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HISTORICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS AL-FARABI'S TREATISE "RISALA FI-S SIYASA"

The article aims to demonstrate the significance of studying the scholarly legacy of the thinker Abu Nasr al-Farabi through the methodological framework of source studies. It is well known that the philosopher's written heritage initially circulated throughout the world primarily in manuscript form. The scientific novelty of this research lies in the fact that, as a result of our study, nearly ten manuscript versions preserved in various world archives have been identified of the treatise *Risala fi-s Siyasa* (رسالة في السياسة), which was first recognized in the early twentieth century (1901) as part of Abu Nasr al-Farabi's written corpus within the field of global Farabi studies. These manuscripts are examined as independent research objects using innovative perspectives and methods of source studies, with particular attention paid to their historical and chronological characteristics.

One of the main objectives of the study is to demonstrate the importance of developing the source-studies approach within national Farabi studies. In this context, particular emphasis is placed on the necessity of training specialized scholars capable of working directly with the manuscript heritage of al-Farabi in its original form. When studying the written legacy of al-Farabi, it is essential to apply the methods and approaches of source studies in a comprehensive manner. This is due to the fact that a single treatise often exists in several manuscript copies preserved in different archival collections. These copies may differ in terms of their transmission history, preservation context, physical appearance, dating, textual content, as well as their codicological features and data. From this perspective, conducting a historical and chronological analysis of the manuscript versions of the treatise *Risala fi-s Siyasa* (رسالة في السياسة) significantly enhances the scholarly value of the research. As a result of the study, the scientific and methodological examination of the treatise *Risala fi-s Siyasa* is advanced through the application of methods such as collection, classification, description, analysis, systematization, as well as historical-chronological and codicological approaches. This makes it possible to clarify its historical-chronological, paleographic, and codicological characteristics.

Keywords: Abu Nasr al-Farabi, source studies, manuscript, *Risala fi-s Siyasa*, *al-Maw'iza* version, historical-chronological analysis.

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Әбу Насыр әл-Фарабидің «Рисала фи-с Сиаса» (*Risala fi-s Siyasa*) трактатының қолжазбаларына тарихи-хронологиялық талдау

Мақала ойшыл Әбу Насыр әл-Фарабидің ғылыми мұрасын деректану ғылымының әдістері тұрғысынан зерттеудің маңыздылығын көрсетуді мақсат етеді. Ойшылдың жазба мұрасы ең алдымен қолжазба күйінде әлемге таралғаны белгілі. Зерттеудің жаңалығы XX ғасырдың басында (1901 ж.) әлемдік фарабитану ғылымына тұңғыш рет Әбу Насыр әл-Фарабидің жазба мұрасы ретінде танылған «*Рисала фи-с Сиаса*» (*Risala fi-s Siyasa*) (رسالة في السياسة) трактатының біздің ғылыми зерттеуіміздің нәтижесінде әлем мұрағаттарында сақтаулы онға жуық қолжазба нұсқаларының табылуы мен ол қолжазбалардың деректану ғылымының тың көзқарастары мен әдіс-тәсілдері арқылы зерттеу нысанына алынып, тарихи-хронологиялық реті анықталғанымен ерекшеленеді. Зерттеудің міндеті ретінде отандық фарабитану ғылымының деректанулық бағытын дамытудың маңыздылығын көрсету, ол үшін ойшыл әл-Фарабидің ғылыми мұрасын тікелей қолжазбадан оқи алатын арнайы мамандарды даярлаудың қажеттігі атап өтіледі.

Әл-Фарабидің жазба мұрасын зерттеуде деректану ғылымының әдіс-тәсілдері қатар жүруі маңызды. Себебі бір трактат бірнеше нұсқада көшіріліп, түрлі мұрағат қорларда сақталады. Ол нұсқалардың көшірілуі, сақталу ортасы, безендірілуі, уақыты, мәтіні, кодикологиялық ерекшеліктері мен кодикологиялық мәліметтері түрлі болып келеді. Осы тұрғыдан келгенде «*Рисала фи-с Сиаса*» (*Risala fi-s Siyasa*) трактатының қолжазба нұсқаларына тарихи-

хронологиялық талдау жасау зерттеудің ғылыми құндылығын арттыра түседі. Зерттеудің нәтижесі ретінде *жинау, сұрыптау, сипаттау, талдау, жүйелеу, тарихи-хронологиялық, кодикологиялық* зерттеу әдістері арқылы «*Рисала фи-с Сиаса*» (*Risala fi-s Siyasa*) трактатының ғылыми-әдістемелік жағынан зерттелуін жетілдіріп, тарихи-хронологиялық, палеографиялық және кодикологиялық мәліметтері айқындалады.

Түйін сөздер: Әбу Насыр әл-Фараби, деректану, қолжазба, «*Рисала фи-с Сиаса*» трактаты, «*Әл-Мауъиза*» нұсқасы, тарихи-хронологиялық талдау.

