

## Was Al-Mantiq Al-Kabîr Compiled By Fakhr al-Dîn Al-Râzî? A Study on the Problem of Authorship

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### Öz

Fahreddîn er-Râzî'nin *el-Mantuku'l-Kebîr* adlı eserini ilk defa doktora tezi olarak çalışmaya karar vermiş idik. Eserin müellife aidiyeti hususunda varit bazı tartışmalar, başlangıçta bazı zorluklar ile yüzleşmeyi gerektirse de hocalarımızın teşvik ve tevcihleri ile bu çalışma, biiznillâh, tamamlandı. Eserin tek nüsha olması, mevcut nüshanın müellif nüshası olmaması, üzerinde bazı farklı kayıtların olması, klasik bibliografi kaynaklarında müellife ait böyle eserin zikredilmemiş olması, öğrencilerinin bu esere atıf yapmamış olması ve son olarak Râzî'ye şerh yazan Kazvî'nin eseri görmediğini beyan etmesi gibi sebeplerden dolayı; eserin müellife aidiyeti meselesinde bazı şüpheler ve itirazlar varit olmuştur. Fakat Râzî'nin kendisi, sonraki eserlerinde bizzat bu esere atıf yapmıştır. Ayrıca bilinen diğer eserle karşılaştığımızda eserin orijinal olduğunu gördük. Son olarak bilinen müellifleri elimizden geldiğince incelemeye çalıştık ve başka bir müellife ait böyle bir eser kaydına rastlamadık. Eserin iç bütünlüğünün Râzî'ye ait diğer eserlerle genel hatlarıyla tutarlı olmasını da nazarı itibara alarak; İbn Sînâ'ya ait eş-Şifâ'dan sonra elimizdeki en büyük eser olan *el-Mantuku'l-Kebîr*'in Fahreddîn er-Râzî'ye olduğuna kani olduk. Eserdeki bazı farklılıklar, eserin erken dönemde kaleme alınmış olmasından dolayıdır diyebiliriz.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Fahreddîn er-Râzî, el-Mantuku'l-Kebîr, Râzî Mantık Okulu, Mantık Tarihi.

### el-Mantuku'l-Kebîr, Fahreddîn er-Râzî Tarafından Mı Telif Edildi? Aidiyet Problemi Üzerine Bir İnceleme

#### Abstract

Our first decision to study Fakhraddîn al-Râzî's *al-Mantiq al-Kabîr* (*The Major Book on Logic*) was within the framework of Ph.D. dissertation. Some debates about the belonging of the work necessitated facing some difficulties at the beginning. But this work was completed with the permission of Allah with the encouragement and appreciation of our supervisor and other scholars. The fact is that some reasons, such as those indicated below have caused some doubts and objections about the belonging of this work to the author: the work has a single manuscript copy; this is not an author copy and includes some different records; there is not any reference to it by the author's students; such a work belonging to the author is not mentioned in classical bibliography sources; and finally al-Qazwî, who wrote a commentary on al-Râzî, declares that he did not see this work. However, Râzî himself referred to this work in his later works. By comparing with other known works, it is seen that the work is original. As a matter of fact, we tried to examine the known authors as much as we can and we did not come across such a work belonging to another author. Also, considering that the inner integrity of the work is consistent with other works belonging to al-Râzî, we have convinced that *al-Mantiq al-Kabîr*, which is the biggest logic work after Ibn Sînâ's *al-Shifâ*, belongs to Fakhraddîn al-Râzî. It is possible to mention that some differences in the work are due to the writing of the work in the early period.

