BOOK SIX

Influence of Muslim Thought

Chapter LXVIII

INFLUENCE OF MUSLIM THOUGHT ON THE WEST

A

WESTERN THINKERS ON ISLAM IN GENERAL

Muslim philosophy influenced Western thought in several ways. It (1) initiated in the West the humanistic movement; (2) introduced the historical sciences and (3) the scientific method; (4) helped the Western scholastics in harmonizing philosophy with faith; (5) stimulated Western mysticism; (6) laid the foundations of Italian Renaissance and, to a degree, moulded the modern European thought down to the time of Immanuel Kant, in certain directions even later.1

1. The Muslims were the first humanists and they gave a humanist bond to the Western mind. They were the first to reveal to the West that outside the prevailing Catholic Church it was not all darkness and barbarism but untold wealth of knowledge. They captured and further developed all the intellectual achievements of Greece and transmitted them to the West before any direct contact between the Greek intellect and the Western mind was established. It was through their influence that ancient and contemporary men outside the Christian West also began to be looked upon as human and even possessed of higher civilisations.2

Nothing can prove their own humanism better than the fact that within eight years of the establishment of Baghdad they were in possession of the greater parts of the works of Aristotle (including the spurious Mineralogy, Mechanic, and Theology, the last of which was actually an abridged paraphrase of the last three books of Plotinus' Ennomos), some of the works of Plato and the Neo-Platonists, the important works of Hippocrates, Galen, Euclid, Ptolomy, and subsequent writers and commentators, and several Persian and Indian writings on mathematics, astronomy, and ethics. All this

2 Ibid.
Influence of Muslim Thought on the West

that Muhammad was a real Prophet and he did produce miracles. Guillaume de "Tripolis" work on Islam was written with extreme hate and was most offensive. Its descriptions were far from reality, being a mixture of mythical elements with history. Peter de Chyny (d. 551/1156) translated the Qur'an into Latin for the first time. His work set the foundation for St. Thomas' attacks on Islam. Two helpers named Peter de Toledo and Peter Ofier participated in Peter Chyny's attempt at translating the Qur'an. The Latin translation of an epistle on the discussion over the principles of Christianity and Islam between 'Abd al-Malih al-Kindi who was the Caliph Muzan's secretary and Yahya al-Dimashqi was added at the end of this version of the Qur'an. This epistle indicates how tolerant the 'Abbaisid Caliph was about religious discussions even in the third/ninth century. When this work was translated into Latin in the West in the sixteenth century, very bitter and offensive expressions were used for Islam in the preface to the Latin translation. Gasanuva and Muir critically investigated whether or not this epistle really belonged to the third/ninth century. Masumoglu has looked for a relationship between the epistle of this al-Kindi—who has no relation to the philosopher al-Kindi—and that of Yahya ibn 'Adi in which the Trinity is defended. The problem has not yet been solved.

St. Thomas referred to Islam and to its theologians. He is the first to give his criticisms a philosophical orientation. Raymond Lull (1203-76/1235-1316) studied Arabic at Majorca and Muslim philosophy in Bagia near Tunisia. It was he who suggested to the then Pope to start the moral crusade against Islam. This suggestion which was met at first with complete disinterest was later accepted by the Popes after Raymond's long endeavour to that effect; it became indeed the foundation of the Missionary movement. Raymond translated Arsat al-Husna (The Beautiful Names of God) of Muhby al-Din ibn 'Arabi. He adapted several passages from Futility al-Makkhyyah (The Revelations of Moses). He wrote an epistle relating to the discussions of a Christian, a Muslim, and a Jew. Although he wrote many epistles and books about Sufistic theology and philosophy, yet he essentially preserved his enmity against Islam.

At the same time Constantine Porphyrogenetos was referring to the Prophet with respect and politeness in a passage of his work on history. Ibn Sab'in, an adherent of tasawwuf, in a book entitled al-Ajib Ism al-A'idh al-Sagilliyah (Answers to Sufian Questions) answered the questions asked on Aristotle's philosophy by the King of Naples and Emperor of Germany.

*Bahrtdor, Mussulman Culture.
A History of Muslim Philosophy

Yet the moral tension between the two worlds did not ease. Lante in the section on "Inferno" of the Divine Comedy describes the Prophet in the eighth sphere of the underworld in a most atrocious manner, although, as Avaro Palacino in his studies of his Divine Comedy demonstrates, he owed to him 'Arabi his entire topic, his manner of synthesis, and his idea of moral ascension. Since all the publications in the West against Islam for centuries after the Middle Ages had continuously been written by adaptations, transla-
tions, imitations, copying without any mention of source, they were no more than expressions of a complex against Islam as a faith.

