Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zachariyā al-Rāzi, known as the “Galen of the Arabs,”1 “the Physician par excellence of the Muslims,”2 and “Learned Master (Allamah) of the Sciences of the Ancients,”3 was one of the most widely-recognized and encyclopaedic philosophers ever to appear in the Islamic world. He read with a number of teachers from Khurāsān, al-Nishaburi,4 Abu Zayd al-Balkhi,5 and Ali ibn Rabban al-Tabari.6 He made a thorough study of medical practice in the hospitals of Rayy and Baghdad, finally achieving the rank of “resident surgeon” (“al-tabib al-maristani”).

Al-Razi debated with many outstanding personalities of his time. He discussed metaphysics and the problem of time with Abu al-Qasim al-Ka’bi al-Balkhi;8 the question of the pre-existence of matter with Ahmad ibn al-Hasan al-Masma’i;9 the problem of pleasure with Abu al-Abbas al-Nashi al-Akbar;10 the problem of bitter taste with Ahmad ibn Muhammad Abu Tayyib al-Sarakhsi;12 and the immate with Ahmad ibn Kayyal.13

The esteem in which al-Razi was held is indicated by the Fihrist (bibliography) of his writings compiled by Abu Rayhan al-Biruni, another great learned man of the 5th/11th century.14 Al-Biruni undertook the work despite his strong disagreement with al-Razi on a number of philosophical and religious issues. The Fihrist is divided by subject; some of the various headings include medicine, the natural sciences, logic, mathematics, astronomy, commentaries and summaries by al-Razi of predecessors, works, metaphysics, alchemy, and heresiography.

Among al-Razi’s works on the natural sciences al-Biruni mentions the al-Shukuk ala Jalimus (Doubts concerning Galen).15 Unfortunately only three manuscripts of this valuable work have survived; all three, moreover, seem to be descended from one copy. Nor has the al-Shukuk, despite its importance for the history of medicine, ever been published. It is my aim in this modest essay to bring al-Razi’s critique of Galen to the attention of scholars of the history of medicine.

It is first necessary to point out that the Arabic term “shakk” (Lit: “doubt”) contained in the title is equivalent to the Greek term “aporia” which gives the sense of “difficulty, hardship, confusion.” In philosophical dialectics it indicates a difficulty, problem, or enigma. The addition of the Arabic preposition “ala” (here parallel to the Greek “pros”) further indicates objection and critique.16 Thus al-Razi, brings up certain “doubts” or “objections” to problematic points in which Galen has apparently entangled himself in his writings.

Galen himself was born several centuries before al-Razi, in the year 130 C.E. in the town of Pergamon (known to the Arabs as “Farghamus” or “Farghamun”) in Asia Minor. He died in Sicily in 200 C.E., leaving behind numerous treatises not only on medicine and philosophy, but on many other subjects as well. He also compiled an autobiography, called in Arabic “Finaks,”17 or “Binaks,”18 from the Greek “pinax” meaning “catalogue”, along with another treatise laying down the proper order in which his books were to be studied.19 After his death his fame only increased. His students had a great following; they travelled to many lands and taught in various schools and centres of religious learning. As time passed the Greek originals of Galen’s works became hidden away in the corners of the academies, where they lay for centuries nearly forgotten. By this time, however, most had been rendered by Muslim translators either into Syriac or Arabic. In the Middle Ages they were subsequently translated from Arabic into Latin,20 and finally in the Renaissance with the renewed influence of Greek thought further into Latin and then into other European languages.

Many translators shared in the Arabization of Galen’s works. Chief among these was Hunayn ibn Ishaq al-‘Abādī, known as “Hunayn the Translator”.

