

ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF FAKHR AL-DĪN AL-RĀZĪ'S *AL-KHALQ WA AL-BA'TH*

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Abstract

The article seeks to study the work of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (543-606 A.H/1149-1209 A.D), entitled *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*. This work is still available in manuscripts and has not hitherto been published yet. This paper discusses the authorship of the above work by al-Rāzī. This encompasses the issue of the ascription of the work to al-Rāzī, the title, the originality and year of the authorship, and information related to the manuscript and its location. This article also describes the nature and the content of *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* as one among al-Rāzī's works in the field of Kalām.

Keywords: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*; *Ilm al-Kalām*; Manuscript; Köprülü; Hagia Sophia.

Khulasah

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji satu karya Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (543-606 H/1149-1209 M), yang bertajuk *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*. Karya ini masih dalam bentuk manuskrip dan belum diterbitkan. Makalah ini membahaskan tentang penulisan karya tersebut oleh al-Rāzī. Ini merangkumi persoalan

penisbahan karya tersebut kepada al-Rāzī, judul, keaslian dan tahun penulisannya, serta maklumat berkaitan manuskrip kitab tersebut dan lokasinya. Artikel ini juga menerangkan sifat dan kandungan *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* sebagai salah satu karya al-Rāzī dalam bidang Ilmu Kalam.

Kata kunci: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī; *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*; Ilmu Kalam; Manuskrip; Köprülü; Hagia Sophia.

Introduction

Al-Rāzī is widely recognized as a prolific and versatile scholar whose works spanned various disciplines ranging from *kalām*, philosophy, jurisprudence, Islamic legal principles, logic, dialectics, literature, rhetoric, grammar, ethics, geometry, medicine, physiognomy, astrology, to Quranic exegesis.¹ Many Muslim biographers view al-Rāzī as one of the most outstanding and brilliant philosophers, a prolific author and *sui generis* scholar of his age, a leader of the *mutakallimūn*, a great scholar and master of various sciences, the greatest later scholar, and the most prominent scholar of the rational sciences (*al-'ulūm al-'aqliyyah*) who has a long commentary on various sciences. By virtue of such achievements, when commenting on a Ḥadīth which states that in every century God will send a renewer (*al-mujaddid*) to the Muslim community, al-Munāwī (952-1031 A.H./1545-1622 A.D.) regards al-Rāzī as the renewer of the sixth century *Hijra*.²

¹ See Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Zarkān, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī wa Ārā'uḥu al-Kalāmiyyah wa al-Falsafiyah* (Beirut, Dār al-Fikr, 1963), 62-118. Hereinafter cited as *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*.

² Muḥammad al-Mad'ū al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-Qadīr*, 2nd ed., 10 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1972), 2: 282. See also Shams al-Dīn

As far as al-Rāzī's works are concerned, the most striking feature of his intellectual legacy is his works on *kalām*, a science within which he is celebrated as a prominent *mutakallim*. It is for this reason a large number of scholars who study al-Rāzī's intellectual legacy pay great heed to his works on *kalām*. But although al-Rāzī has left a great number of intellectual legacies, some of his *kalām* works have yet to be properly studied. As a result, some studies on al-Rāzī's *kalām* have not studied some of

Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, ed. 'Umad 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, 53 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1990), 43: 211-223; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf and Muḥyī Hilāl al-Sarhān, 25 vols. (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-Risālah, 1984), 21: 500-501; Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar Qādī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah*, 4 vols. (Dā'irah al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyyah: Hyderabad, 1979), 2: 81-84; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Adnarwī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufasssirīn*, ed. Sulaymān ibn Šālīh al-Khizīyy (Medina: Maktabah al-'Ulūm wa al-Ḥikam, 1997); Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah al-Kubrā*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥuluww and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāhī, 6th ed., 10 vols. (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabīyyah, n.d.), 8: 81-97; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Arna'ūt and Maḥmūd al-Arna'ūt, 10 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1986), 7: 40-42; Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn As'ad ibn 'Alīyy ibn Sulaymān al-Yāfi'i, *Mir'at al-Janān wa 'Ibrah al-Yaqzān*, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Imīyyah, 1997), 4: 6-11; Abū al-'Abbās Shams al-Dīn ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. Iḥsā 'Abbās, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār Šādir, 1977), 4: 248-252; Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qifī, *Ikbār al-'Ulamā' bi Akhbār al-Ḥukamā'* (Cairo: Maktabah al-Mutanabbā, n.d.), 190-192; Šalāh al-Dīn Khalīl al-Šafadī, *al-Wāfi bi al-Wafayāt*, ed. Aḥmad al-Arna'ūt and Turkī Muštafā, 29 vols. (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 2000), 4: 175-182; Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'ah, *Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-A'ibbā'*, ed. Nazār Riḍā' (Beirut: Dār Maktabah al-Ḥayāh, n.d.), 462-470. The last three works will be cited as *Ikbār al-'Ulamā'*, *al-Wāfi*, and *Uyūn al-Anbā'* respectively.

those texts, although those texts are very much important, and to a great extent represent al-Rāzī's *kalām* development.

This paper is an attempt to bring to light one of al-Rāzī's *kalām* works which is still available in manuscripts but has hitherto neither been edited nor published, namely *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'ith*. The fundamental matters related to the authenticity of the authorship of *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'ith* including its author, its title, the year of its writing, and its copies will be carried out. It is hoped that this study can be a source of new information regarding *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'ith* and contribute to scholars and students of Fakhrurrazian studies.³

The Author of the Manuscript

There is no single scholar who disputes that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'ith* is written by al-Rāzī.⁴ Nevertheless, this section

³ This term is borrowed from Adi Setia. See, Adi Setia, "The Physical Theory of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī" (Ph.D. diss., International Islamic University Malaysia, 2005); Adi Setia, "The Theologico-Scientific Research Program of the Mutakallimūn: Intellectual Historical Context and Contemporary Concerns with Special Reference to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī," *Islam and Science* 3, no. 2 (Winter 2005): 131, 145, 146; Adi Setia, "Atomism Versus Hylomorphism in the *Kalām* of al-Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: A Preliminary Survey of the Maṭālib al-Āliyyah," *Islam and Science* 4, no. 2 (Winter 2006): 118.

⁴ See al-Qifṭī, *Ikhbār al-'Ulamā'*, 192; al-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi*, 4: 179; Uṣaybi'ah, *Uyūn al-Anbā'*, 470; al-Zarkān, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, 71; Ismā'īl Bāshā al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1955), 2: 107; Faṭḥ Allāh Khalīf, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (Egypt: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1969), 167; Faṭḥ Allāh Khalīf, *A Study on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and His Controversies in Transoxiana* (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1986), 194; Muhammad al-'Uraybī, *al-Munṭalaqāt al-Fikriyyah 'ind al-Imām al-Fakhr al-Rāzī* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Lubnānī, 1992), 113. Further citations of the last four works will be referred to *Hadiyyat al-Ārifīn*, *Fakhr al-Dīn*

will describe some of the proofs demonstrating that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* is indeed the work of al-Rāzī, namely al-Rāzī's citing *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* in his other works, the fact that the work has been mentioned by Muslim biographers of the past, and the consensus of modern scholars who have written about al-Rāzī.⁵

In attributing a text to a particular scholar, the highest degree of certainty is reached when the author mentions within the work itself that the text in question is indeed his work. In such cases, the author may mention explicitly the title of the work, be it on the title page, in the introduction, in the body of the text (*matn*), or in a footnote (*turrah*). In the absence of such evidence, other methods must be turned to in determining authorship, one of which is by referring directly to the author's other works.⁶

With regard to the work under discussion, al-Rāzī has alluded to *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* in his *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-Ḥikmah* and *al-Maḥṣūl fī 'Ilm Uṣūl al-Fiqh*. In *Sharḥ 'Uyūn*, al-Rāzī says, "And concerning this issue, there are complicated and profound studies which have been explained in my book entitled *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*."⁷ Meanwhile, in *al-Maḥṣūl*, al-Rāzī says, "We say that the

al-Rāzī, A Study on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and al-Munṭalaqāt respectively.

⁵ For more detailed about the authenticity of the real author of a manuscript, see 'Abd al-Majīd Diyāb, *Taḥqīq al-Turāth al-'Arabī Manhajuh wa Taṭawwuruh* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, n.d.), 137; 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, *Taḥqīq al-Nuṣūṣ wa Nashruhā*, 7th ed. (Cairo: Maktabah al-Khānjī, 1998), 43. The last work will be cited as *Taḥqīq al-Nuṣūṣ*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 36-38.

⁷ Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-Ḥikmah*, ed. Aḥmad Hījāzī Aḥmad al-Saqā, 3 vols. (Teheran: Mu'assasah al-Ṣādiq, 1994), 3: 94. Hereinafter cited as *Sharḥ 'Uyūn*.

originated being (*al-ḥādīth*) is in need of it [the effecter] (*muftaqir ilayh*) due to the consensus of the Muslims. Even the consensus of the discerning people (*al-'uqalā'*) is in accordance with it. And a more detailed exploration on it (*al-istiḡṣā' fīh*) has been mentioned (*madhkūr*) in our book entitled (*al-musammā*) *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*.⁸

In addition to the above, we find mention of al-Rāzī's other works made in *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* such as *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt wa al-Tanbīhāt*,⁹ *al-Mabāḥith al-Mashriqiyyah fī 'Ilm al-Ilāhiyyāt wa al-Ṭabī'iyyāt*,¹⁰ *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī al-Ḥikmah wa al-Manṭiq*,¹¹ *al-Hayūlā wa al-Ṣūrah*,¹² and *Nihāyat al-'Uqūl fī Dirāyat al-Uṣūl*.¹³ This fact provides us with further certainty that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* is truly written by al-Rāzī.

