

القسم الأجنبي

فخر الدين الرازي : حياته وأعماله

ملاحظات حول المصادر

القسم الأول

ملخص

أ . د . عفت الشرقاوي *

تحاول هذه الدراسة التي تأتي في قسمين الكشف عن مصادر حياة فخر الدين الرازي ، وبيان أعماله المنشورة والمخطوطة ، من حيث قيمتها الفكرية في مواجهة قضية العلاقة بين الفكر الديني والفكر الفلسفي التي بلغ الصراع حولها أوجه في عصره .

وكان الغزالي الأشعري (ت . ٥٠٥ هـ) قد سبق الرازي الأشعري (ت . ٦٠٦ هـ) إلى الهجوم على الفلسفة في كتابه تهافت الفلاسفة ، ثم تابعه الرازي - فيما يرى كثيرون - في هذا الموقف النقدي من الفلسفة ، ولكنه فيما يبدو لكثيرين أيضاً يعد تابعاً حقيقياً لفلسفة ابن سينا ، وواحدًا من شراحه الكبار . تلك الازدواجية هي ما تحاول هذه الدراسة تبين ملامحها في مصادره ومصادر مؤرخيه ، وخصوصاً فيما تتجه إليه من الكشف عما تؤكد مؤلفاته من المطابقة المطلقة بين العقل والنقل ، ليصبح علم الكلام في فكره ، وكأنه علم الفلسفة الأولى ، بكل ما يعنيه ذلك من قيام المتكلم الأشعري بدور الفيلسوف المسلم فيما يأتي بعد ذلك من الزمان ، حتى العصر الحديث .



- 45- Kraus, loc. cit.; in appreciation of his intelligence the great mystic Ibn ʿArabī wrote begging him to turn to mysticism. He said: "I have seen of your works and saw the power of imagination and thought which God has bestowed upon you." Ibn ʿArabī, Majūʿ Rasāʿil Ibn ʿArabī, (Hyderabad: Maʿarif, 1938), I. P. 1.
- 46- Although Ibn Taymiyah was influenced by him (see Henri Laoust, Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taki-d-dīn Ahmed b. Taymiya, (Le Caire: l'Institut Francais, 1939), pp. 84 86, he nevertheless attacked him severely in his books; see for example, Ibn Taymiyah, Muwafaqat Sarīh al-Manqūl l-Sarīh al Maʿqūl, (Cairo: Sunnah, 1951, I, p. 1f. and al-Radd ʿala al-Mantiqiyīn, (Bombay: Qayyimah press, 1949), p. 396.
- 47- See Tūsī's criticism of Rāzī's Muhassal, Passim.

- 29- Ibn Khallikān, op. cit., p. 382.
- 30- Subkī, op. cit., V. 33f.
- 31- Al-Safadī, op. cit., p. 257.
- 32- Ibn al-Athīr, A.M. al-Kāmil Vol. 9, Cairo; al-Tijariyyah, n.d., p. 247.
- 33- Ibn Khallikān, loc. cit.
- 34- Ibid.
- 35- Al-Dhahabī, Tārikh, quoted by Kraus, op. cit., p. 132.
- 36- See Sa^oidī, op. cit., p. 215.
- 37- Rāzī, al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr, (Cairo: Bahiyyah, n.d.), I, introduction; see also, M. Sabrī, Mawqif al-^oaql wa al-^oilm, (Cairo: Halabī, 1950, I, p. 209.
- 38- See Rāzī, Jami' al-^oUlum, Index prepared by M. Husain Tasbihi, (Tehran: Asadi, 1967), p. 4; see also Goldziher, Aus der Theologie, p. 223.
- 39- The best handlist of Rāzī's work so far is the one provided by Kholeif, op. cit.; see the appendix, pp. 190 – 203. The number of the books which he arranged in alphabetical order is 119; cf. Anawātī, Mélanges, pp. 201 – 232.
- 40- Ibn Khallikān, op. cit., p. 383.
- 41- Ibid., cf. Rāzī, Muhassal, (Cairo: Husayniyyah, A. H. 1323), Tūsī's commentary, p. 3.
- 42- Ibn Khallikān, loc. cit.
- 43- Al-Shahrazūrī, S.M. Rawdat al-Afrāh wa Nuzhat al-Arwāh, MS., quoted by Kholeif, op. cit., p. 10.
- 44- Van Ess, loc. cit.; Alūsī, Hīwar bayn al-Falāsifah wa al-Mutakallimīn, (Baghdad: Al – Zahra, 1967), p. 126.

