأطباء فإذا اقتضت على هذه الرتبة الفاصلة {الفاصلة} التي أرسمها لك أغنتك إلا فيما لا بد منه من الصدمات الدروية التي لا تعرض إلا في الندرة.

ينبغي لك يا إسكندر إذا قمت من منامك أن تستعمل شيئًا من المشي وتمد أعضائك مدًا معتدلًا وتمتشط فإن التمدد يصلب البدن والتمشط يخرج البخارات من الرأس المتصعدة إليه في حين النوم من المعدة ثم تغتسل في زمن الصيف بالماء البارد فإن ذلك يشد الجسم ويحبس الحرارة الغزيرة فيكون ذلك سببًا إلى الشهوة ثم تلبس من الثياب أنظفها وتزيا |

f.34r | صفحة 34 (أ)

بأجمل الزي فإن حاسة العين تُسرّ بالنظر فتقوى القوة النورية التي في البدن بانبساطها ثم تستاك بمساويك من أشجار مرة عفصة حريفة فإن منافعه عظيمة وذلك أنه ينقي الأسنان والفم ويذيب البلغم ويطلق اللسان ويحسن الكلام ويشهي الطعام ثم تستعط بعد ذلك بما يشاكل الزمان الذي أنت فيه فمنافع السعوط عظيمة وذلك أنه يفتح يسدد {سدد} الدماغ ويغلظ العنق والعضد ويرطب الوجه ويقوي الحواس ويبطئ بالشيب.

ثم تتطيب بعد ذلك بما يوافق زمانك الذي أنت فيه فإنه لا غذاء للنفس الروحانية إلا باستنشاق الروائح الطيبة وهو غذاؤها فإنها إذا تغذت النفس وقويت تقوى الجسم وفرح القلب وجرى الدم في العروق بانبساط النفس ثم تأخذ من جوارش العود والرواند زنة أربعة دراهم فإن منافع ذلك يجلب البلغم من فم المعدة | ويخرجها إلى البراز ويشهي الطعام

ويوكد الحرارة الغريزية ويدفع الرياح ويطيب الفم.

f.34v | صفحة ٣٤ (ب)

ثم تلقى أكابر الناس وتستعمل معهم الكلام وتقضي حق ما يجب عليك من شؤونك. فإذا تحركت الشهوة للطعام فاستعمل حركة تتعب بها أعضائك بصراع أو مراوضة أو ركوب عنيف أو ما أشبه هذا ومن منافع ذلك أن يطرد الريح وينشط البدن ويقويه ويجففه ويوقد نار المعدة ويشد المفاصل ويذيب الفضول والبلاغم وينزل الطعام على توقد من نار المعدة. ثم تضع بين يديك أطعمة كثيرة وتأكل مما وقع اختيارك عليه وتحركت شهوتك إليه بخبز معتدل التخمير كامل النضج وقدم ما ينبغي أن يقدم من الطعام وآخر ما ينبغي أن يؤخر مثال ذلك أن يجمع الإنسان في أكلة واحدة طعامًا يلين البطن وطعامًا يحبسه فإن هو قدم الملين وتبعه الآخر أسهل انحدار الطعام بعد جودة |

f.35r | صفحة ٣٥ (أ)

انهضامه ومتى قدم الحابس وأتبعه الملين لم ينحدر وأفسدهما جميعًا وكذلك إن جمع أحد في أكلة واحدة طعامًا سريع الانهضام وآخر بطيء الانهضام ينبغي أن يقدم البطيء الانهضام لأن قعر المعدة أسخن وأقوى على الهضم لما فيه من أجزاء اللحم المخالط له ومجاورة الكبد الذي هو الطابخ بحرّه ومن الواجب أن ترفع يدك عن الأكل وقد بقيت بقية من شهوتك لأن الإكثار يضيق الأنفاس ويضعف الحرارة الغريزية التي بها يتم الهضم وكذلك تحبس نفسك عن شرب الطعام {الماء} على الطعام حتى يصير عادة فإن شرب الماء على الطعام يبرد المعدة ويطفئ نار الشهوة ويفسد الطعام ويولد عند الإكثار منه التخمة التي هي من أعداء الآفات على الجسم فإن لم يكن بد من شرب الماء بحر الزمن أو حر المعدة أو حر الأطعمة فلتقلل وليكن صادق البرد.

f.35v | صفحة 35 (ب)

فإذا | استكمل طعامك استعمل المشي اللطيف على الفرش اللينة ويعتدل ثم يستعمل النوم على جنبك الأيمن ساعة ثم تنقلب على جنبك الأيسر وتنم واعلم أن النوم قبل الطعام يهزل البدن وينشف رطوبته والنوم بعد الطعام بضد ذلك وتتحفظ أن تتناول غذاءً ثانيًا إلا بعد تيقنك باستيفاء الهضم الأول وتعلم ذلك بالشهوة وتجلب الرقيق إلى الفم لأن من تناول الطعام على غير حاجة إليه وافى الطعام الحرارة الغريزية خامدة وإذا أخذه على شهوة وحاجة وافى الطعام الحرارة الغريزية بمنزلة النار إذا اشتعلت ويجب إذا تحركت الشهوة إلى الطعام أن يسرع إلى تناوله لأنه إن لم يبادر إلى ذلك اغتذت المعدة من فضول البدن وتجلبت أخلاطًا فاسدة وتبخر الدماغ ببخار فاسد فإذا أخذ الطعام بعد ذلك فسد بما تقدم.

f.36r | صفحة 36 (أ)

ويجب أن تهتم بأرباع | الزمان وتتلقى كل زمان بما يصلح فيه من غذاء ودواء فإن الربيع حار رطب شبيه بالهواء يهيج فيه الدم وينفع فيه كل شيء معتدل القوى مثل الفراريج والدرج والبيض البرشت والخس والهندبا وألبان المعز ولا وقت للتفجير أفضل منه ويصلح فيه كثرة الجماع والحركة وإسهال البدن ودخول الحمام والتعريق والدواء المسهل وكل كثير من الاستفراغ فيه الفصل يحمله ويجبر

وبعده الصيف وهو حار يابس تهيج فيه الصفراء وينبغي أن يتوقى فيه كل حار من الأطعمة والأشربة والأدوية والأفاويه ويتحفظ من الامتلاء ليلاً تنطفئ الحرارة الغريزية ويؤكل فيه كل بارد من الأطعمة والأغذية كالحوم العجاويل بالخل والقرع والفراريج المسنة {المسمنة} ومن الفواكه التفاح المّزّ والأجاص والرمّان المّزّ ويقلل فيه من الجماع ويتجنب فيه إخراج الدم | والحجامة إلا أن تدعوا إلى ذلك ضرورة ويقلل الحركة فيه ودخول الحمام.

f.36v | صفحة 36 (ب)

وبعده الخريف وهو فصل بارد يابس تهيج فيه السوداء وينبغي أن يتوقى فيه كل طعام وشراب بارد يابس ويستعمل فيه من الأطعمة ما كان حارًا لينًا رطبًا مثل الفراريج والخرفان والعنب الحلو والشراب العتيق ويتجنب كل ما يولد السوداء وتكون الحركة والجماع فيه أكثر مما في الصيف وأقل مما في الشتاء ويتعاهد فيه دخول الحمام والداء المسهل إن احتيج إلى ذلك

وبعده الشتاء وهو فصل بارد رطب يهيج فيه البلغم فينبغي أن يمال بالتدبير فيه إلى الأغذية والأدوية الحارة مثل فراريج الحمام والتين والجوز والشراب الصنف الأحمر وتستعمل الجوارشات الحارة ويتوقى الإسهال وإخراج الدم إلا أن تدعوا إلى ذلك |

f.37r | صفحة 37 (أ)

ضرورة حافرة فيغير الهوى ويسخن ويقدم تمرير الجسم بالأدهان الحارة ودخول الأبن المعتمد ولا يضر في هذا الفصل الحركة المفرطة ولا الجماع ولا الأكل الكثير لكثرة الهضم فيه. فتحفظ يا إسكندر بهذا الهيكل الشريف وإحراز الحرارة الغريزية جهديك ، فإنه ما دام في الإنسان حرارة معتدلة ورطوبة غير مفرطة تغتذي بها تلك الحرارة الغريزية فإن البقاء والصحة مضمونة، فإنه إنما يهرم الإنسان ويبلى بدنه لخصلتين إحداهما هرم طبيعي باضطراب وذلك من يبس يغلب على البدن وفساد الكون والأخرى هرم عرضي مثل الذي يعرض من الآفات والأمراض وفساد التدبير.

فمما يسمن الجسم ويرطبه الراحة والدعة وأكل الأسفيداجات {الاسفيداجات} والأطعمة الحلوة وشرب الألبان السخنة والشراب الحلو والنوم | بعد الطعام على الفراش الوثيرة والحشايا اللينة في المواضع الباردة.

f.37v | صفحة 37 (ب)

والاستحمام بالمياه العذبة الرقبة {الرطوبة} وقلة اللبث في الحمام لئلا يأخذ الحمام من رطوبته وبلته بل يأخذ البدن من بلة الحمام ورطوبته، وشم الرياحين الفواحة في كل زمان مثل الياسمين في الشتاء والورد والبنفسج في الصيف؛ ويستعمل القيء في الشهر ولو مرة واحدة لاسيما في الصيف، فإن القيء يغسل المعدة وينقيها من المواد الرطبة والرطوبات العفنة فإذا قلت تلك المواد فيها قويت الحرارة الغريزية على هضم الأغذية فابتل البدن لذلك وامتلأ وأنفع من ذلك مع هذا التدبير الفرح والغناء والعزة والغلبة على الأعداء ودرك الرجاء والتشاغل بالملاهي والنظر إلى الوجوه الحسان أو قراءة الكتب المؤنسة وسماع الأغاني المطربة والمضاحكات | مع الأحبة

f.38r | صفحة 38 (أ)

والملابس المصبغة الموشى والأذهان بالأذهان الموافقة للأزمان وأما ما يهزل البدن ويبيسه بخلاف ذلك كله من قلة الطعام والشراب وكثرة التعب والحركات في الشمس والسهر الطويل والنوم قبل الطعام على الفرش الخشنة والرمل والتراب والاستحمام بالمياه الكبريتية وأكل الأطعمة المالحة والمخلولة والباردة والحريفة والقلايا وشرب الشراب العتيق صرفاً والإكثار من إسهال البطن وإخراج الدم وإفراط المجامعة وشغل البال والخوف والأفكار الرديئة والهموم المتردفة.

المقالة الثامنة في علوم خاصة وأسرار ناموسية من الطلسمات وذكر خواص الأحجار وما أشبه ذلك

قد علمت يا إسكندر بما تقدم تقريرى إياك عليه غير ما مرة إذ جوهر العالم |

f.38v | صفحة 38 (ب)

بأسره أسفله وأعلاه وأدناه وأقصاه واحد لا اختلاف فيه بالجوهريّة وإنما اختلافه بالأعراض وثباته بالصور والأشكال إذ لا يختلف شيء من ذاته فاختلفه إذًا من غيره فما تراه في العالم الجسماني من التباين الذي أوله أربعة أقسام وهي الأربع طبائع ثم ما تولد منها من المعادن والنبات والحيوان فعلة ذلك من العالم المحيط بالكل ثم ينقسم أقسامًا ويتصور أجناسًا وأنواعًا يطول شرحها وليس من غرضنا في هذا الكتاب ذكرها إلا أني أقصد من زبدة ذلك إلى ما وعدت أن أذكرها لك من خواصها العجيبة مما ينتفع به وصححته التجربة.

f.39r | صفحة 39 (أ)

حجر البازهر

البازهر هو اسم فارسي معناه النافي للضرر وقيل ممسك الحياة وهو لونان الأصفر كأنه قطعة | شمع ومنه الحنشي وهو مجزع بخضرة كأنه جلد حنش أصفر وأخضر وهذا أرفع ومعدنهما في الصين وقيل أنه يوجد في مرارة الثعابين وهو ينجد بالحديد جردًا متأتيًا أبيض لين المجسة وخاصته النفع من السموم كلها الحيوانية والنباتية والمعدنية ومن نهش الهوام ولدغها إذا شرب منه مسحوقًا وزن اثني عشر حبة خلص من الموت وأخرج السم بالعرق والرشح ومن تختم بحجرها به كل من نظر إليه وإن سحق وشد على موضع لسع الهوام حين تلسع جذب السم وإن عفن الموضع أبرأه وإن سحق منه وزن شعيرتين وذوبت بالماء وصبت في أفواه الأفاعي والحيات خنقها وماتت وإن علق منه على عنق صبي لم يصرع ولا لحقت ممسكه آفة.

f.39v | صفحة 39 (ب)

اليواقيت | الياقوت ثلاثة أجناس أحمر وأصفر وأكحل فمن تقلد بحجر منه أو تختم من أجناس اليواقيت الثلاثة ودخل في بلد قد وقع فيها الطاعون منع منه أن يصيبه ما أصاب أهل ذلك البلد ومن تختم بالأحمر منه شجع قلبه وجلّ في أعين الناس ومن نقش فيه صورة أسد والطارح الأسد وفيه الشمس والنحوس غائبة لم يغلبه أحد وسهلت عليه أموره ونفذ في كل ما يحاوله ولم ير في نومه أحلامًا تفزع.

الزمرد حجر خاصته توقير الممسك له وتسكين وجع المعدة إذا علق عليها بالملامسة وهو نافع من الجذام إن شرب سحاقه ومن تقلد بحجر منه أو تختم به دفع عنه الصرع إذا كان قد أمسكه قبل حلول الداء.

f.40r | صفحة 40 (أ)

حجر البهت هذا الحجر هو حجر رخو حبشي لمّاع بارد المجسة | لا يؤثر فيه النار ولا تكلسه وخاصته النفع من جميع علل الحر المفرط حتى إن ممسكه يجد برّدًا كثيرًا وهو يبهت الناظر إليه حتى لا يكاد يزيل بصره عنه ومن أمسك منه حجرًا ظاهرًا عظم في عيون الناس وكثرت مهابتهم له وإن أمسكه مقاتل لا يقدم عليه وبهت من النظر إليه فاستكثر منه وافعل به مثل فعلك في السد إذا دلتك عليه.

حجر الفيروزج هذا الحجر لم تزل الملوك الأعاجم تفاخر به وتستكثر منه وخاصته العظمى أنه يدفع القتل عن ممسكه ولم ير قط في خاتم قتيل وهو إذا سحق وشرب نفع من لسع العقارب والهوام المسمومة. هذا يا إسكندر كان فيما سألتني قائم لك مقامي إذا تفهمته فاجعله تجاه فكرك وانس تذكرك والله خليفتي عليك.

f.41r | صفحة 41 (أ)

ثم تنخره بالمسك الطيب والمقل الهندي والزعفران والكندر وذلك أن تأخذ من كل واحد منهم جزءًا بالسوية فتدقها وتعجنها بالخمير أو بالمiecie وتدخن به تفعل ذلك مرارًا ثم تقول أيها الفلك المطاع المستدير بحق الذي ملكك الدوران على أفلاك البلاد وملكك جميع العبادات تحصرهم وكل ذلك تأييد من عنده لا من إرادتك وقدرتك أسألك إلا ما أظهرتني على معادي وأقمت همتي عليهم حتى أقمعهم بإذن الله. هذا يا إسكندر ما تقوله في ثلاث مرات فإذا كان وقت خروجك إلى لقاء عدوك فاخرج مع | نفسك الطلسم والنحيس في مقدم عسكري أو في موضع مرتفع فإنك تؤيد وتنصر ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم.

f.41v | صفحة 41 (ب)

طلسم ثاني لاستجلاب نفوس العام الناس وتألف قلوبهم على محبتك ليكونوا أنصارك على أعدائك تضع صورة من قصدير طيب على شكل ابن آدم ويكون الطالع إذ ذاك برج صامت لا نطق له وليكن من البروج الرجراجيه وليكن صاحبه محترق فإن كان في برج أخرص أو درجة بئر فهو أفضل وأقوى وليكن صاحب الخامس يقبل عليك وصاحب الحادي عشر والسابع كذلك وإن كان الكل في قبضتك فهو أسرع وأقوى نجحًا ثم تكتب عليه هذه الأسماء: |

١١ ٥ ٧ ٨ ٩ ١٠ ١١ ١٢ ١٣ ١٤ ١٥ ١٦ ١٧ ١٨ ١٩ ٢٠
 ٢١ ٢٢ ٢٣ ٢٤ ٢٥ ٢٦ ٢٧ ٢٨ ٢٩ ٣٠ ٣١ ٣٢ ٣٣ ٣٤ ٣٥
 ٣٦ ٣٧ ٣٨ ٣٩ ٤٠ ٤١ ٤٢ ٤٣ ٤٤ ٤٥ ٤٦ ٤٧ ٤٨ ٤٩ ٥٠

f.42r | صفحة 42 (أ)

ثم تبخرها ببخور يكون تركيبه الوشق والمَرّ والقسط وتعجنها بما عجت الأول ثم تقول هذا الكلام: "اسألك أيها الفلك المطاع المتردد في منازل التقدير بالطلوع والأفول بحق من سخر هذه البنية العليا إلا ما أذلت لي أهل الجهة الفلانية وتسميها باسمها المشهور الأغلب عليها فإن ذلك يتم على مرادك ويتهياً ويسهل ما صعب عليك بإذن الله وإن أخذت من **البوم** طيرين وأعددتهم في مقدم عسكري وأطلقتهم في وجه عدوك لم ترم بسهم ولا برمح ولا يصيب أحداً من أهل عسكري شر والله الوافي.

f.42v | صفحة 42 (ب)

طلسم ثالث لاجتماع العالم عليك على وجه الانقياد تعمد | إلى أجساد أربعة وهي القصدير والرصاص والنحاس الأحمر والفضة فتذيب الأجساد الأربعة وتضع منها تمثالاً صامتاً تام الشكل لا ينقص منه شيء في طالع ثابت وليكن ذلك من البروج الهوائية وأشدها أن يكون برج الدلو لعلو صاحبه وليكن صاحبه متشبث بعالمه في وجوهه وليكن صاحب الثالث والخامس والسابع والتاسع والحادي عشر مقبلة كلها معك ثم تنقش عليها الأسماء بعد

(رموز)

ثم تبخرها بالبخور الأول الذي هو المسك والمقل والزعفران والكنندر ثم تقول: أيها الفلك الجاري من المشرق إلى المغرب بلا هدو ولا قرار في كل حين وأوان وأنتم الروحانيون وسكانه

f.43v | صفحة 43 (ب)

طلسم خامس

لاستجلاب من تريد في أي بلد كان تتوخى الدرجة الثامنة والعشرين من العقرب وليكن عملك بهذه الدرجة وحدها ولا تشرك معها إلا صاحب الطالع وهو رب البيت والبريد وهو القمر فاصنع صورة من رصاص أسود وتكون الصورة تامة حسنة وتنقش عليها في ذلك الوقت

المذكور هذه

٦٥٧٦٣٥٩٤٦٧٨٩
 ١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩
 ١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩١٢٣٤٥٦٧٨٩

ثم تقول أيها الكوكب المنير المتردد في فلك التدوير بحق الذي خلق هذه البنية إلا ما دخلت
 كذا وكذا تعني جلب ما شئت ويكون بخورك | البخور الأول فإنه لكل عمل تريد إن شاء الله
 تعالى ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم الذي خلق كل شيء فقدره تقديراً.

f.44r | صفحة 44 (أ)

قال يحيى بن البطريق الترجمان هذا آخر كتاب السياسة الذي ترجمناه من اللسان اليوناني إلى اللسان الرومي ومن اللسان الرومي إلى اللسان العربي وما انتهينا فيه إلى أكثر من هذا فما زاد فإنما هو استفعال إذ ليس من غرض هذا الكتاب التطويل والله يعين على ما يرضى أمير المؤمنين ويبقيه لحماية الدين وستراً على المسلمين بمنه لا رب غيره ولا خير إلا خيره وصلى الله تعالى على سيدنا محمد وآله وسلم تسليماً ورضي الله عن أصحابه البررة الكرام.

f.44v | صفحة 44 (ب)

وذكر كاتبها أنه كان الفراغ من نسخ هذا الكتاب ظهر يوم السبت السادس في جمادى الآخر سنة ألف ومائة وتسعة عشر في الهجرة النبوية على صاحبها أفضل الصلاة وأزكى السلام بخط العبد المذنب أحمد بن السيد عبد القادر الرفاعي المكي الحسيني وذلك في محروسة فاس مدينة العلم والأدب بحوقه المعادي كتبت من نسخة قوبلت يقول صاحب النسخة التي نقلها منها ليس لهذا الكتاب وجود غير عند الملك إسماعيل وفي فاس نسخة أخرى وفي أولها خرم هكذا اتفق في النسختين المذكورة وهو عزيز جداً وصلى الله تعالى على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم.

وقد كتبت لجناب صدر الموالي العظام وعمدة العلماء الفخام وزين العارفين الكرام سلالة
العصابة الهاشمية ويتممة الشجرة العلوية مفخر السادات المكرمين سليل آل طه وياسين
جناب أفندينا ومولانا السيد محمد هاشم زاده لطف الله به في الدارين وبلغه ما يتمناه وما
يريده باللطافة الخفية أمين على يد العبد الضعيف الفقير الحقير المذنب خليل بن حسين
الدمشقي القادري في بيت المقدس في خامس عشري شعبان المبارك سنة أربع وأربعين ومائة
وألف. وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم أجمعين.

APPENDIX 2

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF *S/RR* MANUSCRIPTS

Summary List: Arabic Manuscripts of the *Sirr al-Asrār*

The manuscripts of the *Sirr al-Asrār* are listed below, grouped by country first, and then alphabetically by city as this is how they were grouped for my own purpose of study and to organise visits. For the list in alphabetical order based on city only (as per usual convention), please refer to **TABLE 1: List of Manuscripts**.

Manuscript references in square brackets are either manuscripts I am unsure of or may be duplicate entries from the same library as other confirmed entries – they refer to MS references listed by Regula Forster based on catalogue numbers, but I was unable to confirm with the library whether they match the ones I viewed.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE UK

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library (CUL)

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Qq 293 [LF10]

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Add. MS. 3222 [LF10]

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ll.6.8 [Onomancy]

London, British Library (BL)

London, British Library MS Or. 3118 (formerly 739) [LF10]

London, British Library MS Or. 6421 [LF10; Dq]

London, British Library MS Or. 12070 Earliest fragment?? [Physiognomy]

London, Royal Asiatic Society (RAS)

London, Royal Asiatic Society, MS Arabic 57 SF? (partial ms)

Manchester, John Rylands Library (JRL)

Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Arabic 418 [LF10]

Oxford, Bodleian Library

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud 210 [SF7]

MANUSCRIPTS IN REST OF EUROPE

Albania: Tirana

Tirana, Albania, Nationalbibliothek, MS An. VII/38 D

Austria: Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB)

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), MS 1828 (Neue Folge 278) [SF7]

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), MS 1827 (A.F. 354 d) [LF10]

Chechniya: Grozny

Grozny, Chekhov National Library, MS Arabic 327[1]

Grozny, Chekhov National Library, MS Arabic 67[3]

France: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Arabe 82 [LF10]

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Arabe 176 [LF10]

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Arabe 2417 Badawi text [LF10]

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Arabe 2418 [LF10]

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Arabe 2419 [SF7]

Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Arabe 2420 [LF10]

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Arabe 2421 [SF8]

Germany: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (SBB)

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Glaser 135 [SF7]

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Sprenger 943 [SF7]

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Landberg 121 [LF10]

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS SBPKOr, Ms, Or. Quart 968

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS SBPKOr, Wetzstein 1720 [Onomancy]

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS SBPKOr, Wetzstein 1784 [Onomancy]

Germany: Munich

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Or. 177 [LF10]

Germany: Gotha, Erfurt-Gotha Research Library (GRL)

Gotha, Erfurt-Gotha Research Library (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha), MS Or.Ar.1869 [LF10]

Gotha, Erfurt-Gotha Research Library (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha), MS Or.Ar.1870 [LF10]

Gotha, Erfurt-Gotha Research Library (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha), MS Or.Ar.1871 [SF]

Gotha, Erfurt-Gotha Research Library (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha), MS Or.Ar.1262.4
[Onomancy]

Gotha, Erfurt-Gotha Research Library (Forschungsbibliothek Gotha) MS Or.Ar.1435a
[fragments]

Ireland: Dublin, Chester Beatty Library (CBL)

Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS Arabic 5153(2) [SF7]

Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS Arabic 4183 [SF8]

Italy: Milan

Milan, Ambrosiana, MS Nuovo Fondo D.252 [Onomancy]

Milan, Ambrosiana, MS Nuovo Fondo D 467 [LF]

Milan, Ambrosiana, MS Nuovo Fondo D 292 [Onomancy]

Milan, Ambrosiana, MS Nuovo Fondo D 502 [Onomancy]

Italy: Florence

Florence, Biblioteca medicea Laurenziana, MS Arabo n.59

Italy: Vatican

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS 1708 (1)

Netherlands: Leiden, Bibliotheek Universiteit Leiden (BUL)

Leiden, Bibliotheek Universiteit Leiden, MS Or. 749(3) [SF8]

Leiden, Bibliotheek Universiteit Leiden, Or. 1225 [Onomancy]

Leiden, Bibliotheek Universiteit Leiden, Or. 786(5) [Onomancy]

Russia: St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies (IOS)

St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, MS Nr. 6736

MANUSCRIPTS IN ASIA**Egypt: Alexandria, Alexandria Municipal Library (AML)**

Alexandria, Alexandria Municipal Library, MS D. 2060

[Onomancy]

Egypt: Cairo

Cairo, Egyptian National Library, Taymūr Ijtimā' 102

[LF10]

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS Ijtima' Tala'at 606

[SF8]

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS Ijtima' Tala'at 615

[LF10]

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS Ijtima' Tala'at 617

[LF10]

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS 11153 W

[LF10]

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS Ihtiyātī 167 [same as Suhag, 167?]

[Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS 811, 10 tj]

[Onomancy]

[Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS Firāsa 39]

[Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS 1, s.469]

[Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS s.208 (=93-4)]

[Cairo, Muṣauwara 1, s. 551 = 26]

[Cairo, Muṣauwara 1, s. 552f = 37]

Egypt: SuhagSuhag, Suhag Municipal Library, History (*Tarikh*) no.167

[SF8]

India: Rāmpūr

Rampur, Kutubkhāna Riyāsat Rāmpūr, MS Arabic 2905

India: Patna

Patna, Khuda Baksh, MS No.2323

[Onomancy]

Iran: Tehran:

Tehran, UB, MS 2967

Tehran, UB, Dānīshkāda-yi Ilāhīyāt, 242B

Tehran, UB, Dānīshgah 10, s.1867

Tehran, UB, Dānīshgah 14, s.3662

Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūra-yi Miilī, MS 4802

Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis 13, s.200

Iraq: Mosul

Mosul, Madrasat Jāmi' al-Bāshā [Maktabah Al-Awqāf bi-l Mawṣil], MS 55/134 [LF10]

Lebanon: Beirut

Beirut, St Joseph, MS 705 [LF10]

Beirut, Ash-Sharfah, Armalet Nr 17/3, 2 (S.267) [SF7]

[Beirut, University Library MS 209?]

Morocco: Fez

Fez, Qarawiyyin, MS 3263 [SF]

Morocco: Rabat

Rabat , Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM), D754 (2407) [SF8]

Rabat, Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM), J94 [SF8]

Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 66 [6] [SF7]

Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 466 [5] [SF7]

Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 586 [2] [SF8]

Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 896 [SF8]

Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 3203 [SF8]

Rabat [Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah] (MH), 6802 [SF8]

Rabat [Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah] (MH), 10175 [1]	[SF8]
Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 12146	[LF]
Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 12338	[Physiognomy]
Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 13957	[Onomancy]
Rabat Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (MH), 14059	[Medical]

Saudi Arabia: Riyadh:

Riyadh, King Faisal Centre, 2815

Syria: Damascus

Damascus, Zāhariyya Library, MS Fals. S.42

Tunisia: Tunis

Tunis, Zaytounta Mosque Ahmadiyya Library MS 5091

Turkey: Istanbul

Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (SK), MS Süleymaniye 872	[LF10]
Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (SK), MS Aşir Efendi (Reisülkütab) 1002	[SF7]
Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (SK), MS Aya Sofya 2890	[LF10]
Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (SK), MS Aya Sofya 2843	
Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (SK), Şehit Ali 1350/2	
Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, MS Ali Emiri Arab. Nr. 2894	
Istanbul, Köprülü Library (Köprülü Kütüphanesi), MS Köprülü II 342 (1)	[Onomancy]
Istanbul, Topkapi Saray, MS Ahmed III, 1600 (3)	[Onomancy]

Yemen: San‘ā

San‘ā, ‘Ali bin Ibrahīm Library, MS 317

San‘ā, The Grand Mosque Library, MS 2236

MANUSCRIPTS IN AMERICA**Maryland, USA: Montgomery County**

Montgomery County, US National Library of Medicine Bethesda (NLM), MS A 57

New Jersey, USA: Princeton, Princeton University Library (PUL)

Princeton, Princeton University Library (PUL), MS Garrett 780 [SF7]

Princeton, Princeton University Library (PUL), MS Garrett 779 [LF10]

Princeton, Princeton University Library (PUL), MS Yahuda 1235 [SF8]

Princeton, , Princeton University Library (PUL), MS Garrett (Yahuda) 4278

Princeton, , Princeton University Library (PUL), MS Garrett 351Y

New York

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS), MS. JTS, Misc. 2309, Acc. 0900

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS), MS ENA 3316

Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, MS LJS 456

Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, MS LJS 459

Unclassified Forms/ Location Unknown:

Sbath 884	Unknown whereabouts	[SF8? Fa]
Antaki (SBath, Al-Fihris [218] 1/9, no.10)	Unknown whereabouts	[Fb]
Basile (Sbath, Al-Fihris [218] 1/9, no.10)	Unknown whereabouts	[Fc]
Alexandria Municipal Library D.2060	Catalogued but missing	[Fd]

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE UK

Cambridge:

Library Details: Cambridge University Library

BACKGROUND TO CUL COLLECTIONS:

https://www.academia.edu/34648767/Cambridge_University_Library_Islamic_Manuscript_Collection_Origins_and_Content

Links to catalogues / resources:

<https://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/departments/near-and-middle-eastern-department/manuscript-collection-catalogues>

Notes:

(CUL + two letters + number = shelfmark; CUL + number = catalogue reference)

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Qq 293

[LF10, Dh;Badawi

هـ]

Alternative Ref: 899 (catalogue no.)