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Историко-хронологический анализ рукописей трактата Абу Насра аль-Фараби «Рисала фи-с Сиаса» (*Risala fi-s Siyasa*)

Статья направлена на выявление значимости изучения научного наследия мыслителя Абу Насра аль-Фараби с позиций методов источниковедения. Известно, что письменное наследие философа изначально распространялось в мире преимущественно в рукописной форме. Научная новизна исследования заключается в том, что в результате проведенной работы в мировых архивных собраниях было выявлено около десяти рукописных версий трактата «*Рисала фи-с Сиаса*» (*Risala fi-s Siyasa*) (رسالة في السياسة), который в начале XX века (1901 г.) впервые был признан в рамках мировой фарабиведческой науки как часть письменного наследия Абу Насра аль-Фараби. Указанные рукописи были введены в научный оборот и рассмотрены как объекты исследования с использованием новых подходов и методов источниковедения, что позволило охарактеризовать их историко-хронологические особенности.

В качестве одной из задач исследования обозначается выявление значимости развития источниковедческого направления в отечественном фарабиведении. В этой связи подчеркивается необходимость подготовки специализированных кадров, способных работать с научным наследием аль-Фараби непосредственно по рукописным источникам. При изучении письменного наследия аль-Фараби особое значение имеет комплексное применение методов источниковедения. Это обусловлено тем, что один и тот же трактат нередко существует в нескольких рукописных версиях, хранящихся в различных архивных фондах. Эти версии различаются условиями переписывания и сохранности, временем создания, оформлением, текстологическими особенностями, а также кодикологическими характеристиками и данными. В этом контексте проведение историко-хронологического анализа рукописных версий трактата «*Рисала фи-с Сиаса*» существенно повышает научную ценность исследования. В качестве результата исследования посредством методов сбора, отбора, описания, анализа, систематизации, а также историко-хронологического и кодикологического анализа совершенствуется научно-методологическое изучение трактата «*Рисала фи-с Сиаса*», уточняются его историко-хронологические, палеографические и кодикологические характеристики.

Ключевые слова: Абу Наср аль-Фараби, источниковедение, рукопись, трактат «*Рисала фи-с Сиаса*», версия «*Аль-Мауъиза*», историко-хронологический анализ.

Introduction

The scholarly legacy of Abu Nasr al-Farabi, known as the "Second Teacher", was disseminated throughout the world in manuscript form, and numerous copies of his works are still preserved in archives across the globe. In global Farabi studies, the total number of al-Farabi's treatises is estimated to reach up to two hundred. However, current Farabi studies indicate that only about fifty of the thinker's works are actually in scholarly circulation today. This demonstrates the need for a systematic study of al-Farabi's intellectual heritage. Moreover, some of al-Farabi's treatises that have already

gained recognition worldwide remain insufficiently addressed in national Farabi studies. Born and raised in Otrar, Abu Nasr al-Farabi made a significant contribution to the development of medieval Muslim civilization. The identification, collection, classification, and scholarly description of manuscript copies of his works, the conduct of historical and chronological analysis, the presentation of paleographic and codicological data, as well as the direct translation of his treatises from the original manuscripts in order to clearly define ideas and views that were interpreted differently during the Soviet period, constitute fundamental research efforts aimed at restoring

overlooked aspects of national history. This direction remains a sphere of national Farabi studies that has not yet been systematically developed.

Research methods and materials

The main research methods employed include *collection, classification, description, analysis, systematization, historical-chronological analysis, and codicological research*, applied in order to identify the historical-chronological, paleographic, and codicological data of the treatise *Risala fi-s Siyasa* (رسالة في السياسة). Through the use of the historical-chronological method, the chronology of the copying of the manuscripts of *Risala fi-s Siyasa* was determined. The research materials of this scholarly article consist of manuscript versions of the treatise *Risala fi-s Siyasa* obtained from foreign libraries, archives, and manuscript collections, as well as related research works, scholarly articles, and archival materials.

The historical-chronological method is used to determine the chronological order of the dates of copying of the manuscripts of treatise “*Risala fi-s Siyasa*”. This method is the basis for defining and systematizing the periods of historical writing of the thinker's written heritage (“*Risala fi-s Siyasa*”) in world Farabi studies. Determining the order in which al-Farabi's works were written allows us to continuously monitor the line of scientific ideas in the thinker's works, to determine the historical causes and consequences of differences in continuity and point of view, and to form a whole picture that reveals the full content of the thinker's work.

The use of *codicological research methods* in fulfilling the tasks specified in the project creates an opportunity to fully study the manuscripts of treatise “*Risala fi-s Siyasa*”. This is because the historical, philological, data science, bibliographic, textological and paleographic aspects of the thinker's written heritage are determined simultaneously through codicological research methods. In the description of al-Farabi manuscripts from the codicological method point of view, guided by the external cover, internal condition and content of the manuscripts, the binding of the manuscript, the pattern and features of decoration, the style of writing, the year of copying, place, copyist and seals are studied. Conducting a codicological study of the

manuscripts of al-Farabi's works will help Farabi studies researchers-scientists to provide comprehensive information about the legacy of the thinker.