Further proof can be found when we turn to the works of the Muslim biographers of the past such as al-Qifṭī (568-646 A.H./1172-1248 A.D.), al-Ṣafadī (696-764 A.H./1297-1363 AD.), Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah (600-668 A.H./1203-1270 A.D.), and al-Baghdādī (d. 1339 A.H./1920 A.D.), all of whom attribute *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* to al-Rāzī.¹⁴

For the above reasons, modern Muslim scholars writing about al-Rāzī have ascribed with certainty *al-*

⁸ Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Maḥṣūl fī 'Ilm Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, ed. Tā Hā Jābir Fayyād al-'Alwānī, 3rd ed., 6 vols. (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-Risālah, 1997), 6: 109-110. Hereinafter cited as *al-Maḥṣūl*.

⁹ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 67a; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 40b.

¹⁰ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 50a; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 29b.

¹¹ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 50a; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 29b.

¹² The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 96b; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 59b.

¹³ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 97b; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 59a.

¹⁴ See al-Qifṭī, *Ikhbār al-'Ulamā'*, 192; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 4: 179; Uṣaybi'ah, *Uyūn al-Anbā'*, 470; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Ārifin*, 2: 107.

Khalq wa al-Ba'ṭh to him. Al-Zarkān, for instance, asserts that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'ṭh* is authentically the work of al-Rāzī. Similarly, al-ʿUraybī categorizes the book under the classification of "the works of al-Rāzī of whose titles an original manuscript we know, but have yet to be published."¹⁵ Meanwhile Altaş has with certainty determined the year of authorship of *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'ṭh*.¹⁶

It is interesting to note that despite *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'ṭh* being mentioned as a work of al-Rāzī by so many Muslim scholars and biographers of both past and present, the modern Orientalist biographer, Carl Brockman, fails to make mention of this work in his celebrated *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*.¹⁷

Furthermore, linguistic evidence can be marshalled in support of the conclusion that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'ṭh* is the work of al-Rāzī, in the form of similarity of expressions between those used by al-Rāzī in *Muḥaṣṣal Afkār al-Mutaqaddimīn wa al-Muta'akhhirīn* and *Nihāyat al-'Uqūl* and those found in *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'ṭh*. Some brief examples of such similarity of expression in the above-mentioned three works are shown hereunder:

¹⁵ Al-Zarkān, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, 56-71; al-ʿUraybī, *al-Munṭalaqāt*, 111-113.

¹⁶ Altaş, *Kronolojisi*, (*Kronolojisi*) 127-128; Altaş, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Epistle*, (*Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Epistle*) 64, 70.

¹⁷ Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, Erster Supplementband. I (Leiden, Brill: 1937), 920-24.

The expression from <i>al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th</i>	The expression from <i>Muḥaṣṣal</i>	The expression from <i>Nihāyat al-'Uqūl</i>
<p>الخامس إن النائم قد يرى في النوم شيئا ويجزم بثبوته ثم يبين له في اليقظة أن ذلك الجزم كان باطلا، فإذا جاز ذلك ظهر أن الجزم قد يكون حاصلًا في الباطل.¹⁸</p>	<p>وتألفها إن النائم يرى في النوم شيئا ويجزم بثبوته ثم يبين له في اليقظة أن ذلك الجزم كان باطلا، وإذا جاز ذلك فلم يجوز أن يكون هنا حالة ثالثة يظهر لنا فيها كذب ما رأيناه في اليقظة.¹⁹</p>	<p>ومنها: أن النائم يشاهد صوراً يجزم بوجودها حال نومه، ثم ينتقل إلى حالة أخرى يظهر له هناك أن الذي شاهده في الحالة الأولى كان خيالا وباطلا، فإذا جاز لك جاز أن يكون هناك حالة أخرى ينتقل إليها، وفيها يظهر أن الذي شاهده حال اليقظة كان أيضا خيالا باطلا.²⁰</p>

¹⁸ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 5b; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 4a.

¹⁹ Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal Afkār al-Mutaqaddimīn wa al-Muta'akhhirīn*, with introduction and commentary by Samīḥ Daḡhīm (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Lubnānī, 1992), 28. Hereinafter cited as *Muḥaṣṣal*.

²⁰ Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Nihāyat al-'Uqūl fī Dirāyat al-Uṣūl*, ed. Sa'īd 'Abd al-Laṭīf Fūdāh, 4 vols. (Beirut Dār al-Dhakhā'ir, 2015), 1: 168. Hereinafter cited as *Nihāyat al-'Uqūl*.

<p>السابع إنا نرى الثلج في غاية البياض، ثم إذا نظرنا إليه وتأملنا فيه تأملا مركبا من أجزاء جمدية بالإستقصاء وجدناه مركبا من أجزاء جمدية صغار، تلك الأجزاء شقاف خال عن اللون، فالثلج في نفسه غير ملون مع أنا في نراه ملونا بلون البياض.²² أول الأمر نجزم جزما ضروريا ببياضه.²¹</p>	<p>وخامسها إنا نرى الثلج في غاية البياض، ثم إذا نظرنا إليه رأيناه مركبا من أجزاء جمدية صغار، وكل واحد من تلك الأجزاء شقاف خال عن اللون، فالثلج في نفسه غير ملون مع أنا نراه ملونا بلون البياض.²²</p>	
<p>الأول إنا إذا رأينا زيدا ثم أغمضنا العين لحظة ثم فتحناها وشاهدنا زيدا مرة أخرى جزمنا بأن زيدا الذي شاهدناه ثانيا هو زيدا الذي شاهدناه أولا، وهذا الجزم فاسد. أما على قول</p>	<p>أحدها: إنا إذا رأينا زيدا ثم غمضنا العين لحظة، ثم فتحنا في الحال وشاهدنا زيدا مرة أخرى، جزمنا أن زيدا الذي شاهدناه هو الذي شاهدناه أولا، وهذا الجزم</p>	<p>منها: أن العلم الضروري حاصلٌ بأن زيدا المشاهد صحوة النهار هو التي شوهد بالبكرة، مع اتفاق المسلمين أن الله تعالى يجوز أن يكون قد خلق شخصا مثل زيد من</p>

²¹ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 5b; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 4a-4b.

²² Al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, 29.

<p>المليين فلاحتمال أن الله تعالى أعدم زيدا الأول في تلك اللحظة اللطيفة وخلق التي غمضنا العين فيها، وفي الحال مثله وهذا على قول العليين فلاحتمال أنه حدث بشكل غريب وأما على مذهب المسلمين. أنه حدث بشكل غريب وأما على مذهب الفلاسفة فلعله حدث شكل غريب، فلكي اقتضى هذا النوع في التصرف في هيولى عالم الكون والفساد، وهو إن كان بعيدا جدا لكنه جائز عندهم، وعلى هذا التقدير يكون الزيد الذي شاهدناه ثانيا غير الزيد الأول.²³</p>	<p>جميع الوجوه، فمع هذا التجويز لا يكون ذلك كان الجزم صحيحاً.²⁵</p>	
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²³ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 4b; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 3b.

²⁴ Al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, 35.

²⁵ Al-Rāzī, *Nihāyat al-'Uqūl*, 1: 166.

<p>الثاني إني إذا شاهدت إنسانا أو شيخا علمنا بالضرورة أنه ما خلق الآن دفعة واحدة من غير أب وأم، بل كان قبل ذلك طفلا ومترعرا وشابا حتى صار الآن شيخا، وهذا الجرم باطل على قول الملمين والعلمين لما تقدم.²⁶</p>	<p>الثاني: أنا إذا شاهدنا إنسانا أو شيخا علمنا بالضرورة أنه ما خلق الآن دفعة واحدة من غير أب وأم، بل كان قبل ذلك طفلا ومترعرا وشابا حتى صار الآن شيخا، وهذا الجرم غير ثابت، أما على مذهب المسلمين فللفاعل المختار، وأما على مذهب الفلاسفة فللشكل الغريب.²⁷</p>	
<p>الثالث إني إذا خرجت من داري فإني أعلم أن ما فيها من الأواني لم يتقلب أناسا فضلاء مدققين في علوم المنطق والهندسة والإلهيات</p>	<p>الثالث: أني إذا خرجت من داري فإني أعلم ما فيها من الأواني وغيره لم يتقلب أناسا فضلاء مدققين في علوم المنطق</p>	<p>ومنها: أن الواحد منا إذا خرج من داره فإنه يجور من الله تعالى أن يتقلب ما فيه من الأواني أناساً علماء، ومع هذا</p>

²⁶ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 4b-5a; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 3b.

²⁷ Al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, 35.

<p>ولم ينقلب ما فيها من الأحجار ذهباً وياقوتاً وأنه ليس تحت رجلي ياقوتة مقدار مائة ألف مز وأن مياه البحار والأودية لم ينقلب دماً ودهناً، والإحتمال في الكل قائم للسبب المذكور، ولا يندفع هذا الإحتمال بأني لما نظرت إليها ثانياً وجدتها كما كانت لاحتمال أن يقال إنها إنقلبت إلى هذه الصفات زمان غيبتني عنها ثم عند عودي إليها صارت كما كانت.²⁸</p>	<p>والهندسة، ولم ينقلب ما فيها من الأحجار ذهباً وياقوتاً، وأنه ليس تحت رجلي ياقوت بمقدار مائة ألف من، وأن مياه البحار والأودية لم ينقلب أدماً ودهنًا، والإحتمال في الكل قائم. ولا يندفع ذلك بأني إذا نظرت إليها ثانياً وجدتها كما كانت لاحتمال أن يقال إنها إنقلبت إلى هذه الصفات في زمان غيبتني عنها، ثم عند عودي إليها صارت كما كانت للفاعل المختار أو للشكل الغريب.²⁹</p>	<p>التجويز، كان ينبغي أن لا يحصل الجزم بعدم ذلك، فلما حصل كان ذلك كان الجزم باطلاً.³⁰</p>
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²⁸ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 5a; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 3b-4a.

²⁹ Al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, 35.

³⁰ Al-Rāzī, *Nihāyat al-'Uqūl*, 1: 166-167.