- 14- Kholeif, op. cit., pp. 9 – 25, and Appendix, pp. 189 – 203.
- 15- Ibn Abī °Usaybi°ah, op.cit., p. 462; al-Maqdisī, op.cit., p. 68; Khwansāri, op.cit., p. 190; Ibn al-°Imād, op.cit., p. 21; Ibn al-Qiftī, op.cit., p. 291; Ibn Khallikān, op.cit., p. 381.
- 16- Ibn Abī °Usaybi°ah, op.cit., p. 462.
- 17- Ibn al-°Ibrī, Mukhtasar al-Duwal, (Beirut: Kāthulikiyyah, 1958), p. 240.
- 18- Ibn Khallikān, op. cit., p. 382; cf. Goldziher, Aus Der Theologie, des Fachr al Dīn al Rāzī, Der Islam, III, (1912), 222.
- 19- Rāzī, Munāzarāt Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī fī Bilād mā warā' al-Nahr, ed. Kholeif, in A Study on Fakhr al-Dīn, Arabic text, p. 7.
- 20- Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, (Cairo; al-Tijāriyyah, n.d.), IX, 247.
- 21- Safadī, op.cit., p. 249.
- 22- Ibn Abī °Usaybi°ah, op. cit., p. 466; Subki, Tabaqāt al- Shāfi°iyyah, V, 35, Cairo.
- 23- Khwansāri, op. cit., p. 190.
- 24- Ibn Khallikān, op. cit., p. 381.
- 25- Ghāzafī, Maqāsid al-Falāsifah, ed. S. Dunya, (Cairo: Ma°arif, 1961), p. 31; cf. Nasr, op. cit., p. 643.
- 26- See Safadī, op. cit., p. 251; Ibn Khallikān, op. cit., p. 382.
- 27- Implicitly in Rāzī, Munazarāt, p. 32f; explicitly in al-Mabāhith al-Mashriqiyyah (Tehran: al-Asadi, 1966), I, 3 – 5; Cf. Nasr, loc. cit., and J. Van Ess, Die Erkenntnislehre des °Adudaddin al-Ici (Weisbaden Steiner, 1966), p. 31f.
- 28- Related by Safadī, loc. Cit.

- 3- Nasr, S.H., F. al Rāzī; in "A History of Muslim Philosophy", pp. 1, 642 – 644, edited by Sharif, Weisbaden, 1963.
- 4- See R. Arnaldez, "L'oeuvre de F. al Rāzī: commentaire du coran et philosophe, Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, III (1960), 312 – 314.
- 5- Al-Dhahabī, M.H. Al-Tafsīr Wa al-Mufasssīrūn, Cairo, 1961, I, 295.
- 6- Al-Sa'īdī, A. Al Mujadidun fi al Islam, Cairo, 1961, p. 224.
- 7- The concept of the "Century – renovator in Islam" was originally based on a saying attributed to the prophet that every hundred years a renovator of the Muslim's faith would arise in the community. This tradition was cited by Abu Dawūd, Sahīh Sunan al-Mustafā, (Cairo, Taziyyah, n.d.) II, 290; for more information about the concept and the authenticity of the saying, see al-Sa'īdī, ibid., p. 5; Kholeif, A Study on Fakhr al Dīn al Rāzī and his Controversies in Transoxiana, Beirut, Dar al Mashriq, 1966, pp. 9 – 14.
- 8- Rescher, N. The Development of Arabic Logic, (Pittsburgh; University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964) p. 183f.
- 9- Murād, Y. La Physiognomonie Arabe et al Kitab al-Farāsa de Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, 1939), p. 75.
- 10- Rāzī, I'tiqadat, the two introductions by °Abd al-Rāziq and Nashshār, Beirut, 1966.
- 11- Gabrieli, G. Fakhr al-Dīn al- Rāzī, in Isis, VII, (1925, pp. 9 – 13).
- 12- Nadvī, Imam Rāzī (°Azm Garh, Ma°arif Press, 1950, Introduction.
- 13- Anawātī, art. Fakhr al-Dīn al- Rāzī, in E.I. (Leiden: Brill, 1965) and art. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: tamhid li-dirasāt hayatih wa-mu'allafatih, in Mélanges Taha Husain (Cairo: Ma°arif, 1962), pp. 193 – 234.

opened the way for a new system in which theology became a rational philosophy of being and the science *par excellence*.