In the article were used manuscript versions of treatise “*Risala fi-s Siyasa*” such as “The Ayasofya Manuscript” (No. 4855), “The Beirut Manuscript” (Eastern Library), “Manuscript of the Library of the Topkapı Palace Museum” (No. 3195/5) (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi), “Manuscript of the Library of the Topkapı Palace Museum” (No. 3185/4) (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi).

Analysis and Results

The treatise by Abu Nasr al-Farabi (870–950), *Risala fi-s Siyasa* (رسالة في السياسة) (“Treatise on Politics”), is one of his works in the field of *falsafa madaniya* (فلسفة مدنية) (Civil Philosophy) or *falsafa amaliya* (فلسفة عملية) (Practical philosophy). The treatise was first introduced into scholarly circulation in 1901; however, to date, its title has not been conclusively established in scholarship. The text first appeared—and has survived to the present day—under the title *Kalam Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi Wasaya...* (كلام أبي نصر الفارابي في وصايا) (“The Edifying Word of Abu Nasr al-Farabi...”) in the book *Javidan Khirad* (جويدان خرد) (Pers. خرد) (“Eternal Wisdom”) by the medieval scholar, Persian scientist, philosopher, and historian Ibn Miskawayh (born c. 929 – died 1030, Rayy, Iran). As a result of scholarly and source-studies research, it was found that manuscript versions of the treatise are preserved in world archives under various titles, such as *Kalam Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi Wasaya...* (كلام أبي نصر الفارابي في وصايا) (“The Edifying Word of Abu Nasr al-Farabi...”) (Vatican Apostolic Library), *al-Maqala fi-s Siyasa* (المقالة في السياسة) (“Article on Politics”) (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Turkey), and *al-Maw'iza* (الموعظة) (“The Sermon”) (Institute of Arabic Manuscripts, ARE).

Louis Cheikho (1859–1927) was the first scholar to introduce this written heritage (*Risala fi-s Siyasa*) of Abu Nasr al-Farabi into scholarly circulation. His full name is Louis Cheikho bin Yusuf bin Abdu-l Masih bin Yaqub (لويس شيخو بن يوسف بن عبد المسيح بن يعقوب). Louis Cheikho first mentioned this treatise at the “International Congress of Orientalists” [Cheikho, 1897, p. 42] in Paris in 1897 and reported that the manuscript of

the work is kept as a collection in the archive of *al-Maktaba ash-Sharqiya* (المكتبة الشرقية) (Eastern Library) in Beirut.

According to modern scholarship, the earliest version of the treatise was published in two issues (No. 14, 15) of the journal *al-Mashriq* (المشرق) (*The East*) at the beginning of the twentieth century (1901). Louis Cheikho edited and published the manuscript. On the basis of the manuscripts found in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the "Eastern Library" (Beirut), he titled and edited it as *Risala Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi-s Siyasa* ("Treatise on Politics by Abu Nasr al-Farabi"). In the preface to the treatise, Louis Cheikho writes: "...we mentioned in *al-Mashriq* (Issue No. 3) that the 'Eastern Library' in Beirut has an old collection, some of which contain philosophical and some literary treatises. Among them is a treatise by Abu Nasr al-Farabi on politics, which consists of thirteen pages... We found the second version of the treatise in the Vatican Library (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)... such a treatise on politics has never been found in the list of scientific works, and this treatise is separate from al-Farabi's work *as-Siyasa al-Madaniya* (السياسة المدنية) ("Civil Politics"), which can be found in many European libraries... the Vatican version of the treatise begins with: *Kalam Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi Wasaya*... (كلام أبي نصر الفارابي في وصايا) ("The Edifying Word of Abu Nasr al-Farabi"). The introduction in the Beirut version is not found in the Vatican version" (Cheikho, 1901, p. 648).

As the primary sources on the scientific life and written heritage of Abu Nasr al-Farabi, medieval Arabic bibliographic works are used, such as *Al-Fihrist* (الفهرست) (lit. "The Catalog") (Ibn an-Nadim), *Kitab Tabaqat al-Umam* (التعريف بطبقات) ("Book of the Categories of Nations") (al-Qurtubi), *Ikhbaru-l 'Ulama' bi Akhbari-l Hukama* (إخبار العلماء بأخبار الحكماء) ("History of Learned Men") (al-Qifti), *al-Wafi bi-l Wafayat* (الوافي) (by al-Qifti), *al-Wafi bi-l Wafayat* (الوافي) (by al-Qifti), *Through the Deaths* (بالوفيات) (as-Safadi), *Tattimat Siwan al-Hikma* (الحكمة تنمة صوان) ("The Cabinet/Depository of Wisdom") (al-Bayhaki), *Uyun al-anba' fi Tabaqat al-Atibba* (عيون الأنباء في طبقات الأطباء) ("A Literary History of Medicine") (Abu Usaibiya), and *Wafayat al-A'yan wa Anba' Abna az-Zaman* (وفيات الأعيان وأنباء الزمان) ("Deaths of Eminent Men and the Sons of the Epoch; Obituaries of Eminent Men and History of the Contemporaries") (Ibn Khallikan).