<p>الرابع إذا خاطبت إنسانا فتكلم بكلام منظوم مرتب يوافق خطابي جزمتم جزما قاطعما بكونه حيا عاقلا فاهما، وهذا الجزم غير ثابت لأن المقتضى لذلك الجزم إما أقواله أو أفعاله، أما أقواله فلا توجب لأنها أصوات مقطعة وحصولها في الذات لا يقتضى كون الذات حية عاقلة، وأما الأفعال فلا يدل أيضا لاحتتمال أن الفاعل المختار أو الشكل الغريب الفلكي إقتضى حصول تلك الأفعال المخصوصة الدالة على ما يوافق غرض المخاطب أو الجن أو الملك تكلم نفذ في قلبه وتكلم،</p>	<p>الرابع: إذا خاطبت إنسانا يتكلم بكلام منظوم مرتب يوافق خطابي، فعلتم بالضرورة أنه حي عاقل فاهم، وهذا الجزم غير ثابت لأن المقتضى لذلك الجزم إما أقواله أو أفعالها. أما الأول فلا يوجب لأنها أصوات منقطعة وحصولها في الذات لا يقتضى كون الذات حيا عاقلا. وأما الأفعال فلا تدل أيضا لاحتتمال أن الفاعل المختار أو الشكل الغريب اقتضى حصول تلك الأفعال المخصوصة الدالة على ما يوافق غرض المخاطب: فثبت أن</p>	
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<p>ومع هذه الإحتمالات لا يكون ذلك الجزم فاسدا، لا يقال هذا وإن كان محتملا نظرا إلى ذاته لكن الدليل العقلي قام على أنه لا يقع لأننا نقول لو كان الأمر كذلك لكان الجاهل بذلك الدليل غير آمن من وقوع هذه الأمور، ولما كان ذلك باطلا علمنا فساد قولهم.³¹</p>	<p>القول والفعل لا يدلان على كونه حيا عاقلا فاهما، مع أنا نضطر إلى العلم بذلك.³²</p>	
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No less important is the fact that besides being cited by Muslim biographers of the past, a Muslim scholar such as Burhān al-Dīn Abī al-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Umar al-Biqā‘iyy (809-885 A.H./1407-1480 A.D.) also made use of the work’s content. In his voluminous *Naẓm al-Durar fī Tanāsub al-Āyāt wa al-Suwar*, for instance, al-Biqā‘iyy does not merely paraphrase al-Rāzī’s expressions but quotes them directly.³³ Although from the published *Naẓm al-Durar* available to us there is found no explicit information telling us that al-Biqā‘iyy has quoted *al-*

³¹ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 5a-5b; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 4a.

³² Al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, 35.

³³ See Khayr al-Dīn al-Zirikī, *al-‘Alām*, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-‘Ilm li al-Malāyīm, 2002), 1: 56.

Khalq wa al-Ba'th, yet since al-Biqā'īyy lived after al-Rāzī, we can be reasonably certain that the quotations in question were taken from al-Rāzī's *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*.

This clearly shows that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* was already known at this time and had already attracted the attention of scholars. The content quoted by al-Biqā'īyy is related to the miraculous anatomy of the human body, which al-Rāzī puts forth as proof for the existence of God. For the purpose of comparison, a slight sample of al-Biqā'īyy's expression juxtaposed with that of al-Rāzī is shown below:

Al-Biqā'īyy's expression	Al-Rāzī's expression
وذلك بعد تقسيم أجزائه إلى عظام وعروق وأعصاب وأوتار ولحم، فدور الرأس وشق في جانبيه السمع وفي مقدمه المبصر والأنف والفم، وشق في البدن سائر المنافذ ثم مد اليدين والرجلين وقسم رؤوسها بالأصابع، وركب الأعضاء الباطنة من القلب والمعدة والكبد والطحال والرئة والمثانة، فسبحان من خلق تلك الأشياء من نطفة سخيصة مهينة كَوْن منها العظام مع قوتها	ثم قسم أجزاء النطفة إلى العظام والأعصاب والعروق والأوتار واللحم، ثم كيف ركب منها هذه الأعضاء الظاهرة فدور الرأس وشق السمع والبصر والأنف وسائر المنافذ ثم مد اليد والرجل وقسم رؤوسها بالأصابع ثم كيف ركب الأعضاء الباطنة من القلب والمعدة والكبد والطحال والرئة والمثانة وانظر إلى العظام وهي أجسام قوية صلبة كيف خلقها من نطفة سخيصة ثم

<p>شدتها وجعلها عماد البدن وقوامه وقدرها بمقادير وأشكال مختلفة، فمنها صغير وكبير، وطويل وقصير، وعريض ومستدير، ومجوف ومصمت، ودقيق وثخين، ولم يجعلها عظماً واحداً لأن الإنسان محتاج إلى الحركة بجملة بدنه وبعض أعضائه ثم جعل بين تلك العظام مفاصل ثم وصلها بأوتار أثبتها من أحد طرفي العظم وألصقها بالطرف الآخر بالرباط له ثم خلق في أحد طرفي العظم زوائد خارجة، وفي الآخر حفراً موافقة لشكر الزوائد لتدخل فيها، وخلق الرأس مع كريمة من خمسة وخمسين عظماً مختلفة الأشكال وألف بعضها مع بعض، فجعل في القحف ستة وفي اللحي الأعلى أربعة عشر، واثنان للأسفل، والباقي في الأسنان، وجعل الرقبة</p>	<p>جعلها قواماً للبدن وعماداً له ثم قدرها بمقادير مختلفة فمنه صغير وكبير وطويل ومستدير ومجوف ومصمت وعريض ودقيق. ولما كان الإنسان محتاجاً إلى الحركة يحملها بدنه وينفض أعضائه للتردد في حاجته لم يجعله عظماً واحداً بل عظاماً كثيرة بينها مفاصل، ثم فصل مفاصلها بأوتاد أثبتها من أحد طرفي العظم وألصقها بالطرف الآخر كالرباط له، ثم خلق في أحد طرفي العظم زوائد خارجة منه وفي الطرف الآخر حفراً موافقة لشكل الزوائد ليدخل فيها وينطبق عليها. ثم انظر كيف خلق عظام الرأس من خمس وخمسين عظماً مختلفة الأشكال والصور وألف بعضها إلى بعض بحيث استوى به كرة الرأس، فمنها ستة في القحف وأربعة عشر للحي</p>
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<p>مركباً للرأس وركبها من سبع خرزات فيها تجويفات وزيادات ونقصانات لينطبق بعضها على بعض، وركب الظهر من أربع وعشرين خرزة وعظم العجز من ثلاثة أجزاء، وجعل من أسفله عظم العصعص أو اللفة من ثلاثة أجزاء مختلفة، ثم وصل عظام الظهر بعظام الصدر وعظام الكتف وغيرها حتى بلغ مجموع عظام بدن الإنسان مائتي عظم وثمانية وأربعين عظماً سوى العظام التي حشا بها خلل المفاصل.³⁴</p>	<p>الأعلى وإثنان للأسفل والبقية هي الأسنان بعضها عريضة صالحة للطحن وبعضها حادة صالحة للقطع، ثم جعل الرقبة مركباً للرأس وركبها من سبع خرزات مجوفات مستديرات فيها تجويفات وزيادات ونقصانات لينطبق بعضها على بعض، ثم ركب الرقبة على الظهر وجعل الظهر مركباً من أربع وعشرين خرزة وركب عظم العجز من ثلاثة أجزاء مختلفة ويتصل به من أسفله عظم العصعص وهو مؤلف من ثلاثة أجزاء مختلفة، ثم وصل عظام الظهر بعظام الصدر وعظام الكتف وغيرها حتى بلغ مجموع عدد العظام في بدن الإنسان مائتي عظم وثمانية</p>
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³⁴ Burhān al-Dīn Abī al-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Umar al-Biqā‘iyy, *Naẓm al-Durar fī Tanāsub al-Āyāt wa al-Suwar*, 22 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 1984), 21: 126 ff.

	وأربعين عظما سوى العظام الصغيرة التي حشتها خلل المفاصل. ³⁵
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In conclusion, evidence derived from the great scholars of the past as well as from a study of the work of al-Rāzī himself leaves almost no room for doubt that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* is authentically the work of al-Rāzī.

The Title

Establishing the title and date of a manuscript is another fundamental matter in manuscript verification, yet it can be challenging, especially when the manuscript does not contain a clearly stated title or date. A title or date can be absent from a manuscript for several reasons, such as the author neglecting to mention them, a missing first folio, or the effacement of the title or date from the manuscript. It also happens that every so often a manuscript does provide a clear title, but the content of the manuscript does not represent the title.³⁶ In light of the above considerations, how can we achieve certainty as regards the title of al-Rāzī's *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*?

As with the question of the authorship of *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*, its title has never been an issue of dispute among scholars. In mentioning the title, the following variant wordings, bearing no significant difference, are known to exist: *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*, *Kitāb al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*, *al-Risālah Kitāb fī al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*, or *Risālah li Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*—all of which have been cited by al-

³⁵ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 106a ff.; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 65b ff.

³⁶ Hārūn, *Taḥqīq al-Nuṣūṣ*, 43; al-'Awnīy, *al-Unwān al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25.

Rāzī and al-Şafadī,³⁷ the Muslim biographers,³⁸ and the manuscripts respectively.³⁹

Aside from the Hagia Sophia, most references are in agreement in calling the work in question *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*. Slight differences occur only in the words *kitāb* (the book), *al-risālah* (the treatise), and *kitāb fī* (the book on) respectively. Such differences are not significant, they are all grammatically and logically acceptable.

In fact, the nature of the Arabic language itself gives wide and flexible opportunity for interpreting the grammatical and linguistic case in question. Similarly, when Muslim scholars begin their title with a noun in the genitive case (*iḍāfah* or *majrūr*), as in al-Rāzī's *al-Arba 'īn fī Uşūl al-Dīn*. Here the genitive case seems to occur with no specific cause, but the cause is actually the *iḍāfah* or *majrūr* construction caused by a preposition not explicitly stated, hence we can interpret the title to be either *al-Kitāb fī al-Arba 'īn fī Uşūl al-Dīn* (The Book on Forty Issues Concerning the Principles of Religion), *Fī al-Arba 'īn fī Uşūl al-Dīn* (On the Forty Issues Concerning the Principles of Religion), or *Kitāb al-Arba 'īn fī Uşūl al-Dīn* (The Book of Forty Issues Concerning the Principles of Religion). Again, all of these interpretations are grammatically and logically acceptable.