**Keywords:** Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, al-Mantiq al-Kabir, History of Logic, Razi's School.

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## Giriş

As the name of the book implies, *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* is the most extensive book on the discipline of logic penned by Fakhraddīn al-Rāzī. If we take into consideration that *al-Āyāt al-Bayyināt* is composed of ten pages only, it may be said that al-Rāzī's first major logical work is this book. Although its name does not appear on the classical sources, Fakhraddīn al-Rāzī himself refers to it in the way that “the major book on logic” and “our major book written on logic.”<sup>2</sup>

By looking at the sources the book cites, we can say that it was written after *al-Āyāt al-Bayyināt* and *al-Mabāhith al-Mashriqiyya* but before *Sharh al-Isāhārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt* and *Sharh 'Uyūn al-Hikma*. Also, it is understood from the same references, although al-Rāzī started to pen it before *al-Mulakhkhas*, *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* was completed after it.<sup>3</sup> In the present case, al-Rāzī must have finalized this work after 576/1180 in the age of 32 or 33.<sup>4</sup>

When it is compared to classical books on logic reaching the present day, we can maintain that *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* is the most extensive book on logic written in the Islamic world after *Kitāb al-Shifā* by Avicenna. There is no indication about for which reason, for whom and where the book was committed to paper. After praising The God (hamdala) and His Messenger (salvala), the work starts directly to handle the subjects of logic<sup>5</sup> and concludes with colophon.<sup>6</sup>

*Al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* is the first extensive and distinct book written on logic by al-Rāzī and refers to Aristotle, al-Fārābī, Avicenna, 'Umar Ibn Sahlān al-Sāvī (d. 540/1145?), Abu al-Barakāt al-Baghdādī (d. 561/1166), and also the author's other books, especially *al-Mulakhkhas*. Considering this fact, it can be said that al-Rāzī wrote *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* with the aim of presenting his ideas about logic to his academia, and by way of this book, he tried to make room for himself within the academic circle. Similarly, the fact that he completed *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* at the same time with *al-Mahsūl fī Usūl al-Fiqh*<sup>7</sup> can also be given as a sign of the writer's mentioned intention.

The introduction of *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* indicates that the book is not a commentary or abridgment, on the contrary, an original compilation.<sup>8</sup> During the book, al-Rāzī both pays regard to the previous arguments on related topics and also submits his ideas about them. These arguments and ideas were used as sources in Al-Rāzī's subsequent works.

As far as we know, there is no any study on the text of *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*. The ones conducted on the book are the only bibliographic, and by also utilizing them, we determined eight catalogs containing the record of the book. However, when those catalogs are examined, it appeared that the only real extant copy of *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* is the one recorded in number 3401 of Ahmad III collection at Topkapı Palace Library. In places where other records refer to the existence of distinct copies, in fact, there is either no any copies or the ones of different works by different authors. For this reason, firstly we will present the details of those other records, then proceed to describe the Topkapı Palace copy on which our edition is based.

...

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, one of the most prominent philosophers and commentators in the tradition of Islamic logic, had influenced the content and scope of the subsequent logical studies. In parallel with this significance, plenty of his works on logic have been published and also have become the subject of different academic researches. Nevertheless, there is an exception to this case, and it is the author's

<sup>2</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharh 'Uyūn al-Hikma*, V/163; *Mantiq al-Mulakhkhas*, 318; *Sharh al-Isāhārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt*, V/69, 92, 193.

<sup>3</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharh 'Uyūn al-Hikma*, V/163; *Mantiq al-Mulakhkhas*, 318; *Sharh al-Isāhārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt*, V/69, 92, 193.

<sup>4</sup> Altaş, *Fahreddin er-Rāzī'nin Eserlerinin Kronolojisi*, p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*, fol. 1b.

<sup>6</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*, fol. 371b.

<sup>7</sup> Altaş, *Fahreddin er-Rāzī'nin Eserlerinin Kronolojisi*, p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*, fol. 1b.

book titled “*al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*.” This major book on logic has been accomplished to be able to escape from the attention of the researchers until now, and there are many reasons for this situation that will be mentioned in the following pages. However, the most worth mentioning one is the fact we have only one extant manuscript copy of the book. Here, we aim to present a scholarly edition of this single manuscript. In fact, the book’s first encounter with the reader has occurred a short while ago in the form of the thesis. We edited the manuscript and studied on it within the framework of our Ph.D. dissertation. However, through this scholarly edition, *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* will be presented to the attention of the academic world in the strict sense.

...