However, among the works listed above, the title *Risala fi-s Siyasa* is mentioned only in *Itmam at-Tatimma* (إتمام التتمة) ("The End of Tatimma") (author al-Ghaznawi; year of birth not indicated), which follows the work of al-Bayhaki (Huseyin Ali Mahfuz, 1975, p. 77). The scholar Muhsin Mahdi (1924–2007) states that the main title of *Risala fi-s Siyasa*, published by Louis Cheikho, is *Jawamig as-Siyasa* (جوامع السياسة) ("Aspects of Politics") (Mahdi, 1967, p. 35). Although some classical sources note that Abu Nasr al-Farabi has a work entitled *Jawamig as-Siyasa*, the treatise itself has not yet been found and published. Haji Khalifa, or Katip Çelebi (1609–1657), in his bibliographic work *Kashf az-Zunun an Asami al-Kutub wa-l Funun* (كشف الظنون عن أسامي الكتب والفنون) ("Discovery of Opinions on the Book Names and Branches of Science"), writes: "...al-Farabi is a famous scientist and thinker... he has a book *Jawamig as-Siyasa*" (Haji Khalifa, 1957, p. 39). Ibn Usaibiya, in *Uyun al-Anba'*..., lists it as *Kitab Jawamig as-Siyasa, muhtasar* (كتاب جوامع السياسة مختصر) ("Book on Aspects of Politics", briefly) (Ibn Usaibia, 1957, p. 223). The bibliographic index of as-Safadi (*Al-Wafi bi-l...*) also states *Jawamig as-Siyasa* (جوامع السياسة) ("Aspects of Politics") (as-Safady, 1931, p. 116). However, it is necessary to clarify that the *Risala fi-s Siyasa* and *Jawamig as-Siyasa* examined in this study refer to one and the same work.

The treatise *Risala fi-s Siyasa* was included in the volume *Maqala Falsafia Qadima li Bagd Mashahiri Falasifati al-Arab Muslimin wa Nasara* (مقالة فلسفية قديمة لبعض مشاهير فلاسفة العرب و مسلمين) ("Ancient Philosophical Works of Some Famous Arab Philosophers (Muslim, Christian)") compiled by Louis Cheikho in 1908 and published for the second time (Cheikho, 1911, p. 18). The work was republished in 1911 (Beirut) and in 1985 (Cairo). The text of *Risala fi-s Siyasa* was published in 1952, after Louis Cheikho's publication, within the book by the historian Ibn Miskawayh (929–1030), *Javidan Khirad* (Pers. جاويدان خرد) ("Eternal Wisdom"), also known in Arabic as *al-Hikma al-Khalida* (الحكمة الخالدة) ("Eternal Wisdom"). At that time, the work was published under the title *Kalam Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi Wasaya Ya'ummu Nafuhha Jamig man Yasta'miluha min Jamig Tabakati-n Nas* ("The Edifying Word of Abu Nasr al-Farabi that Brings Success to All Those Who Use It from Among the Human Classes"). *Javidan Khirad* was

compiled and published by the Egyptian scholar Abdu ar-Rahman Badawi (عبد الرحمن بدوي) (1917–2002). The manuscript of *Javidan Khirad* has been preserved as a collection containing ethical aphorisms and precepts and words of wisdom by Persian, Indian, Greek, Arab, and Muslim thinkers. No medieval bibliographic work mentions *Kalam Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi Wasaya...*, which is attributed to al-Farabi in Ibn Miskawayh's work, although Ibn Miskawayh lived in the same period as Abu Nasr al-Farabi. For the first time in 1951, the Turkish scholar Ahmed Ateş (1917–1966) listed *Kalam Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi Wasaya* among al-Farabi's works in "Bibliography of al-Farabi's Works" (*Fârâbî'nin Eserlerinin Bibliyografyası*), published in *Belleten* (Ateş, 1951, p. 15).