In summary and based on what we have discussed above, the slight differences in the title of al-Rāzī's *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* are not really essential and of little consequence. Thus after taking into account how al-Rāzī refers to the work himself, how the Muslim biographers

³⁷ Al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ 'Uyūn*, 3: 94; al-Şafadī, *al-Wāfī*, 4: 179.

³⁸ Al-Qifṭī, *Ikhbār al-'Ulamā'*, 192; Uşaybi'ah, *'Uyūn al-Anbā'*, 470; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'Arifīn*, 2: 107.

³⁹ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 1b; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 1b.

cite it, and how it appears on the manuscripts, we may confidently ascribe it the title *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*. Moreover, al-Rāzī's conjoining the phrase *al-musammā* (entitled) to the title *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* is something that needs to be borne in mind when settling the discussion on this matter.⁴⁰

The Originality

Now that we are certain that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* can be ascribed to al-Rāzī, the next question to be dealt with is the issue of the manuscript's originality. Is the manuscript at our disposal now really *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* of al-Rāzī and not another of his works? We know that it is commonplace in manuscript studies to encounter mistakes made by a copyist in the giving of a particular title to a particular work.⁴¹ Furthermore, in the manuscripts under discussion, al-Rāzī does not mention that it is his *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*.

In establishing that the manuscript in question is indeed al-Rāzī's *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*, we will use evidence derived from reading *Sharḥ 'Uyūn* and *al-Maḥṣūl*, wherein al-Rāzī himself cites his *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*.

The citation of *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* in *Sharḥ 'Uyūn* is basically al-Rāzī's commentary (*sharḥ*) on Ibn Sīnā's view concerning contingent being (*al-mumkin*). Ibn Sīnā says that in order for contingent being to exist, it needs a determinant (*murajjih*). Al-Rāzī then gives his own commentary on the issue, explaining that there are two views: first, the view which argues that knowledge of the

⁴⁰ Al-'Awnīy, *al-'Unwān al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 37-38.

⁴¹ 'Abd Allāh al-Kamālī, *Kitābat al-Baḥth wa Taḥqīq al-Makhṭūṭah* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2001), 97.

need of a determinant is self-evident knowledge (*badīhī*); and second, the view which argues that knowledge of such issue is inferential knowledge (*istidlāl*).⁴²

The above discussion can also be found in *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* where the issue is discussed and elaborated in a complicated and profound explanation, as opposed to the concise and brief form in which it is discussed in his *Sharḥ 'Uyūn*.⁴³ Samples of the similar discussion of the idea in both texts are given as follows:

The expression from <i>Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-Ḥikmah</i>	The expression from <i>al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th</i>
<p>واعلم أن الجمهور العقلاء اتفقوا على أن الممكن لا بد له من مرجح، ثم اختلفوا فمنهم من قال العلم بافتقار الممكن إلى المرجح علم بديهي، ومنهم من قال إنه علم استدلالي. أما الأولون فقالوا: إنا متى استحضرنّا فق عقولنا أن الوجود والعدم بالنسبة إلى الماهية سببان قضى العقل بأنه لا رجحان لأحدهما على الآخر إلا بسبب</p>	<p>سلمنا أنه لا واسطة فلم لا يجوز أن يقال كل موجود ممكن قوله كل ممكن فله سبب؟ قلنا للعقلاء في هذا المقام قولان: أحدهما إن هذه المقدمة بديهية؛ وثانيهما إنما برهانية. أما المذهب الأول فالكلام عليه أنا لا نسلم كونها بديهية. لا يقال إنما عرفنا كون هذه المقدمة بديهية لأننا رأينا العقلاء إذا أحسّوا بحدوث حادث طلبوا له سببا وإذا</p>

⁴² Al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ 'Uyūn*, 3: 93-94.

⁴³ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 21b-33a; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 12a-20a.

<p>منفصل. وأما القائلون بأنه استدلالي فقد احتج بعضهم عليه بأن قال: الممكن هو الذي يستوي طرفاه. فلو كان أحدهما راجحا على الآخر، لكان حصول هذا الرجحان مناقضا لذلك الإستواء وأنه يوجب الجمع بين النقيضين.... ولنا في هذا المقام أبحاث غامضة عميقة ذكرناها في كتابنا المسمى "الخلق والبعث"⁴⁴</p>	<p>سمعوا صوت إنسان إضطرتوا إلى العلم بحضور ذلك الإنسان وإذا رأوا حدوث بناء قطعوا بوجود بان بل الطفل إذا وجد في مكانه طعاما لم يكن أو غاب عنه شيء كان فإنه يصح ويقول من الذي وضعه ومن الذي أخذه وكل ذلك يدل على أن العلم الضروري بهذه المقدمة مركوز في الطباع بل البهيمة إذا سمع صوت الخشبة فرت وليس فرارها إلا لأن شعورها بصوت الخشبة استلزم شعورها بوجود الخشبة فثبت بهذه التنبهات كون هذه القضية بديهية....</p> <p>أما المذهب الثاني وهو قول من يقول هذه المقدمة إستدلالية وأجود ما قيل فيه إن الممكن هو الذي استوى طرفاه فلو ترجح أحد</p>
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⁴⁴ Al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ 'Uyūn*, 3: 93-94.

	<p>الطرفين من غير مرجح لم يحصل الإستواء فيلزم التناقض وقد قلنا فيما تقدم إن التناقض غير لازم لأن الإستواء نظرا إلى الماهية لا يناقض وقوع الرجحان لا لمرجح أصلا بل لو كان الرجحان مستندا إلى الماهية لزم التناقض، فأما إذا لم يستند الرجحان إلى شئ لا إلى الماهية ولا إلى غيرها لم يلزم التناقض. سلمنا أن ما ذكرتموه من ادعاء الضرورة أو البرهان يوجب القول بافتقار الممكن إلى المؤثر لكنه معارض بأربعة عشر وجهها....⁴⁵</p>
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Another piece of evidence leading us to conclude that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* is al-Rāzī's work is his statement in *Sharḥ 'Uyūn*. After briefly presenting the above elaboration, al-Rāzī says, "And concerning this issue there are complicated and profound studies which have been explained in my book entitled *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*."⁴⁶

⁴⁵ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 21b-23b; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 13a-14b.

⁴⁶ Al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ 'Uyūn*, 3: 94.

A similar citation of *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* can also be found in *al-Maḥṣūl* where al-Rāzī is discussing *al-istiṣhāb*, whose validity as a legalistic proof is a disputed issue (*al-adillah al-mukhtalaf fihā*) among the scholars of *uṣūl al-fiqh*. In defending the validity of *al-istiṣhāb*, al-Rāzī presents several arguments, the most interesting of which, perhaps, being those which are infused with his views on *kalām*.

Al-Rāzī says that immediate knowledge of the realization of a command (*taḥaqquq amr*) leads to its subsisting (*baqā'*) knowledge in the future, for the subsister (*al-bāqī*) does not need the effector (*al-mu'aththir*) whereas originated being (*al-ḥādith*) is always in need of the effector (*muftaqir ilayh*); and something which does not need the effector has a preponderant existence over something which needs the effector. Al-Rāzī then asserts that a more detailed discussion of the issue has been elaborated in his book entitled *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*.⁴⁷

The above citation in *al-Maḥṣūl* can be found in *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*, more precisely in the chapter I (*al-bāb al-awwal*), sub-chapter III (*al-faṣl al-thālith*) when al-Rāzī is discussing the fourteen doubts raised by those who doubt that contingent being is in need of an effector. The relevant citations from *al-Maḥṣūl* and *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* appear as follows:

⁴⁷ Al-Rāzī, *al-Maḥṣūl* 6: 109-110.

The expression from <i>al-Maḥṣūl fī 'Ilm Uṣūl al-Fiqh</i>	The expression from <i>al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th</i>
<p>المسألة الثانية في استصحاب الحال المختار عندنا أنه حجة وهو قول المزني وأبي بكر الصيرفي من فقهاءنا خلافا للجمهور من الحنفية والمتكلمين.</p> <p>لنا: أن العلم بتحقيق أمر في الحال يقتضى ظن بقاءه في الاستقبال والعمل بالظن واجب ولا معنى لكونه حجة إلا ذلك.</p> <p>إنما قلنا: إن العلم بتحقيق أمر في الحال يقتضى ظن بقاءه في الاستقبال لأن الباقي مستغن عن المؤثر والحادث مفتقر إليه والمستغني عن المؤثر راجح الوجود بالنسبة إلى المفتقر إليه.</p> <p>إنما قلنا: إن الباقي مستغن عن المؤثر لأننا لو فرضنا له مؤثرا فذلك</p>	<p>الأول، الممكن لو افتقر إلى المؤثر لافتقر الباقي حال بقاءه إلى المؤثر لأن الإمكان من لوازم الممكن، ولازم الشيء حاصل حال بقاءه، فكان الإمكان حاصلًا حال بقاء الممكن، وهذا باطل، فذلك باطل.</p> <p>بيان الشرطية: إن الممكن ممكن لذاته، فالشيء حال بقاءه ممكن لذاته، فلو كان الإمكان محوجا إلى المؤثر لزم تحقق الحاجة حال البقاء.</p> <p>لا يقال: لم لا يجوز أن يقال، إنه حال البقاء صار الوجود به أولى، فاستغنى عن المؤثر.</p> <p>لأننا نقول: هذه الأولوية المعنوية عن المؤثر إما أن يقال، إنها كانت حاصلة حال الحدوث أو ما كانت حاصلة. فإن كان الأول لزم إستغناء</p>