There are several suspicions about both *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* and the copy of Topkapi Palace. Some argue against that there is a book titled *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* written by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. Others oppose the claim of al-Rāzī’s authorship for the copy of Topkapi Palace. On account of the fact that we have only one extant copy of the book and indeed there are some points which seem at first glance supporting those objections, it is necessary to tackle this problem. To this respect, the following lines will include both objections and our answers to them.

1. The first debate about the copy belonging to Ahmed III collection is related with the fact that the book begins directly with hamdala and salvala on fol. 1b and also ends with colophon on fol. 371b. We cannot see anywhere within the book a note about to whom the book belongs. Furthermore, the name of Najm al-dīn al-Qazwīnī al-Kātībī (d. 675/1277) is written on fol. 1a. These issues support to claims that the copy does not belong to al-Rāzī. Hayri Kaplan, on the base of these reasons, asserts that it is proven for sure that al-Rāzī is not the compiler of it.<sup>9</sup> However, the typeface of the note regarding the name of al-Qazwīnī is different from the one belongs to the book’s main text, and this fact allows us to argue for the claim that it is added by someone else later. For the main text penned with the typeface of Naskh and without any dot in good order. As for notes on fol. 1a, these are with dots and written with the typeface of Riqa. Additionally, their script does not seem much painstaking. At the same folio, along with the seals of Sultan Bayezid II and Mustafa III, the ownership statement belonging to Hasan Ibn Muhammad al-Tabasī is discerned. The typeface by which Najm al-dīn al-Qazwīnī al-Kātībī’s name penned matches up with the ownership statement’s typeface. In the present case, then, it can be said that the note regarding al-Qazwīnī is an “ownership statement” rather than “compilation statement,” or perhaps, al-Tabasī attributed the copy to al-Qazwīnī who held it for a while. As another possibility, this note may be a side note denoting the fact that it was read or reviewed by al-Qazwīnī. Number 15 below the name of al-Tabasī and also number 51 at the center of the folio grab reader’s attention. Although we cannot provide any convincing proof, those may just be referring to the amount of money the holder paid for the copy or to the record order of the book at the holder’s library.

<sup>9</sup> Kaplan, *Fahrüddin er-Razi Düşüncesinde Ruh ve Ahlak*, p. 315-317.



Ahmed III: 3401, Leaf 1a.

2. Another evidence propounded for the claim that the present copy does not belong to al-Rāzī is the absence of any attribution of *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* to him in the classical sources. These three names can be determined as the nearest sources to al-Rāzī:

a) Ibn Abi Usaybia (d. 668/1270), the pupil of Afdal al-dīn al-Hūnejī (d. 646/1248) who is mentioned among the pupils of al-Rāzī.

b) Athīr al-dīn al-Abharī (d. 663/1265), the pupil Ibn Khallikan (d. 680/1282).

c) Salāh al-dīn Khalīl Ibn Aybak al-Safadī (d. 764/1363), the pupil of Shams al-dīn al-Isfahānī (d. 749/1349).

None of all these three bibliographers and Tabaqāt writers makes mention of an *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* belonging to al-Rāzī. Nevertheless, as we stated earlier, al-Rāzī himself says in his different works that he wrote a book titled “*al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* (The Major Book on Logic).” Besides, he refers in those works to *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* at many points. The fact that all these references are present at the extant copy of *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* indicates the accuracy for the authorship of al-Rāzī. References mentioned above can be listed as follow:

**ı- Sharh al-Isāhārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt:** When al-Rāzī treating the subject of “The Non-Constitutive Concomitant Accidental (1.Method/Nahj)” in this commentary, he says that “...the issues related to what is included in essence and what is not included are discussed in “Major Book Written on Logic”, and we came to a conclusion there; here, without going into details of the mentioned discussions, the subject will be treated briefly.”<sup>10</sup> If one looks at fol. 21z of *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*, he sees the discussions about the subject.

**ii- Sharh al-Isāhārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt:** In the course of dealing with the subject of “Answers Given to the Question of ‘What is it’ (3. Method)”, al-Rāzī articulates that “...the issue of why genus and species were determined as genus and species was analyzed in ‘Major Book Written on Logic.’”<sup>11</sup> The problem in question was tackled in detail at the fol. 21z of *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*.