Footnotes

- 1- Among the important sources which provide some information about Rāzī's life and works are the following:
 - Ibn Abī Usaybi 'ah, °Uyūn al-Anba' fī Tabaqāt al-Atibbā, (Beirut: al-Hayāh, 1965), pp. 462 – 470;
 - Ibn al-Qiftī, Tārikh al-Hukamā, ed. J. Lippert, (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1903), pp. 291 – 293;
 - Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A°yān, (Cairo: Nahdah, 1948), III, 381 – 385;
 - Al-Maqdisī, Abu Shamah, al-Dhayl °Alā al-Rawdatayn, (Cairo: Attar, 1947), p. 68;
 - Khawānsārī, M.B. Rawdāt al-Jannāt, (Tehran: 1306/1888), IV, 190 – 192;
 - Ibn al-°Imād, Shadharāt al-Dhahab, (Cairo; Qudsī, 1931), V, 21f;
 - Ibn Hajar, Lisān al-Mizān, (Hyderabad; Da'irat al-Ma°arif, 1912), IV, 426 – 428;
 - Safadī, al-Wāfi bī al-Wafayāt, ed. S. Dederling, (Damascus: Hashimiyyah, 1959), IV, 248 – 259;
 - Subkī, Tabqāt al-Shāfi iyyah, (Cairo: Husayniyyah, n.d.), V, 33f.
- 2- Kraus, P. "The controversies of F. Al Rāzī", *Islamic Culture*, XII, (1938, pp. 131, 153).

lifetime, they circulated even in distant countries. It was said that the public took them for textbooks and rejected those of former authors.⁴¹ According to Ibn Khallikan, Rāzī was the first to introduce the systematic arrangement so remarkable in his writings, which had never been employed by any person before him.⁴²

Sometimes Rāzī spoke as a philosopher, as in his *al-Mabahith al-Mashriqiyyah* and in his commentary on some works of Ibn Sina such as *al-Isharat* and *Uyun al-Hikmah*. But in other works he was the avid Ash'arī theologian, as in *al-Tafsir al-Kabir*, a voluminous commentary on the Qur'an, where he tried to defend the dogmatic Ash'arī system.

It is perhaps due to his active and sincere participation in two trends of thought, the major concepts of which had already clashed at the hands of Ghāzalī, that Rāzī has remained a controversial figure in the works of medieval and modern scholars. Some have claimed that he was a weak scholar lost in the twilight of false doctrine, never attaining true knowledge.⁴³ Other could easily accuse him of inconsistency and self-contradiction on certain points.⁴⁴ But still others have found in his works the intelligence and depth of an original thinker.⁴⁵ As a matter of fact, Rāzī was a distinguished theologian who tried to establish a new conception of theology. In his attempt to bridge the gap between philosophy and religious tradition he faced all the difficulties which a syncretist must face in his search for a positive compromise. Thus he completely satisfied neither the traditionally minded Muslims like Ibn Taymiyyah⁴⁶ nor the philosophically minded like Tusi⁴⁷. Both camps criticized him severely. But for the Ash'arī theologian at least, Rāzī doubtless

We have accounts from contemporaries referring to him as the one who “turned away from the Sunnah and occupied the attention of the people with books of Ibn Sinā and Aristotle”.²⁸ Ibn Khallikān, a biographer very close in time to Rāzī, reported that the conferences which he held at Herāt were attended by the chiefs of the philosophical schools, who came to propose questions to him and to hear his excellent answers.²⁹