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(d. 260/856-57). Hunayn's translations of Galen are listed in one of his own treatises, and it was through these that Galen became known in the Islamic world. His name finally became synonymous in the Islamic literatures with perfection in the art of medicine. The well-known Arabic poet al-Mutanabbi says:

When I found the cure for my illness with my beloved;
Even Galen seemed to me little in comparison. 22

Although many Islamic scholars studied Galen and used his writings, al-Razi was probably the most learned among them. He even makes mention of several of Galen's works listed neither in Hunayn ibn Ishāq's bibliography nor that of Galen himself. 23 His admiration for Galen is obvious: he followed the Greek physician not only in his medicine, but also in his philosophy and ethics. It is no wonder then that he begins the Kitāb al-shukuk with the following declaration:

[In writing this book] I am faced with opposing one who is in my eyes the greatest of men, and who has benefitted me more than any person. It was through him that I was guided; I trod in his footsteps, and drank of his knowledge as if from an ocean! I am faced with this knowing that the slave must not oppose his master, nor the student his teacher, nor he who receives grace the one who granted it. 24

We also see that the titles of several of al-Razi's works coincide with those of Galen's, for example "al-Burhān" (The Demonstration); "Fi-mā ya'taqidu-hu ra' y(an)" (On the Beliefs Held [by Galen]); and "Fi manāfī-a'da" (On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body). 25 Al-Razi also summarizes a number of Galen's important works: thus his "Summary of the Greater Book of the Pulse" (Ikhṭisār kitāb al-nabd al-kabīr) and "Précis of the Stratagem for Recovery" (Talkhis li-hilat al-bur), the "Précis of Causes and Accidents" (Talkhis al-ilal wa-al-a'rād) and the "Précis of Painful Members" Talkhis al-a'da al-ālimah. 26

Al-Razi states in the al-Shukāk that Galen is, in his opinion, even greater than Aristotle:

There was in the City of Peace [that is Bagh­dad] a certain man who used to read the works of Galen with me. He himself favoured Aristotle. Whenever he came across passages [in which doubts could be applied against Galen] he would vigorously censure me for setting him above Aristotle. God knoweth that I was many times quite put to shame by the elegance of his arguments on such occasions. 27

It is worth mentioning here that al-Razi sided with Plato rather than Aristotle concerning many of the questions on which Galen himself agreed with Plato. Examples of these are the problem of pain and pleasure, and the three souls. Thus al-Sā'īd al-Andalusi (d. 462/1069-70) says concerning al-Razi: He strongly disagreed with Aristotle, censuring him for splitting from his teacher Plato and others of the ancient philosophers in the matter of many of their beliefs. 28

Thus having read all of Galen's important works and finding a number of inconsistencies and dubious points, al-Razi set about composing his Kitāb al-Shukuk. Al-Biruni calls the book al-Shukuk alā Jālinus 29 while Ibn Abī Usaybi‘āḥ gives it a longer title: al-Shukuk wa-al-munāqadat allatī fi kutub Jālinus (Doubts and inconsistencies in the Books of Galen). 30 The manuscript which I have used (described below) bears a longer title still: Kitāb al-shukuk lil-Rāzī alā kitāb fādil al-attibā Jālinus fi al-kutub alladhi nusiba ilay(h)i (AL-Razi's Book of Doubts Concerning the Treatise of the Most Eminent of Physicians, Galen, on the Works Attributed to Him). 13

It should be recalled here that Alexander of Aphro­disias (fl.early 3rd C.A.D.) also opposed certain of Galen's beliefs, 32 before al-Razi; thus Yahyā al-Nahawi al-Iskandarānī (John Philoponus, fl.c.A.D. 490 - c.570) also wrote a work which he called "Doubts", in which he clarified what he believed to be Galen’s errors. 33