Surveyed? Seen

Folios: 64ff.; 15 ll

Dimensions: 24.3 x 16.6 cm

Date: 15th Rajab 953 = 11th September 1546

Version: LF10

Online Availability:

Script: Naskh

Scribe:

Provenance/history: mss Q1-300 were donated by Bruckhardt in 1819; he acquired his mss from Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Arabia.* There is a note on the flyleaf that it was purchased in Damascus.

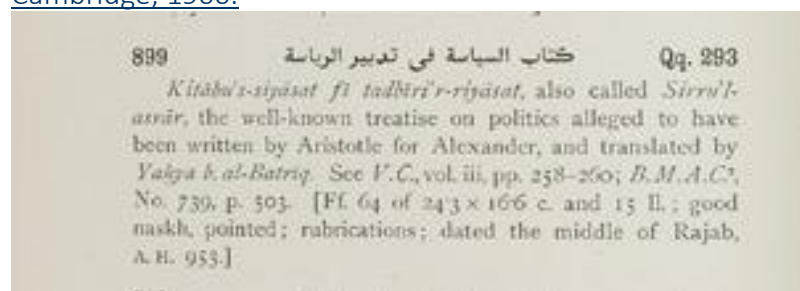
Other texts/MSS:

Notes: Contains a diagram of the instrument of 'Yayastayūs.' Certain parts of the texts are given in tabular form. Published catalogue no.899 (953/1546).

Bibliography: Catalogue (p....)-

http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/arabic_catalogues/browne/view.php?id=102

Full Catalogue: [E. G. BROWNE: A hand-list of the Muhammadan manuscripts, including all those written in the Arabic character, preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. Cambridge, 1900.](#)



Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Add. MS. 3222 [LF10, Dt; Badawi 10/د]

Alternative ref: CUL 1083 (catalogue no.)

Surveyed? *Seen*

Folios: 76 ff.; 15 ll.

Dimensions: 19.2 x 14.5 cm

Date: Undated; 17thC?

Version: LF10

Script: Modern *naskh*

Paper: Collation note '*balagha*' in margins for end of each quire.

Binding:

Title: *Maqalāt al-‘Ashar*

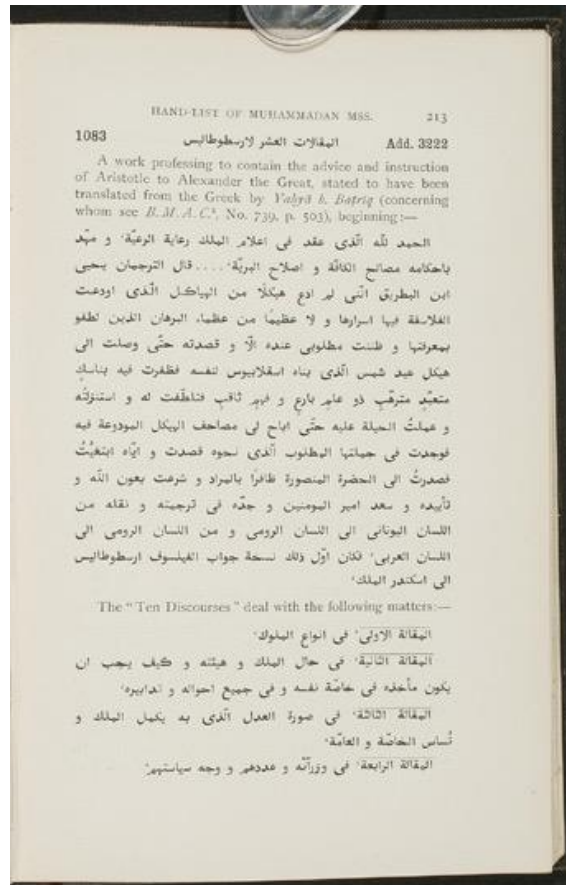
Description: Opening contains Christian laudation and prayer (no prayer for

Prophet in opening or in the end as is standard in mss) = Christian context of initial circulation. Later bound with Islamic religious material.

Provenance/history: - Belonged to Naṣr Allah ibn Anṭūn Ḥawwā;
- In 1806 to Juhn Fiott BA St John's College, Cambridge;
- 1895: Robert L Bensley (1831-93), a Syriac and Biblical scholar at Cambridge whose library was donated to CUL in 1895.
- Purchased at Aleppo for English owner (Fiott).

Notes: Entitled *Maqalāt al-‘Ashar* (Roger Bacon referenced a similar title for his manuscript). Shows Circle of Justice diagrammatically (f.46). The instrument of 'Yayastayūs' drawn (f.62v) as a bell.

Images: © Cambridge University (Open Access)



Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ll.6.8

[Onomancy; Ga]

Alternative ref: CUL 920 (catalogue no.)
 Surveyed? *Seen*
 Folios: Fols. 162-68 of MS; 10-11 ll.
 Dimensions: 14.9 x 10.2 cm.
 Date: Contents dated 955-957 AH (1587-1589)
 Version: *Onomancy: Kitāb al-Ghālib wa-l-maghlūb min al-muḥāribīn*

Online Availability:

Script: Naskh; handwriting badly-formed, copying careless.

Title :

Description: Catalogue entry:

<https://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/departments/near-and-middle-eastern-department/manuscript-collection-catalogues/browse>

Scribe:

Provenance/history: Purchased from the widow of [T. Erpenius \(1584-1624\)](#) in 1632?

Other texts/MSS: Item no.5 of 6 of MTM. Other texts on the ceremonies of pilgrimage; two copies of same text on religious obligations; on *tanwīn* in grammar; Sūfī views on *dhikr*, *fikr*, *ṭarīq*, *simāʿ*.

Notes: Handwriting badly-formed and copying careless.

Bibliography: Catalogue (p.175): [E. G. BROWNE: A hand-list of the Muhammadan manuscripts, including all those written in the Arabic character, preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. Cambridge, 1900.](#)

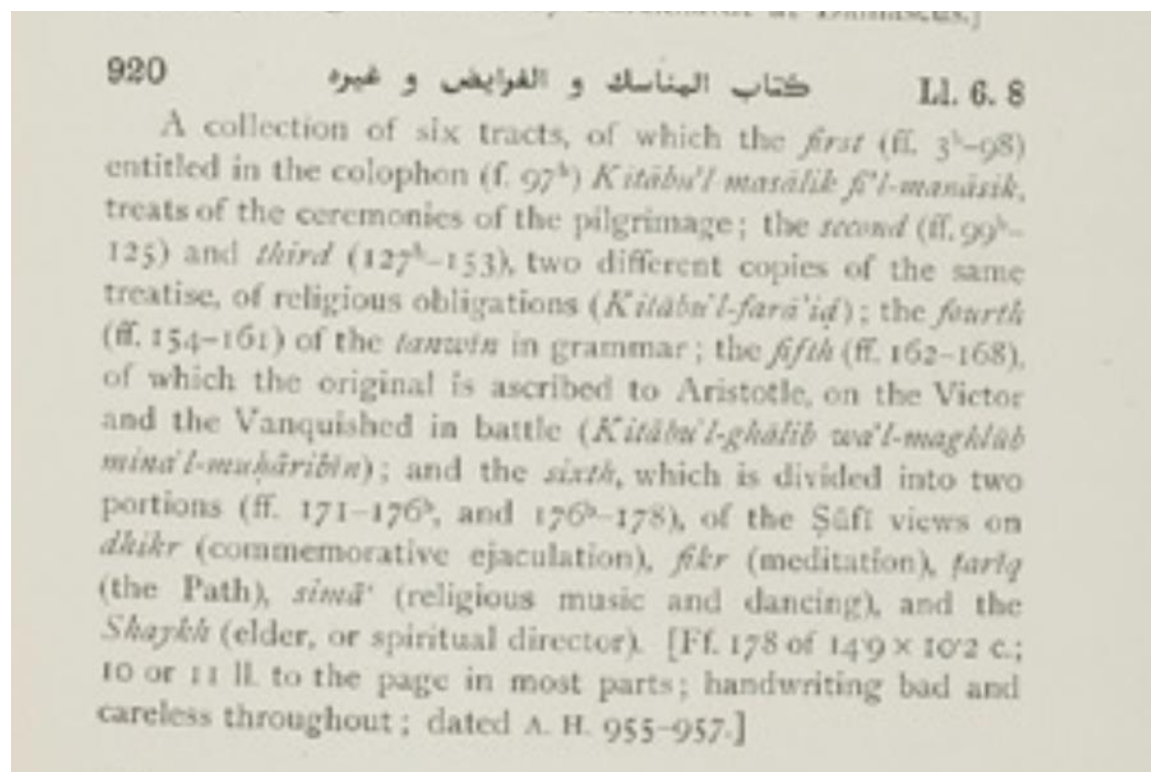


Image: Images: © Cambridge University (Open Access)

London:

Library Details: British Library

London, British Library MS Or 3118

[LF10, Dj; Badawi 11/9]

Other Refs: (formerly BM 739)

Surveyed? *Seen*

Folios: 70ff.; 17 ll.

Dimensions: 20 x 15 cm

Date: 18th Rabī' I, 1037 = 27th November 1627

Version: LF10

Online Availability: None. Photographed.

Script: Neat *naskh* and *ta'liq* for Turkish treatise by different hand.Title : *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fi-Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*Description: Title-frontispiece with large circle with red and black inscription with praise for the prophet, *amīr al-mu'minīn*. States and four black and red circles in the corners (1r).-Rubrication of titles, sub-headings and keywords throughout with a **thicker pen**; further highlighting of some horizontal strokes in red.

Scribe: 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Ḥanafī b. Muḥammad.

Provenance/history: The dedication is to **Zaydī Shī'ite imam** referred to by the scribe as Caliph: *al-malik al-fādil Amīr al-mu'minīn Shujā'al-Dīn 'Umar b. mawlānā Waḥīd al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ma'n al-Nazzārī*. The dedication is to the same patron as **BnF Ar 2418** with same style of decoration/ornament.; the MSS were completed within ten weeks of each other – this MS being the latter. In the dedication, the library of the patron is described as *Yamāniyyah* – the British Museum catalogue described the patron as 'a prince of Yemen.-There is a transfer of **ownership** inscription on front page (1r) for 1143 AH [1731] by Shaykh Muhammad al-Haman?? during Dhu'l Qa'dah, 1143/1731tr.- **Was acquired in 1886**. Ownership note of Baron von Kremer dated January 1886 and a purchase note of its ownership by British Museum in June 1886. Other ownership marks and stamps have been erased on 1r.Other texts/MSS: Composite ms; two hands. Ff.65-70 contain a **Turkish** treatise on the astrolabe; catalogued in *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts*, Rieu 1888.Notes: Contains Onomancy, and a **diagram** of 'Yayastayūs.' The division between Book IX and Book X is not indicated. Catchwords throughout; some corrections in margins.Categorised as Turkish in the catalogue but *Sirr* is the main text and is in Arabic; followed by a short treatise in Ottoman Turkish on the astrolabe, *Hidāyat ut-Tallāb*

London, British Library, MS Or. 6421

[LF10, Dq; Steele D]

Surveyed? *Seen*
 Folios: 107 ff.; 19 ll.
 Dimensions: 22 x 15 cm
 Date: 19th century.
 Version: LF10
 Online Availability:
 Script: Contains **section-by-section Persian translation alternating with the Arabic text**. Arabic in *naskh*; **Persian** in *nasta'liq*. Black ink, with regular red overlining; new sections and other keywords highlighted in red.
 Paper : Light beige paper, some pages have a rough, sandy feel.
 Binding : Soft, black morocco binding.
 Title : [title not clear due to unusual beginning: '*Wa-qaft ayyuha al-ibn al-Nabil wa-al-malikk al-adil al-jalil ...*']
 Description: First page has patches that are mended. There is an inscription on the inside of the binding that has been erased/worn out.

Scribe:

Provenance/history:

- There are several ownership inscriptions in **Persian** on first folio with dates on them (for the years 1242 (erased out), 1244, and 1245 – the numbers 'four' look like **Persian** numbers?).
- Was formerly part of the British Museum, purchased in 1902 (catalogue entry). Inscription on f.107v stating 'Bought from E. Hindamian, July 15 1902' – Hindamian was an art dealer based in Paris working in the first half of the 20thC.
- The original catalogue entry describes it as, "The Arabic version of the *Secreta Secretorum*, a pseudepigraphon on politics addressed by Aristotle to Alexander with Persian translation, sixth century."

Other texts/MSS:

Notes:

With Onomancy, and diagram of the instrument of '*Yayaṣṭayūs*' on 99v. Rubrication and heavy use of overlining passages; heavy annotations / marginalia all around textblocks from f.19v, written in Persian in the section on Health, hygiene, seasons (fols. 28v-29, 34v-46, 55v-56). Diagram with neatly drawn astronomical diagram with concentric circles and labels for planets and parts of the solar system (f.71v). Contains a diagram in the margin on f.83r on the three parts of the stomach.

→ Does it contain much additional material?

Also overlining on section on justice, which is presented within two rubricated circles (f.69v). Mainly Arabic sections are overlined after that. Although scribe has neat hand, the plain binding and heavy use of annotations indicate this copy was for personal study and use; owner was interested in medicine and was made in Persianate setting. There are also two small doodles of faces – the style of drawing and the turban indicate Persian/Iranian figures.



BL 6421, f.41v

Image: © British Library (permission granted)

London, British Library, MS Or 12070

[Physiognomy; Ha]

Surveyed? *Seen*

Folios: Thick pinkish paper. fols. 39v-43 in 43 fols. MS; 18 ll.

Dimensions: Octavo-sized MS

Date: Dated in scribe's hand, 330 AH [i.e. 940 AD]

Version: Physiognomy

Online Availability:

Script: Angular *naskh*, very reminiscent of Kufic with idiosyncratic forms to letters.

Paper :

Binding :

Title :

Description:

Scribe:

Provenance/history: Acquired by P. Khonsavi for the British Museum in 1954, and was said to be the earliest secular Arabic MS held in the British Museum, besides antedating all other known MSS of the *Sirr* and all references to it (*BM Quarterly*).

****However, the tenth-century dated ascribed to it in the colophon cannot be taken as genuine. The date has been investigated further in Chapter One as this MS has been used to estimate the dating of the *Sirr*. There is an entry in the BM register where it is listed but there no separate entry in any of the BM/BL catalogues. The register contains a pencil annotation on it stating 'this MS in fact a forgery produced in a well-known studio in Iran c.1940'.**

Other texts/MSS: The text is the last of six short tracts. The contents are extracted from a larger miscellany. Other contents:

[1] Epistle of al-Farābī in comment upon epistle of Zeno (this MS antedates al-Farābī's death by nine years)

[2] Misc. extracts from the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata*.

[3] Treatise by the grammarian al-Kisā'ī on common blunders in speaking Arabic

[4] Epitome of Plato's *De legibus* made by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq

[5] Minor items from the Hippocratic collection, including the letter of Artaxerxes to Hippocrates.

Notes: The scribe is the Persian Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Durustawayh of Isfahan.

Bibliography:

Library, Royal Asiatic Society of GB & Ireland, RAS Arabic 57

Library Details: Royal Asiatic Society of GB & Ireland
 14 Stephenson Way, London, NW1 2HD
 [Walking distance from Euston Station]
<https://royalasiaticsociety.org>

Reading Room Opening Hours:

Tuesday 10am-5pm / Thursday 2pm-5pm / Friday 10am-5pm

Contact Details: library@royalasiaticsociety.org
 0207 388 4539

London, Royal Asiatic Society Library, MS Arabic 57**SF**

Surveyed? *Seen*

Folios: 114ff, (ff.80-93). **Greek/Coptic [?] numbering** to folios until f.40; 15ll.

Dimensions: 21 x 16cm; text-block 15x10cm.

Date: Thursday 20th Rajab 1129AH / 30th June 1717 CE (written in colophon of [6] on f.113r.

Version: *Kitab al-siyasah fi tadbir al-riyasah* **SF extract (SF7?)**

Alternative Title: Kitab Mubarak Wasaya al-Imkana

Online Availability: None

Script: Stylised *naskh* (~~Christian Arabic?~~ begins with *basmalah* throughout and has 'Asmā' al-Husna); black ink with rubrication of titles, keywords, and 'wa-qīla'. Some of the red ink has been later highlighted in a violet/metallic colour.

Paper: Burnished paper with laid and chain lines evenly spaced horizontally every 2.8cm. Quires are numbered e.g. on f.92r.

Binding: Moroccan leather on pasteboard; blind-tooled border, central medallion with head and tail ornaments; envelope flap. Original binding but quires are mainly loose from the binding.

Title: *Kitab al-siyasah fi tadbir al-riyasah* (see colophon)

Description: Prescripts and sayings of sages and philosophers. 6 works by 3 authors on the subjects of Aphorisms and apothegms, Astrology, Demonology, God, and Politics and government.

Scribe: Christian Arabic hand?? (contents would indicate for Muslim use though). Compilation of texts in the volume, all in the same hand.

Provenance/history: Presented by **Mrs A. Kay** (see librarian email about possibility of being the wife of Mr H. C. Kay - who contributed to JRAS in 1882, writing about a visit to **Cairo**. Mrs Kay also presented items 52-56.

Other texts/MSS: **CM:**
 [1] ff.1-47, Anonymous: *Wasayah al-hukma*.
 [2] ff.48-54, Luqmān al-Ḥakīm: *Wa-hadhihi amthal wa-ma'ani Luqman al-hakim*
 [3] ff.55-79, Anonymous: *Hadha Kitab al-ithnayn wa sab'in tariq alladhina dakhalu li-majis Sulayman Abi Da'ud*
[4] ff.80-93 [ff.87-93?], Ps-Aristotle: *Kitab al-siyasah fi tadbir al-riyasah*
 [5] ff.94-108, Anonymous: *Sharh Tulu al-shi'ra al-yamaniyah bi-al-buruj wa-ma la-ha min al-bilad wa-al-mudun wa ghayirha*

[6] ff.109-113, Anonymous: *Hadhihi al-asma' al-husna wa-hiya tis wa-tis'in isman*

Notes: **Incomplete text** – unclear where it actually begins as there is prefatory discussion on f.82r discussing Jalinus and on f.86v, wisdom of sages – see inserted notecard at the beginning of text). Extract appears to begin on f.87r on **medicine** with Alexander and seasons highlighted, **followed by a large heading on 'qawl fi 'ilāmat al-ahjār'** on f.91v.

Incipit: هذه ما جماعوه جماعت الحكماء في منافع تختص بالانسان على بركن

Explicit: تم سيرت السياسة في تدبير الرياسة المعروف سر الاسرار تاليف ارسطاطاليس |

Bibliography: 'Provisional Draft Handlist of Royal Asiatic Society: Manuscripts in Arabic Print', (Updated March 1999), Second Typescript Supplement [→ when was this section of material added to catalogue?].

- See also more detailed catalogue entry on Fihrist:

https://www.fihrist.org.uk/catalog/manuscript_7521

Manchester
Library Details:

Links to catalogues/resources:

<https://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/special-collections/access-the-special-collections/using-manuscripts/published-catalogues/arabic-manuscripts/>

Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Arabic 418

[LF10; Dp]

- Surveyed? *Seen*
- Folios: ii + 40 ff.+ ii (one folio [between f.24 and f.25] is not numbered); 17 ll.
- Dimensions: 25.3 x 14.8 cm
- Date: 23rd Safar 1227 / 8th March 1812
- Version: LF10
- Online Availability: ?? None
- Script: **Indian *ta'liq*** script. Black ink. Red ink for titles and to highlight words throughout. Some red dots where gaps in text. Red overlining throughout.
- Paper : Eastern / Oriental wove paper. Fine, burnished paper.
- Binding : Maroon soft morocco binding with gilt frame and gilt title on spine; original binding.
- Title : *Sirr al-Asrār* or as given in second flyleaf, *tarjamah aqwāl wa-mawā'iz Askandar*
- Description: Illuminated header and borders throughout. Bookworm damage throughout. Some repairs in margin areas where illuminated border has weakened page. Persian glossing of difficult word in body of text. Corrections attached / glued on to margins. Other notes e.g. ff. 20v. Diagram of COJ on f.27r
- Provenance/history: - Obtained in India, having belonged to a library there. It was once the property of **Colonel George Hamilton** (1807-68).
- Contains **three Indian seals** (with dates) that can be found in the majority of mss from the Hamilton collection [same as stamps in entry under 197 - a book on the laws of inheritance]: these three red seals belonged to the *nawābs* and kings of Awādh and are found in the majority of the manuscripts in the Hamilton collection
- One is dated 1241AH / 1825/6 CE and bears the name '**Sulaymān Jāh**' (r.1827-37, second king of Awādh); the second bears the name '**Amjad Alī Shāh Zaman Ali-Janāb**' (r.1842-47, 4th king of Awādh) with large ornaments resembling the flag of Awādh – it is difficult to read the writing but it is identical to the larger stamp in Arabic 197 which is dated 1260AH / 1843/4 CE; the third smaller seal at the bottom of the page is dated 1263AH / 1846/7 CE and bears the name **Wājid 'Alī Sultān 'Alim** (r. 1847-56, 5th and last King of Awādh) with ornaments resembling the Awādh flag.
→ The earliest seal is the black seal near the centre of the page, dated 1233 AH / 1817/8 CE.
- Notes: Breaks off in middle of Onomancy. The ten Books are called *fuṣūl*. Contains a diagram of Instrument of 'Yayastayūs' [f.37r]. Only detailed marginalia in section on ...

Oxford

Library Details:

Contact Details:

Resources / Finding Aids:

<https://libguides.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/c.php?g=422971&p=2888527>

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Or 210

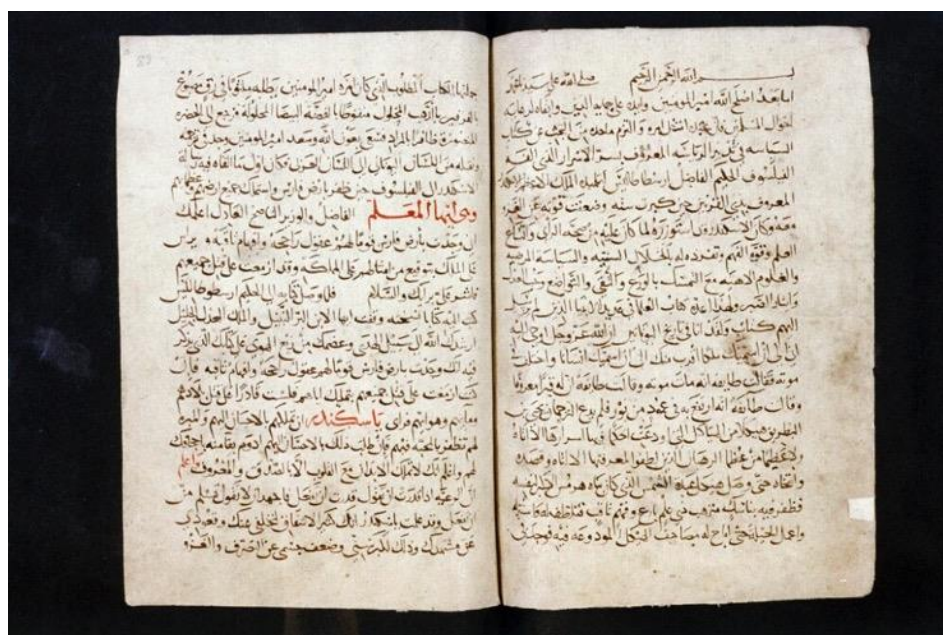
[SF7; Aa; Steele W]

Other Ref: Uri No. 341[2]
 Surveyed? *Seen*
 Folios: 20ff., 19 ll; *Sirr* occupies ff. 82r-102v
 Dimensions: 24 x 17
 Date: Endpapers have **conversion dates** for 541 AH / 1146-7 AD= *majmu'a* [CM] put together in mid-12thC but the *Sirr* was copied some time before this date.
 Version: SF7. Seventh book designated as *al-qawl fi-l ḥurūb*.
 Online Availability: <https://iiif.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/iiif/viewer/87a2a4f2-c457-4eac-b5ea-f3831a61c642#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&r=0&xywh=-939%2C-153%2C6168%2C3038>
 Catalogue entry - https://www.fihrist.org.uk/catalog/manuscript_1047
 Script: *Naskh*; relatively early hand.
 Title:
 Description: MTM and Composite MS.
 Scribe:
 Provenance/history:
 Other texts/MSS: *Sirr* is part of MTM that also contains poems, a text on chess and extracts of *ḥadīth*. Codex formed of two originally separate mss: the other portion contains Ghazālī's manual for princes *Kitāb Naṣiḥāt al-mulūk*.

Notes: MS was donated to Oxford University by Archbishop William Laud (1573-1645), Chancellor of the University of Oxford, who lent his patronage to the acquisition of Oriental materials for the Library. He donated 147 Arabic, 74 Persian and Turkish mss between 1635 and 1640. Laud bought many of Bedwell's Arabic mss after his death, and later both Pococke and John Greaves were active on his behalf while in the East. Laud launched a scheme, issued under the King's name in 1634, requiring ships of the Levant Company to bring back one Arabic or Persian ms. It is not clear how many were received in this way. Between 1634 to 1636, Pococke supervised the choice and dispatch of some mss for ships departing from **Aleppo**. However, it was following Greaves and Pococke's arrival in **Constantinople in 1638**, that there was an unusually large influx of Arabic mss in Laud's donations to Oxford.¹

Bibliography:

¹ G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) pp.108-10.



Images: © Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (Open Access via licence [CC BY-NC-SA 4.0](#))

MANUSCRIPTS IN REST OF EUROPEAlbania: Tirana

Library Details:

Tirana, Nationalbibliothek, An. VII/38 D

Surveyed? *Catalogue info*

Folios:

Dimensions:

Date: 1835

Description:

Scribe: Scribes name provided

Provenance/history:

Other texts/MSS:

Notes:

Bibliography:

Austria: Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB)

Library Details:

Contact Details:

Vienna, ÖNB 1828

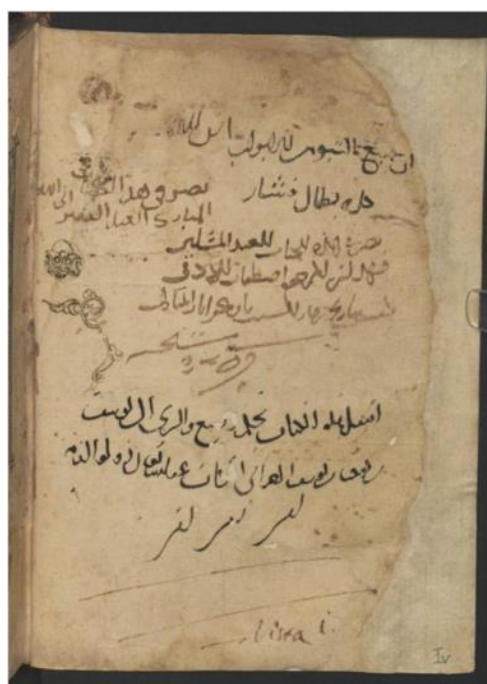
[SF7, Manz.2Ab;Badawi 17]

Surveyed?	<i>Seen</i>
Other Ref:	Neue Folge 278
Folios:	Paper, iii+ 54 ff + ii.; 1 1 11 [digitised]
Dimensions:	18 x 13.5 cm
Date:	1300-1320 CE. It is dated 432 AH / 1040-41 AD after the colophon (f.54v). The date appears to be a later addition; the ornamentation, illumination and script used in the manuscript has the appearance of the early Mamlūk period (mid-13 th -14 th century); there are reader notes that were added by in 1362.
Version:	SF7
Online Availability:	http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_6823396&order=1&view=SINGLE
Script:	old <i>Naskh</i>
Paper:	
Binding:	Wooden boards with a leather spine (European)
Title:	<i>al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah</i>
Description:	Corrections in margins. Collation / Inspection notice at end (f.54v).
Scribe:	
Provenance/history:	Egypt or Syria. Provenance is al-Khizanah al-Shihabiyyah ² . There are some reader's notes in Syriac script, made in 1362 AD; MS was in Venice in 1542 - Title-page contains following dedication to patron: برسم الخزانة الكريمة المولوية الاجلثة العالمية المجاهدية – الشها (بنة) عمرها الله بدام (?)
Other texts/MSS:	No.
Notes:	Some misplacing of portions of the text. Illuminated frontispiece ; gold roundels and heading throughout. Illuminated CoJ (f.11v)
Bibliography:	Flügel catalogue entry: http://bilder.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/katalogseiten/HSK0779_c0260_jpg.htm

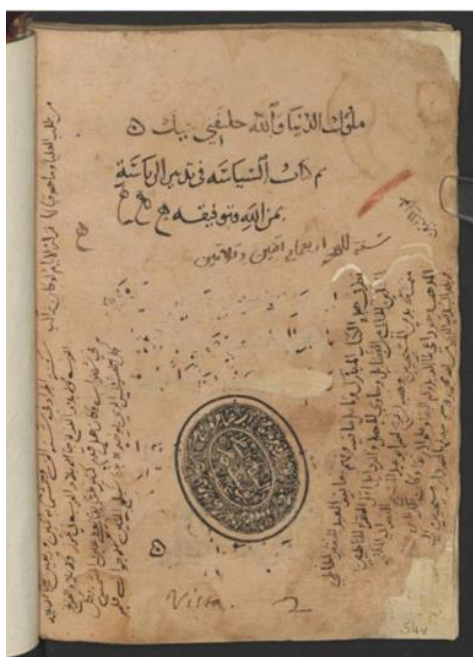
² Shihābiyyah family, a prominent Levantine noble family that had settled in southern Lebanon in the 6th/12th century and went on to control the Lebanon region in the late 11th/17th century.



f.1r



flyleaf 1v



f.54v, colophon/date



f.11v, Circle of Justice

Images: © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Open Access via licence CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)

Leipzig 1838, S. 347, wo sechs verschiedene Ausgaben oder lateinische Übersetzungen angeführt werden. Sie hat 83 mit gothischen Buchstaben numerirte Blätter, von denen die ersten 42 das Werk enthalten, die übrigen das in der Ausgabe von 1516 Angeführte wiedergeben, nur dass Alexandrini Achillini Bononiensis de Universalibus statt Alexandri Macedonis in septentrione Monarchiae steht. — Über Weiteres ist die Vorrede des Übersetzers Philippus nachzulesen.