<p>المؤثر إما أن يقال إنه صدر عنه أثر أو ما صدر عنه أثر. والثاني محال، لأن فرض المؤثر بدون الأثر متناقض. وأما الأول فأثره إما أن يكون شيئاً ما كان موجوداً أو كان موجوداً. فإن قلنا: إنه ما كان موجوداً، كان الأثر حادثاً، لا باقياً. وإن قلنا: إنه كان موجوداً كان ذلك تحصيلاً للحاصل، وهو محال. فثبت أن الباقي مستغن عن المؤثر. وإنما قلنا: إن ذلك لا يجوز لأن المؤثر في الباقي إما أن يكون له أثر أو لا يكون. فإن لم يكن له أثر لم يكن مؤثراً البتة، وإن كان له أثر فأثره إما أن يكون أمراً كان أو أمراً ما كان. فإن كان الأول لزم إيجاد</p>	<p>الحادث حال الحدوث، وإن كان الثاني فقد حدثت هذه الأولوية. فهذا الحادث المسمى بالأولوية هو العلة لوجود الباقي حال بقائه فيكون الباقي مفتقراً إلى المؤثر، والباقي المفتقر مفتقر إلى الأولوية المفتقرة إلى السبب، والمفتقر إلى المفتقر إلى الشيء مفتقر إلى ذلك الشيء، فالباقي مفتقر إلى السبب. فثبت أن الإمكان لو اقتضى السبب لأفتقر الباقي حال بقائه إلى السبب. وإنما قلنا: إن ذلك لا يجوز لأن المؤثر في الباقي إما أن يكون له أثر أو لا يكون. فإن لم يكن له أثر لم يكن مؤثراً البتة، وإن كان له أثر فأثره إما أن يكون أمراً كان أو أمراً ما كان. فإن كان الأول لزم إيجاد</p>
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⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

الموجود وهو محال، وإن كان الثاني
كان الأثر ليس إلا الجديد فلا
يكون للشئ الذي كان موجودا
مؤثراً جديداً. فلا يكون للباقي
مؤثراً، وقد فرضنا له مؤثراً، هذا
خلف.

لا يقال: لم لا يجوز أن يكون أثره
هو بقاء ذلك الشئ الذي كان
موجوداً؟

لأننا نقول: بقاءه إما أن يكون نفسه
أو غيره. فإن كان نفسه ونفسه
كانت حاصلة قبل ذلك يلزم
تحصيل الحاصل، وإن كان غيره
فيكون المستند إلى المؤثر غير ذلك
الباقي وكلامنا فيه.

الثاني، تأثير المؤثر فيه إما أن يكون
حال وجود الأثر أو حال عدمه.
والأول باطل لاستحالة إيجاد
الموجود وهو محال، والثاني باطل لأن

الأثر حال عدمه بقي كما كان،
وإذا بقي الأثر كما كان بقي الشيء
الذي كان غير مؤثّر غير مؤثّر كما
كان، وإذا صدق عليه أنه غير
مؤثّر استحال أن يصدق عليه أنه
مؤثّر لاستحالة الجمع بين النفي
والإثبات.

لا يقال: إنه في الآن الأول يجعله
موجودا في الآن الثاني.

لأننا نقول: إنه في الآن الأول هل
صدر عنه أمر أو لم يصدر؟ فإن لم
يصدر عنه أمر فهو في الآن الأول
كما كان قبل ذلك الآن، وكما أنه
قبل ذلك الآن لم يصدق عليه أنه
مؤثّر فكذلك في ذلك الآن. وإن
صدر عنه في ذلك الآن أمر فهو
في ذلك الآن قد أُنثّر في وجود ذلك

	الشيء، فيعود الأمر إلى إيجاد الموجود وأنه محال. ⁴⁹
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We can conclude therefore that what is written in *Sharḥ 'Uyūn* and *al-Maḥṣūl* bears a similarity which cannot be ascribed to chance with that which is written in *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*, leading us once again to assert with confidence that the manuscript in question can be none other than the *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* of al-Rāzī.

The Year

Now let us turn to a discussion of the year of the text's authorship. This is an issue of particular importance in the study of the development of al-Rāzī's thought, as knowing the year of authorship of a specific work can help us understand developments, changes, or revisions of thought undergone by him throughout his career.

Deciding the year when a work was written is also a challenge in manuscript studies, especially when the available manuscripts are not originally written by the author. This is because if there is a copy from the author himself, the stated date of the manuscript could be the most probable date when the book was written. If, however, the available manuscripts are not of the author's copy, then any date stated on the manuscripts is actually the date of the manuscript's copying and not that of the work's composition.

Deciding the date of a book's composition is exacerbated further still in cases wherein the available

⁴⁹ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 23b-24b; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 14b-15a.

manuscripts are neither of the author's copy nor have been given a proper date. It so happens that such is the case with the present study. Here we find no author's copy stating the year of authorship, and the manuscripts that we do have provide no explicit information about the year of the text's composition.

In light of the above, the only way to broadly assign a date to *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* is by referring to al-Rāzī's other works. Toward this end, we have two pieces of information, as discussed above. First, al-Rāzī's citing of *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* in his other works, implying that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* pre-dates the work in which it is cited; and second, al-Rāzī's citing of his other works within *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* itself, implying conversely that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* post-dates the works which it cites.

Employing the above reasoning we can therefore conclude that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* pre-dates both *al-Maḥṣūl*⁵⁰ as well as *Sharḥ 'Ūyūn*,⁵¹ and post-dates *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*,⁵² *al-Mabāḥith al-Mashriqiyyah*, *al-*

⁵⁰ Quoting *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*, al-Rāzī says, "والاستقصاء فيه مذكور في كتابنا المسمى بالخلق والبعث" (And a more detailed exploration on it has been mentioned in our book entitled *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*). Al-Rāzī, *al-Maḥṣūl*, 6: 109-110.

⁵¹ Quoting *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*, al-Rāzī says, "ولنا في هذا المقام أبحاث غامضة عميقة ذكرناها في كتابنا المسمى بالخلق والبعث" (And concerning this issue, there are complicated and profound studies which have been explained in my book entitled *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*). Al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ 'Ūyūn*, 3: 94.

⁵² Quoting *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*, al-Rāzī says, "واعلم أن في هذه الدلالة أبحاثا غامضة وهي مذكورة في شرح الإشارات فلا فائدة في الإعادة" (And know that in this proof there are a lot of vague discussions. All of them have been mentioned in the *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*, hence there is no need to repeat it). The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 67a; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 40b.

Mulakhkhaṣ,⁵³ *al-Hayūlā wa al-Ṣūrah*,⁵⁴ and *Nihāyat al-'Uqūl*.⁵⁵

With regard to the first fact, viz. that of al-Rāzī's citing *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* in his other works, we may make use of al-Zarkān's summary exposition with regard to al-Rāzī's view on essence and existence. Yet, pertaining to the issue of essence and existence, al-Rāzī has undergone five distinct stages in his career:

1. In the first stage, al-Rāzī is indecisive regarding the issue of essence and existence. Such a stance is found, for instance, in *al-Ishārah fī 'Ilm al-Kalām* and *al-Khamsīn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*.
2. In the second stage when concurring with Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī, al-Rāzī contends that existence is superadded to essence and that existence is one common conception (*mafhūm wāḥid mushtarak*) between all existents (*al-mawjūdāt*). Such a standpoint was expressed by al-Rāzī in his *al-Mabāḥith al-Mashriqiyyah*, *al-Mulakhkhaṣ*, *Sharḥ*

⁵³ Quoting both *al-Mabāḥith al-Mashriqiyyah* and *al-Mulakhkhaṣ*, al-Rāzī says, "وتمام تقريره المذكور في المباحث والملخص" (And the complete account of it has been mentioned in *al-Mabāḥith al-Mashriqiyyah* and *al-Mulakhkhaṣ*). The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 50a; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 29b.

⁵⁴ Quoting *al-Hayūlā wa al-Ṣūrah*, al-Rāzī says, "وتمام تقرير هذا الكلام المذكور في رسالة مفردة صنفناها في بيان نفي الهويول فليطلب هناك" (And the complete account of this discussion has been mentioned in a specific treatise that we have written to explain the negation of hyle. Please refer to it). The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 96b; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 59b.

⁵⁵ Quoting *Nihāyat al-'Uqūl*, al-Rāzī says, "فجوابه المذكور في تحاية العقول في أصل السادس فليطلب منه" (And the answer to it has been mentioned in *Nihāyat al-'Uqūl* in the Chapter Six. Please refer to it). The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 97b; The Hagia Sophia Ms., Fol. 59a.

al-Ishārāt, *Lubāb al-Ishārāt* and *Nihāyat al-'Uqūl* respectively.

3. In agreement with Abū Ḥasan al-Ash'arī, in this period al-Rāzī changes his view saying that Existence of God is identical with His Essence and that existence is not a common attribute (*wasf mushtarak*) between all existents. In this regard, existence is the same as essence and is not superadded to essence.
4. In this phase, al-Rāzī reasserts what he upheld in the second stage, asserting that existence is superadded to essence, and that existence shares a common conception (*mafḥūm mushtarak*) between all existents. Such a viewpoint was expressed by al-Rāzī in his later works, namely *al-Maṭālib al-Āliyah min al-Ilmī al-Ilāhī*.
5. In the last period of his life, al-Rāzī once more shows his indecisive intellectual bearing pertaining to the issue of essence and existence. He says that all the studies on essence and existence, none have ever come to a convincing conclusion.⁵⁶

In *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*, al-Rāzī says that existence is a common conception between Necessary Being and the contingent being and that existence is the effect (*ma'lūl*) of essence.⁵⁷ It is obvious here to conclude that al-Rāzī's

⁵⁶ See al-Zarkān, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, 170-174. Cf. Khadījah Ḥammādī al-'Abd Allāh, *Manhaj al-Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī bayn al-Ashā'irah wa al-Mu'tazilah*, 2 vols. (Damascus: Dār al-Nawādir, 2012), 1: 250-253. Henceforth cited as *Manhaj al-Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*.