The Ismā‘īlī philosopher Muhammad ibn Surkh al-Nishāburi (fi. A.H. 4th or 5th C/A.D. 10th or 11th C.) also mentions al-Razi's Shukūk in a book which he wrote as a commentary on the qasidah of his contemporary Abu al-Haytham al-Jurjānī-going on to note that another man living at the time wrote a book which he called "Doubts Concerning Muhammad ibn Zakar­iya." It is reported that when al-Razi saw the latter book he said, "It seems that he holds me in the same high regard as I do Galen himself." he then proceeded to confess his own errors. 34 The story may be apocryphal. It is certain, however, that Ibn Abī Sādīq, 35 Ibn Ridwān al-Misrī, 36 and Abu al-Alā ibn Zuhr 37 each wrote a book called "Solution to al-Razi's Doubts Concerning the Works of Galen" (Hall shukuk al-Rāzī alā kutub Jālinus). Ibn Maymun al-Qurtubi ("Maimonides", d. 601/1204-1205) also mentions Ibn Ridwān's and Ibn Zuhr's refutations of al-Razi's Book of Aphorisms Kitāb al-fusūl. 38 Ibn Abī Usaybi‘āḥ actually had Ibn Ridwān's treatise in his possession, 39 but it is unfortunately lost to us. Ibn Zuhr's work, however, is existant, in the form of a manuscript in the library of the Madrasat Nawwāb in Mashhad 40. The title reads al-Bayān wa-al-tadyin fi al-intissār li-Jālinus (Explanation and Elucidation in support of Galen). Ibn Zuhr thinks that either one of the Islamic “sceptics” (al-Sufasta ‘iyah) contrived the work and then fathered it
on al-Rāzi, or that al-Rāzi wrote it either when he was still young and had not yet properly understood Galen, or at the end of his life when he was preoccupied with alchemy and had been overcome by the fumes of arsenic and sulfur. 41

Al-Rāzi himself begins the al-Shukuk with the following comment “I know that many people will think me ignorant for writing this book...” 42 He then goes on to defend himself: “The practice of science and medicine does not allow that one surrender, as it were, to its pre-eminent practitioners, or simply accept what they say. One should not defer to them and refrain from questions-nor does the [true] philosopher approve of such an attitude on the part of his students”. He then replies to those who reproach him as follows:

As for those who censure me and call me ignorant for having produced this Book of Doubts - I do not consider them philosophers. They have turned their backs on the way of the philosophers. They have taken up the ways of ignorant upstarts, blindly imitating (qal-lad) authority and refraining from raising any objection against it. Aristotle says: Plato and the Truth are at odds, and both are friend to me - but the Truth is a friend dearer still than Plato. 43

Al-Rāzi continues:

Asked why modern scholars should attach [such critiques] to [the works of] the ancients, I cite several reasons. Among these is that error is inherent in human beings; and that sometimes passion overwhelms reason. For passion may perhaps affect the steady gaze of reason in the case of a certain man concerning some matter or other, to the extent that he may pronounce an error in regard to it, whether he be aware of that error or not. Thus it may be that when another man free from prejudice carefully examines the statement of such a person he may not come to the same conclusion, and the passion which motivated the first man will not lead him [to that error]. Another reason I cite for such critiques is that the sciences continually grow and are refined as time passes... If it then be said that this is tantamount to claiming that modern scholars are better than the ancients, I reply: that I do not see that this statement is valid except on condition that the moderns improve on that which has been laid down by the ancients. 44

Al-Rāzi brings up “doubts” relating both to Galen’s medicine and philosophy. Maimonides objects in his Book of Aphorisms that he has devoted all his efforts to philosophy, and consequently neglected medicine. 45

Maimonides’s observation, however, must be rejected, for Galen himself also enquired in his medical works into questions of philosophy such as createdness and pre-existence, generation and corruption, time and place, matter, and plenum and void. The ancients believed that medicine and philosophy complemented each other. Some even said that medicine was “the philosophy of the body” and philosophy “the medicine of the soul.” 46 Galen himself wrote a book with the title: “That the Good Physician must be a Philosopher.” 47 The Islamic physicians took the same view: they discussed philosophical questions in their medical works on the principle that they affected the medicine of the body and the soul. We see this approach in the Firdaws al-hikhmah (“Paradise of Wisdom”) of Ali ibn Rabban al-Tabari (d. after 895/1489-1490), and also in the Kitab al-mu'aliyat al-Bugraiyah (“Book of Hippocratic Treatments”) of Abu al-Hasan-al-Tabari.