72 Bl. Octav, über 7 Z. hoch, über 5 Z. breit, Papier weissgelb, Naschi zu 15 Zeilen, etwas stumpf und zum grossen Theil vocalisirt, Aufschriften, die Anfangswörter und die Anrede يا اسكندر roth, Bl. 1 mit dem Titel von Legrand restaurirt, sonst gut erhalten. — A. F. 354 d (484).

1828.

Zweites weniger vollständiges Exemplar desselben Werkes mit dem Titel Bl. 1r in goldenem Felde und kufischen Buchstaben تدير السياسة في تصريف الحكم الفاضل ارسطوطاليس: الزمامة, darunter in goldenem Rahmen schwarz: تليده الاسكندر بن قليس اليوناني برسم الخزانة الكريمة المولوية الاجلثة العالية المجاهدية — (السياسة) عمرها الله بدائم — Bl. 1v beginnt die Einleitung und von Bl. 5 an folgt die Inhaltsanzeige von nur sieben Büchern, von denen vier bis sieben vom vorhergehenden Exemplar in ihrer Ausführung abweichen. Der Text, dem Buch 2 und 3 und 8 bis 10 gänzlich abgehen, springt von 1 auf 4, oder man muss Bl. 10r الكلام في العدل für Buch 3 und im zweiten Buch den Abschnitt Bl. 18v القول الثاني في تدير الملك für das zweite Buch gelten lassen. Und so ist es auch. Doch verfährt dieser zweite Codex viel kürzer, und Buch 7 entspricht hier dem Buch 10 des ersten Codex, aber zum Theil in engerer, zum Theil in weiterer Ausführung. Formell und materiell macht sich also ein bedeutender Unterschied zwischen beiden Exemplaren geltend. — Am Schluss Bl. 54v heisst der Titel nochmals كتاب السياسة في تدير الزمامة und von späterer Hand ist hinzugefügt سنة للبعثة اربعمئة اثنين وثلاثين, um das Exemplar noch älter zu machen, als es in der That ist. Nur datirt es schwerlich vom J. 432 (beg. 11. Sept. 1040).

54 Bl. Octav, 6 1/2 Z. hoch, über 4 1/2 Z. breit, Papier alt und braungelb, Naschi, alter, guter ägyptischer Zug zu 11 Zeilen, zum Theil vocalisirt, die

Aufschriften in schwarzem Tulut. Mit Ausnahme einiger Flecke und Wurmstiche gut erhalten. — Cypressenband. — N. F. 278.

Images: © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Open Access)

Vienna ONB 1827

[LF10,Dk; Badawi 16/ف]

Other Ref: A.F. 354 d

Surveyed? *Catalogue Info*

Folios: Paper. 72ff. of a MS of 79ff.; 15 ll.

Dimensions: 20 x 14.5 cm

Date: Completed Thursday 13th Muḥarram 1040 / 22nd August 1630.

Version: LF10

Online Availability:

Script: *Naskh*

Paper:

Binding:

Title: *Sirr al-Asrār li-ta'sīs al-Siyāsah wa-tartīb ahwāl al-riyāsa* [linked to NLM a 57 title???

Description:

Scribe:

Provenance/history:

Other texts/MSS: Mainly single text manuscript but from 72 ff. there are extracts of *Kitāb al-Irshād (Book of Guidance into the Lives of the 12 Imams)*

Notes:

Bibliography: Flügel catalogue entry :

http://bilder.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs//katalogseiten/HSK0779_c0258_jpg.htm

Chechniya: Grozny

Grozny, Chekhov National Library, MS Arabic 327[1]

Survey? *Basic info*

Description: Multiple text manuscript

Grozny, Chekhov National Library, MS Arabic 67[3]

Survey? *Basic info*

Description: Multiple text manuscript

France: Paris**Library Details: Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF)**

Contact Details:

[Much of the Arabic BnF collection was acquired in Egypt]. See following article on some of the history of the collection:

John-Paul Ghobrial, 'The Archive of Orientalism and its Keepers: Re-Imagining the Histories of Arabic Manuscripts in Early Modern Europe' in *Past & Present*, Volume 230, Issue suppl 11, November 2016, pp.90-111.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtw023>

[Other Refs – match up with below – 944, 945,, Fonds Asselin 38

Paris, BnF Arabe MS 82

[LF10, Dc; Badawi 5/ ج]

Other Ref:

Surveyed? *Seen*

Folios: Fols. 159-200; 11 lines to a page.

Dimensions: 18 x 14 cm.

Date: The Paris catalogue suggest s.xiv; Badawi considers it to be later: the first hand is 14thC; second hand is 15th/16thC; third hand (scribe of *Sirr*) is 16thC.

Version: LF10

Online Availability:

Script:

Description: Composite MS. Coptic numbering.

Paper : Paper. Coptic numbering

Binding : Brown leather binding [that appears to be original to manuscript?] blind embossed in style typical of Egypt-Syria.

Title :

Scribe: Probably copied in Egypt – see notes on binding and provenance.

Provenance/history: Purchase history: A note of Renaudot completed by J. Ascari.

Purchased by Vansleb in **Cairo**. With Vansleb's seal.

Other texts/MSS: The MS contains **Christian texts**. Contents (as catalogued):

- Anonymous treatise on exegesis;
- Anonymous treatise on theology;
- Summary of the answers of Catholicos Timothy I to twenty-seven questions from Caliph al-Mahdī;
- Exposition, by 'Abdī? Ū', Nestorian bishop, Abū Qurra, Melkite bishop and Abū Rā'īṭa, Jacobite bishop, of their respective beliefs in the presence of a certain vizier;
- 'ABD ALLĀH IBN AL-FAḌL. Maqāla fī l-radd 'alā l-munaḡḡimīn;
- Anonymous treatise on theology entitled: Kalām fīsudūr al-umūr 'an masarrat Allāh wa-siyāsatihi wa-ma'a taḥliyatih;
- Anonymous commentary on Saint John, XX, 17;
- SA'ĪD IBN HIBAT ALLĀH IBN AṬṬRADĪ. Maqāla tataḍamman luma' min al-uṣūl al-? Ar'īyya wa-nukat min al-'ilāl al-dīniyya; ELIE DE NISIBE.
- Summary of the epistle relating his controversy with the vizier al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Maḡribī Abū al-Qāsim;

- Life of Saint Barṣawma the Naked;
- PSEUDO-ARISTOTLE. Kitāb al-siyāsa

Notes: A portion of the text is missing. No further details in online catalogue entry but fully digitised including flyleaves and binding on Gallica:

- Incipit doesn't mention that it was undertaken at the direction of the caliph/*amīr al-mu'minīn*.

- **Format :**

Nombre de lignes à la page : 11 (f. 1-154), 21 (f. 155-158), 15 à 16 (f. 159-200). Surface écrite : 120 × 85 mm (f. 1-154), 155 × 105 mm. (f. 155-158), 160 × 105 mm (f. 159-200). - Papier oriental (sauf les fol. 155-158 refaits en papier occidental). - 200 fol. (f. 137 v laissé en blanc). Folioté en chiffres coptes. - Écriture orientale (**Égypte**). — Titres rubriqués. - 180 × 135 mm. - Reliure orientale, basane brune. Fleurons et filets estampés à froid

-**Composite manuscript.** FF.1-154 (up to end of Elias' treaty) are in same hand; the last two treatises are each in different (later) hands.

Bibliography:

[seen 19/08/2017]

Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 176

[LF10? Ea; Badawi 6 / ك]

Other Ref:

Surveyed? *Seen*

Folios: Paper. Fols 83-133 of MS containing 136 ff; 15 ll.

Dimensions: 21 x 15 cm

Date: Attributed to 11th century AH / 17th century AD.

Version: LF10

Online Availability:

Script: *Naskh*

Scribe: Same hand throughout.

Provenance/history: Was once in Coptic hands. Contains notes by Dr Picques throughout text (in French); with copious notes in end papers (i.e. studied). Louis Picques [1637-p99].³Other texts/MSS: MTM. MS contains fols 1-82, *Kitāb fī daf' al-Hamm* (*Book on Dispelling Anxiety*), by Elias, Bishop of Nisibis (975-1046) – an extended essay, inspired by al-Kindī's *Risālah fī ḥīlah li-daf' al-ahzān* ('The Art of Dispelling Sorrows') that aimed to introduce Christian religious themes into the consideration of the best means of dispelling anxiety. The treatise appeals to reason as the mediator of personal behaviour and of public morals;⁴ f.133 ff, apothegms on rule attributed to a King of Yemen, to Chosroes, Buzurjmihir, and others.Notes: - Incomplete: begins at end of Book II, breaking off with the warning upon the avenging of murder. [??Coptic / Syriac numbering??]
- Notes in margins as subheadings (health section?)

Bibliography:

³ Louis Picques (* 1637 in Paris, † May 9, 1699 *ibid*) was a French Catholic priest, doctor of theology, orientalist and librarian. Picques, 1688–1695, was the director of the library of the Collège des Quatre Nations in Paris, was famous among contemporaries for his broad knowledge of oriental languages. He was valued as an interlocutor and correspondent in learned circles at home and abroad. Picque's scientific achievement consisted above all in collecting, reading, annotating, discussing and corresponding. However, he was not a man of writing books. He hardly brought anything to print. Picques left his **stately private library**, including valuable oriental manuscripts, in the Jacobin monastery on rue Saint-Honoré. The prints, e.g. Some of them with abundant scholarly annotations are now part of the Mazarine Bibliothèque. The **manuscripts are preserved by the Bibliothèque nationale de France**. [Francis Richard: *Louis Picques, «docteur de la Maison et Société de Sorbonne»: les annotations d'un théologien féru de langues orientales*. In: *Revue de la Bibliothèque nationale de France*. 2. 1999 42-46 u. pl. IV.]

⁴ Sidney Griffith, *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 7 (2007), p.64

Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2417

Badawi text [LF10, Dm; Badawi 1/ص]

Other Ref:

Surveyed? *Seen*

Folios: Paper. 45ff, ff.83-133; 21 ll.

Dimensions: 21 x 14.5 cm

Date: Date suggested – 11th century AH / 17th century AD

Version: LF10

Online Availability:

Script: *Naskh*; same hand throughout; corrections in black ink.

Paper: Fine burnished European paper with European watermarks.

Binding: Original red leather binding with gold tool border and oval/floral [?] central medallion.

Title: *‘Ilm al-siyāsah fī tadbīr al-riyāsah (al-ma‘rūf bi-sirr al-asrār)*

Other texts/MSS:

Notes: Apparently basis of Badawi text. Photographed and viewed
18/08/2017]

Bibliography:

[viewed 18/08/2017]

Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2418

[LF10; Di]

Other Ref:

Surveyed? *Seen*

Folios: Paper. Fols. 1-48v of a manuscript of 61ff; 17 ll.

Dimensions: 21.5 x 15cm

Date: 7th Muḥarram 1037 / 18th September 1627 AD.

Version: LF10.

Online Availability:

Script: *Naskh*

Title :

Description: Lots of marginal notes, including in opening pages/preamble, **physiognomy**,

Scribe: The scribe gives his own name as 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Ḥanafī b. Muḥammad.

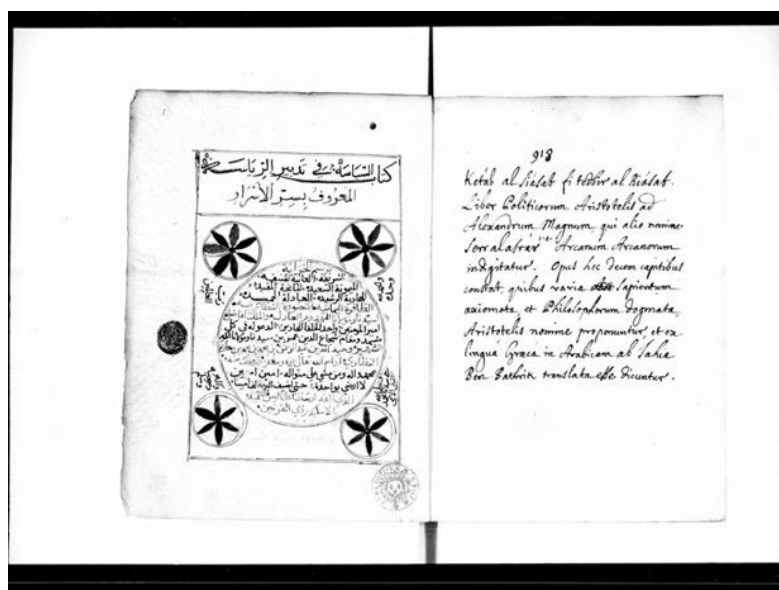
Provenance/history: The dedication is to: *al-malik al-fādil Amīr al-mu'minīn Shujā'al-Dīn 'Umar b. mawlānā Waḥīd al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ma'n al-Nazzārī*. The dedication is to the same patron as **BL MS 3118 (formerly BM MS 739)**, and the MSS were completed within ten weeks of each other – this MS being the earlier. Manzalaoui suggests the patron could be a **Zaydī Shī'ite imam** acknowledged by the scribe as Caliph: in the dedication to BL MS 3118, the library of this same patron is described as *Yamāniyyah* – the British Museum catalogue described the patron as 'a prince of Yemen.'

- The manuscript was once in Egyptian hands.

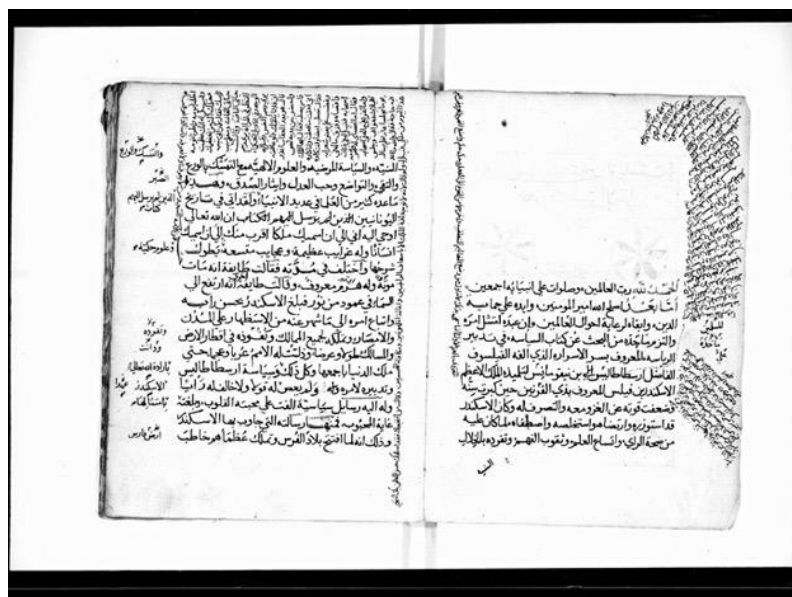
Other texts/MSS: on f.49v is a short text *Fā'idah fī dhikr ayyām al-rā'ī*, followed by a treatise on the rainbow; f.60 gives the correspondence between the Islamic, Byzantine and Coptic calendars; ff.60v-61v is *Ḥikāyāt ḥikmiyyah fī l-siyāsah al-mulūkiyyah*.

Notes:

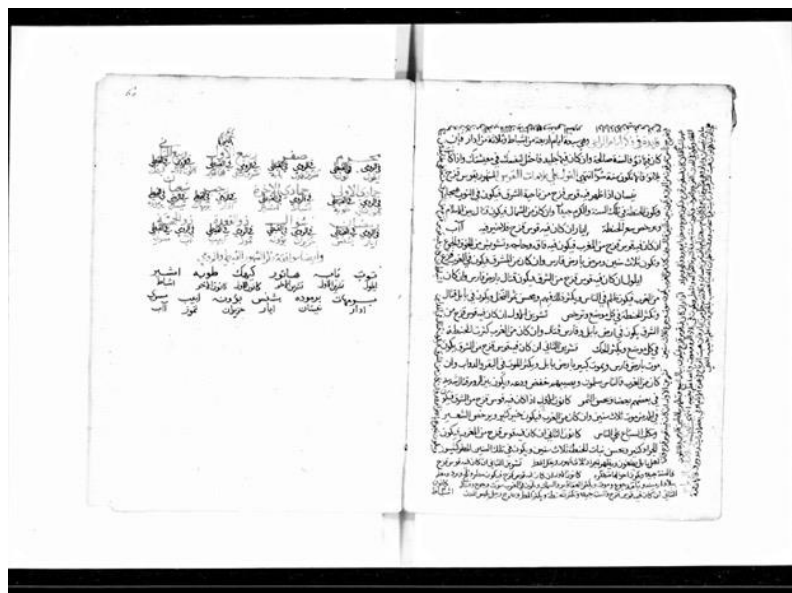
Bibliography:



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Images: © gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France (public domain)

Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2419

[SF7, Ae; Badawi 4/ع]

- Other Ref: [Arabe 945 – previous ref]
 Surveyed? *Seen*
 Folios: Paper. Fols. 1-19 of a MS of 188 fols. 13-20 ll.
 Dimensions: 21 x 15 cm.
 Date: Dated 4th Sha'bān 968 AH (9th April 1562).
 Version: SF7.
 Online Availability: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11001786w>
 Script: *Naskh* (text in *ta'liq* script)
 Paper: mixed.
 Binding:
 Title: *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fi-Tadbīr al-Riyāsah wa-l Firāsah*
 Description: MTM & CM. Texts 1+2 in same hand; 3-4 in another hand; 5-8 each in different hands (last text in *ta'liq*).
 Scribe: Name of scribe given
 Provenance/history:
 - F.1r: purchase and cancellation notes with name of new owner:
 دخل في نوبة عبد الفقير الي مولاه ...
 ...[blacked out name] = entered the appropriate [ownership] of the poor servant to his master in 1079 AH / 1668 = Ṣūfī ownership
 اشتراه الفقير الي الله علي الدين القفاف
 [*faqir ila-Allāh* (poor towards Allah)] 'Alī al-Dīn al-Qifāf;
 - Purchased for initial French owner in 17thC: note in French that was purchased for 2 piastres by [François Pétis de] 'la a French agent Croix' [1670-6] who purchased some of the earliest mss acquired by *Bibliothèque du roi*.
 - Date in French on flyleaf: 22nd July 1875.
 Other texts/MSS: CM. The *Sirr* is the first of eight works of **varied nature: ethical, medical** etc, including (ff.40-167) a summary of **Qazwīnī's 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt**.
 Notes: Does not contain Aristotle-Alex epistles in prologue: moves straight to discovery by Yahya after description of Aristotle – **epistles after Yahya translated**, as if part of the original text.
 Bibliography: Georges Vajda pour les manuscrits Arabe 2400 à 2759.
 Catalogue description:
<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/exportBranchePdf.html?eadCid=FRBNFEAD000030336>
 [viewed 18/08/2017]

Texts :

1. (Fol.1)» Le Secret des secrets « سر الاسرار
2. (Fol. 19 v°) Moḥammad ibn al-Ḥosain al-Ahwâzî « كتاب الفرائد والقلائد
3. (Fol. 40) Abrégé du 'Adjâib al-Makhloûqât d'Al-Qazwînî. ZAKARĪYĀ ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Qazwînî عجائب المخلوقات الصغرى
4. (Fol. 167 v°), Pièces diverses. Numerology, stars
5. (Fol. 169 v°), Tableau des maladies et des remèdes. Médecine
6. (Fol. 180), magic
7. (Fol. 185v), Divans et qaṣîdas on Imām Shafī'ī and others
8. (Fol. 187), official documenta

Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2420

[LF10; DI; Badawi 2/م]

Other Ref:

Surveyed?

Seen

Folios:

Paper. 57ff.; 19 ll.

Dimensions:

20.5 x 15 cm

Date:

1st Sha'bān 1103/18th April 1692

Version:

LF10

Online Availability:

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11001955z.r=sirr%20al-asrar?rk=42918;4>

Script:

Naskh

Paper :

Binding :

Title :

Description:

Scribe:

Scribe named as Muḥammad ibn al-Faqīh Mūsā ibn 'Abd al-Salām ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Ridwān ibn Muḥammad 'Alī

Provenance/history:

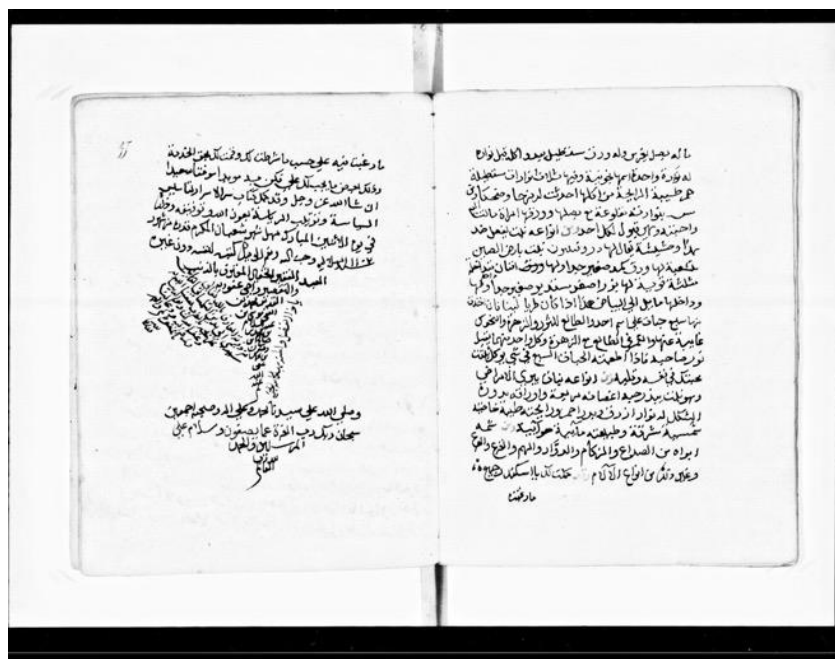
Copied from a **text belonging to the heirs** of Abū Madīn al-Shāfi'ī, the wālī. Scribe copied for his own **personal** use.

Other texts/MSS:

Sirr is the first text in the MS; followed by three folios of *ḥadīth* from *Dīwān al-Rashīdī*.

Notes:

Bibliography:



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Arabe 2420

Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2420, f.36v-37r

Images: © gallica.bnf.fr /Bibliothèque nationale de France (public domain)

Paris, BnF, MS Arabe 2421

[SF8; Bc]

Other Ref:

Surveyed?

Seen

Folios:

Paper. 45 ff.; 15 ll.

Dimensions:

16 x 10.25

Date:

Dated 15th Sha'bān **1144 AH** / 12th February 1732, Jerusalem.

Version:

SF8.

Online Availability:

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11001632n>

Script:

Naskh

Paper :

Binding :

Title :

Flyleaf 1 contains a note mistakenly referring to the treatise as Aristotle's *Timeaus*. Opening folio (f.1v) contains a gap in the area where the title would have been written: "..... *fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsa* *al-Asrār*."

Description:

Scribe:

Name given in colophon 3: Khalīl ibn Husayn **al-Dimashqī** al-Qādirī

Provenance/history:

Folio 1r contains cancellation stamp and transfer of ownership stamp statement of 'Muhammad 'Araf **Mawlay**' In *ta'liq* script. Inscription on flyleaf 1 refers to it as 'Suppl. Ar. 543' and is dated 20th December 1872, probably the date it became part of the BnF collection. Sufi ownership.

- Colophon no.3 states it was copied for 'Sayyid Muhammad Hāshim.'
- Colophon 2 states there are two copies of this text – one is owned by 'Malik Ismā'īl' and the other in Fās.

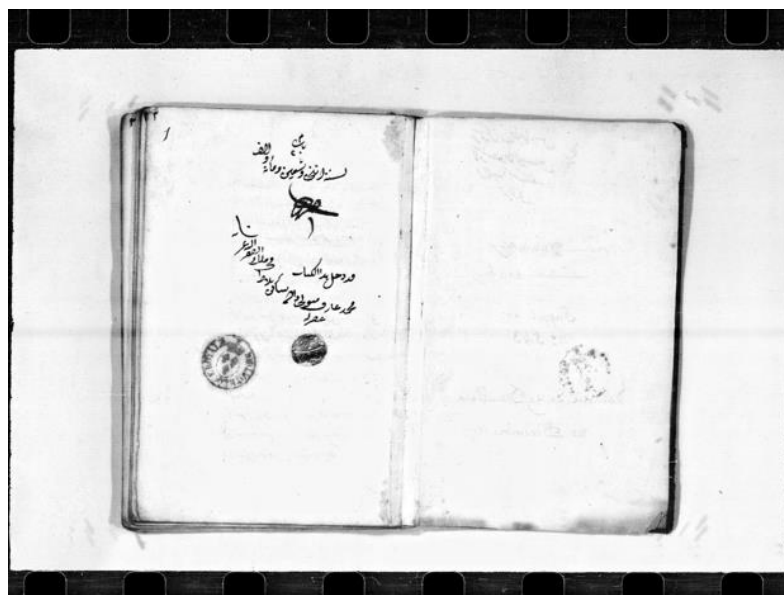
Other texts/MSS:

No, STM.

Notes:

??Copied from text dated Saturday 6th Jumāda II, 1119 / 1707 in Fas [library of Sultan Mawlay Isma'īl ibn Sharīf of Morocco, r.1672-1727]. 'Interesting details as to ownership.'

Bibliography:



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Images: © gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France (public domain)

Germany: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (SBB)**Library Details:****Address:**

Site Potsdamer Strasse, 2nd Floor
 Potsdamer Strasse 33
 10785 Berlin

[General] Opening hours:

Monday to Friday: 9:00 to 21:00

Saturday: 10:00 to 19:00

Information:

Monday to Friday: 9:00 to 17:00

Access to manuscripts:

Monday to Friday: 9:00 to 15:00

Oriental Reading Room:

Oriental manuscripts, woodblock prints and other special materials are available to scholars in the Oriental Reading Room; prior notification by letter, telephone or e-mail is requested. Readers of manuscripts will need to sign special Rules for the Use of Manuscripts; also required is an identity card or passport as well as a reader's ticket, valid for a week or a year.

<https://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/en/about-the-library/abteilungen/orient/recherche-und-ressourcen/oriental-manuscripts/>

Contact Details:**Arabic, Islamic and Ottoman Studies**

Christoph Rauch (Head of the Oriental Department)

email: 

Dr. Thoralf Hanstein

email: 

Most of the Arabic manuscripts are described in the catalogue from Wilhelm Ahlwardt (10 volumes, 1887-1899). This catalogue contains about 10.000 texts in approx. 6.500 manuscript volumes. A scanned version of the catalogue is accessible via the Internet archive:

Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften* : <http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/content/catalogues.xml#anker1>

Links to all 10 catalogue volumes:

<http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/content/catalogues.xml#anker1>

Orientalist Library Resources

Ref: <http://shahnama.lib.cam.ac.uk/new/jnama/card/celocation:857793231>

Bibliography: T. Schmieder-Jappe, *Die orientalischen Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin: Geschichte, Bestandsstruktur und aufgabenorientierte Bedeutung im nationalen Rahmen*, Berlin, 2004.

Berlin, SBB, MS Glaser 135

[SF7; Af]

Other References: Ahlwardt Cat No. 6405 (vol.5)

Surveyed? *Seen*

Folios: Last item, ff.148v-182v. Breaks off incomplete. i+182 ff.

Dimensions: 20.5 X 10.5 cm

Date: 980 AH / 1572-3 AD.

Version: SF7

Online Availability: https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN1026779863&PHYSID=PHYS_0009

- details notes on title page f.1r but these don't appear online have images of flyleaf which contains several inscriptions (photographed).

Script: - Neat scribal *naskh*. Black ink with red rubrication of headings and titles, Alexander's name and sub-headings.

Paper: - **Oriental** paper, repaired; not burnished; no chain or laid lines except on initial flyleaf with various ownership inscriptions; including one dated 1216 (1801 CE).

Binding: Modern library binding with marbled-effect paper pastedown.

Title: *[al-Khātimah an azkar fīhā] Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī 'ilm al-Riyāsah*

Description:

- Slim copy, well presented, evidence of use, some watermarks; a few notes at the beginning of the first work cross reference to other works.
- Catchwords on bottom left of each verso, except last folio.
- *Sirr* is in 7 books; breaks off incomplete on f.182v part way (3.5 ff.) through '*Maqālah sabī'ah fī al-ḥurūb*' [without catchword for next folio], suggesting it was copied from an incomplete manuscript.
- No diagrams of CoJ; mentions '*hadhā shakl*' and *ṣurah* but does not illustrate or write the words.