<sup>10</sup> See Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharh al-Isāhārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt*, I/69.

<sup>11</sup> See Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharh al-Isāhārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt*, I/91-92.



**iii- Sharh al-Isāhārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt:** At the topic of “The Matters and Modes of Propositions (4. Method)”, it is explicitly uttered that “...the matters regarding the mode of ‘Possibility’ were also elucidated in ‘Major Book Written on Logic.’”<sup>12</sup> The same matters were scrutinized at the fol. 19z of *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*.

**iv- Mantiq al-Mulakhkhas:** Al-Rāzī articulates in this work that “...the subject of ‘Conjunctive and Disjunctive Propositions’ will be thoroughly explained in the book titled *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*.”<sup>13</sup> So indeed, we find that subject as being broadly treated between the fol. 220z and 222v of *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*.

**v- Mantiq al-Mulakhkhas:** This book ends with the writer’s following expressions that “...especially parts related to five arts were kept short in this work, but these topics will be examined in detail in a comprehensive book on logic.”<sup>14</sup> By looking into the other works of Al-Rāzī, we can easily say that the book in question is *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*.

**vi- Sharh ‘Uyūn al-Hikma:** In the subject of “Analogy”, it is stated that one should look at *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* for more information about discussions regarding the definition of analogy.<sup>15</sup> These discussions are handled at the fol. 150z-151v and 158v-159v of *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*.

The last important point here is that Najm al-dīn al-Qazwīnī did not examine this work personally, but that some of his students had draft versions of this work.<sup>16</sup> Although this work is not mentioned in the classical tabaqāt, besides al-Rāzī’s own references, al-Qazwīnī conveys information about the existence of this work. Also, as we will focus on below, al-Safadī states that al-Rāzī wrote a commentary on Avicenna’s *al-Shifa* and this commentary should be quite voluminous.<sup>17</sup> It is highly possible that the mentioned commentary was *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*.

3. Another mainstay of the claim that the book does not belong to al-Rāzī is our having only one copy of it. When we consider the reputation of the writer, who had been regarded as the Chief and had possession of plenty of disciples, the fact that the most extensive book he wrote on logic has reached the present day as only one copy brings in its wake some objections regarding the authorship of al-Rāzī for the copy. Furthermore, it becomes open to question whether al-Rāzī wrote such a book. The historical adventure of the copy we have, however, helps to explain the reason why the book has reached today as one copy. It is understood from the copying statement that the extant copy was composed for Najm al-dīn al-Qazwīnī al-Kātibī. Because it is copied in 662/1268 when al-Qazwīnī is alive and his name is on fol. 1a. The fact that the copyist was from Khujand<sup>18</sup> brings to mind the possibility that the manuscript’s copying was completed in Maragha. For al-Qazwīnī, together with Nasīruddīn al-Tūsī, was residing in Maragha in those years.<sup>19</sup> Starting from that point, such a claim can be put forward that the book was seen from al-Tūsī and even later on from Qutb al-dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311),<sup>20</sup> who was also working together with al-Qazwīnī and al-Tūsī in Maragha. The presence of 4 paragraphs belonging to Zayn al-dīn al-Kashshī (d. 666/1268) in *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* gives us an opportunity to allege that the extant copy was reproduced by depending on the copy in possession of al-Kashshī.<sup>21</sup> In this circumstance, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the book written by al-Rāzī as a single copy was handed over respectively to al-Kashshī and al-Qazwīnī and finally, Hasan Ibn Muhammad al-Tabasī. Considering the seals of Sultan Bayezid II on its folios,<sup>22</sup> we can say that the manuscript entered to Ottoman Palace Library two centuries later than its writing and for this reason, it lost the possibility of reproduction.

<sup>12</sup> See Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharh al-Isāhārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt*, I/193.

<sup>13</sup> See Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Mantiq al-Mulakhkhas*, p. 318.