On the other hand, there are accounts about his activities as an Ash‘arī theologian, who defended sunnism against Mu‘tazilis,³⁰ Hanbalis³¹ and Karrāmis.³² According to Ibn Khallikan, these conferences were attended also by the principal doctors of the orthodox sects.³³ A great number of the Karrāmis and other sectarians were said to have been converted to sunni doctrines by his efforts.³⁴ Thus ironically enough, his rationalism appeared so wild to some people that they charged him with having carried it so far as to oppose his authority to the authority of the prophet,³⁵ while on the other hand his achievement on behalf of sunnism appeared so sincere in the opinion of others, that he was called the sixth-century renovator of the Muslim faith.³⁶ He is identified in sunni writings as the Imam (the chief) without any need for mentioning his name,³⁷ but he is also identified as the Imam al-Mushakkikin (the chief of the doubters), probably in Shi‘i writings only, without further qualification.³⁸

Again, as the author of more than one hundred books,³⁹ Rāzī showed his wide range of interests. He wrote on almost every branch of knowledge known in his time. Most of these books, however, deal either with theology or philosophy. Rāzī’s books were considered highly constructive by his contemporaries and successors.⁴⁰ During his

more travels but he finally returned to Herat, where he died in 606 / 1210.²²

The original oriental biographers of Rāzī do not provide us with much information about his early life. The little we know of his education shows a wide range of intellectual interests. The two contemporary trends of thought, the philosophical and the theological, are found side by side in his educational life; he pursued the Ash^carī-Ghāzalīan tradition, as well as the Farabian-Avicennian. The former of these he started with his father, whose pedigree as a theologian went back to al-Ash^carī himself. Later, he pursued this discipline with al-Samnānī²³. The latter he studied with Muhammad al-Baghawī and Magd al-Dīn al-Jīlī²⁴, who was also the teacher of Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl.

Rāzī, apparently by private reading, continued his study of Islamic philosophy in the works of Abu Bakr Al- Rāzī, Farābī, Ibn Sina and Abu al-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, whose names and doctrines appear very often in his works. We shall see later to what extent he was influenced by these philosophers. For the time being it is sufficient to indicate this comprehensive interest of Rāzī, the student, in philosophical as well as theological thought.

As a teacher, Rāzī showed the same attitude. He taught and debated theological as well as philosophical problems. It is here that a real distinction between him and Ghāzalī can be found insofar as their professional careers are concerned. Unlike Ghāzalī who studied philosophy mainly with the aim of refuting the philosophers,²⁵ the Ash^carī Rāzī taught philosophy²⁶ and considered himself to be a philosopher.²⁷

°Abbāsī caliphs to restore the central power of the caliphate were by no means successful. A few decades after Rāzī's death in 606/1210, the °Abbāsī caliphate suffered its final collapse at the hands of the Mongols (656/1258). Rāzī's family is said to have received special consideration during the Mongols' massacre at Herat out of respect for the memory of the learned father.

Rāzī, whose full name was °Abdullah Muhammad B. °Umar B. al-Husayn al-Rāzī, was born in Rayy in 543/1148 to a family famed for its learning and piety.¹⁵ He completed his education at Rayy, then studied at Muraghah under the philosopher Majd al-Dīn al Jīlī.¹⁶ Later, Rāzī set out for different countries, debating and teaching in accordance with the custom of Muslim scholars. In his journeys Rāzī encountered the opposition of many scholars of his time, but he also won the patronage of several princes and sultans.¹⁷

In Khwārizm he engaged in relentless disputation with the Mu°tazilis until they eventually forced him to leave the country.¹⁸ In Transoxiana he met with further opposition because of his controversies with some theologians.¹⁹ In Ghūr he entered into a relationship with Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ghūrī, the ruler of Ghaznah, and with this prince's brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn. Before long, however, he had a serious confrontation with the Karrāmis, following which he was expelled from Ghaznah in an atmosphere of public disorder.²⁰

Returning to Khurasān, he accepted the patronage of °Ala' al-Dīn Khwārizm Shāh Muhammed b. Takash. In his company Rāzī enjoyed a position of great influence. A madrasah was built especially for him in Herat and many disciples gathered there.²¹ Rāzī is said to have had

without an interpretative synthesizing link to unify them: or else to claim an essential identification between the two, through a new system which would be for him both theological and philosophical at the same time.