Risala fi-s Siyasa was published twice in the late twentieth century on the basis of Louis Cheikho's research. The first publication appears in the collection (works of al-Farabi, al-Magribi, Ibn Sina) entitled *Majmug fi-s Siyasa* (مجموع في السياسة) ("Collection on Politics"), compiled by Fuad Abd al-Munim Ahmed (عبد المنعم أحمد) (Abdül Münim, 1982, p. 5). The second publication appeared in 1991 under the title *Usul wa Qawanin Siyasiya Ya'ummu Nafuha Jamig Man Yasta'miluha* (اصول و قوانين سياسية يعم نفعها الجميع من يستعملها) ("Political Foundations and Laws that Bring Success to Everyone Who Uses It"), published by Abdul Aziz as-Sirvân (عبد العزيز السروان) (as-Sirvân, 1991, p. 18). However, no manuscript of the treatise under the title *Usul wa Qawanin Siyasiya...* has been found. Therefore, there is reason to state that this title was introduced by the editors/compilers. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the treatise was also printed under the title *Risala fi-s Siyasa ash-Sharia li Abi Nasr al-Farabi* (رسالة في السياسة) ("The Treatise on Sharia Policy by Abu Nasr al-Farabi") in Beirut (Lebanon, 2003), in the book *As-Siyasa ash-Sharia. Majmuga rasail* ("Sharia Policy. A Collection of Treatises") (al-Farabi, 2003, p. 24). The collection includes works by al-Farabi (870–950), Dede Khalifa Kamal al-Din (d. 1597), Abul Qasim al-Magribi (370–418), and Ibn Sina (980–1030). In the preface, it is stated that the text of the treatise was taken from the 1901 version of *Risala fi-s Siyasa li Abi Nasr al-Farabi*. Therefore, it can be stated that the title *Risala fi-s Siyasa ash-Sharia* was assigned by the compilers of the collection.

The treatise was republished based on the research of the Turkish scholar Fatih Toktaş. In his

article "*Farabi and Risale fi-s Siyase*" (*Farabi ve Risale fi-s Siyase*) (Toktaş, 2009, p. 175), Toktaş notes that another manuscript of *Risale fi-s Siyase*, under the number 3185/4, is preserved in the Ahmed III archive of the Topkapi Palace (Istanbul), and in 2011 he published the manuscript in his study "Critical Edition of *Risala fi-s Siyasa*" (*Risale fi-s Siyase'nin Tahkiki*) (Toktaş, 2011, p. 93). However, as a result of our research, it was found that the manuscript in the Topkapi archive is preserved under the title *al-Maqala fi-s Siyasa* (المقالة في السياسة) ("An Article on Politics") (al-Farabi). Although Abu Nasr al-Farabi's treatise *Risala fi-s Siyasa* has not been taken as a separate object of study, it has been mentioned in research published since the twentieth century as part of the scholar's written heritage. The English scholar Morton Dunlop (1909–1987) notes *Risala fi-s Siyasa* among al-Farabi's works (Dunlop, 1961, p. 7). The Arab scholar Osman Amin (عثمان أمين) refers to *Risala fi-Siyasa* (Osman Amin, 1965, p. 147). The Iraqi scholar Hussein Mahfouz (حسين محفوظ) cites *Kitab fi Wasaya Ya'ummu Nafuhha Jamig Man Yasta'miluha min Tabakat an-Nas* ("The Edifying Word that Brings Success to All Those Who Use It from Among the Human Classes") (Hussein Ali Mahfouz, 1975, p. 32). The Iraqi scholar Ja'far al-Yasin (جعفر آل ياسين) refers to it as *as-Siyasa al-Ahlaqiya* (السياسة الأخلاقية) ("Ethical Policy") (al-Yasin, 1975, p. 45). Turkish research also cites it as *Risale fi's Siyase* (Bayraktar, 2003, p. 32). As noted above, the manuscripts of Abu Nasr al-Farabi's treatise are preserved in libraries and archives worldwide under different titles. Below, we focus on these versions.

The Javidan Khirad Manuscript

This manuscript version, considered the oldest among the extant copies, is associated with Abu Ali Ahmed ibn Muhammad ibn Yaqub (929–1030), known as Ibn Miskawayh (ابن مسكويه), who lived during the period of Abu Nasr al-Farabi. In his work *Javidan Khirad* (Ibn Miskawayh, 1952, p. 289), it is preserved under the title *Kalam Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi Wasaya ya'ummu Nafuhha Jami man yasta'miluha min Jami Tabakat an-Nas* ("The Edifying Word of Abu Nasr al-Farabi that Brings Success to All Those Who Use It from Among the Entire Human Classes"). The first Egyptian scholar to study the manuscripts of *Javidan Khirad* was Abdu ar-Rahman Badawi (1917–2002), who published the most complete version of the work in

Cairo in 1952. The book consists of five parts. Abu Nasr al-Farabi's treatise *Kalam Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi Wasaya...* appears in the section *Hikam al-Islamiin* (حكم الإسلاميين) ("Muslim Hikmets") of *Javidan Khirad*. This is the final part of the book.

The section *Hikam al-Islamiin* begins with the author Ibn Miskawayh's introductory words: "These are the Hikmet of philosophers and scholars, sharp thinkers, those who sought Islamic teachings. They (Muslims) were famous for reciting wisdom, passing on wisdom from the former past to the latter, and telling good commandments to the former. I have included them in this section to complete the book, if Allah wills, with those who have been selected from them" (Ibn Miskawayh, 1952, p. 267). He then writes: "Hey, Hikmet seeker! Clear your heart for Him! Give your mind to Him! And if you spend your strength (zeal) for Him! In fact, Hikmet is the great blessing that Allah gave to His worshippers, and the wisdom of miracles that He gave to His slaves..." (Ibn Miskawayh, 1952, p. 268).