Scribe: - MTM: Both works contained in the manuscript were written in the **same scribal hand** but *Sirr* also has its own numbering in Arabic. Some corrections in headings. Title page in scribe's hand provides some further information too [including scribe?].

- Purchased by SSB in 1858.

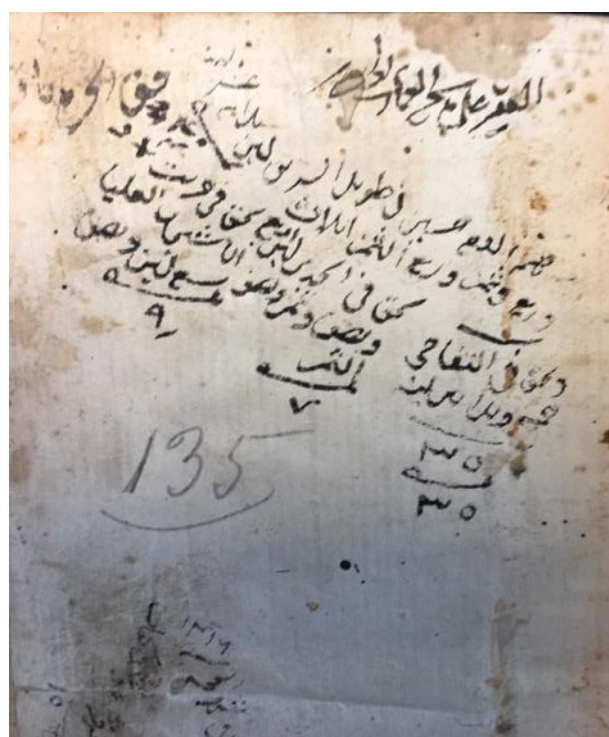
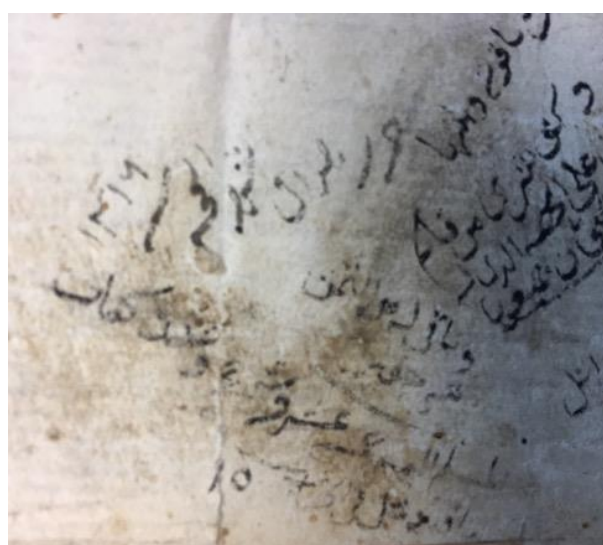
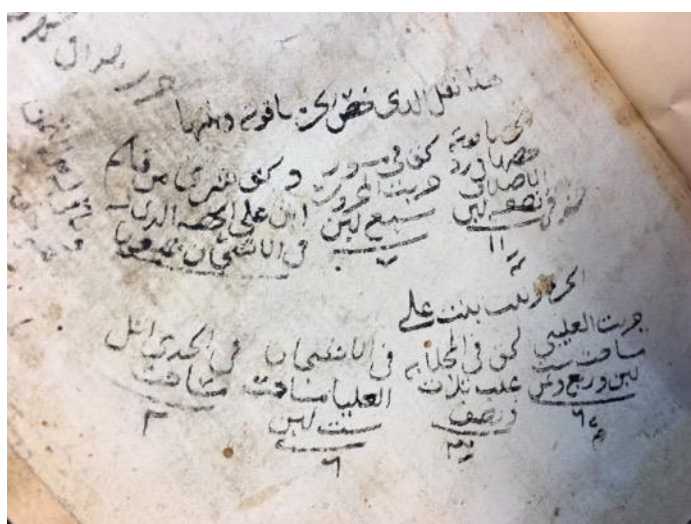
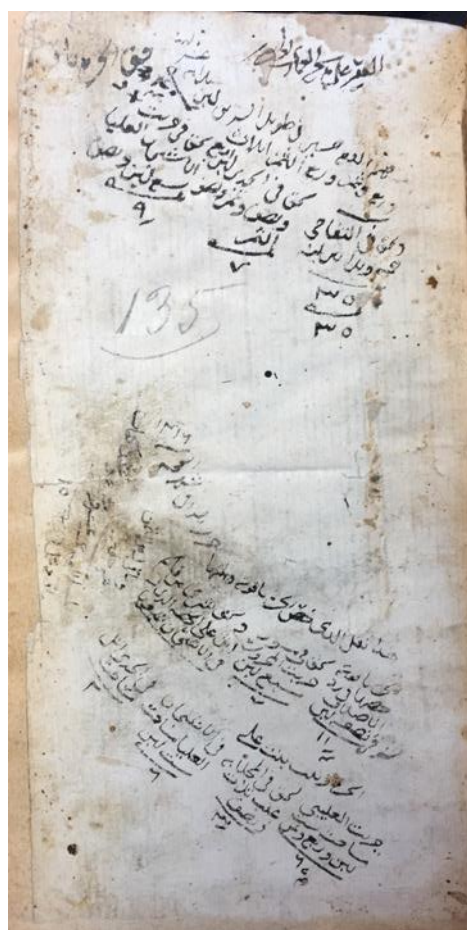
Provenance/history: Obtained in southern Arabia (**Yemen?**) by Glaser in 1885-6 (see notes on his biography). Plenty of ownership notes on flyleaf and title page.

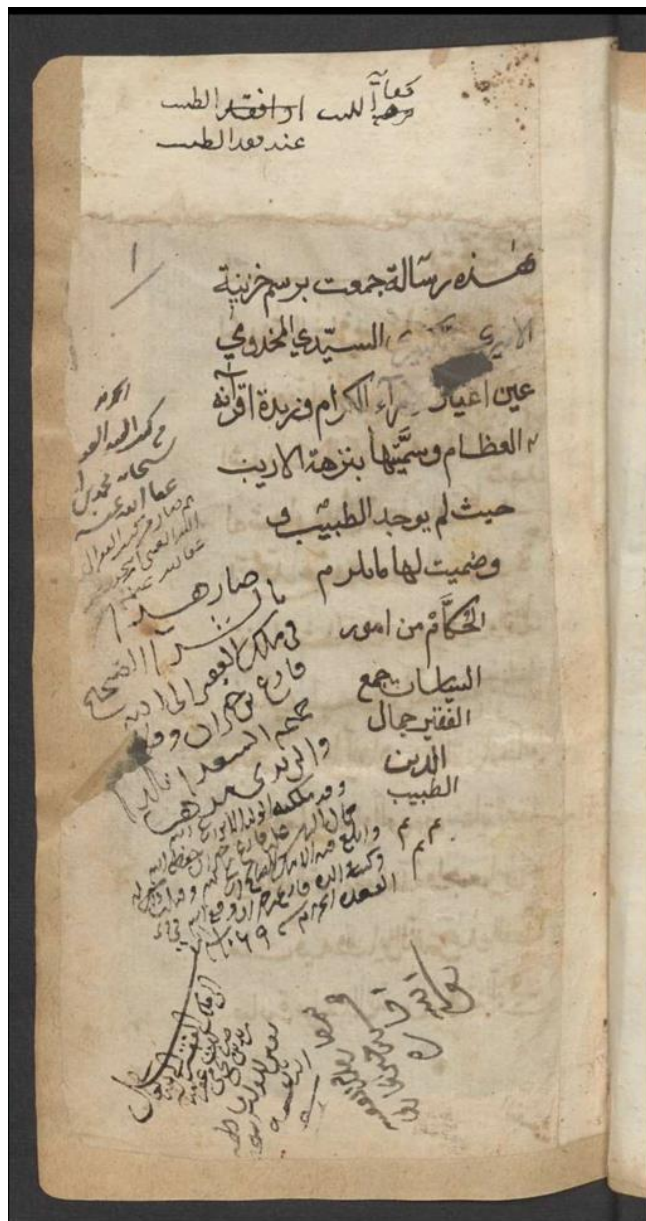
Other texts/MSS: Part of manuscript containing a **medical** works by Jamāl-ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭabīb, *Nuzhat al-arīb ḥaitu lam yūğad aṭ-ṭabīb wa-ḍammamat ilaiḥā mā yalzimu al-ḥukkām min umūr as-siyāsāt* [ff.1v-148v].

Notes:

Bibliography: Ahlw Vol 5, Cat. entry, p.619:

<https://archive.org/details/diehandschriften17preu/page/618>





Images: © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, (Open Access license: CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)

Berlin, SBB, MS Sprenger 943**[SF7; Ag]**Other References: Ahlwardt cat ref: **5603** (vol.5 of catalogue), p.105-6.Surveyed? *Seen*

Folios: Paper. 22 ff.; 19 ll

Dimensions: 15 x 21 cm.

Date: c.1100 AH / 1688 AD.

Version: SF7

Online Availability: http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/servlets/solr/select?q=%2BobjectType%3A%22islamhs%22+%2B%28%28%2BallMeta%3Asprenger+%2BallMeta%3A943%29+%28%2Bmymss_allmeta_diacr%3Asprenger+%2Bmymss_allmeta_diacr%3A943%29%29&fl=*&sort=mymss_ihsinvent+asc&version=4.5&mask=search_form_islamhs_simple.xed&start=1&fl=id,returnId&rows=1&XSL.Style=browse&origows=25 (description)
https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN889280428&PHYSID=PHYS_0003&DMDID= (manuscript)

Script:

Paper : no lines

Binding : Modern, slim binding

Title : *Kitāb al- siyāsah fī tadbīr al-riyāsah (ma‘rūf bi-sirr al-asrār)*

Description:

Scribe:

Provenance/history: Fol. 21v contains a fragment of a **medical** work, *Kitāb al-ad‘iyah al-muntakhabah wal-adwiyah al-mujarrabah* attributed to al-Biṣṭāmī.

Other texts/MSS: Not composite but does contain partial other text.

Notes: Onomantic passage placed comparatively early on (f.14v), between Warfare and Physiognomy. Lapidary follows Hygiene without a separate heading.

-

Bibliography: Catalogue entry available at :

<https://archive.org/details/diehandschriften17preu/page/104>

Online entry provides following information about ownership on f.1r:

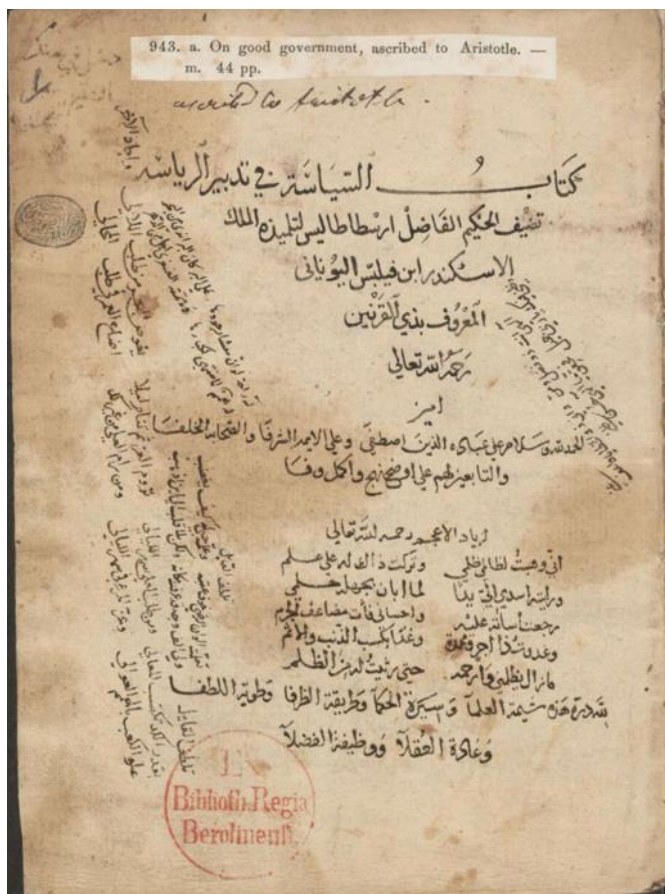
[http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSsecentry_secentry_00000860?lang=en:](http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSsecentry_secentry_00000860?lang=en)

From SBB site: Ownership note above a cancellation stamp belonging to Al-Jarrāhī (d.1162/1748-9), the Damascene *ḥadīth* scholar, but the date on the stamp does not match his dates. He was born, lived and died in **Damascus**. The date of 1231 on the cancellation stamp does not match this life [?sold by a descendant who inherited his collection?].

- [Auch bei einer möglichen Verlesung des Datums scheint es sich bei diesem Mann nicht um den 1162 / 1748-49 gestorbenen Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Hādī al-'Aḡlūnī al-Ġarrāhī zu handeln, dessen in Leipzig Vollers 848d, fol. 106v abgedruckter Stempel von dem hier benutzten unterscheidet]

= Even with a possible reading of the date, this man does not seem to have died in 1162/1748-49, Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Hādī al-'Aḡlūnī al-Ġarrāhī to act, whose in Leipzig Vollers 848d, fol. 106v **cancelled stamp** differs from the one used here.

Images: © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, (Open Access license: CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)



Berlin, SBB, MS Landberg 121

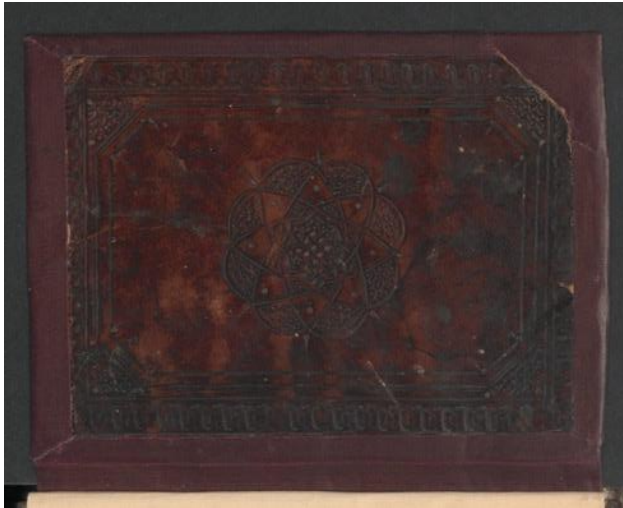
[LF10; Dd]

- Other Reference: Ahlwardt Cat Ref. **5604** (vol.5)
- Surveyed? *Seen*
- Folios: Paper. 102ff.; 13-14 ll (102ff + i)
- Dimensions: 13.75 x 12.75 cm
- Date: *Dhū-l Ḥijjah 741 = April/May 1341
- Version: LF10
- Online Availability: https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN770830900&PHYSID=PHYS_0008&DMDID=DMDLOG_0001
- Script: *Naskh* black ink; rubrication for headings, sub-headings and Alexander.
- Paper : Eastern paper, no lines.
- Binding : **Egyptian** binding is bound with codex after the modern binding.
- Title: *Kitāb al- siyāsah fī tadbīr al-riyāsah (ma' rūf bi-sirr al-asrār)*
- Description:
 - Title page (f.1r) has the words '*yā ḥafīdh ya kabīkaj*' to protect against bookworm in the same hand as the scribe and title.
 - some corrections in margins
 - catchwords
 - Diagram of CoJ
 - Some marginal notes about **Alexander, Aristotle** and his ascension to heaven in a column of light.
 - F.1r also has a footnote that mentions the wise sages (*hukamā*) of the past: *Aristātālīs, Jālīnūs, Aflātūn, Abaqrāt, Hurmuz* = a reverence for philosophers and medical authorities, and an emphasis on Aristotle's authorship.
 - notes about terms used such as '*karam*' (generosity) in books 1 and 2, and book 2 before and throughout the **medical section, onomancy, talisman = was used as utilitarian / encyclopaedic text.**
- Scribe: *The scribe's name given as Asin b. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muhammad b. Shams al-Dīn Arslān Bek al-Khuwārizmī on f. ...; **scribal corrections in margins.**
- Provenance/history:
 - 3 ownership notes on f.1r - one note with the date of 1075 (1664/5).
 - Note that SBB purchased this ms in **1884** as part of a collection of 1035 mss from Swedish orientalist scholar and Italian Count, **Carlo Landberg** (1848-1924). Landberg had studied Arabic in Syria, travelled throughout Egypt several times from 1876, and served as the Swedish-Norwegian Consul General in Alexandria, 1888-93, and made several trips to **Syria and Palestine**. He also travelled to **Arabia** from 1895 to 1898.
 - purchased by Landberg 1876-1884.

Other texts/MSS: No. STM

Notes:

Bibliography: Catalogue entry available at:
<https://archive.org/details/diehandschriften17preu/page/106>



Berlin, SBB, MS SBPKOr, Ms, Or. Quart 968

[RF: 'fairly complete'] [SF7]

Other Reference: WB 57 (on binding);

Surveyed? *Seen*

Folios: i+40ff.+i; 14 ll;

Dimensions: 16.5 x 12.5 cm (14 x 9.5cm textblock)

Date: Monday 14th Shawwal 697 / 28th July 1298 (f.39a)

Version: SF

Online Availability: No (photographed)

Script: neat scribal *naskh*;

Paper : oriental paper , no laid lines; European paper in flyleaves.

Binding : Morocco leather with gilt frame; orange-brown pastedowns with gold flecks

Title :

Description: -

Scribe:

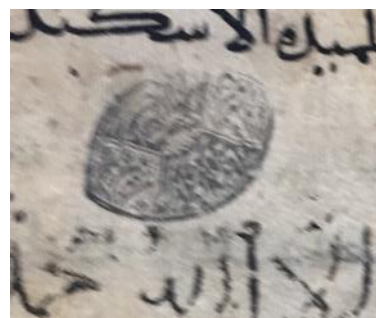
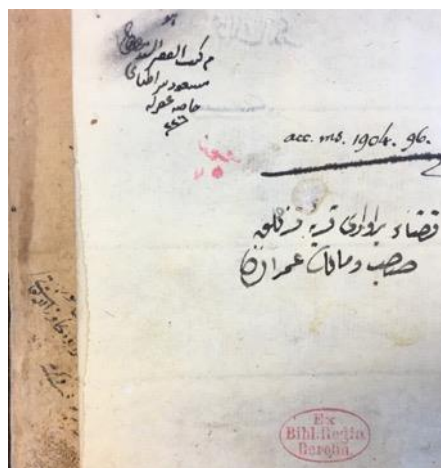
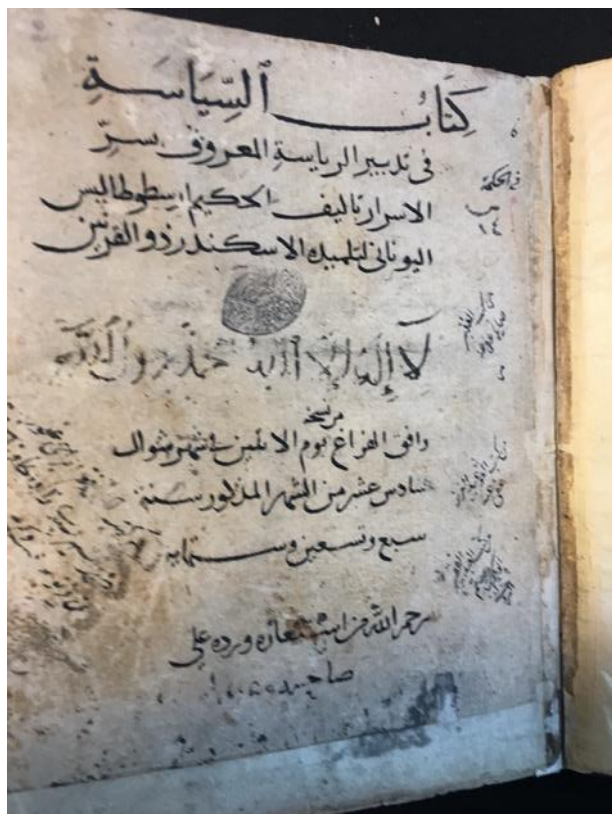
Provenance/history:

Other texts/MSS: No. STM

Notes:

Bibliography: Gregor Schoeler: Arabische Handschriften. Reihe B: Teil 2. 1990. (VOHD Band 17B,2) – Catalogue entry

Images: © Neelam Hussain (author)



Berlin, SBB, SBPKOr, MS Wetzstein 1720 (13)***[RF: 'Onomancy']***

- Other References: Cat. No. Ahlwardt 4248 (vol.3, p.569)
- Surveyed? *Seen*
- Folios: ff.145v-146r (146 ff. in ms) 146 ff.+ ii; 21ll
- Dimensions: 20 x 13cm
- Date: *Undated. 16th C (was passed on after owner/copyist's death in 988/1580-1.
- Version: Onomancy
- Online Availability: No (photographed)
- Script: Various hands and scripts used throughout manuscript, including *naskh*, *muḥaqqaq* and *riq'a*; *Sirr* written in *riq'a*, with some missing consonantal pointing. Egypt/Levant?
- Scribe: ***??
- Paper : Mixture of paper used in composite parts; *Sirr* written on fine, cream burnished paper; evidence of bookworm.
- Binding : Composite volume with binding appearing contemporary to its final collation from various sources.
- Title : *Ghālib wa Maghlūb*
- Description: - Onomancy added at end of **composite** ms; blank flyleaves in between composite parts.
 - Several **calculations with names** at the end of the onomancy and notes in the marginalia.
 - Different hands used throughout; onomancy written in same hand as preceding work [item 12] that begins on f.135v;
 - Flyleaf attached to binding contains list of contents;
 - Marginalia throughout; heavier in certain sections.
- Provenance/history:
- Copied by *Al-Faqīr al-Ḥaqīr* Muh. b. 'Alī al-Shīrīnī al-Maqdisī al-Anṣārī al-Ḥanafī
 - date of transfer 988 / 1580-81; after copyist/owner's death.
 - inscriptions on flyleaf and f.1r include various names and dates of 1001? [1592?], 1133 [1721], 1154 [1741]. Earliest date written on title page (f.1r) of first text.
 - Date of 1133 [1721] written on outer flyleaf that was attached with binding = likely date they were bound together.
 - Wetzstein sold his collection to Berlin in 1851 and 1862.
- Other texts/MSS:CM: different hands; blanks between pages.
- *List texts.
- Bibliography: Ahlwardt, Vol.3. (available online*)

مجمع في		
شرح الخرجيه	منظومه	المقصود والممدود
في العروض	في الكليات	لابن ولاد
التدريج للتدريج	شرح مثلثه	الفيت في وصف الحلي
وهو نظم التدريج	قطر	وخلت الان في اقصاويه
في المنطق		
رسالة في ازالة الشبهة التي	رسالة	تحقيق مقاصد
اوردها صاحب التلويح على صاحب	في المنطق	الميزان في المنطق
التلويح		
رسالة في تحقيق	شرح رسالة تحقيق	رسالة في تحقيق
الكليات للقطب	الكليات	الكليات للقطب
صا القطب		
والملوك		

Flyleaf with contents

Images: © Neelam Hussain (author)

Berlin, SBB, SBPKOr, MS Wetzstein 1784 (6)***[RF: 'Onomancy']***

Other References: Cat. No. Ahlwardt 4249 (vol.3, p.569)

Surveyed? *Seen*

Folios: ff.69v-72r (98ff. in volume); there is Arabic numbering of the folios too which is one number lower than the Latin; 21 ll.

Dimensions:

Date: 1150/1737?; *There is a footnote in a different hand after the colophon with date 1232 (1817 CE) on f.89r.

Version: Onomancy

Online Availability: No. (Photographed)

Script:

Neat scribal hand in *naskh* script. Black ink with title, frame of textblock, and sub-headings (*bāb*) and the numbers allocated to the alphabet letters rubricated – same hand and red ink used to write in the margins: *hādhā tarāḥah Asṭālīs al-ḥakīm al-ma'rūfah**

Paper : Burnished, good quality paper.

Binding:

Mid-brown leather binding with blind-tooled framing lines; envelope flap; a stamped medallion in centre and header and footer stamps above and below it.

Title: *Kitāb Ghālib wa Maghlūb (ta'līf al-ḥakīm Aristālīs [sic.] al-Ḥakīm)*

Description:

- notes on flyleaf 1r+v
- Flyleaf 1v also lists the contents of the book in the volume.

Scribe: Same scribe copied all the works in the manuscript

Provenance/history:

- Ex-biblio stamp: Wilhelmi I, Wetzsteiniana I, Bibliotheca Regia Berolinensis.
- *There is a footnote in a different hand after the colophon with date 1232 (1817 CE).
- Several supplications and a stamp with 'Ex-Biblioth. Regia Berolinensi' at the end (f.98v)
- There is an inscription on the pastedown inside the binding in pencil: 99 Be ..??. 26.3.09 [i.e. 1919?].

Other texts/MSS: Yes; in the same scribal hand. MTM.

Notes:

Bibliography:

Germany: Gotha**Library Details:**

Gotha Research Library (GRL) (Schloss Friedenstein Library), University of Erfurt

Schloss Friedenstein

Schlossplatz 1

99867 Gotha

GERMANY

<https://www.uni-erfurt.de/en/library/welcome-to-the-gotha-research-library/collections/manuscripts-oriental/>

Opening Hours:

Contact Details:

Monika Hasenmüller, M.A.

Curator for Oriental manuscripts

phone: [REDACTED]

email: [REDACTED]

Homepage: <https://www.uni-erfurt.de/bibliothek/fb>

Introduction:

(Based on: <https://www.uni-erfurt.de/en/library/welcome-to-the-gotha-research-library/collections/manuscripts-oriental/>)

Significance of the collection

The Research Library Gotha harbors the country's third largest Oriental manuscript collection comprising more than 3,500 codices. It took shape mainly in the early 19th century. Covering all branches of Islamic scholarship, the subjects represented in the collection range from theology and jurisprudence, to grammar, lexicography and literature, up to history, geography and nature study.

History of the collection

The first oriental manuscripts arrived at Gotha library as endowments, as presents to the dukes or as part of the Gerhardina, the library of the theologian [Johann Ernst Gerhard](#) (1621-1668). The turning point for the collection came when the dukes of **Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, Ernest II. (1745-1804) and August (1772-1822)** decided to commission the scientist [Ulrich Jasper Seetzen](#) (1767-1811) with the purchase of objects of natural history, Oriental manuscripts and antiquities from the Middle East and Africa. **Seetzen spent nine years exploring the Middle East and purchased approximately 2700, mainly Arabic, Turkish and Persian, manuscripts** for his patrons. **After Seetzen's death in Yemen** the collection was catalogued and enlarged through further acquisitions by the **Orientalist and librarian Wilhelm Pertsch (1832-1899)**. Manuscripts acquired over the last years complement the collection.

Catalogues

- Manuscripts acquired before the year 2000 are completely catalogued in [Printed Catalogues](#).
- Manuscripts acquired after 2000 as well as manuscripts already described in the printed catalogues are continuously indexed online:

[Database of Oriental Manuscripts at Gotha Research Library](#)

At present, the database indexes more than 600 manuscripts, more than 450 of these fully digitized.

Publications

- Wilhelm Pertsch: Orientalist und Bibliothekar; zum 100. Todestag / hrsg. von Hans Stein. - 1999. - 146p. - Ill. - ISBN 3-910027-15-6 (Veröffentlichungen der Forschungsbibliothek Gotha ; 38) [Table of Contents](#) (pdf)
- Orientalische Buchkunst in Gotha: Ausstellung zum 350jährigen Jubiläum der Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha; Spiegelsaal 11. September 1997 bis 14. Dezember 1997 / [Gesamtred.: Hans Stein]. - 1997. - 252p., with numerous illustrations. - ISBN 3-910027-12-1, [Table of Contents](#)(pdf)
- Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1767-1811): Leben und Werk: Die arabischen Länder und die Nahostforschung im napoleonischen Zeitalter. Vorträge des Kolloquiums vom 23. u. 24. Sept. 1994 in der Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha, Schloß Friedenstein. - 1995. - 189p.: Ill. - ISBN 3-910027-09-1 (Veröffentlichungen der Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha; 33) [Table of Contents](#) (pdf)
- Wilhelm Pertsch 1832-1899: Der wissenschaftliche Briefnachlaß des Gothaer Orientalisten und Bibliothekars / verz. und erschlossen von Helmut Roob und Ekkehard Rudolph. - 1984. - 112p. : Ill. (Veröffentlichungen der Forschungsbibliothek Gotha; 22).

From Pertsch's Catalogue Forward:

Ref: Catalogue (viewed in library) by: Dr Wilhelm Pertsch, *Arabischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha* (Gotha: Freidr. Andr. Perthes, 1878)

p.1x: Over nine years, scientist Seetzen travelled to and purchased books from from Constantinople, Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo to build a library of natural history for his patrons, the dukes of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg – he died in 1811 in Yemen.

[The vast majority of the Islamic mss in Gotha were acquired by Seetzen in the first decade of the nineteenth century during his stay in Aleppo and Cairo; in comparison, relatively few were purchased in Constantinople, Damascus and Jerusalem.

Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Arab.1869
Steele A]

Ali Translation [LF10, Dr; Badawi 12/ ٥;

- Other references: Arab. 774; Stz. Kah. 1031.
- Surveyed? *Seen*
- Folios: 68ff. (2v-; 17 ll.; i (paper pastedown attached to later binding) + i (f.1) + f.2v-66r + ii + paper with binding pastedown).
- Dimensions: 23.5 x 16.5 cm
- Date: Undated; pristine condition, no signs of use/ownership other than small inscription on f.68v ('*bi-ẓarf min ghayr ḥabakah*' [enveloped/bound without its cover]; likely near to purchase date – late 18th/early 19th century.
- Version: LF10
- Online Availability: (photographed)
- Script: Modern *naskh* in scribal hand; black ink with rubrication of first word of sections / paragraphs, titles of each section, the word *qāla*, *qad...*, *yā Askander*; rubrication most evident to separate topics of the **medical section**.
- Paper : Good quality burnished/polished European paper (there was intensive **importing of European paper from the 17thC** – see Bloom, Loveday, Baker refs from Hend Mahgoub article); watermark with initials 'AG C'; vertical laid lines 1mm apart, horizontal chain lines 28mm apart.
- Binding : Card binding with mottled brown background and black dots – same as Ar.1871 = was possibly added at Gotha? (see note about '*bi-ẓarf min ghayr ḥabakah*' inscription).
- Title: '*Ilm al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*
- Description: STM: The only text in the book. Catchwords bottom-left of each verso.
- Incipit:
- Explicit: (praise for the prophet)....
- Scribe: Scribe's name not given. Evidence of **scribal corrections** in margins.
- Provenance/history: Purchased in **Cairo by Seetzen in 1808**. There is an inscription beneath the library stamp ('Herzegl. Bibliothek GOTHÄ') at the bottom of f.2r stating 'Kahira 1808 No. 1031. U.J. Seetzen.'
- Other texts/MSS:
- Notes: **The basis of the Ismā'īl 'Alī translation** in Steele's *Opera hactenus*.
- No diagrams for Circle of Justice or instrument of Yayustus. Book 3 mentions 'this picture' (*hādha surah*) but the 8 lines are written continuously instead. No detailed alphabet for Onomancy either.
-note also, order of books?
- Bibliography/Catalogue: https://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ufb/rsc/viewer/ufb_derivate_00000443/Textseiten-421.tif?logicalDiv=log000369
- Catalogue entry states "*Ghalib wa-Maghlub* section appears separately, see Leiden 1225 and our (Gotha) 1262.4"

Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Arab. 1870

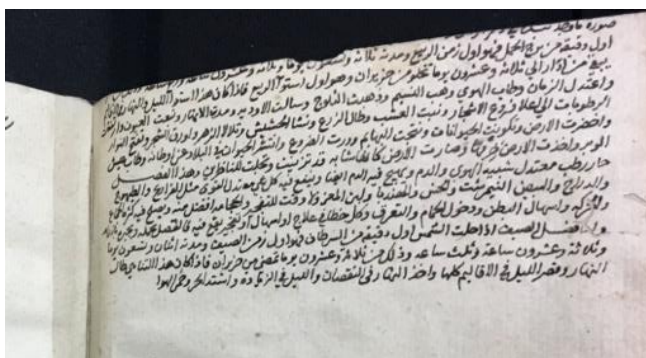
[LF10, Ds; Badawi 13/ح ; Steele B]

- Other references: (Arab. 1535; Stz. Kah. 1638)
- Surveyed? *Seen*
- Folios: 64ff.; 13 ll.
- Dimensions: 17.5 x 13.5 cm
- Date: Undated.
- Version: LF10
- Online Availability: (photographed)
- Script: *Naskh* with some diacritics for vowels. Some rubrication in deep red is in scribe's hand and contemporary to writing; other highlights of bright red horizontal strokes over words such as 'Alexander', *al-qawl* etc have been added to highlight words after it was bound.
- Paper : Eastern/oriental paper; no laid or chain lines; repairs to paper; blue paper pastedown attached to binding.
- Binding : Modern binding
- Title: *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*, referred to as *Sirr al-Asrār* in opening inscription.
- Description: catchwords throughout, '*blgh*' marks for quires (e.g. f.48v). Occasional marginal notes; only real sign of interaction with text is in **onomancy** section on f.54v **where it talks about 'zawj'** Appears to be for personal or general readership. Circle of Justice on f.26r
- Incipit:
- Explicit: See catalogue entry about '*madhāhabak*'
- Scribe:
- Provenance/history: Purchased in **Cairo** by Seetzen in 1809. There is an inscription beneath the library stamp ('BIBLIOTHECA DVICALIS GOTHANA') at the bottom of f.1r stating 'Kahira 1809 No. 1638. U.J. Seetzen.'
- Other texts/MSS: STM: Only text in the book.
- Notes: [Contains lacunae]
- Introductory inscription on f.1r describing the value of this work as guidance for those who understand as it contains **hidden secrets**
- Bibliography/Cat: https://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ufb/rsc/viewer/ufb_derivate_00000443/Textseiten-421.tif?logicalDiv=log000369

Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Arab. 1871 = Ar. 522

[LF, Ca / Badawi 14 / ط]

- Other references: (Arab. 522; Stz. Kah 868)
- Surveyed? *Seen*
- Folios: 29 ff., 21ll; one page attached to pastedown + ii + 29ff. + paper pastedown.
- Dimensions: 18.5 x 14.5cm
- Date: Undated.
- Version: LF [Manz: Was presumed to be the Short Form, i.e. the seven or eight book form (see notes below)]
- Online Availability: (photographed)
- Script: Neat *naskh*, scribal hand.
- Paper : Unpolished paper (oriental?); vertical laid lines 1mm apart, horizontal chain lines 28mm apart. Damp/watermarks throughout.
- Binding : Brown card with mottled black dots design - same binding as Ar. 1869 (=was added at library)
- Title: Beginning is missing but states '*Risālah Aristālīs*'
- Description: Catchwords throughout; some **scribal corrections** in margins.
 -Contents/ **Rubrication**: the opening is missing; begins [in Book II ???] with section on Spring **season** (then find rubrication to titles of summer, autumn, winter seasons; **parts of the body** [sub-sections rubricated], drink / water, bathing, 8 types of **medicine** (with each of the types rubricated); hair, body parts etc, **Physiognomy**. Book 3 on **Justice** (f.13r); '*kitāb al-Hukumā*'; '*Nabāt*'; other demarcations indicated through rubrication but Book numbers not stated – only words highlighted.
 - Marginalia (brief) to clarify or correct contents e.g. '10 pounds [*arṭāl*] of quince juice is correct' [f.7v]; 'if your self conquers your mind' [f.23r].
 - Unclear if ends abruptly and continues with different text or is expanded/abbreviated after.
- Scribe: Name not given.
- Provenance/history: Purchased in **Cairo** by Seetzen in 1808. There is an inscription on flyleaf opposite opening (f.iiv) stating 'Kahira 1808 No. 868. U.J. Seetzen.' Stamp of 'Bibliotheca Ducalis)
 -Lots of details on f.29v of **ownership inscriptions** (see photos)... Also detailed inscription on flyleaf i(v).
- Other texts/MSS: None: STM
- Bibliography/Cat: https://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ufb/rsc/viewer/ufb_derivate_00000443/Textseiten-421.tif?logicalDiv=log000369



Images: © Neelam Hussain (author)

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[https://www.uni-erfurt.de/fileadmin/einrichtung/forschungsbibliothek-gohta/pdf-Dateien/Merkblatt_Hist. Bestaende 17.11.20_engl.pdf](https://www.uni-erfurt.de/fileadmin/einrichtung/forschungsbibliothek-gohta/pdf-Dateien/Merkblatt_Hist._Bestaende_17.11.20_engl.pdf))

Partial Manuscripts / Fragments:**Gotha, GRL, MS Or.Arab. 1262.4 = Arab. 339****[Onomancy; Gd]**

Other references: Arab 339; Stz. Hal. 220

Surveyed? *Seen*

Folios: 2ff: fols. from 106f. of MS containing 139 fols.; 24 ll.

Dimensions: 21 x 15 cm.

Date: On f.99v the scribe gives the date as Jumādā I, 1074 [i.e. December 1663].

Version: Onomancy: *Kitāb al-Ghālib wal-Maghlūb* (attributed to Aristotle).

Online Availability: No (photographed section and some other pages).

Script: crude *Naskh* in same hand throughout. Brown-black ink with red rubrication. Roughly written with corrections throughout.

Paper : European laid paper.

Binding : Modern green board western binding with beige leather spine.

Title:

Description: Various alphabets and numbers scribbled on flyleaf attached to inside of binding. F.1r

Scribe:

Provenance/history: Purchased in **Aleppo** by Steetzen.

Other texts/MSS: YES, MTM. 139 fols. in MS. The contents are all occult and astrological.

1. Ff.1-99: The first - and main - item in the MS, is *Shams al-Ma'ārif wa Laṭā'if al-'Awārif* by Aḥmad al-Būnī, an influential 13thC text on magic and achieving esoteric spirituality. The text includes magic squares, numbers, and alphabet. Was both popular and suppressed over its history.

2. F.100r: a section from astrological text *Muntakhib al-Fawā'id min 'ilm al-Nujūm*;

3. F.102v: A piece of *Muntakhib al-Fawā'id* from a work *al-Dirr al-'Azīm* by al-Nāfi'ī; above talisman of Ja'dae al-Šādiq

4. F.106r: *al-Ghālib wa-Maghlūb* attributed to Aristotle, written for Alexander the great (*li-l malik ilā Sikander* – sic);

5. F.108r: A work of magic, *mushkilāt al-'anwār fī khawāš al-ḥurūf wa-l Asrār*.

6. F.137r: A talismanic work

7. F.138v: calendar table?

Notes: On f.99v at the end of *Shams al-Ma'ārif*, the scribe gives his name as Mūsa [?] and provides the date.

- Note spelling of Alexander name (mentioned in catalogue).

Bibliography/Cat: https://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ufb/rsc/viewer/ufb_derivate_00000442/Textseiten-449.tif?logicalDiv=log000413

Catalogue entry of 1262.4 above states that Onomancy section is very similar to the one in ***Turkish Manuscript 1** (composite volume of Turkish and Arabic mss) – see page 6 of Turkish catalogue (photographed), item (f) purchased by Seetzen in Aleppo;

- states see also ***no.'85,11'**: [Christian theological ms purchased by Seetzen in Aleppo]

Gotha, GRL, MS Or. Arab. 1435***[RF: 'fragments']***

- Folios: 180ff in total, 14ll; Arabic numbering of folios is 20 numbers above the Latin numbering (= beginning was missing when it entered the library); *Sirr* is partial fragment – can see *Ghalib wa Maghlūb* and reference to Alexander from f.80r-85+ (Arabic f.101r) [see pictures to see of before/after too].
- Surveyed? *Seen*
- Dimensions: 14.5cm x 10.5cm
- Date: Undated? - see photos to see if can find. 1800?
- Version: *Ghalib wa Maghlūb?*
- Online Availability: (photographed)
- Script: *Naskh/riq'a* of reasonable clarity/care. Same hand throughout.
- Paper : Slightly burnished oriental paper with horizontal laid lines 2mm apart and vertical chain lines 30mm apart.
- Binding : Brown leather with stamping; design of Egypt/Syria.
- Title : *Ghalib wa Maghlūb?*
- Description: - MTM *majmū'a*.
 - Size and appearance suggest it was a notebook for personal study; signs of use/wear with some loose folios
 - **Coptic** calendar.
 -
- Scribe:
- Provenance/history: Coptic.

Germany: Munich

Library Details:

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Or. 177 = 650

[LF10, Df; Badawi 7/٧]

Folios: Fols. 113; 13-15 ll

Surveyed? *Catalogue Info*

Dimensions: 16.25 x 12 cm

Date: First leaf bears figure 935, possibly the date AH (this would correspond to 1528-29 AD)

Version: LF10

Ireland: Dublin

Library Details: Chester Beatty Library

Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS Arabic 5153(2)

[SF7; Ah]

Folios: ff. 49v-70 of a MS of 91 ff.

Surveyed? *Seen*

Dimensions: 18 x 13.4 cm

Date: Dated 762 AH / 1360-1 AD

Version: SF7. The medical precepts are given as part of the seventh *maqālah*.

Online Availability: No, See catalogue / photographs taken.

Script: In a clear scholar's *naskh*. Black ink and rubrication of titles, to separate sections of the text, section titles, Alexander's name and 'wa-aqul'; some red overlining in Aristotle's preliminary instructions; series of 3 dots in a triangle in the margins of f.54v, 55v, 57v,

Paper: Thick, beige, wove paper; no chain or laid lines. Paper for the first two texts is of similar quality; third item is thicker paper but same type. Quires of 8?

Binding: Modern binding and paper pastedowns.

Title: *Kitāb al-Siyāsa fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsa wa-l Firāsa*Description: [Composite], *majmū'a*. **All three texts were added at different stages.**

Item 1 was copied 662; *Sirr* was added to it (uses back of f.49); third text was bound to the first 2 texts at a later stage = can see developments in transmission/companion texts / ownership.

- There is lots of rubricated keywords in book 6 **onomancy** section and values attached to letters and words by a scribe for (for reader 1?) and other evidence of engagement e.g. **underlining (reader 1)**. [Each 'reader' here is distinguished from different uses of writing/ink] This is followed by a section on **physiognomy** with a lot of rubricated keywords. Book 7 on **medicine** is also **well-rubricated** (but less so than book 6).

- **Reader 2: Marginal note** on f.51v where the contents are listed, drawing the attention of the reader that book 3 on **circle of justice**: المقالة الثالثة الذي يكمل وبه يساس الخاصة والعامة

- **Marginalia**: f.59r in red ink across the side margin of book 5 on qualities of messengers there is reader statement (**reader 4**) about how the book is testament to the oneness of Allah and belief in His messenger - in the same hand that writes a similar statement in Text 1 [f.41v] on (but different hand to book 3 comments).

- f.53v: 3 dots by **reader 3** in **margin** to highlight qualities of a king and '*azīm al-himma*' (Book 2: ;

f.54v: 3 dots in margin for not adopting brute nature of animals and lechery;

f. 56v: 3 dots on how the stars at nativity affect the qualities and skills of a person

Scribe: No name given.

Provenance/history: - see above notes on stages of transmission.

- there is a note at the bottom of the last folio [f.70r] after the text, which includes a **prayer**;

- f.70v contains several inscriptions: the first one at the top states that the manuscript was **checked for accuracy** [?] *‘nazar fī kitāb At’af ‘ibād Allah ta’ālā wa-ahwajhum ilayh Muḥammad ibn Aī ibn Ramadān al-Kharīmī*from the village of Kafīn (Syria)

نزر في الكتاب اطعف عباد الله تعالى واحوجهم اليه محمد ابن علي ابن رمضان الخريمي من اهل قرية كفين

- some **corrections** in margins, catchwords

- 3 other **ex-ownership marks** and prayer about healing at the end.

Other texts/MSS: It is second of three texts: preceded by *Kitāb Ghuthadīmūn* (ff.1-49), a gnostic treatise attributed to Hermes; and followed by *Al-farā’id wa-l-qalā’id* (ff. 70-91) of Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad bin al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī (fl. 330 AH / 941 AD) The ethical conduct of business and government is the subject of the exemplary stories contained within this book. The author takes particular care to impress upon the reader the necessity of ethical behaviour when occupying an official position.

- See CB Handlist [43], 7/51

Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS Arabic 4183**[SF8; Bf]**

- Folios: 36 ff. Fols missing between ff.2 and 3, and between ff.12 and 13
- Surveyed? *Seen*
- Dimensions: 19.8 x 10.8cm.
- Date: Dated 829 AH / 1425-26 AD.
- Version: SF8. The text is given the title *Naṣā'ih al-Iskandar*.
- Online Availability: https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/object/Ar_4183/5/
(On display in December)
- Script: Fine calligraphic *ta'liq*. Copyist's name **Ja'far al-Bāysunghurī**.
- Paper :
- Binding : Binding re-backed and restored in the 20thC.
- Title: *Naṣā'ih al-Iskandar* (Counsels of Alexander).
- Description: Fine manuscript with illuminated borders; titles and '*Ya Iskandar*' in gold; fine and detailed illuminated Circle of Justice in gold, blue, black, white and red, decorated with vegetal motifs.
- Scribe: Copyist's name Ja'far al-Bāysunghurī, (Timurid prince)*.
- Provenance/history: Herat, Afghanistan. Produced by/for the Timurid prince Baysunghur (d. 1433). This is one of at least three manuscripts in the Chester Beatty collection known to be produced in Baysunghur's renowned court atelier.
-There is a round seal on f.1r for 'Muḥammad Ḥafīd Khān Rājā, dated 1900 [?].
- Other texts/MSS:
- Notes: *See CB Handlist [43] 5/59 no. 4183 and Gätje, Die arabische Handschrift Chester Beatty 4183 [90].* Opening of Book I is missing, the remaining seven books start on ff.3v, 10v, 12, 16v, 20, and 33. The title of the Book III (f.10v, l.6), in error calls it eighth; Book IV is not given a number, the first section of it being headed *Fī waṣf wazīrih*, and the subsequent ones being *Bāb fī kutubih* (f.16/L.8) and *Bab fī l-nāzirīn 'alā ra'īyyatih*. The first book is called *al-bāb al-khāmis*, otherwise the books are each, as usual, entitled *maqālah*. The sections (*bābs*) on Onomancy (fol. 23 ff.), physiognomy (fol. 24 ff) and hygiene (fol. 28 ff.) come after Book VII. The Circle of Justice is on fol.12.

Translation of the CoJ ;

The world is a garden for the state to master.

The state is power supported by the law.

The law is policy administered by the king.

The king is a shepherd supported by the army.

The army are assistants provided for by taxation.

Taxation is sustenance gathered by subjects.

Subjects are slaves provided for by justice.
Justice is that by which the rectitude of the world subsists.⁵

Bibliography: Catalogue (under downloads):
<https://chesterbeatty.ie/about/resources/research-services/>



f.12r

f.8r

Images: © Chester Beatty Library (Open Access via licence CC BY-NC 4.0)

[See also: ***Chester Beatty 4169** See notes to Princeton Garrett 779-462H: same patronage only]

[Folios:

Dimensions: Large, beautifully illuminated ms: 43.2 x 31 cm

Date:

Provenance/history: Yashbak al-Ashraf library]

⁵ Reproduced and translated by Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, 1989), p.12 .

Italy: Milan**Library Details:****Contact Details:**

Note: The Arabic ms collection was put together by Guiseppe Caprotti (1869-1919) who spent 30 years trading in Yemen. The mss were sent to Milan at the beginning of the 20thC. The Ambrosiana mss are almost entirely of **Yemeni (Zaidi) origin** - *reflects the provincial culture that developed in the region and wide-range of literature that was patronised and read, including religious, secular scientific, as well as South Arabian and Sūfī poetry [under the influence of Zaidism that was politically dominant there from 10thC?]. Many of the books are miscellanies.

Milan, Ambrosiana, MS Nuovo Fondo D.252**[Onomancy; Ge / Physiognomy]**

Other Ref: Cat No. 508; SM [Munajjed] 33

Folios: 32 large pages; loose leaves; f.13v: Onomancy; f.16v-19r: Extract from *Sirr*.

Surveyed? *Catalogue info*

Dimensions: 31 x 22 cm;

Date: Undated, but probably late 12th/18th to early 13th/19th C, based on tables' (*jadwal*) dates.

Version: f.13v: Onomancy: *Bāb Ḥisāb al-Ghālib wal-maghlūb wal-ṭālib wal-maṭlūb (li-Aristāṭalīs)* [item 6]; Also, *Sirr* extract: *Bāb fī al-firāsah* [item 7].

Online Availability: None

Title: See above.

Description: Composite, *majmū'a*.

Scribe:

Provenance/history: Yemen (see origin of collection)

Other texts/MSS: Also, short treatises on agriculture, astronomy etc.

I: Ff. 2-4, 20-32: minor astronomical texts and tables (*jadāwil*) for the years 1201-1300, by 'Ali b. Ḥasan al-Akwa'.

II: ff.5-16r, Anonymous texts:

a) *fī ma'rifat khawāss khulūl al-qamar fī l-manāzil*;

b) f.9v, *bāb fī'l mā'rifat 'alāmāt al-manāzil wa-ṣiḥāḥātiḥa*;

c) f.13r, *bāb fī'l mā'rifat ashraf al-kawākib as-Sab'a* (with *jadwal*)

d) f.13v, *Bāb Ḥisāb al-Ghālib wal-maghlūb wal-ṭālib wal-maṭlūb (li-Aristāṭalīs)*;

e) f.14v, *al-qawl fī'l Ikhtiyārāt as-sa'āt fī'l layl wa-nahār*;

f) f.15v, *qismat at-manāzil wa-daraj 'alā l-burūj*, taken from *Jadwal az-Zabīdī*;

g) f.16r, *Dā'ira fī ma'rifat al-fuṣūl*.

III: ff.16v-19, Extract from the *Sirr*, *Bāb fī al-Firāsah*

IV: Later additions –

a) f.1r, poetry

b) *qā'ida fī ma'ālim az-zirā'a*

c) f.9r,

d) f.12v

Notes /Bibliography: See Munajjed [184], p.22, no.33.

Milan, Ambrosiana, MS Nuovo Fondo D 467

LF10

Other Ref: Cat No. 723
 Folios: 101ff. (39r, 89v blank)
 Surveyed? *Catalogue info*
 Dimensions: 19-21 x 15 cm.
 Date: *Sirr* [item I] and Item III are undated, II was copied in 1046/1636, IV-V was copied in 1144/1731. Codex would have been compiled in current form in **18th-19thC.**
 Version: LF
 Online Availability: None
 Script:
 Paper :
 Binding :
 Title : - Opening is missing.
 Description: Composite, *majmū'a*. [RF: 'fairly complete']
 Scribe: Different hands for I, II, III, IV-V.
 Provenance/history: Yemen (see origin of collection)
 Other texts/MSS: I (a): ff.1v-38, [*Sirr al-Asrār*];
 I (b): ff.39v, fragment of *mu'jam fī tarājim aṣ-Ṣahāba* by 'Abdallāh b. Muh. b. 'Abd al-'Azīz;
 II: ff.40-64, *al-Muqaddimah fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb li'āmmat aḥdāth al-Kuttāb* by Ahmad 'Abdallāh al-Khuzā'ī al-Muzayḥifī;
 III: ff.65-96, [*Minḥāt al-malik al-wahhāb*] *bi-Sharḥ mulḥat al-i'rāb* (li-l Ḥarīrī), by Ibn Da'sayn, with lacunae.
 IV: ff.98-99v, *ar-Risālah al-ḥarfīyah (fī ma'ānī l-ḥarf)*, by ash-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (theologian and writer of commentaries, d.1434);
 V: ff.99v-101r, extract on *isti'āra* from *al-Misbah*, the commentary by ash-Sharīf al-Jurjānī on *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm li-Sakkakī*.

Notes:

Bibliography:

Milan, Ambrosiana, MS Nuovo Fondo D 292

Onomancy

Other Ref: Cat No. 548 / SM 73
 Surveyed? *Catalogue info*
 Folios: 208ff. (204r-205v blank)
 Dimensions: 21 x 15 cm
 Date: I, III-V dated **1070/1659** but the whole codex is by the same hand.
 Version:
 Online Availability:
 Script:
 Paper :
 Binding :

Title : *Faṣl fī ma'rifat **al-ghālib wa-l maghlūb** ma' at-tālib wa-l maṭlūb, tasnīf al-ḥakīm Airstatālīs sana'ahu li-l Iskander.*

Description:

Scribe: All copied by same neat hand.
 Provenance/history: Yemen (see origin of collection)
 Other texts/MSS: I: ff.2-142v: cosmography by 14thC historian, 'Umar b. al-Wardī, *Kharīdat al-ajā'ib*;
 II: ff.147-175: *Kitāb al-'Ayn wa-l'iyān 'an waqa'āt ākhir az-zamān* by Mahmūd b. Muh. B. Hussayn al-Dhaznawī as-Suhrawardī
 III: ff.175v-176v: Minor texts on the duration of the world by as-Suyūtī, on the cause of the solar eclipse by al-Nīshābūrī, on the dimension of the sun;
 IV: ff.176v-180: *al-Kashf ,an Mujāwazat hādhihi l-umma l-alf*, by as-Suyūtī;
 V: ff.181-204r: *Karāmāt as-Ṣalihīn min āl Hushaybir*, anonymous collection of *hikāyāt* on pious members of the Hushaybir family;
 VI: ff.205-207: *Faṣl fī ma'rifat **al-ghālib wa-l maghlūb** ma' at-tālib wa-l maṭlūb, tasnīf al-ḥakīm Airstatālīs sana'ahu li-l Iskander.*

Notes:

Bibliography:

Milan, Ambrosiana, MS Nuovo Fondo D 502

[RF: 'Onomancy']

Other Ref: Cat No.

Surveyed? *Catalogue info*

Version: Onomancy

Provenance/history: Yemen (see origin of collection)

Italy: Florence

Library Details:

- Florence, Biblioteca medicea Laurenziana, MS arabo n.59

Description: *[RF: 'fragments']*

Surveyed? *Basic info*

Italy: Vatican

Library Details:

Contact Details:

- *[RF: 'fragments']* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1708 (1)

Other Ref: [Vatican 523 - is it the same or alternative?]

[See also: Vatican 2, 1708?]

Folios:

Surveyed? *Basic info*

Netherlands: Leiden

Library Details: Leiden University, Bibliotheek Universiteit Leiden

Islamic Collections Reference:

<https://www.library.universiteitleiden.nl/subject-guides/islamic-world-special-collections#access>

Special Collections:

<https://www.library.universiteitleiden.nl/special-collections/about/middle-eastern-special-collections>

Levinus Warner was born c.1618 in the principality of Lippe, Germany. He matriculated at Leiden University in 1638 as a student of philosophy. He studied Middle Eastern languages and Biblical Hebrew at Leiden. He travelled to **Istanbul** in 1645, initially working as a secretary for a former jeweller, Nicolaas Ghisbrechti, who went on to become resident of the Dutch Republic to the Ottoman Court. After Ghisbrechti's death in 1654, Warner took over from him as resident until his death in 1665.

Warner formed a private collection of more than 900 mss during his residence in **Istanbul**, where there was a flourishing book trade. He received help from Arabs originally from **Aleppo** such as Muhammad al'Urdu al-Halabi (c.1602-1660) and the Aleppo-born Salih Efendi (d.1669), known as Ibn Sallûm, who was a physician to Sultan Mehmed IV. Another Aleppine, Niquila ibn Butrus (Nicolaus Petri) worked for him as an amanuensis. There is documentary evidence showing that Warner purchased items at auctions. Ex-libris annotations show that many of Warner's mss hailed from high-ranking Ottoman officers or ulema, and some originated from the private libraries of Ayyubid emirs and Mamlûk sultans. Warner's collection was bequeathed to LU after his death.⁶

⁶ 'Collection Levinus Warner', Leiden University Libraries:

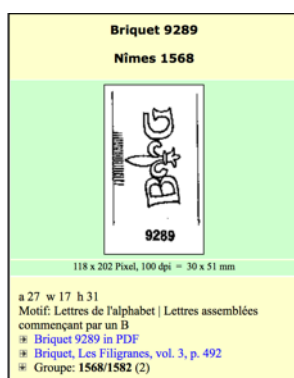
https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/1887390?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=a2dff0739caa8303c0d6&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=6&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=21 (Accessed 03/11/2019).

Leiden, BUL, MS Or 749(3)

[SF8, Bd; Badawi 15/٤]

- Other Refs: **Warner 1952**
- Folios: ff.76v-111v [35ff]; 18 ll
- Surveyed? *Seen*
- Dimensions: 21.8 x 15.5cm
- Date: Undated, possibly copied at the request of Warner [i.e. mid-17thC]?? - see notes below about other texts in codex. After 1568/82 (dates of paper) and before Warner's death in 1665.
- Version: SF8
- Online Availability:
- Script: **Maghribī**, 'written as if drawn' [catalogue]; late Maghribī hand but using non-Maghribi forms for the letters *fā* and *qaf* – possibly copied at the request of Warner [i.e. mid-17thC] ?? See also use of watermarked paper.
- Paper: Watermarked European paper showing letters B and G separated with an upper flower in between (ff. 73, 80, 88, 90, 95, 96, 101). Mixed quires: majority 7-sheet septinions (2nd, 4th, 6th, 8th, 11th), interspersed with ternions (1st, 5th, 7th), quaternions (3rd, 10th) and quinions (9th), final quire is binion (12th) ; some of the irregularities possibly due to lacunae in the text. Watermark = Briquet 9289; dates 1568/82 (2).
- Binding: Full leather standard 17thC library binding
- Title: *al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*
- Description: Beautiful illumination of CoJ (pasted on f.89v) within octagon was inserted from a separate folio (stub is visible on f.90r), hand and ink differ from rest of texts; CoJ possibly why book 4 does not have title; titles of books, subsections and 'O Alexander' are highlighted in red ink. Red wax seal.
- Scribe: [copyist of text 1: Sallam al-Shafī'ī al-'Uthmānī]
- Provenance/history:
- Other texts/MSS: *Majmū'a*, Composite MS. Other items are:
 [1] ff.1v-38v, a *Qasīdah* of al-Tantarānī (c.485/1092) in praise of **Niẓām al-Mulk**, which cannot belong earlier than the last quarter of the fifth century AH/beginning twelfth AD;
 [2] ff.38v-63r, a poem by Abū al-Faṭḥ Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Bustī, (d.401/1010), dated later than fourth century AH/tenth century AD, together with a commentary on it by al-Sayyid 'Abdallāh 'Nokreh-kār'. - ff.63v-75v blank.
- Notes: From fol. 104, 1.ll to fol. 105v, 1.18 in the Occult section, **some additional material, quoted from Tabarī (early tenth century) occurs as part of the text**; this is followed by the Physiognomy, together with the Onomancy, but the later portions of the Physiognomy are placed (fols. 106-110v) before its heading and its opening portion (fols. 106v-108).

Watermark:



(Image: Open Access)

Leiden, BUL, MS Or 1225

[Onomancy; Gc]

Other Refs: 710(8) Warner

Folios: 61ff.; ff.54-61 [16ff].

Dimensions:

Surveyed? *Catalogue info*

Date: Composition of CM codex, mid-16th – mid-17thC (when Warner purchased it). Sirr extract is undated but other items in the volume include the work of authors writing up until the late-15th C; the latest dated component is 954 AH / 1547-8.