As a matter of fact, Rāzī was a believer in the simple oneness of truth. It is through this oneness that an actual identification between theology and philosophy could be achieved at his hands. In his writing he does not show the need for a symbolic or allegorical interpretation of the Scripture as we sometimes find in Ibn Rushd, Ghāzalī and Ibn Sina, all of whom had maintained in one way or another a distinction between two different classes of readers, or two different levels of textual interpretation.

Because of this belief in the simple oneness of truth, Rāzī did not address himself directly to the problem of the relation between religion and philosophy. He tried neither to neutralize the relation between the two by way of separation as did Ibn Rushd, nor to affirm the superiority of revelation to reason in the way of Ghāzalī, the theologian or mystic. He simply ignored this basic question, assuming a complete concurrence between his rational presentation of the religious ideals and revelation.

Our biographical observations here on Rāzī's life and works are nothing more than hypothetical considerations of the potentialities of the man who represented both of the supposedly conflicting traditions; namely, philosophy and theology.

Rāzī lived in Persia at a time when the country was disputed among the Saljukis, Khwārizm Shāhs, Ghūris, Assassins of Alamūt and several other groups. The various attempts on the part of the

ra'y al- Jā'iz). The biography of al-Sa^cidī considers the possibility of placing him in the line of "century-renovators"⁶ as the renovator (mujaddid) of the sixth century A.H. in accordance with the suggestion of some sources.⁷ Rescher places him among the Arab logicians,⁸ Murād among the physiognomists,⁹ Nashshar and ^cAbd al-Rāziq among the Muslim heresiographers.¹⁰

More balanced biographies, written with no specific underlying bias, are available to the reader in different languages, thanks to the works of Gabrieli,¹¹ Nadvī,¹² Anawātī,¹³ and Kholeif.¹⁴ The last two biographies represent the best attempts to date in the field in terms of documentation and survey of Rāzī's works.

Since all these biographies and quasi-biographies are available to the reader, and since the aim of furnishing a more comprehensive one is beyond our intention, our purpose here is simply to underline one significant fact, which happens to be particularly relevant to our hypothesis and which has not hitherto been clearly pointed out by previous biographers. This is that Rāzī represented, by his education, profession and writings, both of the supposedly conflicting traditions or currents of thought namely, philosophy and theology. Thus he was potentially prepared to be either a champion of a twofold truth or else a syncretist who could bridge the gap between two separate disciplines stemming from two different cultures, and thus win for philosophy (perhaps after some necessary modification) a permanent place in the Muslim intellectual world. In other words, such a man, thoroughly exposed to, and actively participating in both trends of thought, was bound to take one of two possible attitudes: to maintain some sort of separation between philosophical and theological truths, with or

Fakhr Al Dīn Al Razī
 His Life and Works
 A Note on the Sources
 Part 1
 Dr. Effat Al Sharqāwī

It is not the main purpose of this study to establish a new, detailed biography of Rāzī. Little can we add, in this passing treatment, to the earlier biographies which have made good use of the important original sources¹ and provided the modern reader with an outline of Rāzī's life and works. However, the emphasis in such biographies has varied according to the underlying theme of each study. Thus, while Kraus attempted to show the vigour of Rāzī's spirit, his aggressiveness towards his opponents and his full consciousness of his power,² Nasr, having a particular opinion of the man, pointed out a similarity in terms of career between him and Ghāzalī.³ In this connection he mentioned that each of them had been a Shāfi'ī, was versed in all the sciences and philosophy, was nevertheless opposed to many aspects of the Greek heritage and was critical of the Muslim philosophers and drawn towards Sufism.

Arnaldez's contribution to Rāzī's biography is more profound and interpretative. By attempting to put the man in a more strictly historical context, he tended to interpret Rāzī's thought in the light of a political desire to restore the internal unity of the Muslim world.⁴ Dhahabī's biography presents him in the line of those commentators on the Qur'an who wrote according to the acceptable opinion,⁵ (al-



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Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī

His life and works... Dr. Effat al-Sharqawī 3 - 14

National Library Press

Cairo

2003