After the end of this admonition, the section *Adab ibn Muqaffa wa Wasayahu* (اداب ابن المقفع و وصايا) (*The Manners and Commandments of Ibn Muqaffa*) follows. Abu Muhammad Abdullah ibn Muqaffa (106–142) was a Persian scholar. He was born in Iran and died in Baghdad. He begins the introduction: "Hey, student of ethics! First, learn the basics (temel bilgiler), and then learn the branches. Most people do not know usul. Therefore, they sink into the abyss. If anyone can master the basics, then this is enough for him. It is better for him to learn the basics... The word of Abdullah ibn Muqaffa is done" (Ibn Miskawayh, 1952, p. 310).

The next work in the book is Abu Nasr al-Farabi's treatise examined here. Its title is written as *Kalam Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi Wasaya Ya'ummu nafiha Jami man Yasta'miluha min Tabakati-n Nas*. There is no introduction; the basmala (*bismillahi-r Rahmani-r Rahim*) is not mentioned. The text ends with a conclusion. It begins: "He said, every human being, when he looks at himself and deepens himself and others, can see that he is in common with a certain group of people, that one group is on one side or above him in all aspects, and that the next group of people is on one side or below him in all aspects..." (Ibn Miskawayh, 1952, p. 398). The end of the work reads: "...He asked: how can the son of man take revenge on his enemies? What can provoke their anger by doing

this? He said, 'by increasing virtue'" (Ibn Miskawayh, 1952, p. 441). The section *Hikam al-Islamiin* concludes with the work of al-Amari, *Min Wasaya Abi al-Hasan al-Amari wa al-Ababihi* (من وصايا ابي الحسن العامري و آدابه) ("The Commandments and Manners of Abu al-Hasan al-Amari"). Abu al-Hasan ibn Yusuf al-Amari (913–992) was a medieval Persian philosopher born in Nishapur. He wrote works on Islamic religion, philosophy, *aqida*, psychology, and pedagogy. Considering the order of texts in the section *Hikam al-Islamiin* in *Javidan Khirad*, it is evident that the compiler sought to preserve a historical chronological sequence when arranging the materials.

The Ayasofya Manuscript (No. 4855)

Alongside the *Javidan Khirad* version, there is the "Ayasofya-4855" version, preserved under the title *Kalam Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi Wasaya...* ("The Edifying Word of Abu Nasr al-Farabi"). It appears in a single compilation together with works by several authors. The treatises in this compilation were copied by different persons in different years. The manuscript records several dates: "on page 179–713 AH, on page 200–721 AH, and on page 290–23 of the year 733 AH" (Mahdi, 1991, p. 34). The script type is *naskh* (نسخ). The text was copied rather casually in black ink. Some paragraphs and subheadings are written in red ink. Numerous corrections appear in parentheses. Each page contains 16–19 lines of text.

The compilation contains several treatises attributed to al-Farabi. The first is *Kalam Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi Wasaya...*. There is no introduction, and the treatise is incomplete. The text is located on pages 62–63 of the compilation. The beginning reads: "The Edifying Word of Abu Nasr al-Farabi (may Allah bless him and grant him peace!) that will bring success to all classes of people, that every human being has a commonality with a certain group of people when he looks deeply into himself and others... sees... and in the meanwhile he spends all the time he needs to have goodness while struggling to regain his lust from something deceptive" (Ayasofya manuscript No. 4855). This is the shortest preserved version under the title *Kalam Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi Wasaya...* of *Risala fi-s Siyasa*. Thus, the "Ayasofya-4855" version may be dated approximately to the fourteenth century miladi (713, 721, 733 AH). The manuscript, consisting of only two pages, represents an excerpt from the treatise under study. It may be assumed that this copy was made from

one of the *Javidan Khirad* versions, since the title is identical and the dating is close.

The Beirut Manuscript ("Eastern Library")

The Beirut version is preserved under the title *Risala fi-s Siyasa* ("Treatise on Politics") in the "Eastern Library" in Beirut. It is found within an old compilation of 360 pages. No information is provided about the copyist or the date of copying. It is described as a manuscript typical of the eighth–ninth centuries (miladi; late fourteenth century). It is written in *naskh* (نسخ). The number of sheets is 6 (13 pages). Length: 23 cm; width: 8.5 cm. Each page contains 17 lines of text. About 100 pages of the compilation contain excerpts from various old books. The compilation is bound chaotically. The distinctive feature of this version, compared with other copies of the treatise, is that it contains a separate introduction explaining the purpose of writing the book, and an additional paragraph in the *khatima* after the concluding aphorisms.