Version: Onomancy: *Kitāb al-Ghālib wal-Maghlūb*

Online Availability:

Script: *naskh*, several hands.

Paper: Paper.

Binding: full leather standard library binding.

Title: *Kurrāsa fī Hisāb al-Ghālib wal-Maghlūb*, ascribed to al-Hakīm Artālīs who compiled it for King Iskander. On f.61v it is called *al-Maqālah ‘ala al-Ikhtiyarat* and its source is mentioned as *Kitāb al-Hukumā’ wal-Fudalā’*.

Description: CM. Section contains several tables, *jadawil*.

Scribe: [see item 1-2]

Provenance/history:

Other texts/MSS: *Majmū’a*, composite MS. One of eight short tracts; the others deal with magic, amulets, prognostications, astronomy, enchantments, lapidary knowledge, medicine and ethics, **and removal of spots of fat or oil**.

Notes:

- *Leiden, BUL Or 786 (5) Warner

[RF: 'Onomancy']

Folios:

Dimensions:

Date: Late 16th – first-half 17thC based on the dates of other texts in the codex.

Version:

Online Availability:

Script:

Paper:

Binding:

Title:

Description: Composite *Majmū'a*.

Scribe:

Provenance/history:

Other texts/MSS:

Notes:

Bibliography:

- OTHER POSSIBLE ENTRIES:

Or 5706??: https://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=UBL_ALMA71324028600002711&context=L&vid=UBL_V1&lang=en_US&search_scope=All_Content&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=all_content&query=any,contains,sirr%20al-asrar&facet=rtype,include,manuscripts&offset=0

[~ ** Leiden s.343?]

Russia: *St Petersburg:*

Contact Details:

<http://www.orientalstudies.ru/eng/>

Resources:

http://www.orientalstudies.ru/eng/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=316&Itemid=92

***[RF: 'fairly complete']* St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, Nr. 6736**

Other Ref: [Dorn 103 – or is that an alternative ms?]

Folios:

Surveyed? *Catalogue info*

Dimensions:

Date: 15thC

Scribe:

Provenance/history: **Cairo**; Comes from the library of the Circassian Mamlūk Sultan **Abū Našr Sayf al-Dīn al-Ashraf Qāibāy** (c.1416/18 – August 1496 / r.1468-96) [→see also Princeton 463H].

Likely purchased in Levant as other RAS/IOS mss.

Other texts/MSS:

Notes: Sultan Abū Našr Qaytbay's reign stabilised the Mamlūk state and economy, consolidated the northern parts boundaries of the Sultanate with the Ottoman Empire, and is remembered for its architectural patronage in Alexandria, Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo. Purchased as a slave and brought to Cairo at the age of twenty and then purchased by reigning Sultan Barsbay as a palace guard; freed and appointed as third executive secretary by Barsbay's successor Jaqmaq; promoted under other successors until became commander and later Field Marshall of the entire Mamlūk army.

MANUSCRIPTS IN ASIAEgypt: Alexandria

Library Details:

Contact Details:

Alexandria, Alexandria Municipal Library, D. 2060**[Onomancy; Gb]**

Folios: Paper. Fols. 1-4; 5 ll

Dimensions 20.2 x 14.7 cm

Surveyed? *Catalogue info*

Date: Dhūl-Qa'dah 1117 (1706 AD)

Version: Onomancy: *Kitāb al-Ghālib wal-Maghlūb*

Online Availability:

Script: Naskhi. Copied by 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn Jābir al-Khayshī(?) al-Ḥallāq

Notes: Copied from text belonging to Zayd ibn Salāḥ(?) al-Dīnārī. Description in catalogue inaccurate.

Bibliography:

Egypt: Cairo**Library Details:** Egyptian National Library

Contact Details:
 121 Nile Corniche
 Ramlet Boulak
 Bulaq
 Cairo

Cairo, Egyptian National Library, MS Taymūr Ijtimā' 102**[LF10; Dn]**

Folios: 75 pp. (manuscript paginated, not foliated); 23 ll.
 Dimensions: 16.5 x 7.5 cm
 Surveyed? *Seen*
 Date: 15th Rajab 1172 / 14th March 1759
 Version: LF10
 Online Availability:
 Provenance/history: Apparently from Istanbul; the scribe's name is Ismā'īl al-Ḥassānī, he gives Aleppo as his birthplace.

Other texts/MSS:

Notes: Taymūr collection in Egyptian National Library is from the library of Aḥmad Taymūr Pasha. He established his personal library in 1319/1901. At the time of his death, it contained 20,000+ volumes: 2390 vols on *lughā*; 2675 vols on *Adab*; 4956 vols on *Dīn/Akhlāq/Ulūm Shar'iyyah*; 3974 vols on *lughāt*, *Mu'ajam*; 4273 vols on *Tarīkh* etc. [His sister Ā'isha and two sons, Muhammad and Mahmūd were also intellectuals and collectors].

Bibliography:

-See article by Joseph H. Escovitz, "'He was the Muhammad 'Abdūh of Syria': A Study of Ṭāhir al-Jazā'irī and His Influence', *IJMES*, Vol.8, No.3 (August, 1986), pp.293-310: on reformist 'ulemā', secular intellectuals, philologists and pan-Arabists in the early 20thC. Al-Jazā'irī moved from Damascus to Cairo in 1905, taking with him his extensive personal library. He developed close personal friendships with Aḥmad Zakī Pasha and **Aḥmad Taymūr Pasha**. Al-Jazā'irī supported himself by buying and selling Arabic manuscripts. Eventually, he sold most of his books to Aḥmad Taymūr Pasha.
 [see also studies on Aḥmad Zakī for information about Taymūr].

Basic Entry Information only on the following MSS in Dār al-Kutub:

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS 811, 10 tj: *[RF: 'Onomancy']*

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Masriya, MS Firāsa 39: *[RF: 'fragments']*

Cairo, Dār al-kutub al-Masriya MS 1, s.469

[Cairo, Muṣauwara 1, MS s.208 = 93-4]

[Cairo, Muṣauwara 1, MS s. 551 = 26]

[Cairo, Muṣauwara 1, MS s. 552f = 37]

Cairo Dār al-Kutub al-Masriya, MS Ijtimā‘ Ṭal‘at 606

[Alternative Ref: 44995 Y]

Folios: 35ff.

Surveyed? *Seen*

Dimensions:

Date: Undated: late 19thC

Version: SF8

Online Availability: No. Images provided.

Script: Neat Naskh. Catchwords. Vocalisation. Silver over rubricated titles is worn.

Paper : Page numbers noted in flyleaf

Binding : Red leather Moroccan binding with central gilt mandorla; envelope flap.

Title : - ‘*Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Mamlakah wa-Ḥifẓ al-Riyāsah*’ [on titlepage]

- Colophon: *Sirr al-Asrār wa Bustān al-Afkār*

Description: Blue and red titlepage in thuluth script.

Scribe: Scribe’s name not given.

Provenance/history: Ijtimā‘ Ṭal‘at: former private library of Egyptian intellectual, early 20thC. Became part of Dār al-Kutub in 1924 (note in flyleaf)

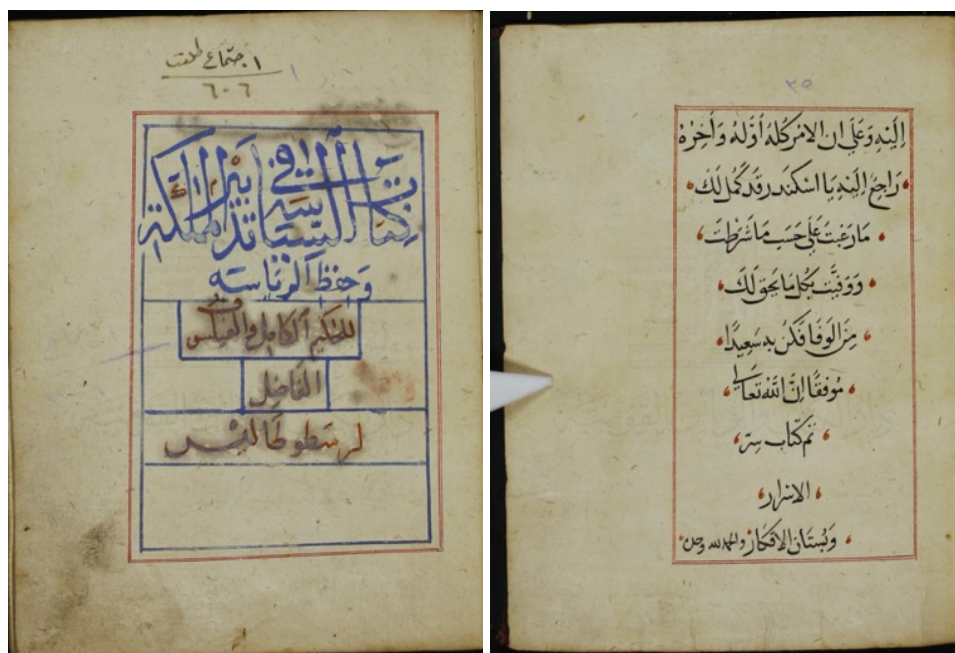
Other texts/MSS: STM

-Extended incipit.

- Aḥmad Ṭal‘at Bey was an intellectual and collector of manuscripts in the early 20thC. His former library makes up the largest collection in Dār al-Kutub.

Bibliography:

-See article by Joseph H. Escovitz, “‘He was the Muhammad ‘Abdūh of Syria’: A Study of Ṭāhir al-Jazā’irī and His Influence’, *IJMES*, Vol.8, No.3 (August, 1986), pp.293-310: on reformist ‘ulemā’, secular intellectuals, philologists and pan-Arabists in the early 20thC. Al-Jazā’irī moved from Damascus to Cairo in 1905, taking with him his extensive personal library. See also studies on Aḥmad Zakī; El Shamsy’s work.



Images: © Dār al-Kutub al-Maṣriyyah

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya, MS Ijtimā' Ṭal'at 615

Folios: 78ff.

Surveyed? Seen

Dimensions:

Date: 19thC

Version: LF10

Online Availability:

Script: *Ta'liq*; catchwords, some corrections. Total pages noted.

Paper :

Binding : Marbled paper on board.

Title : *Kitāb al-Siyāsah wa-l Firāsah*

Description:

Scribe: Scribe's name given.

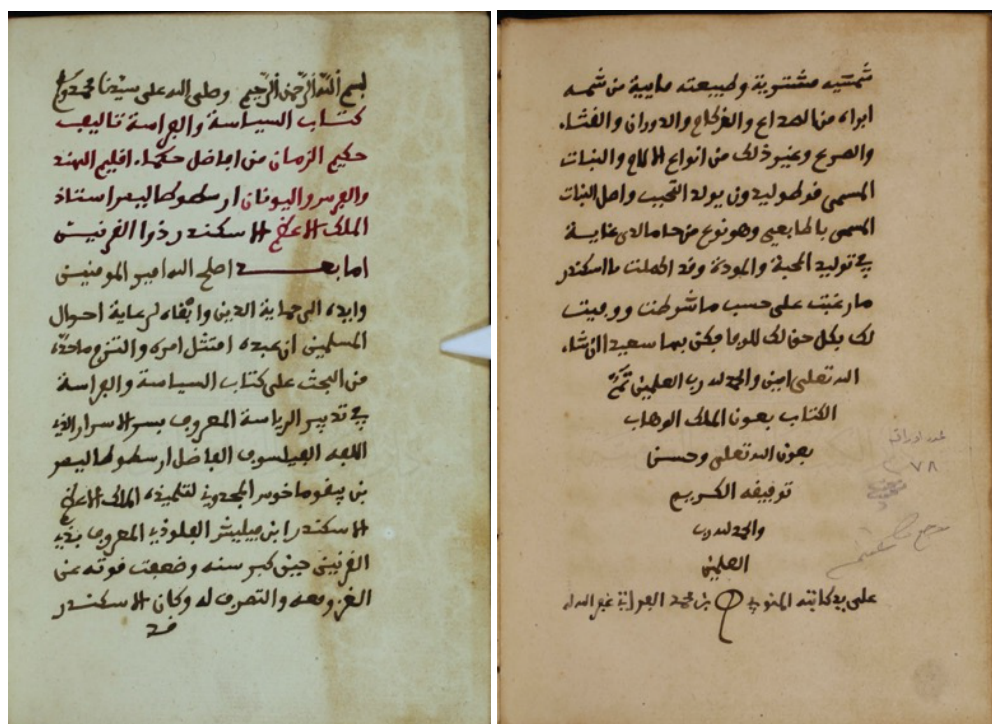
Provenance/history: Ijtimā' Ṭal'at

Other texts/MSS: STM.

Notes:

- Notes the number of pages in the margins.
- Aḥmad Ṭal'at Bey was an intellectual and collector of manuscripts in the early 20thC. His former library makes up the largest collection in Dār al-Kutub.

Bibliography: -See references under Tal'at 606.

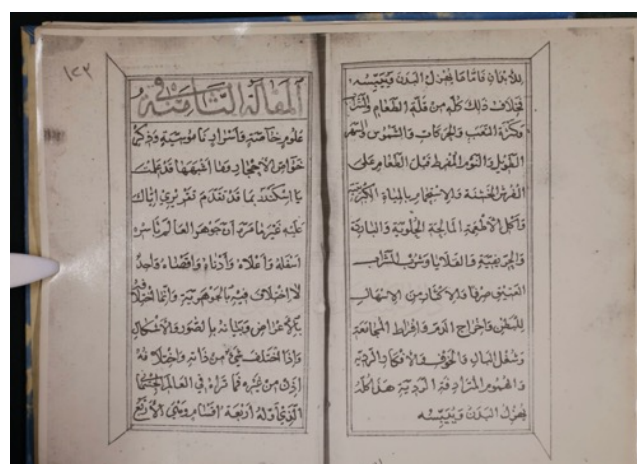
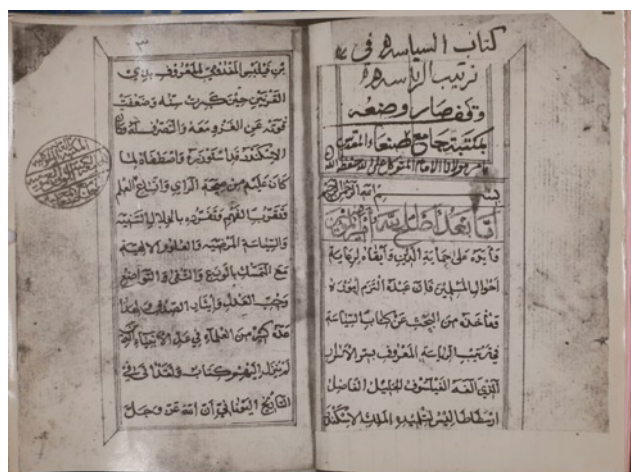


Images: © Dār al-Kutub al-Maṣriyyah

Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Masriya, MS 11153 W

Folios:	66ff.
Surveyed?	Seen
Dimensions:	
Date:	Undated: 18th-19thC ; catchwords
Version:	LF10
Online Availability:	
Script:	Neat Naskh.
Paper :	Burnished European paper; chain lines.
Binding :	
Title :	<i>Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tartīb al-Riyāsah</i>
Description:	Colophon present but difficult to read; decorated titlepage is worn.
Scribe:	
Provenance/history:	Yemen: Waqf of Mutawakkaliyyah to Jāmi' Ṣana'a;
Other texts/MSS:	STM
Notes:	No. of pages noted in margin at end [library or bookseller?] MSS of the Zaydī Imāms of Yemen were endowed/transferred to the Mutawakkaliyyah Library in Sanā'a in the early 20thC.

Bibliography:



Images: © Dār al-Kutub al-Maṣriyyah

Egypt: Suhag

Library Details:

Contact Details:

Suhag, Suhag Municipal Library, MS History (*Tarikh*) no.167

[SF8; Ba]

Folios: Fols. 54; 13 ll.

Surveyed? *Catalogue info*

Dimensions: 13 x 17 cm

Date: Probably *s.xiv AD*.

Version:

Online Availability:

Script: *Naskh*.

Same as: Cairo Dār al-Kutub al-Misriya Ihtiyāṭī 167? [same as Suhāg 167?]

India: Rāmpūr

Rampur, Kutubkhāna Riyāsāt Rāmpūr, MS Arabic 2905

Surveyed? *Basic Info*

India: Patna

Patna, Khuda Baksh, MS No.2323

Surveyed? *Catalogue info*

Tehran, Tehran University Library [UB], Dānishkada-yi Ilāhīyāt, MS 242B

Folios: ff.196a-201b ; [Manuscript extent : 394ff.]
 Surveyed? *Catalogue info*
 Dimensions: 17.5x27cm
 Date: Extract: *Sirr* is undated but all the other dated components are 11th/17th century.
 Version: Extracts
 Online Availability: ?
 Script: Nasta'liq; different hands; unvocalised.
 Paper : Different paper throughout; ff.140-53 and 186-201 have green tint.
 Binding : Red-brown embossed binding.
 Title :
 Description: F.2a-3a: table of contents. ***[RF: 'fragments']***
 Scribe:
 Provenance/history: Iran: Isfahan; Tehran.
 Other texts/MSS: Yes, large CM. Philosophical/Illuminationist works including al-Fārābī (multiple), al-Shahrazūrī, Ibn Sīnā (multiple), Miskawayh (*Tahdīb al-Akhlāq*), al-Suhrawardī, al-Ṭūsī (multiple), al-Kindī (multiple), ps-Polemon, **ps-Aristotle (x3; *Sirr*, *Kitāb al-Zabarqad wa-l-yāqūt*, *Uṭūlūjiyā [Theology]*)**, Qutb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī, ps-Plato, Jābir ibn Hayyān; Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī (multiple), Ibn Bājja
 Notes:
 Bibliography:
 -See: Gerhard Endress, 'Philosophische ein-Band-Bibliotheken aus Isfahan', *Oriens* 36 (2001) pp.10-55.
 -Descriptions: Sayyid Muhammad Bāqir Huggati, Muhammad Taqi Dānišpažūh: Fihrist-i nushahā-i hattī-i Kitābhāna-i Dāniskada-i Ilāhiyyāt wa-ma'ārif i Islā.mi-i Dānisgcth-i Tihṙān (Tihṙān 1345 h.s./1966), 1439; Muhsin Mahdi: 'The Arabic text of Alfarabi's Against John the Grammarian', in: *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya*, ed. by Sami A. Hanna (Leiden, 1972), 268-84, S. 270 (zur hier edierten Nr. 70 der Handschrift).

Other MSS in Tehran:

Surveyed? *Catalogue info* only:

- MS Dānishgah 10, MS s.1867: LF10

- MS Dānishgah 14, MS s.3662: LF10

- MS Majlis 13, MS s.200: LF10

-UB, MS 2967: [RF: 'fairly complete']

Persian Translations:

***13th/19th century Persian translation by Abū'l-Qāsim b. Ahmad Yazdī:**

[Based on LF]

https://dlib.ical.ir/faces/search/bibliographic/biblioFullView.jspx?_afPfm=c731925j

Iraq: Mosul

Library Details:

Contact Details:

Mosul, Madrasat Jāmi' al-Bāshā, MS 55/134**[LF10; Da]**

[Maktabah Al-Awqāf bi-l Mawṣul]

Surveyed? *Catalogue info*

Folios: 148 pages; 8 lines to a page.

Dimensions: 25 x 18 cm.

Date: ??12th/13thC (as written for Sultan Mas'ūd al-Saljūqī*).

Version: LF10.

Online Availability:

Script: Large Naskhī hand.

Provenance/history: Most likely written for Sultan Mas'ūd al-Saljūqī*= Mas'ūd ibn Bursuqī 1126-1127, the Seljūk Atabeg of Mosul. Alternatively it could have been written for Mas'ud I 'Izz ud-Din 1180–1193, or Mas'ud II 'Izz ud-Din 1211–1218, the Zengid emirs who only nominally ruled under Seljuq sovereignty. For discussion of the possible identity of the Sultan, see Manzalaoui f/n, p.151. The Persian glossing suggests the Seljūk context too.

The difficult words have been glossed in Persian by a reader.

Other texts/MSS:

Notes: Includes a diagram of the instrument of 'Yayastayūs'.

Lebanon: Beirut

Library Details:

Beirut, University Saint Joseph

Library Details:

Contact Details:

Beirut, St Joseph, MS 705

[LF10; Do]

- Other Refs: Catalogue No. 343
- Surveyed? *Catalogue info*
- Folios: Stout paper; extent: 133ff.; text on fols. 1-110; 13 ll.
- Dimensions: 20 x 15 cm
- Date: Catalogued as 17thC
- Version: LF10
- Online Availability: None.
- Script: *Naskh* in red, black and green ink.
- Paper: Paper.
- Binding: Black leather and cloth with gilt title.
- Title: Title [f.1] *Kitāb al-siyāsah wal-firāsa fī tadbīr al-risālah* [sic] *ta'līf al-fāḍil Aristālīs salām Allah 'alayh wa-huwa al-ma'rūf bi-Sirr al-Asrār*
- Description:
- Scribe:
- Provenance/history: Cheikho's catalogue: chronological information; purchased in **Beirut** in 1882.
- Other texts/MSS: pp.111-133 contain various explanations on the **Julian and Hijri Calendars**, with astrological notes.
- Notes: Described in No. 343 of Cheikho's Catalogue [42], vol.10, as translated by Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq for **Ja'far al-Mutawakkil**, not as usual, for Ma'mūn. Catalogued within section of philosophical texts.
- Bibliography: Catalogue entry:
[see also article on origins of St Joseph library: https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/2/2/article-p248_5.xml?language=en]
<https://bo.usj.edu.lb/pdf/cheikho/Philosophie.pdf> (P.110)

→ See also: Beirut, University Library, MS 209

Lebanon: Beirut, al-Sharfa**Library Details:**

Syrian Catholic Patriarchate at Dayr al-Sharfa

Contact Details:

[Note: One of four monasteries in Lebanon that contain holdings on the rich Christian heritage of the region. Requires special permission to access, which is difficult to obtain. There are 2 published sources about the collection: Isaaq Armalet's (Ishaq Armalah) catalogue of Syriac, Karshuni and Arabic mss, *Catalogue des Manuscrits de Charfet* (Jounieh: Imprimerie des pp. Missionaries Libanais, 1937).]

Beirut, Al-Sharfah, MS Armalet Nr 17/3, 2 (S.267) [SF7]

Folios:

Surveyed? *Catalogue info*

Dimensions:

Date: Undated, described in catalogue as seventeenth century. Colophon states it was **copied from a manuscript dated '432 AH' [i.e. 1040-1 CE]**.

Version: **SF7** ending with section on medicine.

Online Availability: Catalogue available – see below

Binding:

Title: *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fi-Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*

Provenance/history: Collection belongs to the **Syrian Catholic Patriarchate** of Charfet (Sharfeh), located in Dar'un Harissa, in the hills above Jounieh, Lebanon. The convent was founded in **1786** by the Patriarch Ignatius Michael III Jarweh as his patriarchal see. It developed into one of the world's great collections of Syriac and Arabic manuscripts. In 1936, Chorepiscopus Isaac Armalet (1879-1954) produced a catalogue listing 586 Syriac manuscripts (pp.1-293, 513-523) and 569 Arabic manuscripts (pp.295-512), ranging in date from 11th-20thC. These include biblical, exegetical, theological, hagiographical, liturgical, legal, philosophical, lexical and scientific texts. In 1956 Patriarch Ignatius Gabriel I Tappouni transferred the manuscript collection of the patriarchal residence in Beirut to the library at Charfet – this collection (kept separate from the earlier holdings - included more than 600 mss. In 1993 Benham Sony compiled a new catalogue of this patriarchal collection.¹

Other texts/MSS: The second of two medical texts – the first is a compendium of medicine, '*Mukhtaṣar fī Ṭibb*'.

Notes:

Bibliography: Online catalogue:

<https://archive.org/details/ArmaletCharfet>

p.267 of catalogue; image 316/579 online : it comes under chapter 17 on 'Medicine' alongside other medical texts

¹ David G.K. Taylor, "Isaac Armalet, Catalogue of the Syriac and Arabic Manuscripts at the Patriarchal Library of Charfet [Gorgias Press 2006; ISBN 1-59333-365-X] xii*, [iv], 15, 526, [ii], 12, 14, [vi]pp; hardcover.." *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 10.2

Morocco: Fez

Library Details:

Fez, Qarawiyyin, MS 3263

[SF; Cb]

Folios: 29 ff.

Surveyed? *Catalogue info*

Date:

Version: SF8.

Online Availability:

Script: Mahgribī

Other texts/MSS:

Notes: Manzalaoui provides excerpt from the beginning of the text in Arabic (p.151). Formal difference between SF7 and SF8 not that great: SF7 has *Generals* and the *Warfare* sections in Book VI and *Occult* as Book VII. SF8 divides these sections over three books: Book VI is *Generals*; Book VII is *Warfare*; Book VIII is *Occult*. (See Manzalaoui pp.224-227 for detailed textual differences).

Morocco: Rabat, Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc [Khizānah al-‘Āmmah]

Library Details:

Contact Details:

Morocco: Rabat

Rabat, Bibliothèque nationale du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM), MS D754 [2407] [SF8; Be]

Folios: ff. 1v-62v; 12 ll.

Surveyed? Seen

Dimensions: 20 x 13.5cm

Date: Undated: 15thC

Version: SF8

Online Availability: Seen/Images provided.

Script: Andalūsī' script; rough hand.

Title: *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*

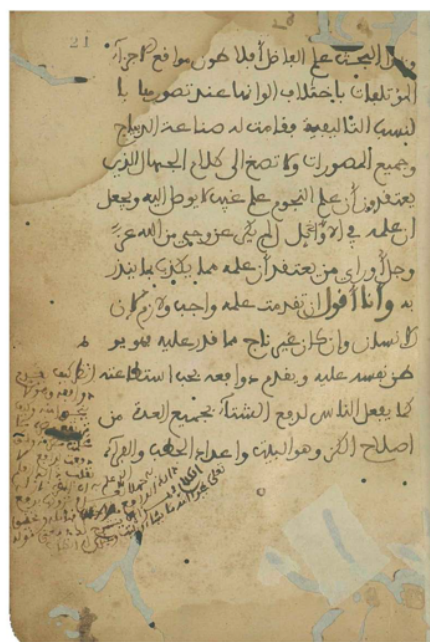
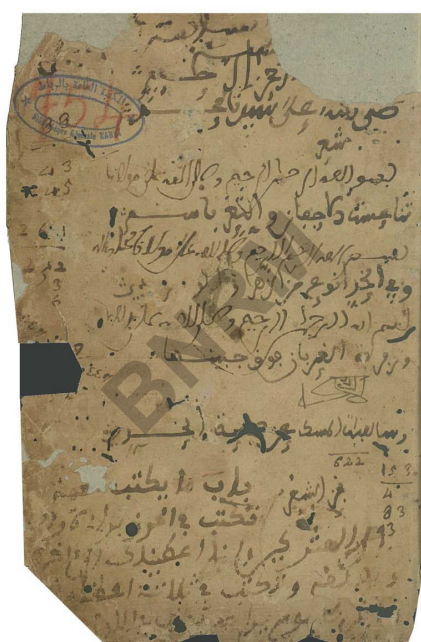
Description:

- Paper; some green coloured pages.
- Marginalia: Book 2 on the position and character of a king; Book 7 on Onomancy (f.42r), table of symbols and the section of stones/lapidary.
- Significant damage by bookworm throughout; rough repairs to many pages.
- Circle of Justice written between two concentric circles.

Provenance/history: Transfer of ownership (f.2r), dated 998/1589-90. Various other ownership transfer and cancellation notes. Rough hand- for personal study?

Other texts/MSS: STM; poems added to flyleaves.

Notes: Incipit: *al-ḥamd lillaāh rabb al-‘ālamīn..... ammā ba’d, aṣḥaḥ Allāh Amīr al-Mu’minīn wa-abqāh li-ri’āyat aḥwāl al-muslimīn*. Also, see Allouche [8] 2/256.



Images: © BNRM (permission granted)

Rabat, BNRM [Khizānah al-‘Āmmah], MS J94.

[SF8]

Folios: Paginated. Pp.204-46.

Dimensions:

Surveyed? *Seen*Date: 14th Muharram 1286/26th April 1869.

Version: SF8

Online Availability: Seen/Images provided.

Script: Neat, scribal Maghribi. Black ink; green and red ink used for titles; tables in blue, black and maroon/red ink. Some corrections in margins.

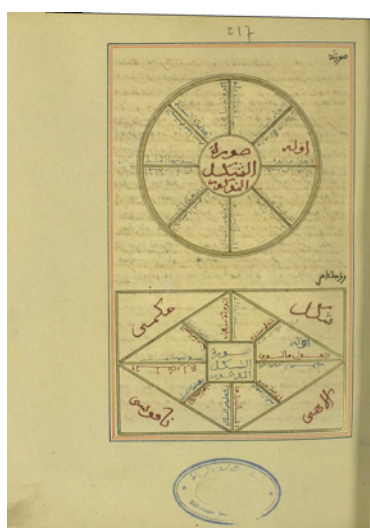
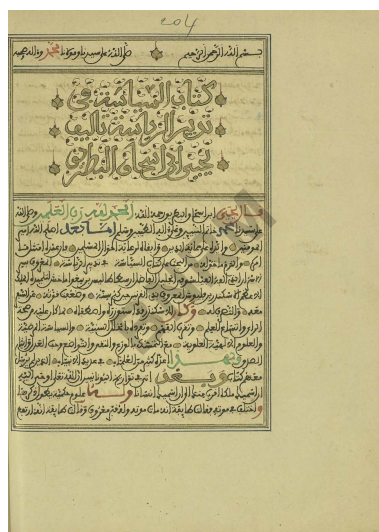
Paper: Cream burnished paper.