It was at first rather difficult for the Western philosophers to get rid of religious, imperialistic, and racial prejudices and look at Islam and the East with understanding. In spite of the fact that Renaissance became possible only through profiting by Muslim works on philosophy, and science and their translations and interpretations thereof for centuries, the attitude of some Western people who were hostile to the very civilization that created these works, induced them, in the sixteenth/seventeenth century on, Western philosophers gradually got rid of their prejudices against Islam. Cultural and intellectual influences from the Muslim East for centuries were instrumental in bringing about that change.

In the eighteenth century on, the attitude of Western free thinkers took a truly humanistic turn. The libere pensieri took a stand against negative and malicious publications. Edward Sale, in the preface he wrote for his translation of the Qur'an in 1147/1734, likens the Prophet to Theseus and Pompeius. He praises his philosophy, his political views, and his realism. Boulainvilliers in his book, The Life of the Prophet, goes one step further to try to prove that Islam is superior to Christianity in rationalism, and its consistency with the nature of man. Savory in the preface he wrote for his translation of the Qur'an completed in 1196/1783, describes Muhammad as "one of the marvellous persons who appear in the world from time to time." Due to its importance, Savory's translation was again published ten years ago.8

This sympathetic attitude towards Islam evoked a strong reaction in Voltaire. He made extremely offensive and insolent statements about Islam and the Prophet of Islam.


8 Goethe, Mahomet (French translation).
89 F. Nietzsche, Der Antichrit.
810 Edward von Hartmann, La Religion de l'avenir, p. 148.

Influence of Muslim Thought on the West

order.14 In his Mahomet, Goethe, with great sympathy and enthusiasm, describes the power of the new faith exalted against idolatry, and the sincere adherence of its believers to it. This work of Goethe is in the nature of an answer to Voltaire's work bearing the same name.14 Goethe read the Qur'an in 1184/1770 and annotated certain verses which were later referred to in Megerlin's German version of the Qur'an. By this time the Prophet of Islam was well known in Germany as the founder of a "Natural Religion," and a protagonist of intellectual advance. Megerlin's translation of the Qur'an (1189/1772) and that of Boysen's (1187/1773) were published in Germany in addition to Turgot's work, The Life of Muhammad, in which Muhammad is described as a "great Prophet," "powerful mind," "true believer," and "the founder of natural religion."

Auguste Comte, in his "Law of Three Stages of Social Development," considers Islam to be the most advanced phase in his so-called theological stage and regards it even as preparatory to the metaphysical stage.13 Oswald Spengler compares Islam with the Protestant faith. In Muhammad he sees the puritan personality of a Luther or a Calvin. According to him, Islam calls for the same kind and quantity of "Illumination" and "Intelect" as was insisted on by Confucius, Buddha, Lessing, and Voltaire.13

Although Nietzsche severely attacks Christianity in all his works, particularly in his Antichrist,13 he did not include Islam in his adverse judgment. On the other hand, he mentioned it with praise. Edward von Hartmann, in his book entitled The Religion of the Future, remarks that, although Hebrew religion is an advance over paganism, the conception of monoplastic and rationalist God rather hinders its progress; and he concludes that monotheism finds its most powerful way of expression in Islam.14

Carlyle designates Islam as a very superior faith and thinks that Muhammad is the hero of the prophets.14 He refutes the false accusation made against the Prophet and states that this kind of opinion is shamed on us."

Thus, Orientalism, interest in which began during the seventh/thirteenth century merely through religious fanaticism and with the aim at establishing missionary organization, gradually became a subject of methodical research.14

---

8 Gustave E. Von Grunebaum, op. cit.
1332
A History of Muslim Philosophy

After the twelfth/eighteenth century those who possessed intensive knowledge of Arabic began to occupy themselves with the study of Islamic sciences, principles of Islam, and the history of Muslim nations. The number of those who got rid of their prejudices and subjective views and who knew how to take truth seriously increased as scientific research became more extensive. Dacier, Sebillot, Quatremère, de Slane, Poozcke, Sylvestre de Sacy, Ficker, Wustenfeld, Horten, de Boer, Mason Ousred, Guichon, L. Gardet, Masqonn, Rene Guenon, M. Asin Palacios, E. G. Browne, Nicholson, Sir Hamilton Gibb are among them. We may add that Orientalism today is oriented towards understanding Islam and other Eastern religions by serious scholarship, although there still are some who carry on their studies for imperial or missionary purposes.18