Louis Cheikho (1710) notes in his research that the manuscript was initially kept in the personal archive of the historian and scholar Zhirjis Safa (1849–1933) in *Dayr al-Qamar* (Lebanon) and was later transferred to the "Eastern Library" (Beirut). The compilation is currently preserved under number 290 in the ethics section of the Taymuriyah Library in Egypt. The manuscript begins with the following introduction: "*The purpose of this work is to briefly focus on the laws of politics that lead to success when the entire human class turns into a class that belongs to it, to each class that belongs to it, as well as to the classes above and below it...*" (Beirut manuscript, "Eastern Library"). The end of the treatise reads: "*This word will be the conclusion of our work. I thank Allah, the Lord of the worlds, with those who thank Him; I send peace upon His Messenger Muhammad and the good ones*" (Beirut manuscript, "Eastern Library"). Such a conclusion is not found in other versions of the treatise.

Manuscript of the Library of the Topkapı Palace Museum (No. 3195/5)

(Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)

This version is preserved under the title *al-Maw'iza* (الموعظة) ("The Sermon") in the Ahmed III Library of the Topkapı Palace (Turkey), under inventory number 3195/5. The date of copying is indicated as 879 AH (9th century). The copyist of the manuscript is Shams al-Din al-Qudsi. The manuscript is preserved as part of a compilation.

The text of *al-Maw'iza* occupies pages 168–189 of the compilation and is written in *naskh* (نسخ) script. The size of the manuscript is 13 × 18 cm. Each page contains 14–15 lines of text. No separate introduction is provided. The work begins with the *basmala* (*Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*) and concludes with a closing passage.

After the *basmala*, the text begins as follows: "*The Second Teacher, Abu Nasr al-Farabi (may Allah be pleased with him!), said in al-Maw'iza: 'Every human being, when he looks at himself and deeply examines himself and others, can see that he shares something in common with a certain group of people; that one group is, in all respects, either on one side or above him, while another group of people is, in all respects, either on one side or below him...'*" (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, manuscript No. 3195/5). In the concluding part, it is stated: "...now, as a conclusion to what has been said, we will draw from the words of the former and the virtuous... it was asked: how can the son of man take revenge on his enemies? What can provoke their anger by doing so? He said: by increasing virtue. Thus, the counsels of Shaykh Abu Nasr were completed. Praise be to Allah" (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, manuscript No. 3195/5).

At the end of the compilation, the following note appears: "...the book was completed with the help and tawfīq of Allah... by Shams al-Din al-Qudsi, in 879 AH, on the fifteenth star of the Great Ramadan" (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, manuscript No. 3195/5). The final page of the manuscript bears the seal of Sultan Ahmed III. The title *Risala fi-s Siyasa* of Abu Nasr al-Farabi's treatise under study is likewise not mentioned in medieval Arabic bibliographic sources. Research works and bibliographic surveys on the scholar's legacy, as well as studies devoted to *Risala fi-s Siyasa*, do not provide information about the version of the treatise known as *al-Maw'iza*.

The Institute of Arabic Manuscripts (No. 385)

Another version preserved under the title *al-Maw'iza* is held at the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts in Cairo (Arab Republic of Egypt), under inventory number 385, in the Department of Philosophical Heritage. This is a microfilm copy. The pages are old and faded.

The manuscript is preserved together with the work of Abu al-Hasan al-'Amiri, *Min Waṣāyā Abī al-Ḥasan al-'Amiri wa Adabihi* ("The Commandments and Manners of Abu al-Hasan al-

'Amiri"). The first frame of the microfilm contains the following information: "Library: Ahmed III; manuscript number: 3195/5; title of the work: *al-Maw'iza*; author: Abu Nasr al-Farabi; date of copying: 879 AH / 1473 CE; number of pages: 33; size: 14 × 18 cm" (Institute of Arabic Manuscripts, microfilm No. 385).

It is evident that this version represents a microfilm copy of the manuscript preserved in the Ahmed III Library of the Topkapı Palace (No. 3195/5). The difference between the two lies in the form of preservation: one is a handwritten manuscript, while the other is a microfilm reproduction. There is no information regarding the date or circumstances under which the microfilm copy was acquired by the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts in Cairo.

Manuscript of the Library of the Topkapı Palace Museum (No. 3185/4)

(Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)

This manuscript of the treatise is preserved under the title *al-Maqāla fi-s Siyāsa* (المقالة في السياسة) ("An Article on Politics") in the Ahmed III Library of the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul (Turkey), under inventory number 3185/4. The text occupies pages 240–263 of a compilation containing works by several authors. The pages of the compilation are thick, and the outer cover is made of grey cardboard. Three seals appear on the front page. The manuscript is clearly copied in large letters in *naskh* (نسخ) script; some letters, however, are missing. The date of copying is given as 884 AH / 1479 CE.