Title: *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*

Description: -Fine copy, with illuminated details: Illuminated titles/headers, including name of **Yahya Ibn Ishaq al-Batrīq**.
 - Marginalia with table in Onomancy section.
 - 2 x Circle of Justice (p.217).

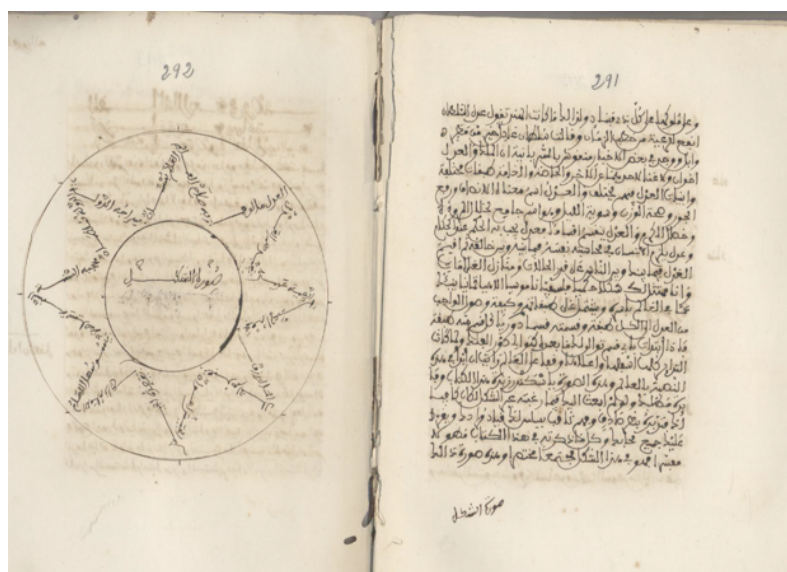
Scribe: Name not given in colophon – only the date.

Other texts/MSS: Yes. MTM, in same neat hand.



Images: © BNRM (permission granted)

- Folios: Paginated. pp.275-318
- Surveyed? Seen
- Dimensions: 23 x 18cm / textblock 16.5 x 12cm.
- Date: Undated: CM of various dates; *Sirr* is 13th/19thC Maghribī. hand.
- Texts in earlier part of CM dated 1272 AH [p.221] and 1296 AH [p..239] = different component texts were bound together in 19thC.
- Version: SF7
- Online Availability: Seen + Images available upon request.
- Script: Mahgribī
- Title: *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*
- Binding:
- Description: - Book 3 (Justice): note in margin 'what is essential for king to know' [p.283].
- Corrections in margins (e.g. p.288), i.e. *mukammila*, completing words that were not in textblock.
- CoJ (p.292) written within circles as an eight-pointed star.
- Onomancy laid out as detailed grid [p.315-6].
- Margins state praise of Prophet repeatedly.
- Provenance/history: - Ownership stamp on p.6 (flyleaf) Amīr 'Abbās Lotfallāh (brother of King Hasan I, r.1873-94), who owned a large library in 19thC. Component parts were probably bound together for him.
- Moroccan Royal Library: Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah
- Other texts/MSS: CM: 6th of 6 texts, all in different hands, on different quality paper. Some of the other contents are **political**.
- Notes:
- Bibliography:



Folios:	Two sets of page-numbers [verso is +7 of recto] ; ff.61-87r [verso numbering].
Surveyed?	Seen
Dimensions:	21 x 15cm [textblock 15 x 8.5cm]
Date:	17th Muharram 1249 / 6th June 1833
Version:	SF7
Online Availability:	No. Seen + Images available upon request.
Script:	Maghribī
Title:	<i>Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah</i>
Description:	- CoJ (f.69v). - Red leather binding, envelope flap.
Scribe:	Name provided in colophon.
Provenance/history:	- Moroccan Royal Library: Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah
Other texts/MSS:	CM; all different hands.



Rabat, Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah, MS 586 [2]

[SF8]

Folios: ff.130-155.

Surveyed? Seen

Dimensions: 25 x 19cm

Date: 894/1499

Version: SF8

Online Availability: No. Seen + Images available upon request.

Script: Maghribi Script. Black-brown ink; illuminated titles/headers; black ink and gold used to highlight sections.

Title: *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*

Description: - Very fine copy.

- f.139: Colj; f.142: Onomancy table with characters.

- Binding: red leather with central mandala.

- Some notes in margins of Book 2 (astronomy).

Scribe:

Provenance/history: - Moroccan Royal Library: Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah

Other texts/MSS: MTM. *Sirr* is second of 2 texts.

Images: © Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (permission granted)

- Folios: iii+ff.44+i
 Surveyed? *Seen*
 Dimensions: 17.5x13.5cm [textblock 14x9cm]
 Date: Undated ; 18th-19th C?
 Version: SF8.
 Online Availability: No. Seen + Images available upon request.
 Script: Maghribi; use of red, brown, green and blue inks [late synthetic inks].
 Title: *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*
 Description: - European paper. Heavily damaged by bookworm with some pages pasted together. Space for illuminated header on opening page but not completed.
 - Modern binding.
 - Onomancy presented in a table [f.41v-42r].
 - f.17v: Col.
 Scribe:
 Provenance/history: - Moroccan Royal Library: Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah
 - Lots of ownership details on opening flyleaves.
 Other texts/MSS: STM.
 Notes: Heavy use of marginalia in Book 4, on the qualities of ministers [f.19r]

Bibliography:



Rabat, Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah, MS 3203**[SF8]**

- Folios: i+35ff+i ; 18ll.
 Surveyed? Seen
 Dimensions: 21x17cm [textblock: 19x14.5cm]
 Date: 12th Jumādā II 1265 / 5th May 1849.
 Version: SF8
 Online Availability: No. Seen + Images available upon request.
 Script: Neat scribal Maghribi; vocalised; catchwords. Correction; collation marks.
 Title: *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*
 Description: - Traditional paper; unburnished.
 - Deep red, green and black ink for writing; some yellow highlights for titles. Also highlighting in green for beginning of sections an 'Ya Askandar'. Rubrication [red] used throughout to demarcate sections. Brown ink to decorate Col.
 - Col: f.13v
 - Onomancy presented within table.
 - Books 7 and 8 have gaps for titles that were not completed.

Scribe:

Provenance/history: - Moroccan Royal Library: Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah

Other texts/MSS: - No: STM

Notes: - Red overlining in health section.

Bibliography:



Images: © Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah-(permission granted)

Rabat [Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah] 4773 [*Kitāb Qanūn al-Siyāsah fi Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*, name correct but other text inserted]

Rabat, [Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah], MS 6802

Folios:

Surveyed? *Seen*

Dimensions: 20x16cm

Date: Undated: colophon pasted over. 1200 AH+ / Late 18th-early 19thC

Version: SF8

Online Availability: No. Seen + Images available upon request.

Script: Maghribi

Title:

Description: - Heavily damaged with bookworm throughout.
- Red, modern binding.

Scribe:

Provenance/history: - Moroccan Royal Library: Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah

Other texts/MSS: No: STM



Images: © Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (permission granted)

Rabat, [Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah], MS 10175 [1]

Folios: f.1-18

Surveyed? Seen

Dimensions: 22 x 17cm [textblock 18 x 10cm].

Date: Undated: 18th-19thC

Version: SF8

Online Availability: No. Seen + Images available upon request.

Script: Maghribī; black ink with titles in red, green and yellow ink. Same hand throughout.

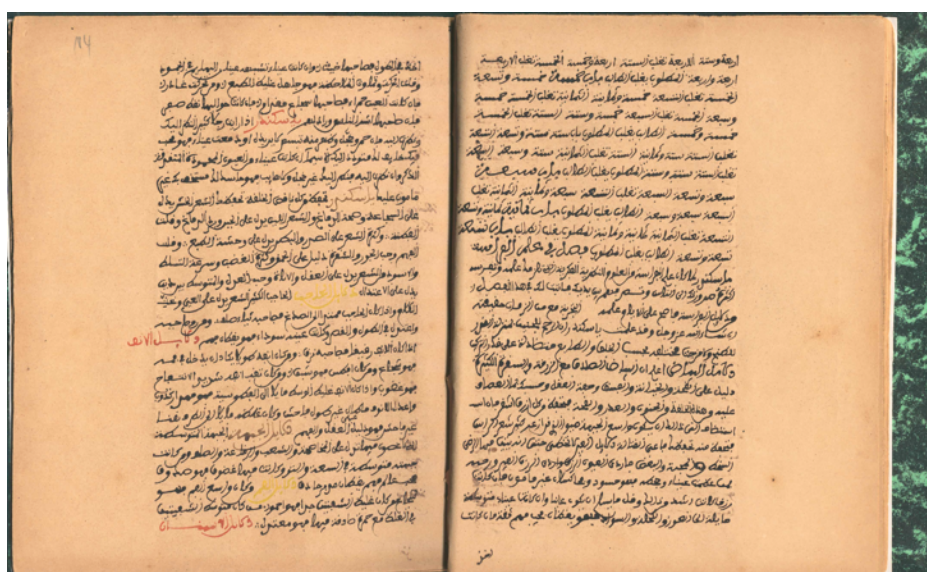
Title: *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*

Description: - Col [f.17v]; in similar layout to MH 66 with 8-pointed star between 2 circles.

- Modern binding of green-black marbled paper.

Scribe: MTM; same hand throughout. *Sirr* is first of 3 texts.

Provenance/history: - Moroccan Royal Library: Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah



Images: © Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (permission granted)

Rabat, Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah, MS 12146

[LF]

Folios: f.1-98 [98ff]
 Surveyed? Seen
 Dimensions: 19.5x13.5cm [textblock: 13.5x8.5cm]
 Date: Undated: likely 18th-19thC [based on ink colours]
 Version: LF10
 Online Availability: No. Seen + Images available upon request.
 Script: Maghribī
 Title: *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*
 Description: - f.65r: CoJ drawn as square but incomplete.
 - Binding: red, leather binding with central mandorla and gilt décor.
 Scribe:
 Provenance/history: - Moroccan Royal Library: Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah
 Other texts/MSS: None: STM.
 Notes:
 Bibliography:



Images: © Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (permission granted)

Rabat, Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah, MS 12338 [Physiognomy]

- Folios: ff.30v-34r
- Surveyed? *Seen*
- Dimensions: 17.5x13cm [textblock: 11x6.5cm]
- Date: Text 1 is dated: Shawwāl 998/ August 1590 [date added to colophon].
- Version: Extract: Physiognomy
- Online Availability: No. Seen + Images available upon request.
- Script: Maghribi *Majawhar* script; different hands throughout volume.
- Title: *Maqālah fī 'Ilm al-Firāsah*.
- Description: - Burnished European paper. 'Yā Kabīkāj' written on binding pastedown; some damage from bookworm.
- original Morocco binding with central, blind-stamped mandorla; geometric pattern and marbled paper in doublure; envelope flap.
- Scribe: Maghribi *Majawhar* script is a cursive script that was mainly used for royal decrees.
- Provenance/history: - Moroccan Royal Library: Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah
- Other texts/MSS: - CM. *Sirr* is second of 12 works. Text 1: *Kitāb al-Wafayāt* (Book of Obituaries) of Algerian scholar and historian Ibn Qunfudh (740-810 / 1339-1407) is in the same hand as *Sirr* and is dated 998/1590
- Heaviest use of marginalia in item 10, ff.86-90.

Notes:

Bibliography:



Image: © Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah (permission granted)

Rabat, Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah, MS 13957 [Onomancy]

Folios:

Surveyed? *Seen*

Dimensions:

Date:

Version: Extract: Onomancy

Online Availability: No. Seen + Images available upon request.

Script: Maghribi.

Title: *Ghālib wa-Maghlūb*

Description:

Scribe:

Provenance/history: - Moroccan Royal Library: Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah

Rabat, Khizānah al-Malakiyyah – Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah, MS 14059

[Health/Medical Extract]

Folios: ff.112-117v ; 25ll.

Surveyed? Seen

Dimensions: 22x16.5cm [textblock 14.5x10cm]

Date: 19th-20thC.

Version: Extract: **Medical/health/talisman material** copied from an SF8.

Online Availability: No. Seen + Images available upon request (see images 120-125).

Script: Maghribi script; black ink with some rubrication.

Title:

Description:

- Green Morocco binding with centrsl blind-stamped mandorla.
- Some overlining; notes in margins, including places to stop, explanatory notes about titles/sub-sections, e.g. seasons, stones, not to drink after waking up [p.115] = practical use/study.
- Pages have tabs to navigate sections of text.

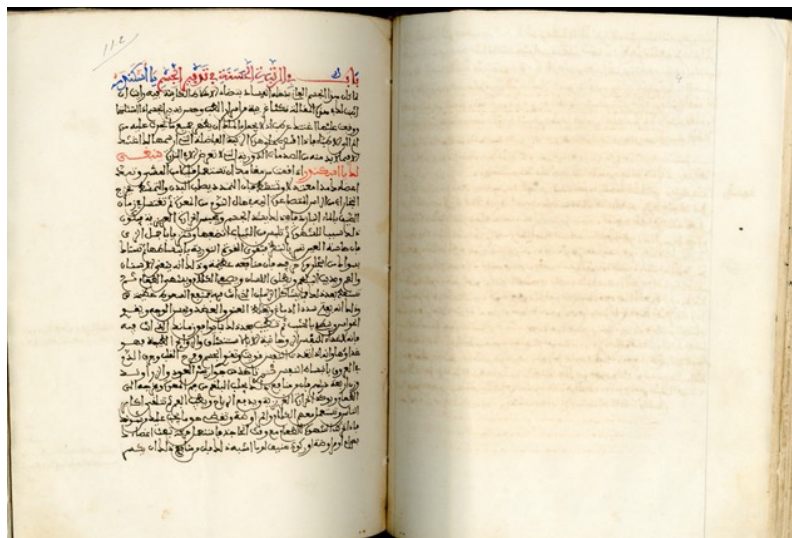
Scribe: Name of scribe not provided.

Provenance/history: - Moroccan Royal Library: Maktabah al-Hasaniyyah

Other texts/MSS: - Yes. Part of a very large CM with extensive variety of texts – **encyclopaedic** in content.

Notes:

Bibliography:



Saudi Arabia: *Riyadh:*

Library Details: No.38, Al Olaya, Riyadh, 12212, Saudi Arabia

Email: [REDACTED]

Riyadh, King Faisal Research Centre, MS 2815

[RF: 'fairly complete']

Other Refs: Serial No. [shelfmark?] 395

Surveyed? Seen

Folios: 21ff. ; 29ll

Dimensions:

Date: 1106/1694

Version: LF10

Online Availability:

Script: Ta'liq

Title: كتاب السياسة في تدبير المملكة وحفظ الرياسة
Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Mamlakah wa-Ḥifẓ al-Riyāṣah

Incipit: .. الحمد لله الملك القدير والسلطان العظيم الكريم ذو

العدل والانصاف والحلم والاعطاف ... الخ

Explicit: قد كمل لك ما رغبت على حسب ما شرطت ووفيت .. به سعيدا

موفقا إن شاء الله تعالى.. تم الكتاب بعون الملك

الوهاب

Description:

Provenance/history: Ottoman

Other texts/MSS: MTM; followed by another treatise on governance / 'world order', *Usūl al-Ḥikm fī Niẓām al-‘Ālam*, by 10th/16thC Ottoman-Bosniak scholar Ḥasan Kāfī al-Aqḥiṣārī

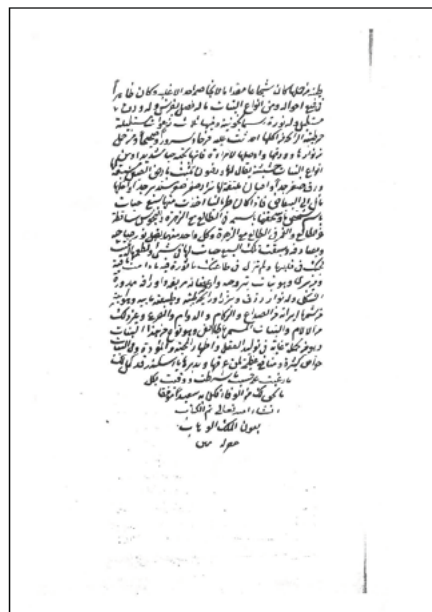
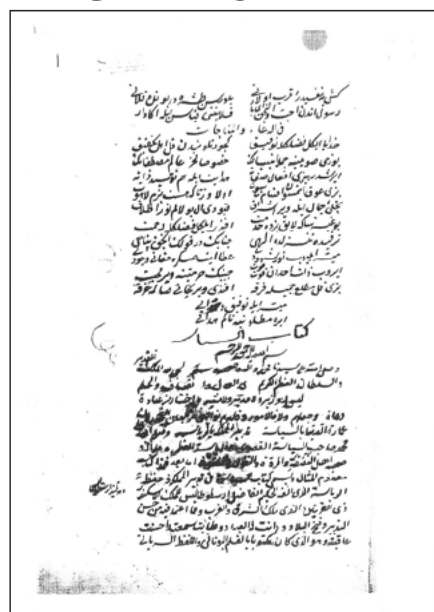
Notes: Some minor notes in margin.

Bibliography:

1426/2 كشف الظنون

203/1 بروكلمان :

364/1 ملحق - بروكلمان :



Images: © King Faisal Research Centre (permission granted)

Syria: Damascus

Damascus, Zāhiriyya Library, MS Fals. S.42?

Surveyed?

Basic Info only

Turkey: Istanbul

Library Details: Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi

Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Aşir Efendi (Reisülküttab) 1002 [Manz [3] Ac SF7]

Folios: ff. 105-136

Surveyed? *Seen*

Dimensions:

Date: 783 AH / 1381-2 AD

Version: SF7

Online Availability: No. Digitised – images available from Süleymaniye Library.

Script: Naskh, pages numbered in Greek-Coptic numerals (top left of rectos but not visible from most of the images) = copied in Egypt.

Paper : Finely burnished paper.

Binding :

Title: *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*Description: Illuminated manuscript decorated in Mamlūk style. Collation statement at the end. Note on numbers of quires on f.128 (14 *kurrās*); note on number of pages on flyleaf. CoJ (f.119v)

Scribe: Scribe's name not given.

Provenance/history: *Waqf* of Mustafa Efendī 'Reisülkuttâb': dated 1154 AH / 1741 (i.e. date that he made provision for the books in the (independent) library he established. Mustafa Efendī was a statesman (role of foreign minister) for Mahmud I (r.1730-54). The building of the library was completed by his son in 1800. See Erünsal pp. 65, 75, 115, 134, 133 (his son).Other texts/MSS: MTM. MS also contains another MfP, *Kitāb al-Asad wa-l Ghawwāṣ*

Notes: Some misplacing of portions of the text.





Images: © Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (permission granted)

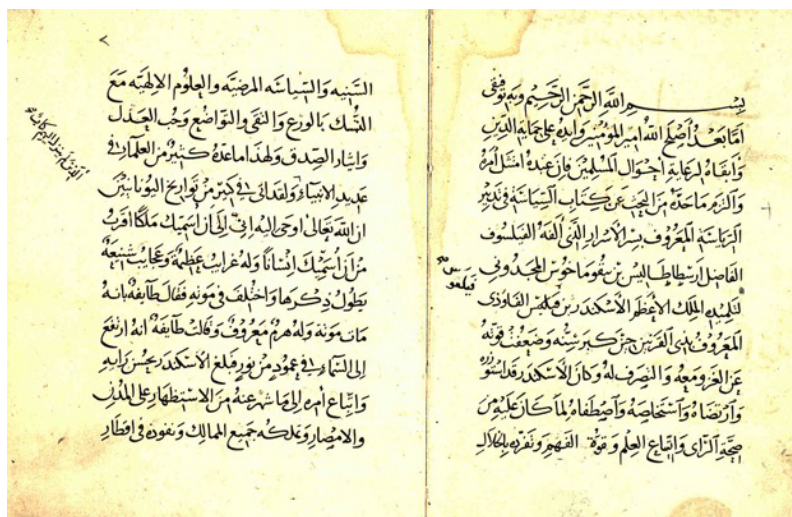
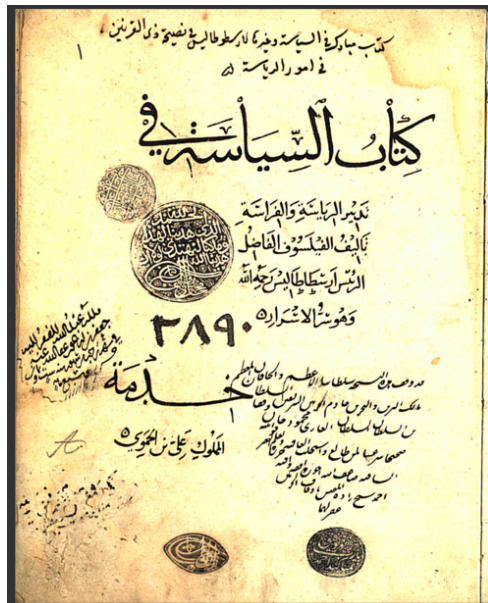
Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kutuphanesi, MS Ayasofya 2890

[LF10; Db]

Folios:	Fols. 7-107
Surveyed?	<i>Seen</i>
Dimensions:	20.5 x 15 cm; text 12 x 8.5 cm.
Date:	Dated 724 AH / 1324 AD.
Version:	LF 10.
Online Availability:	No. Digitised - images made available from Süleymaniye Library.
Script:	Naskh
Paper :	Paper.
Binding	
Title:	<p><i>Kitab siyāsah fī tadbīr al-riyāsah wa-l firāsah</i></p> <p>Alternative title possibly assigned by the royal librarian of Ottoman sultan Bāyazid II (r.1481-1512), ‘Atufi, when he compiled his inventory of the holdings of Topkapi Palace book treasury in 908/1502-3 is written at the top of the page: <i>Kitāb mubārak fī al-siyāsah wa-ghayrihā li Aristūṭālīs fī al-naṣīḥah Dhī-al-Qarnayn</i> (this same title appears in ‘Atufi’s inventory in MS Török F.59 [Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences] on p.197, lines 17-18) alongside other titles on politics and governance -see bibliography below].</p>
Description:	Fine copy. Annotated and corrected throughout.
Scribe:	Written in colophon: ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥamawī.
Provenance/history:	<p>*Ownership statement of ‘Ali ibn Ḥamawī (the scribe’s name).</p> <p>*Was part of the Ottoman imperial library until it was endowed to the Aya Sofya library (established in 1742) by Maḥmūd I:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - almond shaped seal of Ottoman Sultan Bāyazid II (r.1481-1512) at the bottom of the page; - small round seal on top-left is inner treasury seal of Selīm I (r.1512-20); - large round seal is <i>waqf</i> seal Sultan Maḥmūd I (r.1730-54); - oval seal at bottom of page is that of Maḥmūd I’s <i>waqf</i> inspector. <p>[Manz: “This MS is attributed to Aḥmad al-Yamanī in the old Aya Sofya defter, as Ḥajjī Khalīfa attributes his entry no. 7102, although not his other entry of the <i>Sirr</i> as no.10202. It is however, not a different recension from the usual: Brockelman GAL I/203 shows it to be the <i>textus receptus</i>, and Dr Dener of the Süleymaniye Library confirms this” (see Manzalaoui p.152)].</p>
Other texts/MSS:	<p>MTM and CM. <i>Sirr</i> is the first and primary text in volume followed by several short extracts written in the same copyist’s hand. This MTM was later bound with a CM that lists 6 works on its title page: the first two are referred to as epistles from Aristotle to Alexander (neither of which are the <i>Sirr</i>) and followed by a list of four medical works of which only the first is present in the MS (the others have been crossed out on the title page).</p>
Notes:	CONTAINS 4 COPIES ??? (CF: Library email)

Bibliography: Gölru Necipoglu, Cemal Kafadar & Cornell H. Fleisher (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3 – 1503/4)*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill 2019).

Some background details to this library can be found in: Günay Kut 'Manuscript Libraries in Istanbul', *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, Vol. 16, no.1 (Middle East Association of North America, July 1982), pp.24-43. Available online: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23058134>



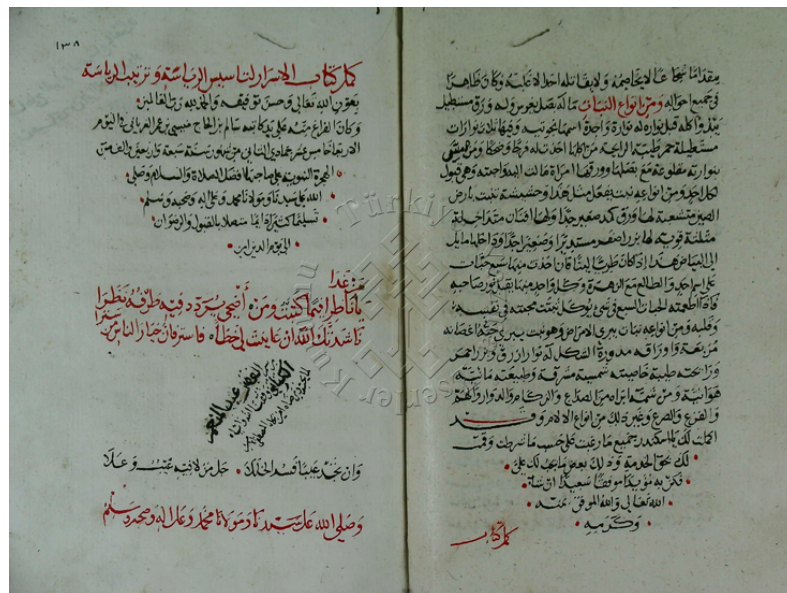
Images: © Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (permission granted)

- Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kutuphanesi, MS Şehit Ali 1350/2

[LF]

- Folios: Ff. 99-138; 21 lines
- Dimensions: 20.7 x 14.8 cm (Textblock: 14.8 x 9 cm)
- Surveyed? *Seen*
- Version: LF
- Date: Wednesday 15th Jumāda II, 1047 (?) / 3rd November 1637 (?)
- Title: A later note states title as *Tarjumah Kitāb Sirr-al-Asrār fī Ta'sīs al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*; colophon states: *Kitāb al-Asrār Ta'sīs al-Siyāsah wa Tartīb al-Riyāsah* (f.138r).
- Description: [RF: 'fairly complete']. Circle of Justice: not the usual *CoJ*; not presented as a diagram. Instead, it includes a variant form and attributes the Circle to Imām Alī (f.123v).
Şehit Ali Pasha was the Grand Vizier to Ahmed III (r.1703-30) who established an independent public library in 1716.
- Scribe: Scribe's name given in colophon. Collation/inspector details also in colophon.
- Provenance/history: MTM.
- Other texts/MSS: Yes. *Sirr* is the second text in a *majmu'a* of at least 3 texts. **Sufism:** f.1r describes the contents as being 'On *taşawwuf*'
- Notes:
- Bibliography: Some background details to this library can be found in: Günay Kut 'Manuscript Libraries in Istanbul', *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, Vol. 16, no.1 (Middle East Association of North America, July 1982), pp.24-43. Available online: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23058134>



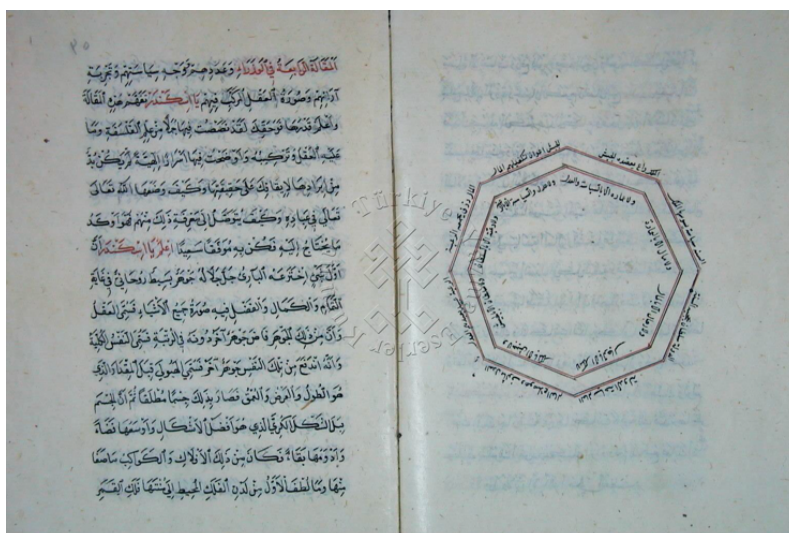


Images: © Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (permission granted)

Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kutuphanesi, MS Aya Sofya 2843

[LF /RF: 'fairly complete]

- Folios: ff.1-60; 15 lines
 Dimensions: 25 x 17.5 cm – 16.3 x 9.7cm
 Date: End of Jumāda II 953 / December 1536
 Surveyed? Seen
 Version LF
 Title: *Kitāb al-Siyāsah* (On flyleaf: *Kitāb aghraḍ al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah*)
 Script: Fine *naskh*; black ink; red ink to highlight titles, headings, subheadings; copied on burnished paper.
 Description: Fine manuscript; Circle of Justice presented as an octogen (f.24v). Instrument of Yayustius (f.46r))
 Other texts/MSS: CM; second text is *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl* of Muḥammad ibn Kathīr al-Farʿānī
 Provenance/history: Aya Sofya library (established in 1742) by Maḥmūd I
 Notes: Donated as *waqf* by Maḥmūd I (stamp on f.1r)



Istanbul, Topkapi Saray, MS Ahmed III, 1600, (3)

[RF: 'Onomancy']

Folios:

Surveyed? *Catalogue Info*

Dimensions:

Date: 18th century.

Version: Onomancy

Online Availability:

Scribe:

Provenance/history: Ahmed III library was founded in 1719 by Sultan Ahmed III (r.1703-30) in Topkapi Palace. The library contained 5000 books and was for the use of palace staff. Its contents remained separate from the other libraries in the palace.