In the above account an attempt has been made to show how, starting with thorough antagonism to Islam, the West gradually moved towards a humanistic approach to Islamic culture. But this humanistic attitude was directed not only towards Islam but also to other Eastern religions. August Wilhelm Schlegel, from 124/1818 to the time of his death, occupied himself with Oriental studies. From 1250/1833 to 1254/1837 he published the journal *Indische Bibliothek* in three volumes and also edited the *Bibliothek der ältesten Sprachen*. These efforts mark the beginning of Sanskrit scholarship in Germany.

How the Jews and Christians in the West followed in the footsteps of Muslim thinkers in their recapture of Greek learning, and how they captured Muslim thought itself will be shown later.

2. A large part of the Qur'an refers to the past and takes the mind of the reader to the rise and fall of nations in the days gone by. In fact, it lays special emphasis on history as well as on nature as sources of knowledge. This Qur'anic attitude to history developed a true historical sense amongst the Muslims who in due course produced next to Herodotus world's first great historians like al-Tabari, al-Mas'udi, ibn Hayyân, ibn Khaldûn, and others. One of them, al-Biruni, laid down for the first time in history the principles of historical criticism. The Muslims were, thus, the first after Herodotus to develop the historical sense and to lay open the various historical sciences before the West.

3. The greatest boon that the Muslim East bestowed upon the West was the scientific or inductive method of inquiry. Although most of the Muslim thinkers used the inductive method in their scientific investigation in different fields, the two of them who particularly expounded this method were Muhammad bin Zakariya al-Razi and ibn Haitham. Ibn Hazm, writing on the scope of logic, emphasized sense-perception as a source of knowledge. Later ibn Taimiyah in his refutation of Aristotelian logic showed that induction was

tion of positive knowledge, the minute methods of science, details and pro-
longed observation and experimental inquiry were altogether alien to the
Greek temperament. Only in Hellenistic Alexandria was any approach to
scientific work conducted in the ancient classical world. What we call science
arose in Europe as a result of a new spirit of inquiry, of new methods of
investigation, of the methods of experiment, observation, and measurement, of
the development of mathematics in a form unknown to the Greeks. That spirit
and those methods were introduced into the European world by the Arabs.”

4. In the West, even up to the ninth/tenth century, philosophy and
science were regarded as antagonistic to religion. Hence the teachings of
Aristotelianism and Averroism were banned, Bruno was burnt, Kepler was
persecuted, and Galileo was forced to retract. Muslim thinkers, following
Plato, Aristotle, and Plotinus, harmonized faith with reason and made possible,
for themselves and for Europe, unhampered development of both.

5. European mysticism was also much influenced by the mysticism of
Islam. Arthur J. Arberry observes in The History of Sufism that “it is
impossible, for example, to read the poems of the Spanish mystic St. John
of the Cross without concluding that his entire process of thinking and imagi-
native apparatus owed much to those Muslim mystics who had also been natives
of Spain.” In the beginning of the eight/nineteenth century, Raymond Lull
wrote on mysticism. He was an accomplished scholar and founder of a school
of Oriental languages at Rome. His mystical writings are “beyond question
influenced by Sufi speculation. These are only a few examples of what Arberry
regards as “unquestionably a general process.” In later times the influence
of Persian mystical poetry on so great a genius as Goethe is too well known
to be mentioned.

Miguel Asin Palacios, in his study of the influence of the Muslim concep-
tion of the next world on the Divine Comedy, investigated Ibn 'Arabi’s influence
on Dante. The relationship between ascension to heaven in Dante’s book and
the Ascension (mi'raj) in Islam had already caught the attention of some
scholars. Ozanam, a thirteenth/nineteenth century French scholar, in his great
study of Dante, mocked at those who thought that the work of the poet from
Toscana was “a lonely monument of the Middle Ages” and he considered the
poet an erudite who was considerably well informed and who made use
of all past experiences. According to him, “two roads, one going north and
the other south, lead Dante to the old Eastern sources. He maintained that
the relationship between the Saracens and Europe was very close at that
time.” Dante had read the Latin versions of the works of many Muslim
philosophers and adherents of tasawwuf, at least those of ibn Sina and al-
Ghazâlî. Following Ozanam and d’Arcais, Charles Labitte, in the preface
he wrote for Brizeux’s translation of the Divine Comedy into French, maintained
that the theme must have been borrowed from the world of Islam. As that