⁵⁷ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 48b, 50a, 57a; The Hagia Sophia Ms., 28b-29b, 34a.

view on essence and existence, as written in *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*, accords with his view in the second and fourth stages. Now, it could not have been written in the fourth period, for as al-Zarkān asserts, it is in this period which al-Rāzī wrote his last works, the *al-Maṭālib* and the *Sharḥ 'Uyūn*, the latter of the two in fact containing citations of *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*.

Therefore we may conclude that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* was written in the second stage of al-Rāzī's views on essence and existence. This is witnessed by the fact that in *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* al-Rāzī does not elaborate the issue of God's Essence and Existence in detail since it had already been discussed before in his works which pre-date *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*. Therefore, in *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* al-Rāzī says, "And the discussion on this issue has been discussed in detail in all our books" (والكلام في هذه المسئلة) على الاستقصاء المذكور في سائر كتبنا.⁵⁸ What al-Rāzī means by "our books" are his works which pre-date *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* and have already discussed the similar issues, such as *al-Mabāḥiṭh al-Mashriyyah*, *al-Mulakhkhaṣ*, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*, and *Nihāyat al-'Uqūl*.⁵⁹

Pertaining to the second fact, namely the citing of al-Rāzī's other works within *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*, we may use several studies that have made attempts at specifying the years of some of al-Rāzī's works.⁶⁰ From all the

⁵⁸ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 48b; The Hagia Sophia Ms., 28b-29a.

⁵⁹ See, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Mabāḥiṭh al-Mashriyyah fī 'Ilm al-Ilāhiyyāt wa al-Ṭabī'īyyāt*, ed. Muḥammad al-Mu'taṣim bi Allāh al-Baghdādī, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1990), 1: 106-130; Al-Rāzī, *Nihāyat al-'Uqūl*, 1: 349-350; Al-Rāzī, *al-Arba'īn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥijāzī al-Saqā, 2 vols. (Cairo: Maktabah al-Kulliyāt al-Azhariyyah, 1986), 1: 143-148.

⁶⁰ Altaş, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Epistle*, 69.

available studies, it can be said that thus far Shihadeh's and Altaş' works represent the most extensive efforts at specifying the years of some of al-Rāzī's works, especially Altaş' work in which he mentions clearly the exact year of al-Rāzī's *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*.⁶¹

Although Altaş has decisively concluded that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* was written sometime in 596-597 A.H./1200-1201 A.D, we must make some remarks on the evidence he has used to arrive at this conclusion. Altaş claims, for instance, that certain facts in *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*, particularly in the introduction, indicate the year of its composition. Unfortunately, he does not state what these facts are nor indicate where they can be found, even though he uses the the Köprülü copy as his reference.⁶² As

⁶¹ Altaş' years of some of al-Rāzī's works where *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* cites al-Rāzī's other works and *vice versa* are as follows:

1. *Al-Mabāḥith al-Mashriqiyyah fī 'Ilm al-Ilāhiyyāt wa al-Tabī'iyyāt* (574-575 A.H./1178-1179 A.D.).
2. *Nihāyat al-'Uqūl fī Dirāyat al-Uṣūl* (575-576 A.H./1179-1180 A.D.).
3. *Al-Mulakkhkhaṣ fī al-Ḥikmah wa al-Mantiq* (576 A.H./1180 A.D.).
4. *Al-Maḥṣūl fī 'Ilm Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (575-576 A.H./1179-1180 A.D.).
5. *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt wa al-Tanbīhāt* (576 A.H./1180 A.D.).
6. *Al-Hayūlā wa al-Ṣūrah* (596 A.H./1200 A.D.).
7. *Al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* (596-597 A.H./1200-1201 A.D.).
8. *Sharḥ 'Ūyūn al-Ḥikmah* (605 A.H./1208 A.D.).

Altaş, *Kronolojisi*, 151-154; Ayman Shihadeh, *The Teleological Ethics of Fakr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006), 7-11.

⁶² Altaş is also incorrect in mentioning the folios or pages that he refers to the Köprülü copy. A case in point is when he mentions mistakenly the folio or page of *al-Mabāḥith* (48a), *al-Mulakkhkhaṣ* (48a), *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* (49b), and *al-Hayūlā* (96a). In actual fact, *al-Mabāḥith* and *al-Mulakkhkhaṣ* are mentioned on 50a, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt* is mentioned on 67a, whereas *al-Hayūlā* is mentioned on 96b instead.

a matter of fact, when we read the Köprülü copy and al-Rāzī's introduction to his *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* thoroughly, nothing affirms Altaş' hypothesis in reference to the year of authorship of *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*.⁶³

Another reason proposed by Altaş to establish the year of *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* is that the book was completed when al-Rāzī was living during the reign of the Ghurids dynasty. Indeed, al-Rāzī spent his life under the Khwarazmshahs and Ghurids, both of whom provided him with a significant patronage throughout his career,⁶⁴ but there is no historical evidence provided by Altaş to support his hypothesis that the book was completed during the reign of the Ghurids. Up to this point, Altaş' arguments are still disputable.

Another piece of evidence which might be helpful in establishing the year of *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* is the year given by al-'Alwānī for the writing of *al-Maḥşūl*. Al-'Alwānī says that *al-Maḥşūl* was written in 576 A.H./1179 A.D. (this year is later used by Shihadeh and Altaş) when al-Rāzī was 32 years old. If we take Altaş' year of *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* (596-597 A.H./1200-1201 A.D.), this also means that *al-Maḥşūl* pre-dates *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*. Although from the citation available, as we have already discussed, *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* is cited in *al-Maḥşūl*, which implies that the latter work post-dates *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*.

Al-'Alwānī argues that the establishment of the year of *al-Maḥşūl* is based on the last folio of the Manuscript

Altaş, *Kronolojisi*, 127; The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 50a, 67a, 96b; The Hagia Sophia Ms., 29b, 40b, 59b.

⁶³ See The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 2a-4a; The Hagia Sophia Ms., 2a-3b.

⁶⁴ See Frank Griffel, "On Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Life and the Patronage He Received," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, (2007): 315, 334.

al-Aḥmadiyyah Aleppo with the number 416 under the title *uṣūl*, which mentions the year of *al-Maḥṣūl*. Al-ʿAlwānī says, "And he [al-Rāzī] completed its writing after his knowledge becomes mature, in front of his teachers, in the year 576 A.H. At that time, he was 32 years old" (وفرغ من تأليفه بعد اكتمال نضجه العلمي على أيدي) (أساتذته وذلك سنة 575. وله من العمر آنذاك 32 عاماً).

However, if we take al-ʿAlwānī's year for *al-Maḥṣūl* (576 A.H./1179 A.D) and Altaş' year for *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* (596-597 A.H./1200-1201 A.D), this means that *al-Maḥṣūl* quotes *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*, a work which will be written 20 years later. Altaş asserts, therefore, that because the years between *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* and *al-Maḥṣūl* still leave us with a considerable enigma, the chronology needs to be studied further.⁶⁵

Up to this point, such are the facts regarding *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* that can be gathered. From what we have discussed above, it can be said that thus far the most well-founded facts regarding the year of *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* is the fact that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* is cited in al-Rāzī's other works and the fact that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* cites al-Rāzī's other works. This is because the two pieces of information are clearly mentioned in *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*—during which al-Rāzī devoted a great deal of attention to produce the *kalām* works, including *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ See al-ʿAlwānī's introduction to the *al-Maḥṣūl* in al-Rāzī, *al-Maḥṣūl*, 1: 58, 63, 6: 186; Altaş, *Kronolojisi*, 128.

⁶⁶ See Ayman Shihadeh, "From al-Ghazālī to al-Rāzī: 6th/12th Century Developments in Muslim Philosophical Theology," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 15 (2005), 171-172; al-Zarkān, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, 170-174; The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 48b; The Hagia Sophia Ms.,

The Manuscript Copies

The present study has been able to acquire two manuscripts of al-Rāzī's *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*. The first manuscript is in the Köprülü Library, Istanbul (Ms. 816), and the second manuscript is in the Hagia Sophia, Istanbul (Ms. 2257).⁶⁷ Each of the aforementioned manuscripts will be described in what follows.

The Köprülü (Ms. 816)

This manuscript uses the *naskh* script, is catalogued under *Kitāb Uṣūl al-Dīn* and is entitled *al-Risālah Kitāb fī al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*.⁶⁸ In general, the condition of this edition is very good, readable and consists of a complete text. Based on the information from the catalogue, the manuscript dates back to the 7th century A.H., even though the manuscript itself does not tell us any single information as to the year of its copying. Likewise, the catalogue tells us that this manuscript belongs to Es'ad Efendi,⁶⁹ whereas its copyist is unknown. This edition has 111 folios, each folio is comprised of two (16.9 x 24.5 cm) pages (a and b), and each page consists of 15 lines.⁷⁰

The beginning of the manuscript is as follows:

28b-29a. Cf. al-'Abd Allāh, *Manhaj al-Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, 1: 250-253.

⁶⁷ Ramadan Şeşen et. al., *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Köprülü Library*, 3 vols. (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1986), 1: 396; Ramadan Şeşen et. al., *Mukhtārāt min al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabīyyah al-Nādirah fī Maktabāt Turkiyā* (Istanbul: ISVAR, 1997), 655. Further citation of these works will be cited as *Catalogue of Manuscripts* and *Mukhtārāt* respectively.

⁶⁸ *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, 1: 385, 396.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1: 396.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وما توفيقى إلا بالله الحمد لله حمدا
يستحق لجلال هوية أحديته ويستوجبه لكمال ألوهيته...

The end of the manuscript is as follows:

فهذا هو الإشارة المختصرة إلى حكاية هذه الطرق وبه نختتم
الكتاب. وبالله التوفيق. والحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة
والسلم على سيدنا محمد وآله الطاهرين الطيبين أجمعين.