It is interesting that on one occasion in the Shukuk al-Rāzi makes an objection to a doctrine of Galen concerning language, thus stepping outside the realm of both medicine and philosophy. He reports Galen’s statement that, “The language of the Greeks is the sweetest, while those of some other peoples resemble the squealing of pigs and the croaking of frogs.” Al-Rāzi replies: This is a statement such as a common person would make! For the pronunciation of words of any language become light and sweet through habituation. The Arabic language seems to the Arabs as does Greek to the Greeks; and the language of the Byzantines seems gross to the Arabs just as that of the Arabs seems gross to the Byzantines. 48 Ibn Hazm has this to say in reply to Galen: “This is extreme ignorance; anyone who becomes aware of a language not his own which he does not understand will see it in the way Galen describes, and no differently.” 49

Al-Ra‘zi mentions the views on nature and philosophy of Greek thinkers such as Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Theophrastus, Chrysippus, Empedocles, Diocles, Thales, Asclepiades, Dioscorides, and Erasistratos. Among Islamic scholars he names Hunayn ibn Ishāq and Muhammad ibn Musā; he also mentions, without giving his name, a prominent man and noble friend who used to read the works of Galen with him. In the course of his discussion of Galen, al-Ra‘zi also records the names of a number of his own works no longer existent. These names allow us to at least determine the subject-matter of the lost treatises. In one passage, for instance, he mentions the *Sam al-Kayyān*, evidently from its title an essay on the oral teaching of the natural sciences: “I have devoted a chapter of the *Sam al-Kayyān* to the opinion of those who assert that changes are either hidden or apparent. Whoever reads it will become convinced that this doctrine has shortcomings.” Other titles of lost works of al-Ra‘zi are:

“Refutation of al-Sarakhsi on the Matter of Bitter Taste” (*Fi al-radd alā al-Sarakhsi fī amr al-tam al-murr*). In the course of a discussion of proof that the efficacy of a medicine may be determined through its taste al-Ra‘zi writes: “I have discussed these matters in a treatise which I have devoted to refutation of Ali Ahmad ibn-Tayyi al-Sarakhsi (d.286-899) concerning bitter taste”. Other titles of lost works of al-Ra‘zi are:

“On the Mechanism of Sight” (*Fi kayfiyat al-absār*). Al-Ra‘zi says in the *Shukuk*: I have devoted a very large treatise to this matter. It is evident that sight results through the projection of shapes onto the eye. Galen is much discuss than absolute cold. Thus it would be colder than ice, which is contrary to the sense [of touch]. Much discussion would be needed to solve this problem, to which I have devoted a whole treatise.

“On the Climate of Underground Passages” (*Fi jaww al-asrāb*). Al-Ra‘zi writes: I have explained in a separate treatise that the warmth which we feel in the winter in the water which comes from springs and from the air in deep places does not result because it is of itself warmer at that time than in summer. Rather we feel it so because of the cold of our bodies - just as well feel tepid water to be cold after being in the bath because of the heat of our bodies. If you should wish to inform yourself of all I have stated concerning this matter, then read [the appropriate] treatise.

Greater Book of the Soul (al-Nafs al-Kabar). Al-Ra‘zi writes: Many doubts may be raised against Galen’s refutation of Chrysippus concerning the accidents of the soul. It is not necessary to prolong discussion of them here, since I intend to write a book which will treat the subject thoroughly, God willing, and in which I will also discuss the objections which may be made to Galen’s Ethics.

Thus al-Ra‘zi’s *Kitāb al-Shukuk* allows us to gain knowledge of the contents of some of his works which are no longer existent - even if, in many cases, he does not specifically mention the titles of such works. I have only been able here to give a glimpse of this important treatise of Muhammad ibn Zakariyya al-Ra‘zi, The Physician of the Arabs. I would recommend to those interested in the works of Galen and al-Ra‘zi and their medical and philosophical thought to pay particular attention to this work. For my part, I hope to eventually edit and publish the *Kitāb al-Shukuk*; it should be of great use for the history of Islamic science.