The treatise includes both an introduction, which sets out the purpose of its composition, and a conclusion. The manuscript measures 175 × 120 mm, and each page contains 11 lines of text. The cover bears the title *Majmuga -ar-Rasail* (*Collection of Treatises*). The compilation includes works by four authors. At the top of page 240, where al-Farabi's *al-Maqala fi-s Siyasa* begins, the phrase "*Bismillahi Taman bi Zikrihi*" is written with decorative ornamentation. At the beginning of the treatise (p. 240), the heading reads: "*al-Maqala fi-s Siyasa li Abi Nasr Al-Farabi rahamahu Allah*" ("An Article on Politics by Abu Nasr al-Farabi, may Allah have mercy on him"), followed by the full introduction identical to that found in the Beirut version. No information is provided about the compiler of the collection or the circumstances of its compilation. The treatise concludes on page 263 with the phrase: "...not what you love... what

you seek" (Topkapı Palace Museum Library, manuscript No. 3185/4). The sentence remains incomplete. Several blank folios are attached at the end of the compilation.

Conclusion

According to the data obtained, Abu Nasr al-Farabi's treatise *Risala fi-s Siyasa*, as well as other parts of his written heritage, spread to many countries, and its manuscript copies are preserved in various archival collections. The research has also shown that the treatise circulated under several different titles. At the same time, it is essential to clarify the original title of *Risala fi-s Siyasa*, which constitutes the object of the present study.

As noted above, the work is generally recognized in scholarship under the title *Risala fi-s Siyasa*. However, it remains necessary to demonstrate that this was the title chosen by the author himself, since the treatise appears under other names in manuscript and printed versions. Some copies have survived in manuscript form, while others are known only through published editions. These include:

- *Kalam Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi Wasaya...* ("The Edifying Word of Abu Nasr al-Farabi...");
- *Risala fi-s Siyasa* ("Treatise on Politics");
- *al-Maw'iza* ("The Sermon");
- *al-Maqala fi-s Siyasa* ("An Article on Politics").

It is unlikely that an author would assign several different titles to the same work. Changes in titles may result from the activity of copyists, the absence of a complete version available to them, the loss of the original cover bearing the author's title, or the fading or disappearance of inscriptions. Under such circumstances, a copyist or later researcher may assign a title corresponding to the content of the text, subsequently copying, editing, and publishing it. Therefore, establishing the title originally intended by the author is of particular importance. For this purpose, several principles may be applied:

- reference to the title found in the oldest manuscript version;
- reliance on the title of the most complete version of the work;
- preference for the title most widely recognized in scholarship;
- consideration of the correspondence between the title and the content of the work.

According to the first principle, the title recorded in the oldest version of Abu Nasr al-Farabi's treatise *Risala fi-s Siyasa* is found in the *Javidan Khirad* version, compiled in the tenth–eleventh centuries. In this version, the work is preserved under the title *Kalam Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi Wasaya ya 'ummu nafuha jami' man yasta'miluha min tabaqat al-nas*. Versions of *Javidan Khirad* are relatively widespread. The oldest known copy is preserved in the Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya Library in Cairo, under number 4419, in the section “Adab Talgat” (Literature). This copy dates to 692 AH / 1291 CE (seventh/thirteenth centuries). The name of the copyist is not indicated. No introduction explaining the purpose of the work is present, and the text ends with a conclusion.

According to the second principle, the title of the work in the most complete version is *Risala fi-s Siyasa* (“Treatise on Politics”). This version dates approximately to the eighth/fourteenth century AH and represents the most complete manuscript copy, preserving both the introduction and the conclusion. The manuscript consists of 13 pages. Another distinctive feature of this version is that, in addition to the concluding section, an extra concluding paragraph is included.

With regard to the third principle, the title most widely accepted in scholarship is also *Risala fi-s Siyasa*. The treatise was first introduced into scholarly circulation under this title in 1901. It was edited and published by Louis Cheikho on the basis of manuscript copies preserved in the Eastern Library in Beirut and the Vatican Apostolic Library.

The fourth principle concerns the correspondence between the title and the content of the work. The term *as-siyasa* (“politics”), which remains unchanged in most manuscript titles – *Risala fi-s Siyasa* (“Treatise on Politics”), *al-Maqala fi-s Siyasa* (“An Article on Politics”), and *Jawami' as-Siyasa* (“Aspects of Politics”) – indicates the central theme of the text. The author uses the concept of “politics” to convey the idea that every individual should regulate personal

behavior, govern oneself, and establish proper relations with elders, family members, friends, and adversaries, thereby developing a personal policy that enables one to find and maintain a place in society.

In the oldest version of the treatise, *Kalam Abi Nasr al-Farabi fi Wasaya...*, the word *wasaya* represents the plural form of “edifying counsel” in Arabic, while the term *maw'iza* in *al-Maw'iza* derives from a verb meaning “to admonish” or “to offer counsel” and conveys the notions of “sermon,” “testament,” or “moral exhortation.” From this perspective, none of the handwritten titles of the work contradict its content. On the contrary, the key elements of these titles – “politics,” “sermon,” and “edifying counsel” – complement one another semantically and reflect the genre and intent of the author's work.

In conclusion, Abu Nasr al-Farabi's treatise *Risala fi-s Siyasa* may be understood as a work composed in the form of exhortation, preaching, and moral counsel, emphasizing that human life should be guided by the principles of politics.

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