Originally, this edition seems to have had unnumbered folios, for although we do find numbering on the folios now, they are written in a hand that is clearly not that of the copyist. The new folio numbering is well-organized, except for the fact that the folios are numbered in two different ways: the first way numbers the folios by tens (10, 20, 30, 40, 50), leaving the subsequent folios (e.g. 11, 12, 21, 22 etc.) unnumbered; the second way, numbers the folios completely, starting from 58 on through to the end.

Right under the title on the recto of the first folio, we find the name of the manuscript's author; but unfortunately almost all the words written on the name of the author are distorted.⁷¹ A few words, however, can be read clearly, such as: *min taṣānīf Mawlānā; al-'ulamā' afdal al-muta'akhhirīn; nāṣir al-Islām wa al-Muslimīn; wa al-muftarīn; Abī 'Abd Allāh; 'Umar ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī; wa arḍāh; wa ja'ala al-jannah ma'wāh*. It seems

⁷¹ Regarding the nature of the title page of a manuscript, see François Déroche et al., *Islamic Codicology an Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Scripts*, trans. Deke Dusinberre and David Radzinowics, ed. Muhammad Isa Waley (London: al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation Publication, 2006), 311-317. Hereinafter cited as *Islamic Codicology*.

that some of the distorted words in the name of the author are epithets showing deep respect towards a scholar, as used to be the custom in Muslim scholarship.

Beside the name of the author, there are also some remarks, partially unreadable, written by another hand on the title page of the manuscript. But from the words that can be read, we can discern clearly words of wisdom taken from ḥadīth and other wise sayings. Just like the words ... وما تنفع الأداب والحلم ... وصاحبه عند ... which perhaps have been taken from Abū Maṣṣūr ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥamshādīyy al-Naysābūrīyy's saying:

وما تنفع الأداب والحلم والحجى؛ وصاحبها عند الكمال
يموت.

Etiquette, forbearance, and pilgrimage will not benefit; their possessor upon completion will die.⁷²

There is also a saying taken from a ḥadīth narrated by Imām Muslim:

مَا يُصِيبُ الْمُؤْمِنَ مِنْ وَصَبٍ وَلَا نَصَبٍ وَلَا سَقَمٍ وَلَا
حَزَنِ حَتَّىٰ أَلْهَمَ يَهُمُّهُ إِلَّا كَفَّرَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ مِنْ خَطَايَاهُ⁷³

No pain, hardship, sickness or grief befalls a believer, not even worry that befalls him, but some of his bad deeds will be expiated.

⁷² See Ibn Ṣalāh, *Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā' al-Shāfi'iyyah*, ed. Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Alī Najīb, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1992), 1: 189.

⁷³ On the manuscript it is written: ولا أذى ولا حزن.

Another remark that we find on the first folio and other folios⁷⁴ is the seal of endowment (*waqf*) and its donor which goes:

هذا مما وقفه الوزير أبو العباس أحمد بن الوزير أبي عبد الله
محمد عرف بكوبرلي أقال الله عتارهما

This is what the Vizier Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad, son of the Vizier Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad, known as Köprülü, has endowed. May Allāh forgive their mistakes.

In addition to remarks on the first folio, there are also other remarks on the last folios (112a-113a). The first and the second remarks (112a and 112b), whose their sequence starts from verso (112b) and not from recto (112a), are taken from al-Rāzī's *Maḥāṭib al-Ghayb*, more precisely al-Rāzī's commentary on *Sūrat Ṭā Hā* verses 83-89.⁷⁵ Right above the quotation of al-Rāzī's *Maḥāṭib al-Ghayb* (112b), there are other remarks taken from Abū al-Baqā' ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ukbarī's *Imlā' mā Manna bih al-Raḥmān min Wujūh al-I'rāb wa al-Qirā'āt fi Jamī' al-Qur'ān*.⁷⁶ Similar to al-Rāzī's *Maḥāṭib al-Ghayb*, one of al-‘Ukbarī's remarks is also a commentary on *Sūrat Ṭā Hā* verse 83.

The last remarks written on the verso of the last folio (113b) are the remarks on *uṣūl al-fiqh* concerning *al-*

⁷⁴ The Köprülü Ms., Fol. 1a; 2a; 27a; 60a; 83a; 110a.

⁷⁵ See Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Maḥāṭib al-Ghayb*, 32 vols. (Beirut, Dār al-Fikr, 1981), 98-101.

⁷⁶ Abū al-Baqā' ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ukbarī, *Imlā' mā Manna bih al-Raḥmān min Wujūh al-I'rāb wa al-Qirā'āt fi Jamī' al-Qur'ān*, 2 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1979), 2: 125, 1: 48.

adillah al-sam'iyah, *al-ijtihād*, and *al-tarjīh*. There are basically two remarks written on page 113b. The first remark on first paragraph is the *matn* (main text) of Ibn al-Ḥājjib's *al-Mukhtaṣar* along with its short commentary. Unfortunately, however, we cannot exactly trace whether the short commentary is taken from a particular work. The second remark on second paragraph is Shams al-Dīn al-Isfahānī's commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājjib's *matn* as well.⁷⁷

Based on the above discussion and the scripts used, it seems that the remarks on the first and last folios are not written by the copyist of the manuscript. In other words, with the exception of the name of the author, what is written on the first and last folios has no essential relation to the content of the manuscript. Although according to Şeşen, poetry, proverbs and wise sayings of great scholars of the past being written on the title page of a manuscript is an indication of the manuscript's high value.⁷⁸

The manuscript uses black ink, with the exception of pointers, full-stops, and the sub-title, all of which tend to use red ink—although this use of red ink is somewhat inconsistent. The copyist seems to be very meticulous, since he made very few corrections. For this reason the manuscript can be said to be of high quality. At last, there is an abbreviation used by the copyist, that is صح, written on the margin of the page, which stands for صحيح.

⁷⁷ Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Thana' Maḥmūd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Isfahānī, *Bayān al-Mukhtaṣar*, ed. Muḥammad Maḥzar Baqā, 3 vols. (Saudi Arabia: Umm al-Qura University, 1986), 1: 10-12.

⁷⁸ Ramadan Şeşen, "Ahammiyyah Şafhat al-'Unwān (al-Zahriyyah) fī Tawṣīf al-Makhṭūṭāt," in *Dirāsāt al-Makhṭūṭāt al-Islāmiyyah bayn I'tibārāt al-Māddah wa al-Bashar*, ed. Rashīd al-'Anānī (London: al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation Publication, 1997), 196.

The Hagia Sophia (Ms. 2257)

This manuscript is written in the *naskh* script and is catalogued under *kitāb fī al-kalām*.⁷⁹ Based on the colophon, the manuscript dates back to 618 A.H. (1222 A.D.) and was copied by a well-known linguist (*lughawī*) by the name of 'Abd al-Majīd ibn Abī al-Faraj al-Rūdhrawarīyy (d. ca. 667 A.H./1268 A.D.),⁸⁰ at a *madrasah* in Cairo; for *madrasahs* often functioned as places of transcription and dissemination of knowledge in the past.⁸¹ This edition has 69 folios, each folio being comprised of two pages (a and b), and each page consisting of 25 lines.

The title of this edition is found on the recto of the first folio, that is *Risālah Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, whereas on the verso of the second folio, there is a seal of endowment along with its donor which goes:

قد وقف هذه النسخة الجليلة سلطاننا الأعظم والحقان
المعظم مالك البرين والبحرين خادم الحرمين الشريفين
السلطان بن السلطان السلطان الغازي محمود خان وقفنا
صحيحا شرعيا لمن طالع وأفاد وتعلم واستفاد أعظم الله

⁷⁹ Ramadan Şeşen et. al., *Mukhtārāt*, 655.

⁸⁰ According to al-Şafadī, he is a well-known *Shaykh* and *Imām*; expertise in language; memorizes a lot of Arabic poetries; well-spoken person; has a beautiful handwriting, a good companionship, as well as a beautiful appearance and attire. Al-Şafadī, *al-Wāfī*, 19/86-87. See also, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah al-Ḥufāz*, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1998), 4: 1476; Jamāl al-Dīn Abī al-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhirah*, ed. Muḥammad Husayn Shams al-Dīn, 16 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1992) 7: 198-199.

⁸¹ Déroche et al., *Islamic Codicology*, 194.

أجره يوم الميعاد حرره الفقير أحمد شيخ زادة المعين بأوقاف
الحرمين الشريفين غفر لهما

Our greatest Sultan and glorified King, the possessor of two lands and two seas, the custodian of the two holy cities, Sultan the son of Sultan, Sultan the conqueror, Maḥmūd Khān, has endowed this lofty manuscript with the right and legal endowment, for those who investigate, benefit, learn, and utilize [it]. May Allāh magnify his reward on the day of Hereafter. Written by the poor, Aḥmad Shaykh Zādah al-Mu'ayyin, at the endowment of two holy cities. [May Allāh] forgive both.

In general, the condition of this manuscript is good, save for some missing folios. If we compare this manuscript with The Köprülü, the last discussion of sub-chapter one (*al-faṣl al-awwal*) of chapter 5 (*al-bāb al-khāmis*), pages 96b to the first quarter of 98a in The Köprülü are missing. Also missing are a few lines found on page 80b of The Köprülü.

The script in which the manuscript is written is quite small and thus difficult to read. The numbering of all folios is well-organized. The body text is written in black, except for certain expressions such as on the chapter and sub-chapter headings, which are written in bold. This manuscript has many corrections when compared to the Köprülü. Additionally, we find the copyist has used some abbreviations, namely صح and خ, which stand for صحیح and خطأ.

The beginning of this manuscript is as follows:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين الحمد لله حمدا يستحق
لجلال هوية أحديته ويستوجبه لكمال ألوهيته...

The end of this this manuscript is as follows:

فهذه هي الإشارات المختصرة إلى حكاية هذه الطرق ونحتم
الكتاب بعون الله وحسن توفيقه وصلواته على محمد النبي
وآله وصحبه الأكرمين أجمعين.