Endnotes

14- First published by Paul Kraus as *Risālat Abī Rayhān fī fihrist kutub al-Ra‘zi* (Paris: 1936); more recently by Mehdi Mohaghegh, under the title of *Fihrist kitāb-hā-yi rāzī va-Bīrūnī*. 210

15- al-Biruni, al-Risâlah, no. 88 (in both editions).

16- see Abd al-Hamid Sabrah, al-Shukuk al-Batánymus li-Ibn Haytham (Cairo, 1971), p. m(im).


19- This was known in Arabic as Fáramítíc gírá at kutub (íthi), and in Latin as De Ordine Librorum.


25- Ibn Abi Usaybi`ah, Uyun al-anbá, nos. 2, 190 & 191 of the works cited of al-Rázi. See also Hunayn ibn Isháq, al-Risâlah, nos. 49, 113 & 115 of the works cited of Galen.


29- al-Biruni, al-Risâlah, no. 88.

30- Ibn Abi Usaybi`ah, Uyun al-anbá, p. 422.


32- Ibn Abi Usaybi`ah attributes to Alexander an Essay in Refutation of Galen Concerning the Eighth Discourse of his Book of the Demonstration (Maqa`akh fi-al-radd ala Jálinus fi-ma al-maqa`ákhat al-thaminah min kitáb (íthi) fi-al-burfán), the Essay in Refutation of Galen Concerning his Attack on the Doctrine of Aristotle which states that all that moves is set in movement by a motive force (Maqa`akh fi-al-radd ala Jálinus fi-má t`ána alá al-gawl Aristtáttîts anna kull má yathararrak fa-imamá yathararrak an muharrik), and an Essay in Refutation of Galen concerning the Matter of Possible Existent(s) (Maqa`akh fi-al-radd ala Jálinus fi-mádat al-mumknin). See Uyun al-anbá, p. 106.

33- Ali ibn Ridwán al-Mísri writes in a letter to Ibn Butlán al-Baghdádi: I am much astonished to see that Yahyá al-Naháwí has written a book which he calls al-Shukuk in which he clarifies what he asserts to be the errors (ughlustád) of Galen (Khamás rasáill Ibn Butlán wa-Ibn Ridwán, ed. J. Schacht & M. Meyerhof [Cairo: 1937], p. 75).


37- Abu al-Ál Zahárv ibn Marwán (d. 529/1131) was known in Latin as Avenzoar. Ibn Abi Usaybi`ah also attributes to him a Solution of al-Rázi’s Doubts Concerning the Works of Galen (ibid., p. 519).


40- See the notice in the Majallat Asitán-ouds-i Raddawí ( Mashhad), 7, 1 p. 116.

41- Ibn Zahár in his al-Bayyán wa-al-tabyín has the sceptics say, instead of al-Rázi says (Mashhad ms., p. 1).

42- P.1. Al-Rázi here in fact imitates Jabir ibn Hayyan, who begins his al-Tajmi` and also his al-Sír al-maknun: There will be people who will think me ignorant... See Paul Kraus, Jabir ibn Hayyan ( Cairo: 1942-43), vol. 2, p. 252.

43- Ali ibn Ridwán al-Mísri relates the same statements in his Epistle to Ibn Butlán, but also adds the words of prophesy: It would be easier for us to kill our fathers than to accept false beliefs (Khamás rasáil, p. 76).

44- al-Shukuk, pp. 12.

45- Radd Musá ibn Maymun al-Qurtubí, p. 77.

46- See O. Temkin, Studies on Alexandrian Medicine, Bulletin of the History of Medicine [1935]: 418.

47- See Hunayn ibn Isháq, al-Risâlah, no. 103. The book was published in Gottingen in 1966, along with a German translation.

48- Kitáb al-shukuk’, p. 29.


51- Ibid., pp. 8, 16 & 28.

52- Ibid., p. 10.

53- Ibid., p. 17.

54- Ibid., p. 17.

55- Ibid., p. 17.

56- Ibid., p. 25.

57- Ibid., p. 23.