<sup>14</sup> See Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Mantiq al-Mulakhkhas*, p. 354, 355.

<sup>15</sup> Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharh ‘Uyūn al-Hikma*, I/163.

<sup>16</sup> al-Qazwīnī, *al-Munassas Sharhun fi al-Mulakhkhas li al-Imām al-Rāzī*, Shehid Ali Pasha Lib., 1680, fol. 159b.

<sup>17</sup> al-Safadī, *al-Vāfi bi al-vaḥyāt*, thq. Hellmut Ritter, Weisbaden: 1962, IV/180.

<sup>18</sup> Khujand is the second largest city of Tajikistan today. However, sometimes it is confused with Hokand in Uzbekistan.

<sup>19</sup> Yavuz, “Kātibī, Ali b. Ömer”, *DİA*, XXV, p. 41.

<sup>20</sup> Şerbetci, “Kutbüddīn-i Şīrāzī”, *DİA*, Vol. 26, p. 488.

<sup>21</sup> See Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*, fols. 142z, 143a, 144a, 216b.

<sup>22</sup> Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*, fols. 1a, 371b.

Another probable explanation for the case of a single copy is that the author compiled the book only for himself. Alternatively, al-Rāzī's subsequent works on logic (e.g., his commentaries on *al-Isāhārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt* and *'Uyūn al-Hikma*) may have been cause *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* to be ignored by researchers. Because they were both relatively smaller than *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* and were arranged more systematically than it. Thereby, due to the fact it is easier to read and teach those works, *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* may not have gained currency.

**Table-1: The Sequence of Ownership of *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr***

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī	H. 554-606/A.D.1149-1210
Zayn al-Dīn al-Kashshī	H. 575-666/ A.D.1180-1268
Najm al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī al-Kātībī.	H. 600-675/ A.D.1204-1277
Hasan Ibn Muhammad al-Tabasī	---
Sultan Bayezid II	H. 850-918/ A.D.1447-1512
Sultan Mustafa III	H. 1129-1187/ A.D.1717-1774

4. The last point to be the foundation of suspicious about the copy itself and its writer is that it is a little-known book of the author. In other words, there is no any reference to *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* by ensuing writers, especially, ones who are the disciples of al-Rāzī. The reason behind this fact may be that it has been transferred to next times as one copy. Because it is a profoundly normal situation for the Tabaqāt writers and other authors who are not to be able to find any chance to see the works owned only by a few particular people and protected privately not to refer to his book. Notwithstanding rarity of the direct references by others, *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* was used as a source in other works of al-Rāzī. Presumably, in addition to al-Kashshī, al-Qazwīnī and al-Tabasī, the book may be seen by Nasīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī, Qutb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Bandihī, the pupil of al-Kashshī.

5. In his commentary al-Munassas, al-Qazwīnī states that he did not see *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*, but received information that some draft copies were in his students.<sup>23</sup> In this case, it is possible that he did not reach this work while writing the commentary. However, the existence of such a work is accepted by its students. The copy mentioned here was written while al-Qazwīnī was alive and there is a record on it that we can call al-Qazwīnī's ownership or inscription statement. In other words, it is possible that al-Qazwīnī examined this work later.

6. al-Rāzī refers to *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* in the commentaries on *Mulakhkhas* and *al-Isāhārāt*, which he wrote in his early periods, and in *Sharh 'Uyūn al-Hikma* that he wrote in his recent years. In other words, while the author was alive, this work must have existed even as a single copy. And most importantly, this work was not lost during the author's migrations and troubled periods of his life. The references by the author himself in two different periods of his life are the most important sign of the existence of this work.

7. al-Safadī states that al-Rāzī wrote a commentary on Avicenna's *al-Shifa*.<sup>24</sup> In this case, *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* may have been written as an independent commentary of the logic section of *al-Shifa*. Because, as can be seen below, *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* has a great similarity with *al-Shifa* and unlike his other works, al-Rāzī made his references here based on *al-Shifa*. In the Islamic logic tradition, commentaries made without giving the original text are also seen. Therefore, it can be accepted normal that the text of *al-Shifa* was not given in *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*.