Conclusion

All the data we have investigated leads us to assert confidently that *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* is truly one of al-Rāzī's works. Al-Rāzī's citing of *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* in his other works and *vice versa* give sufficient indication as to the work's authenticity. The similarity of expressions found in *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* and al-Rāzī's other works is also another considerable proof that needs to be taken seriously. We know also that the Muslim biographers of the past unanimously consider *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* to be authentically the work of al-Rāzī, adding further support to our claim.

Al-Rāzī completed *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* at a stage in his career wherein he devoted a great deal of his attention to *kalām*. *Al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* is itself a work on *kalām*, most likely written at this stage, yet since there are no reliable facts as to its year of authorship, we thus far cannot determine precisely when *al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th* was written.

From the information so far collected, there are two manuscripts available, the first is in the Köprülü Library, Istanbul (Ms. 816), is catalogued under *Kitāb Uṣūl al-Dīn* and is entitled *al-Risālah Kitāb fī al-Khalq wa al-Ba'th*;

the second is in the Hagia Sophia, Istanbul (Ms. 2257), is catalogued under *Kitāb fī al-Kalām* and is entitled *Risālah Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*. In general, the two manuscripts are in good condition and readable.

Al-Rāzī's works signify an intellectual age which marks the last golden period in the history of *kalām*. These works profoundly influenced those of later generations (*muta'akhhirūn*) such as the *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* of al-Jurjānī (d. 816 A.H./1413 A.D.) and the *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid* of al-Taftāzānī (712-793 A.H./1312-1391).⁸²

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⁸² Majid Fakhry, "The Classical Islamic Arguments for the Existence of God," *The Muslim World* XLVII, no. 1 (1957): 144-145; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn*, 8 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 2001), 1: 590. See also Michael E. Marmura, "Medieval Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition," in *Medieval Philosophy and the Classical Tradition*, ed. John Inglis (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 19; Muammer İskenderoğlu, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and Thomas Aquinas on the Question of the Eternity of the World* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 182-184.

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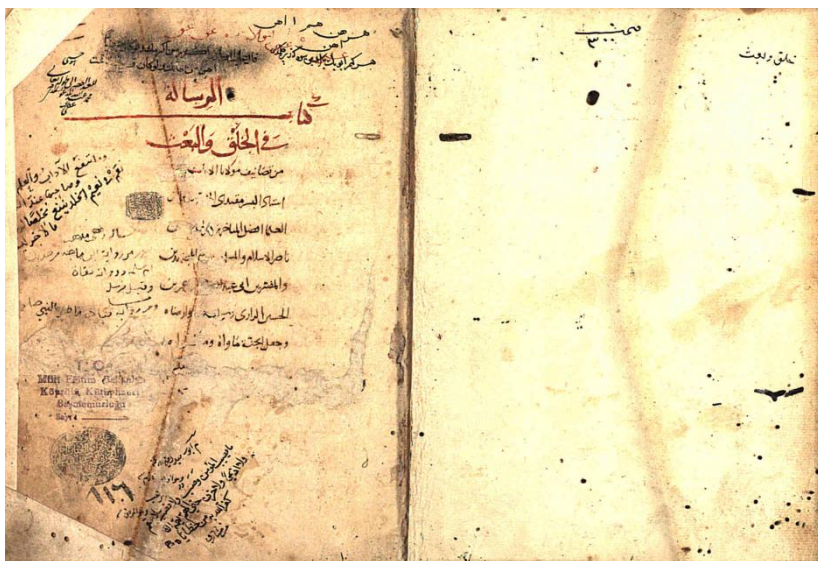
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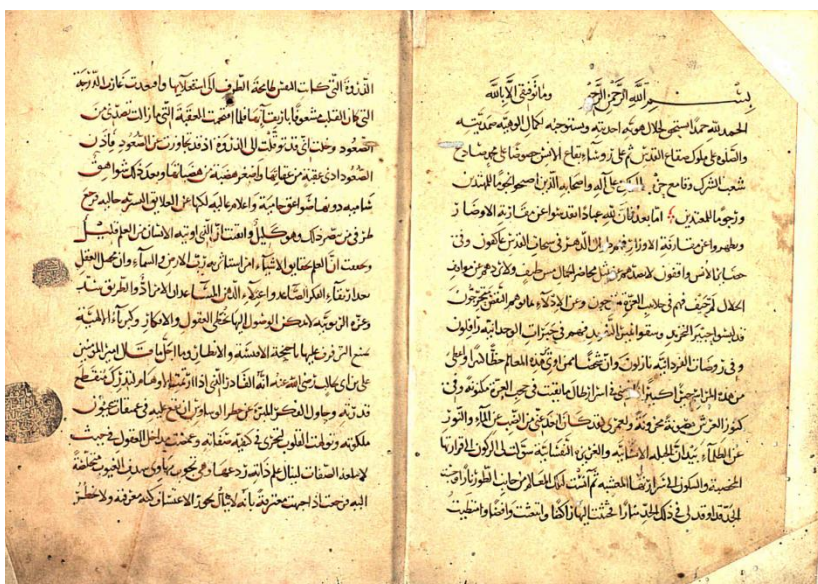
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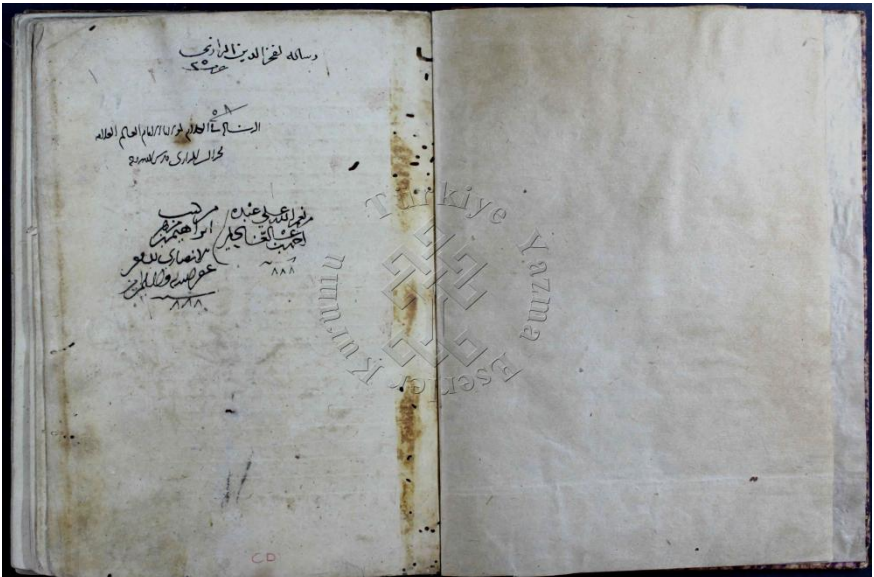
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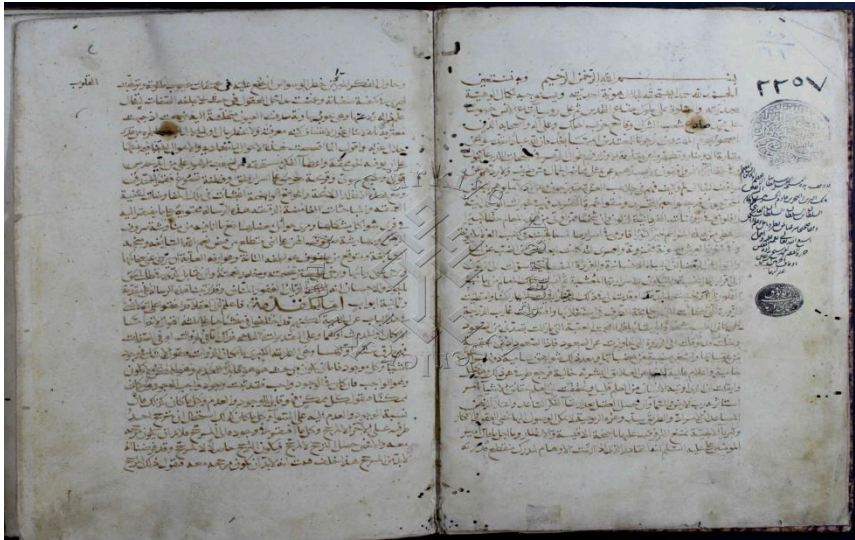
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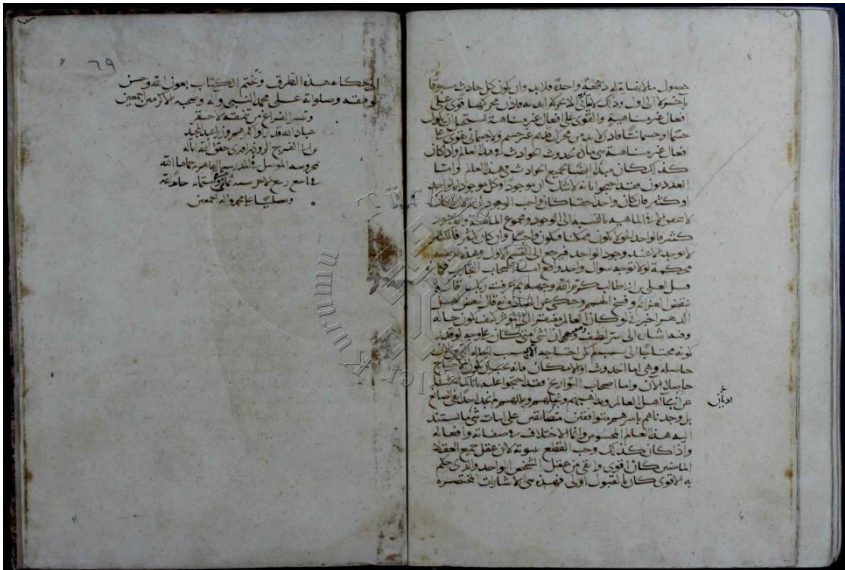
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