Other texts/MSS:

Notes:

Bibliography: Some background details to this library can be found in: Günay Kut 'Manuscript Libraries in Istanbul', *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, Vol. 16, no.1 (Middle East Association of North America, July 1982), pp.24-43. Available online: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23058134>

Istanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, MS Ali Emiri arab. Nr. 2894

[RF: 'fragments']

?? <http://hazine.info/milli-kutuphane/> ??

Folios: 7ff.

Surveyed? *Basic Info*

Dimensions:

Scribe:

Provenance/history: *Waqf* of Ali Emîrî Efendi (1854-1924) established and donated books to the Millet national public library. He collected rare and unpublished books as he travelled the Ottoman empire as a state employee (finance official) and copied those he could not acquire. Ali Emîrî was a historian, and also a poet, biographer and publisher. He was interested familiarising new generations with Ottoman-Turkish heritage in the face of movement of modernisation in the 'Tanzimat' period and copied the *Divan Lughat al-Turk* of Mahmud Kashgari from the original copy, thus making it available to new audiences. He moved to Istanbul after he retired in 1908 with 40 boxes of books. His donated library augmented the Millet (Public) National Library in Istanbul.

The Millet library was previously the Feyziye Madrasa, which was built by Şeyyhülislam Fayzullah Effendi in 1112/1701 as ten student rooms. The Fayzullah Efendi library had 2162 mss. The library was re-established as Millet Kütüphanesi on April 1916 through the efforts of Ali Emîrî Efendi who presented 15,000 volumes (of which 4424 were mss) which were augmented with the Fayzullah library in 1916 and was its director until he died. In 1962 the Millet Kütüphanesi was named İhalk Kütüphanesi.

Other texts/MSS:

Notes:

Bibliography: Some background details to this library can be found in: Günay Kut 'Manuscript Libraries in Istanbul', *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, Vol. 16, no.1 (Middle East Association of North America, July 1982), pp.24-43. Available online: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23058134>

Extent:	6 folios
Version:	Onomancy
Surveyed?	Seen
Title:	<i>Kitāb Ghālib wa-Maghlūb</i>
Dimensions:	21 x 15 cm
Description:	Extract. 12th Century [= earliest Onomancy extract?]
Provenance:	Donated by Haji Aḥmad Pasha
Notes:	Köprülü library was the first independent Ottoman library. It was founded in 1678 by the Grand Vizier of Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87).



Images: © Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (permission granted)

Tunisia: Tunis

Tunis, Zaytounta Mosque Ahmadiyya Library, MS 5091

Alt Ref: 74

Version: LF10?

Surveyed? *Basic Info*

فهرس مخطوطات المكتبة الاحمدية (خزانة جامع الزيتونه)

[See: <https://muslimheritage.com/knowledge-learning-institutions-and-libraries-in-islam-book-publishing-and-paper-making/>]Yemen: San‘ā

San‘ā, ‘Ali bin Ibrahīm Library, MS 317

[Ref: ‘Private Libraries in Yemen’, al-Furqān 135]

مصدر التواجد : مخطوطات بعض المكتبات الخاصه باليمن - مؤسسه الفرقان/135

المكتبة : مكتبه على بن ابراهيم

البلد : اليمن

المدينة : صنعاء

رقم الحفظ في المكتبة : 317

Version: LF10?

San‘ā, The Grand Mosque Library, MS 2236

مصدر التواجد : فهرس المخطوطات بمكتبه الجامع الكبير - علوم سياسيه-189/4

المكتبة : مكتبه الجامع الكبير

البلد : اليمن

المدينة : صنعاء

رقم الحفظ في المكتبة : 2236

Version: LF10?

MANUSCRIPTS IN AMERICA

Maryland, USA: Montgomery County

Library Details:

Bethesda, US National Library of Medicine, MS A 57

Extract, LF

Folios: Arabic. 9 fols. (fols. 1a-9b). Dimensions 21 x 15.6 (text area 17 x 10.5) cm; 17-20 lines per page.

Surveyed? *Seen*

Dimensions:

Date: Dated on fol. 9b, line 12: Rajab 1264 [= 3 June-2 July 1848].

The copyist is not named.

Version:

Online Availability: 2 images and description -

<https://www.nlm.nih.gov/hmd/arabic/physiognomy2.html>

Script: *Naskh*. The copyist is not named.

Paper: The stiff beige paper has visible vertical laid lines and single chain lines and is watermarked. It is damp stained near the edges.

Binding: The volume is bound in a dark leather modern library binding. There are modern paper pastedowns and endpapers.

Title: The title is given on the title page (fol. 1a) as ***Fawā'id fī 'ilm al-firāsah wa-ahwāl al-nās*** (*Useful Lessons in the Science of Physiognomy and the Conditions of Man*). Near the beginning, lines 3-4, the treatise is called: *Qit'ah min kitab al-firasah wa-fī 'ilm al-siyasah. aydan* (*Extracts from the Book of Physiognomy and Also on the Art of Governing*).

Description: - This portion is equivalent to the text found on p. 116, line 17, to p.124, line, 3, of the edition of the 10-book version of *Sirr al-asrār* prepared by 'Abd al Raḥmān Badawī, *Al-Usul al-yunaniyah li-nazariyat al-siyasiyah fī al-islam* (Dirasat islamiyah, 15), Cairo 1954.
- The extracts are particularly concerned with diagnosis and prognosis of illness by divination [???] using the numerical values of names, of lunar mansions, and of zodiacal signs. Fol. 7a has two charts for determining whether a person will live or die based on the numerical value of the patient's name.

Scribe:

Provenance/history: The volume was purchased in 1941 by the Army Medical Library from A. S. Yahuda (ELS 1696 Med).

Other texts/MSS:

Notes:

Bibliography: Schullian/Sommer, *Cat. of incun. & MSS*, entry A 57, p. 316. The title given by Sommer was taken from a recent owner's label pasted to front endpaper.

NLM Microfilm Reel: FILM 48-123 no. 4

New Jersey, USA**Library Details:**

Princeton University Library,

Islamic Manuscripts, Rare Books & Special Collections – South East (MSS)

Princeton, Princeton University Library, MS Garrett 463H**[SF7; Ad]**

Other Ref: Hitti Cat. 780, 2212

Surveyed? *Seen*

Folios: ff: i, 38ff, i leaves: paper; 260 x 170 (185 x 115) mm. bound to 260 x 170 mm. Extent: 24 ff. [ff.22v-24v blank];15 ll

Dimensions: 26 x 17.2 cm

Date: 900 AH / 1494-5 AD.

Version: SF7

Online Availability: Catalogue description: <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/5144049>
- microfilm images available here:<https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/5144047>Script: *Naskh* Written in medium large naskh in black ink with use of red for keywords.

Paper: Thick glazed light cream paper with laid and chain lines visible. A few leaves aged differently and appear now as light biscuit (see fol. 26 and 28).

Collation: Paper, fol. i, 38, i; i (later free endpaper) + 1-2¹⁰ 3⁴ 4¹⁰ 5⁴ ; catchword on the verso of each leaf.Binding: Marbled paper over paper pasteboards for upper and lower covers.
Brown leather spine and border. Traces of a leather fore-edge flap. Paper pastedown and flyleaf.Title: *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī ma'rifat al-riyāsah al-ma'rūf bi-Sirr al-asrār alladhī allafahu al-faylasūf al-ḥakīm al-fāḍil Aruṣṭālīs li-tilmīdhī al-a'zam al-malik al-Iskandar al-ma'rūf bi-Dhī al-Qarnayn.*

كتاب السياسة في معرفة الرياسة المعروف بسر الاسرار الذي افه الفيلسوف الحكيم الفاضل ارسطاليس لتلميذه الاعظم المل الاسكندر المعروف بذى القرنين. كتاب فيه قصة حبيب بن ملك.

-Titles from title pages of each text (fol. 1a and 25a).

Description: Elegant copy. Collection of two treatises, one a mirror of prince, the other the story of the conversion of Ḥabīb ibn Mālik [*Kitāb fīhi qisṣat Ḥabīb ibn Malik.*].

- Incipit: اما بعد اصلح الله امير المؤمنين وايدده على حماية الدين وابقاه لرعاية المؤمنين اجمعين فان عبده امثل امره والتز ما حده من البحث على كتاب السياسة
- Explicit: اصحاب باس عظيم وجهل كثير فقابل كل طبقة منها بما يشاكلها فانك ترشد ان شاء الله تعالى وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم

Scribe: The copy of the first text is dated 900 H. (colophon, fol. 22a). Both texts are apparently by the same hand.

Provenance/history: [Mamlūk] **Colophon** (f.22r) states ms “*bi-rasm al-muqirr al-ashraf al-karīm al’ālī al-Mawlawī al-Sayfī Qānī Bek Khāzandār al’Amīr al-karīm ... al-Sayfī ... dawādār Qānī*” during a dynasty bearing the name Sayfī [i.e. Sultān Qāyṭbāy]: cf. the title-page of MS Princeton Garrett 779. Qānī Bey was the *khazandār* (treasurer) and *dawādār* (secretary/keeper of inkwell) during the reign of Qāyṭbāy (r.1468-96). He went on to become the ‘Grand Master of the Horse’ (a high official under Mamlūks)-during the reign of Sultān Ghūrī (r.1501-16). There is a mosque complex named after Qānī Bey, which was built in 908/1503-4, by the stables of the citadel.

- Inscription in Arabic on f.1a: ‘fī al-ḥikmah s 15’,
- Acquired from Brill, Leiden, 1900

Other texts/MSS: **MTM** [3rd text = CM]. 1st 2 texts in same hand.

1. fol. 1a-24b: *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī ma’rifat al-riyāsah al-ma’rūf bi-Sirr al-asrār*.
2. fol. 25a-38a: *Kitāb fīhi Qiṣṣat Ḥabīb ibn Malik*.
3. fol. 38b: [Short text in **Ottoman Turkish**].

Notes:

Bibliography: Catalogue (p.256):

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1GoRaZHcZNWkxoizKNsePvqbq_db-gcYU/view?ts=5d814a25

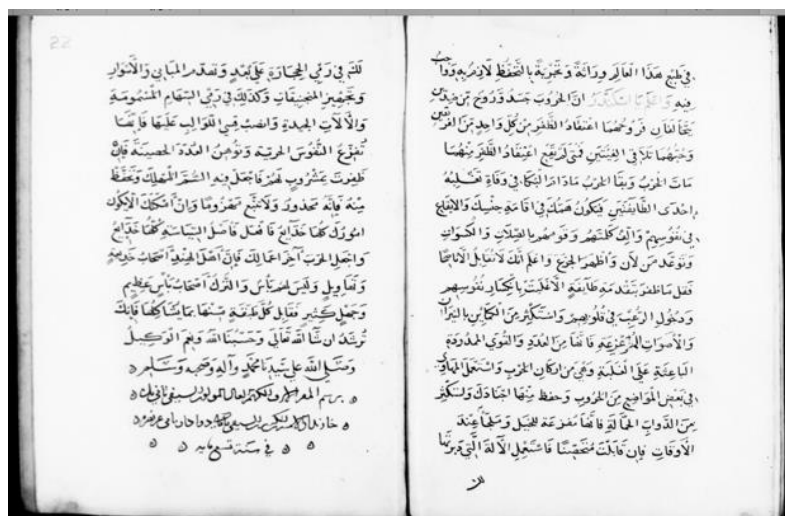


Image: © Princeton University Library (public domain)

Princeton, Princeton University Library, MS Garrett 462 H

[LF10; Df]

Other Ref: Cat. 779
 Surveyed? *Seen*
 Folios: Paper. 68ff; 13 ll. Opening folio illuminated.
 Dimensions: 25.5 x 17 cm (17.3 x 11.3 cm written surface) bound to 25.5 x 17 cm.
 Date: Dated 876 AH / 1471-72 AD
 Version: LF10
 Online Availability: On-site access / Digitised and available online:
<https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/5066453#view>

Script: Written in large *naskh* in blank ink, with use of blue ink (see f.6v) and gold for headings (outlined in black from f.10r on).
 Paper: Thick glazed light cream paper with pulp and chain lines visible. The paper has been frame-ruled (see f.67-68).
 Binding: paper pasted on paper pasteboards for upper and lower covers, with brown leather on the edges. Traces of a now wanting fore-edge flap. Khaki paper pastedowns.
 Title: (from f.1r): *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī tadbīr al-mamlakah wa-ḥifẓ al-riyāsah*.
 كتاب السياسة في تدبير المملكة وحفظ الرياسة

Description: Elegant copy. Written in large *Naskh* in black ink, with use of blue ink (see f.6b) and gold for headings (outlined in black from f.10a ff). The opening folio is illuminated in gold and blue (f.1a). Illuminated headpiece with *basmalah* in white on a blue and gold background with a gold, blue and red border on f.1b. The text is framed within a gold, black and blue border throughout. Figure representing the levels of justice (*‘adālah*) written in three concentric circles outlined in gold, on f.24a.

- Incipit: الحمد لله الملك القديم والسلطان العظيم الكريم ذي العدل والانصاف والحلم والالطاف ... امل بعد فهذا كتاب معدوم المثال ويسمى كتاب السياسة في تدبير المملكة وحفظ الرياسة الذي ألفه الحكيم ارسطوطاليس للملك اسكندر ذي القرنين
- Explicit: على حسب ما شرطت ووفيت بكل ما يحق لك من الوفا فكن به سعيداً موفقاً ان شاء الله تعالى

Scribe: Copy completed by **Muhammad al-Shirāzī** in 876 AH (colophon, f.67a). examples of **alternative readings e.g. f.39r**.
 Provenance/history: Patronage - [Mamlūk] *Made for (*bi-rasm*) the library of **Yashbak al-Ashrafī ‘Amīr Dawādār al-Kabīr wa-Bāsh al-‘Asākīr al-Islāmīyah’** (illuminated frontispiece, f.1r).
 - Acquired from Brill, Leiden, 1900
 Other texts/MSS: STM; Commissioned for royal library.
 Notes: Chapter-headings given in a preliminary matter. Fols. 6v-7. Apparently, names Yaḥyā ibn Māsawayh as collaborating in the translation with Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq. Beneath the title, on the title-page, within a circle in gold, dotted in blue, is the following information, which should be compared with the colophon of the seven-book *Princeton Garrett 780* – (Manzalaoui):.....

* A manuscript under the same patronage is found in Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Arabic MS 4169, a panegyric of Prophet Muhammad with a *takhmis* (see A. Schimmel, *Calligraphy & Islamic Culture*, 1983, p.180 n.173) → [i.e. patron: we can build a picture of his library and the kinds of texts he owned].

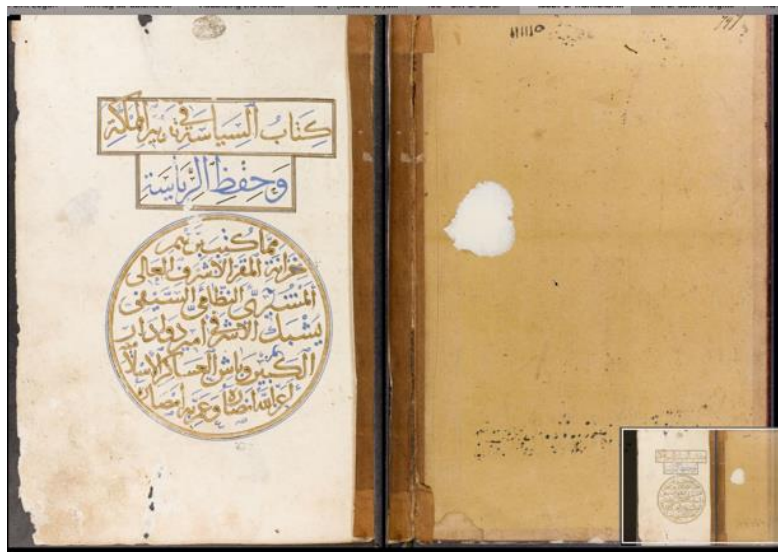
- *Dawādār* [see definition below]

Bibliography:

Catalogue (p.256):

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1GoRaZHcZNWkXoizKNsePvqbq_db-gcYU/view?ts=5d814a25

Princeton Garrett 462H, f.1r:



Princeton Garrett 462H, f.23v-24r:



Princeton Garrett 462H, f.67v:



Images: © Princeton University Library (public domain)

Princeton, Princeton University Library, MS Yahuda 1235

[SF8; Bb]

Folios: ff.2v-41v

Surveyed? *Seen*

Dimensions:

Date: Dated 1138 AH / 1725-6 AD

Version:

Online Availability:

<http://pudl.princeton.edu/viewer.php?obj=9593tx766#page/2/mode/1up>

Script: Ta'liq; corrections in margins; catchwords; overlining.

Paper :

Binding :

Title: *Kitāb Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Riyāsah/ Sirr al-Asrār*Description: - Minor annotations/glosses to explain meanings of terms/phrases
[added before text frame] = for non-Arab/ **Ottoman Turkish** patron reader?

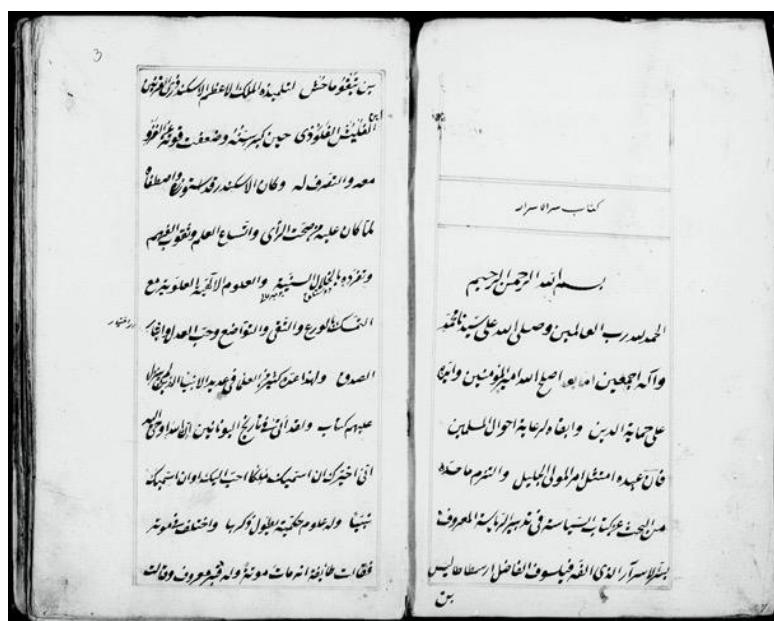
Scribe:

Provenance/history: Ex-libri stamp of A.S. Yahuda. See Colophon on master copy from Fez.

Other texts/MSS: STM.

Notes: Title on f.1v; chapter heading listed on ff.5-5v.

Bibliography: Cat. No.4733.



Princeton, Princeton University Library, MS Garrett, Yahuda Section, 4278

Folios: ff.27r-29r

Surveyed? Seen

Dimensions:

Date: 15thC

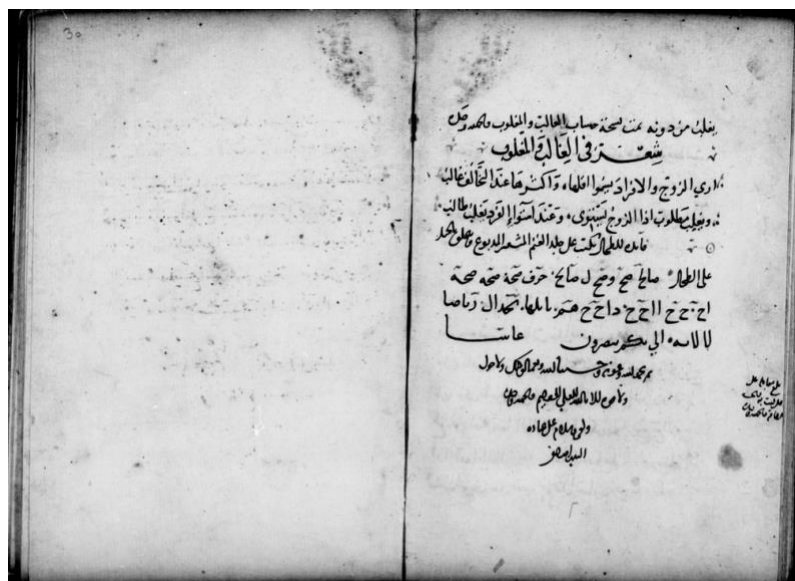
Version: Extract: Onomancy

Online Availability: <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/11651122>

Script: naskh

Other texts/MSS: Majmū'ah, MTM

1. fol. 2b-21a: *Arba'ūn al-Wad'ānīyah* by Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ibn Wad'ān, (d.1101). Ibn Wad'ān
2. fol. 27a-29b: *Kitāb al-Ghālib wa-al-maghlūb*.
3. fol. 31b-44a: *Arba'ūn ḥadīth* of Nawawī, (1233-1277).
4. fol. 45b-48a: *Takhmīs al-Munfarijah* by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh Qurṭubī (*takhmīs* is a special kind of amplification of poetry which flourished as a genre from the 13thC).



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Princeton Garrett 351Y

Onomancy

Folios: ff.4r-5r
 Surveyed? *Seen*
 Dimensions:
 Title: Ḥisāb al-Ghālīb wa-al-Maghlūb
 Date: 15thC
 Version: Extract: Onomancy
 Online Availability: <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9977705913506421>
 Script: *naskh*
 Description: A miscellany, including following topics: Qur'an. Sūrat Yāsīn; astronomy; calendars; prayers and devotion; magic; ,athematics; perfumes.
 Other texts/MSS: *Majmū'ah*, MTM:
 leaves 4a-5a: Ḥisāb al-ghālīb wa-al-maghlūb -- leaves 5a-12b: Da'wat Sūrat Yāsīn al-mubārakah wa-khawāṣṣuhā fī ma'rifat al-sa'āt -- leaves 12b-36a: Hādhihi qā'imah tashtamilu 'alā 'ilm al-Rūm wa-asmā' al-shuhūr -- leaves 36a-38b: Hādhihi risālah tashtamilu 'alā ma'rifat manāzil al-qamar al-thamāniyah wa-'ishrīn manzilah -- leaves 39a-41a: [Jaljalūtīyah] / 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib -- leaves 41b-65b: Asmā' al-riyaḥīyah wa-al-mashmūm wa-al-mat'ūm.
 Provenance: Gifted by Robert Garrett in 1942, who acquired from Abraham Shalom Yahuda, 1942.



Images: © Princeton University Library (public domain)

New York

Library Details:

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS), MS Misc. 2309, Acc. 0900

[RF: 'fairly complete']

Folios:

Surveyed? *Catalogue Info*

Dimensions:

Date: 13thC

Version: LF

Online Availability:

Script: Arabic & Hebrew

Provenance/history: Egypt.

Other texts/MSS:

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, MS ENA 3316

[RF: 'fragments']

Folios:

Surveyed? *Catalogue Info*

Dimensions:

Date: 12th/13thC

Version: SF

Online Availability:

Script:

Paper :

Binding :

Title :

Description:

Scribe:

Provenance/history: Cairo Genizah

Other texts/MSS:

Notes:

Bibliography:

University of Pennsylvania, USA: Philadelphia

Library Details:

Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts University of Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, Lawrence J. Schoenberg Collection, MS LJS 456:

Folios: i+22pages+i; pp.169-212 [modern pagination]; 19.0 x 13.0 cm ; 15ll

Surveyed? *Seen*

Dimensions: 25.6x18.6cm [19x13] bound to 25.6x20.2cm

Date: 797 AH / 1394 CE

Version: SF8

Online Availability:

http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/pageturn.html?q=ljs%20456&id=MEDREN_9958446673503681&rotation=0¤tpage=8

Script: Neat Maghribī script; pointed and vocalised; Al-Andalus? Rubrication in red and blue.

Paper : Watermark: Curved horn with a rope looped between the two ends, centrally placed

Binding : 19th-century red leather with flap (Type II); blind stamped central mandorla with two pendants on the vertical axis; blind tooled frame and border; blue paper doublure with yellow and black painted flower pattern.

Title : *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī tadbīr al-riyāsah*

Description: Incomplete; pages missing between book 2 and health section in book 7.

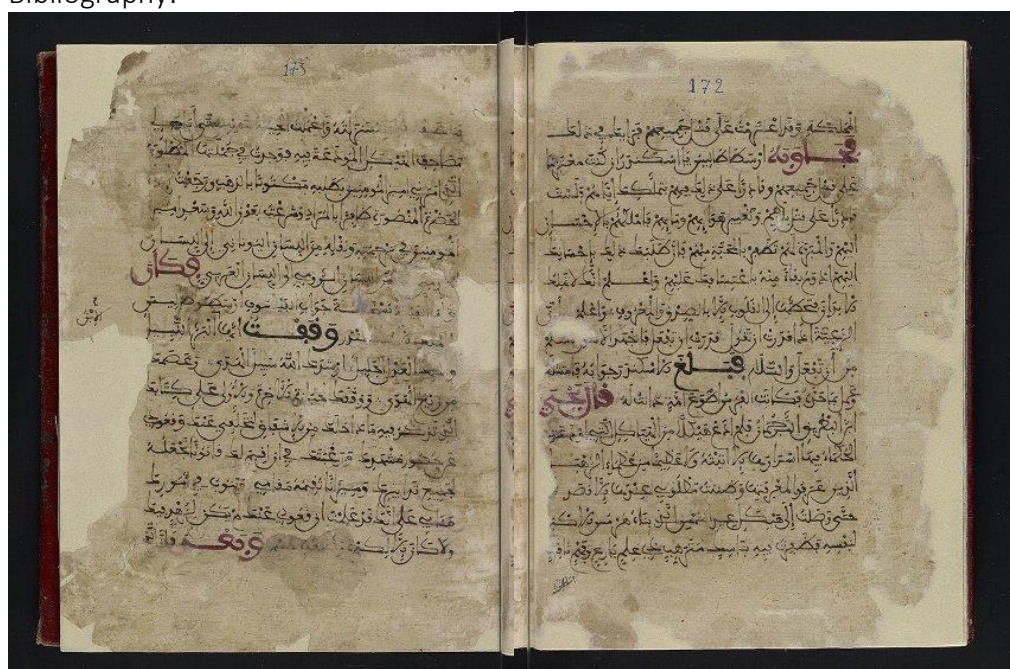
Scribe:

Provenance/history: Andalusia. Purchased, Christies, 14th Oct 2003. Ownership inscriptions on title page but difficult to decipher as much of the page is worn and repaired.

Other texts/MSS:

Notes:

Bibliography:



Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania, Lawrence J. Schoenberg Collection, MS LIS 459:

Folios: ff.1-127, i + 127ff.[later foliation]; 9ll.

Surveyed? *Seen*

Dimensions: 19.0 x 14.0 cm.

Date: 1189-1211

Version: LF ?

Online Availability:

http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/pageturn.html?id=MEDREN_9958033443503681&rotation=0¤tpage=2

Script: Naskh ; some headings in larger naskh, some in thuluth ; opening basmalah in early Abbasid script (f.1v).

Paper :

Binding : 15th-century blind-stamped morocco with flap (Type II), different but coordinating stamps on each board and flap; repaired.

Title : f.1v: *Kitāb al-Siyāsah fī Tadbīr al-Mulk*

Description: - Occasional marginal notes in a later hand.
 - Illuminated name and titles of **Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh (f. 1r)**; bismillāh in blue ink outlined in red (f. 1v); open octagon in gold, red, and blue, with text running around the edge (f. 80r); geometric illustration in black, gold, and red (f. 108v); tables outlined in red ink with headings in red and green ink (f. 114v-117r); names of the planets in coloured inks (f. 124r).
 - Significant words, phrases, and punctuation in red ink.
 - Instrument of Yayastus. Regular **annotations** to some sections.

Provenance/history: Mosul, Iraq, between 1193 and 1211 (reign of owner named on f. 1r).
 Inscribed with name of Zengid atabegs of Mosul, Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh I, ruler of Mosul under the Ayyubids from 1189-1211
 - Formerly owned by Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shah, Turkmen ruler of Mosul, 1193-1211 (illuminated name, f. 1r).
 - Sold by Sam Fogg Ltd., Islamic Calligraphy catalog (2003), no. 25, to Lawrence J. Schoenberg.
 - Deposit by Lawrence J. Schoenberg and Barbara Brizdle, 2012.
 - Gift of Barbara Brizdle Schoenberg, 2016.

Notes:

Bibliography: Catalogue details -

http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/record.html?id=MEDREN_9958033443503681



f.108v

Images: © University of Pennsylvania (public domain)

Unclassified Forms/ Location Unknown:

*Sbath 884 Unknown whereabouts

[SF8? Fa]

Sbath. *Bibliothèque des Manuscrits* [219] 2/86 attributes this to the **13th century AD**. 156 pp; 13 ll.; 28x 18cm. Present whereabouts unknown. For likelihood that this is an SF8 form MS, see Manzalaoui p.225. [GAL, Suppl.bd. 1, 364] (See Sbath, 1500 Manuscripts?)

*Antaki (SBath, Al-Fihris [218] 1/9, no.10)

Unknown whereabouts [Fb]

Sold by the heirs of Constantin Antaki, **Greek Orthodox notable of Aleppo**. Present whereabouts unknown.

*Basile (Sbath, Al-Fihris [218] 1/9, no.10)

Unknown whereabouts [Fc]

Sold by the heirs of Rizq Allāh Basile, **Greek Catholic merchant**. Present whereabouts unknown. Unclear form.

*Alexandria Municipal Library G.3641

Catalogued but missing

[Fd]

In this MS the text is followed by a table, or almanac, of the **Muslim and Eastern Christian months**, drawn up in the **twelfth century AH** by Sharaf al-Dīn b.al-Ḥasan b.Zayd al-Ḥajjaf. The MS was previously catalogued but missing from the library.