<sup>23</sup> al-Qazwīnī, *al-Munassas Sharhun fi al-Mulakhkhas li al-Imām al-Rāzī*, Shehit Ali Pasha Lib., 1680, fol. 159b.

<sup>24</sup> al-Safadī, *al-Vāfi bi al-vafāyāt*, thq. Hellmut Ritter, Weisbaden: 1962, IV/180.

8. Khaled El-Rouayheb expresses some doubts about the content of *al-Mantiq al-Kabîr* and states that the current copy may have been created by the logicians after al-Rāzî.<sup>25</sup> According to him, even if al-Rāzî had such a work, it is not the present copy. But here is not fully explained what does the “content” means. It is possible to say that the system and content of the work differs from later works. But here it is necessary to point out a few important points:

a) First of all, sometimes al-Rāzî advocates different views in his various works that belong to several life periods. It is not very disputing for an author to develop himself or to change own views considering different contexts. Therefore, it is not abnormal for al-Rāzî to have some differences in subject and view in his logical works.

b) Secondly, al-Rāzî himself complains that some of his works were changed (تحريف) and some of his views were misunderstood (تخریف). He talks about his efforts to correct these errors and this goal is one of the aims of writing *Sharh ‘Uyûn al-Hikma*.<sup>26</sup> It is not uncommon for such falsifications to be made knowingly or unknowingly and this reality does not invalidate the work's belonging to the author.

c) The most discussed issue regarding the content of the work is that the conception includes the assent or not. In other words, when the judgment is known, is the essence of the concept known? For example, should someone with the knowledge “water boils at 100 degrees” always know the content of water and boiling or degree? al-Rāzî took this discussion even further in *Sharh al-Isāhārāt* and stated that there are two types of definitions as name and truth definitions. According to him, the name definition is before assent, but the truth definition comes after assent, that is, it also includes an assent.<sup>27</sup> For example, the definition of “human is rational (nāṭiq)” does not require an assent. But in the definition of “human is a rational animal (nāṭiq)” the qualification of “animal” requires a judgment. From this point of view, it does not seem possible to mention that the discussion of “the relationship between conception and assent” belongs to the post-Rāzî period.

d) The “hīniyye” mode, which is claimed to belong to the post-Rāzî period and which is not found in the other works of al-Rāzî, actually exists in Avicenna’s *al-Isāhārāt*. The expression of Ibn Sīnā “hīn min al-ahyān” (حين من الأحيان) shows the possibility that this mode was also known by al-Rāzî, but was conceptualized by his followers.<sup>28</sup>

e) Likewise, the “muntashirah” mode which was mentioned in al-Rāzî’s *al-Āyāt al-Bayyināt* is not a post-Rāzî concept. The same mode is mentioned in *Sharh ‘Uyûn al-Hikma*.<sup>29</sup> The ‘urfiyye and mahsrutah modes are also included in the same works.<sup>30</sup> In this case, it does not seem possible to mention that the content of *al-Mantiq al-Kabîr* was falsified regarding the modes.

f) Finally, we want to touch upon the subject matter of logic. Before al-Rāzî the subject of logic was defined as the second intentions (al-ma’kūlāt as-sāniyye) and in general, this definition was taken as the basis in other works of al-Rāzî.<sup>31</sup> But in the post-Tūsī period, the subject matter of logic was defined as a “science by itself”. The second definition is included in *al-Mantiq al-Kabîr* and it creates a problem.<sup>32</sup> Probably, this definition in the current copy of *al-Mantiq al-Kabîr* added later with the influence of the views of logicians such as Kashshī, Tūsī, Khunajī, and Qazwīnī.

g) To summarize, there is a general harmony between *al-Mantiq al-Kabîr* and *al-Shifa*. In addition, except for a few issues, the content of *al-Mantiq al-Kabîr* overlaps with al-Rāzî’s other works. It seems that there are some modifications and distortions in the existing copy of *al-Mantiq al-Kabîr*. However, these small differences never lead to the conclusion that the existing copy is not al-Rāzî’s *al-Mantiq al-Kabîr*.

<sup>25</sup> Khaled al-Rouayheb, *The Development of Arabic Logic* (1200-1800), p. 40.

<sup>26</sup> Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharh ‘Uyûn al-Hikma*, I/40, 41.

<sup>27</sup> Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharh al-Isāhārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt*, I/24.

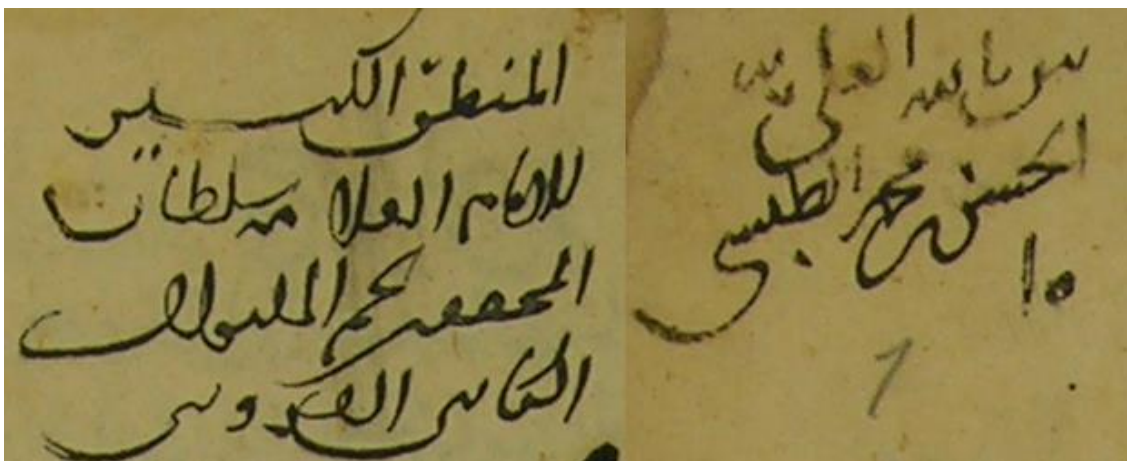
<sup>28</sup> Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharh al-Isāhārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt*, I/180.

<sup>29</sup> Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharh ‘Uyûn al-Hikma*, I/135.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Ebi al-Hadid, *Sharh al-Āyāt al-Bayyināt*, thq. Mukhtār Celbi, Beirut: Dāru Sadr, 1996, p. 152; Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharh ‘Uyûn al-Hikma*, I/135.

<sup>31</sup> Sahlân al-Sāwī, *al-Basâir al-nâsriyye*, s. 57.; Fahr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Mantiq al-Kabîr*, fols. 6b, 7a.

<sup>32</sup> Fahr al-dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Mantiq al-Kabîr*, fols. 2b, 3a.



Ahmed III: Nr. 3401, fol. 1a. The ownership statement for al-Qazwīnī is at the left side and for al-Tabasī is at the right side.

9. According to the researchers contradicting the authorship of al-Rāzī for *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*, the real writer is Najm al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī al-Kātībī. However, we have such significant information to be able to refute this claim that there is no any book on logic both titled “al-Kabīr” and attributed to al-Qazwīnī. It means that al-Qazwīnī was only one of the holders of *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* for a while, despite he is mentioned by some people as the writer of it.

10. Another name coming to the forefront for the authorship is Sirāj al-dīn al-Urmawī. However, when the works of him are examined, it can be easily said that *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* does not belong to al-Urmawī either.

11. Likewise, the works of Zayn al-Dīn al-Kashshī were examined, but there was not found any evidence that this work belongs to him.

12. One another detail which annihilates the possibility that the book was written after the death of al-Rāzī is the fact that we cannot see within the book any reference to him, a man honored by his successor as the Chief. However, plenty of authors lived after al-Rāzī, most notably al-Urmawī, referred to the works of al-Rāzī with such expressions that “The chief’s opinion on this issue is that...” or “The chief said that...”. As for *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*, on the contrary, it refers only to the early logicians like Aristotle, al-Fārābī, Avicenna and ‘Umar Ibn Sahlān al-Sāvī. Moreover, within the extant copy, al-Fārābī and Avicenna are mentioned as “the most excellent men and authorities of Later Period (mutaahhīr).” However, it is well known that during the period after al-Rāzī both al-Fārābī and Avicenna are regarded as the names of Older Period (mutaqaddim), and Later Period (mutaahhīr) is started especially with al-Rāzī.

13. Comparing *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* with the other works of al-Rāzī can also give an idea about the authorship. Because the similarity of *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* to *Sharh ‘Uyūn al-Hikma*, *Sharh al-Isāhārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt* and most notably *al-Mulakhkhas* are remarkable. We can account for this similarity in style and content with the authorship of al-Rāzī.

14. There is one last question to answer. Is the extant copy of *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* a compilation or a commentary? For the name of Zayn al-Dīn al-Kashshī is mentioned in four paragraphs within the text.<sup>33</sup> Besides, we encounter on one of the paragraphs of it with the name of al-Rāzī to be entitled as the Chief (al-Imām).<sup>34</sup> However, except these five places and four distinct supplement folios and some corrections made by the copyist for misspellings of the text, the copy has not any commentary or side note (ta’līk) belonging to someone other than al-Rāzī. The four paragraphs of al-Kashshī are probably either the notes he took from his teacher or his notes he wrote down on the copy that he copied from his teacher’s one. It is highly possible that the copyist preserved these additions due to his respect for

<sup>33</sup> Fakhr al-dīn ar-Rāzī, *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*, fols. 142b, 143a, 144a, 216b.

<sup>34</sup> Fakhr al-dīn ar-Rāzī, *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr*, fol. 133b.



al-Kashshī. Alternatively, the work first was copied for al-Kashshī rather than al-Qazwīnī and later on, was handed over to the latter. Accordingly, we can say that the copyist added the notes belonging to al-Qazwīnī during the work's first copying. As for the appearance of the name of al-Rāzī as the Chief in the copy, according to the writing style of that time, while the compiler begins his work, he used to utilize expressions like "Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī says that..." rather than to speak directly such as "I say that...". This writing style also used to determine the identity of the compiler. Since some works were copied by the disciples, the disciple used to be able to add the name of his teacher on the text. Moreover, in some cases, although the author's name was not present on the autograph, the copyist used to be able to give place his name within the text several times because of his respect to the real writer. Taking into consideration the methods like that, we say that the appearance of the name of al-Rāzī as the Chief in the extant copy can be regarded as an evidence neither against the authorship al-Rāzī nor in favor of someone else.

...

In summary, the students and commentators may not have seen this existing copy since the work has a single manuscript copy. Although the fate of the current copy between the 13th and 15th centuries is unknown, we think that the date given for the scribing is consistent. Because the work is written with a good scribe without dots which indicates that it belongs to the 12-13th centuries. The first seal on the work, which entered the Topkapı Palace as of the 15th century belongs to Bayezid II. And the second belongs to Mustafa III. In other words, this single copy has been preserved in the Ottoman palace library since the 15th century.

The records in the entry folio of the work were scribed differently from the current copy. It seems that these records were included in the work later. There is no record in the original part of the work, except for the scribe record. Normally such works include an author record. The absence of such a record in this copy may be due to the fact that the work was written in the early stages or as a kind of draft.

In addition, the number of authors who wrote such a wide range of works in the field of Logic is not very high. And, Fakhraddīn al-Rāzī is one of them.

Finally, we know that al-Rāzī wrote the commentaries to Ibn Sīnā's *al-Isāhārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt* and *Uyūn al-Hikma*. In other words, it is highly probable that the author, who was a good Ibn Sina reader and commentator, wrote a commentary to *al-Shifa*. As we have already mentioned above, it is stated that the author wrote a commentary to the Metaphysics section of Ibn Sīnā's *al-Shifa*.

As a result, there is no situation that will cause any serious doubts about the belonging of *al-Mantiq al-Kabīr* to Fakhraddīn al-Rāzī.

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