39 Ibid., p. 191.

1356

Influence of Muslim Thought on the West
time, Moli de Goeje and some other authors held similar views. More recently
Elgaidi Blochet published two studies on this problem: Études sur l'exister
Religieuse d ’I s l a m, 1307/1889, and Les Sources de la Divine Comédi,
1319/1901. In these studies he defended the view that the idea of ascending
to heaven came directly from Islam. According to Blochet, in a verse in
the Qur’an, there is a reference to mi’raj (ascension to heaven) though no
details are given. Many of these details are the products of public imagination
in Islam and they must have been due to more ancient sources. He finds
the roots especially in Manzaizam. He relates the mi’raj description in the
Manzaki poet Atrky Vida’s literary work based on Zend Avesta: Barthelemy
translated Atrky Vida’s Nama and in his foreword demonstrated similarities
between the Divine Comedy and the Mandaki book. Blochet claimed that
the idea of ascending to heaven in Dante was transmitted both from the
Persian and Islamized sources.

Palacios’ conclusions are more precise. Not being satisfied with mere
comparison between the texts, he studied the sources of Dante and thereby
demonstrated how these depended on Islamic works, i.e., on their translations.
By emphasizing the special significance of Ibn ‘Arabi’s “Revelations” he
solved the problem with great success. Ibn Masarrah al-Jibrîl from Mersic
and Cordova who specialized in Ibn ‘Arabi’s doctrine of tasawwuf, demonstrated
the influence of this doctrine on Western scholarship, in general, on the prints
of the Franciscan denomination, and on Dante who was till then known as
a follower of Aristotle and of St. Thomas in particular.

Palacios’ book is composed of four parts: (1) comparison of the Divine
Comedy with aljlad al-tasa and mi’raj; (2) comparison of the Divine Comedy
with Muslim descriptions of the next world (‘aqâya); (3) Islamic elements in
the Christian legends before Dante; (4) studies and determination of the
transmission of Islamic works to Christian Europe in general. In the first
part, Asin studies the development of the idea of mi’raj in Islam. He traces
this with reference to different texts and footnotes and compares each separately
with the Divine Comedy. Many of the ideas seem to have been created in the public imagi-
nation about a verse in the Qur’an on mi’raj. All these got incorporated in
the descriptions of descent to hell at night (cura) and the Ascension to heaven
(mi’raj). The theme of mi’raj, which public imagination worked on, is used as
a mystic symbol by Ibn ’Arabi. Several adherents of tasawwuf, e.g., Jami’s
Baghdâdi, Bâyâzîd Bistamî, etc., had used the moral symbol before. In ibn
‘Arabi’s work it received a more significant place. Later, in the books entitled
Mîraj Nâmeh and in Nizami Ganjavi’s Mahbûb al-Asrâr al event of Ascension
to heaven is related in great detail. Muslim miniature artists illustrated these
works with many drawings about this spiritual journey.

The construction of Dante’s hell is the same as that of ibn ’Arabi’s hell.
Both are large funnel-shaped edifices composed of several storeys. Spiral stair-
A History of Muslim Philosophy

cases lead down to these storeys, in each of which a different class of sinners is housed. The weight of the sinners increases as they descend further down. Each floor is sub-divided into various courts. The first floor in Ibn 'Arabi's hell is an ocean of fire and corresponds to what Dante called *Dite*, on the shores of which there are various fire torments. Thieves, murderers, plunderers, despoits, and the goutions are tortured in the same chambers. The punishment of thirst given to the makers of false money in the *Divina Commedia* is given to drunkards in the *Mu'raj Nāmech*. The Prophet meets the angel placed at his service by God at the gate of heaven. He takes the Prophet to a group of nymphs in heaven surrounding the sweetheart of the poet Imra' al-Qais. In the same way, when Dante enters heaven, he meets a fair maiden Matilda who politely and elegantly answers his questions. The construction of heaven is the same in both images and is inspired by Pico della Mirandola's *Almaożaj* in accordance with the degree of their virtues, the happy souls are located in one of the nine heavens. Each of the nine heavens corresponds to a sign of the zodiac. Both works have a moral structure, assigning virtues to each story or to each sphere in heaven. Islamic books entitled *Mu'raj Nāmech* give the same amount of details and demonstrate the same kind of skill in the description of the heavenly world as is to be found in the *Divina Commedia*. The eyes of both travellers are dazzled by getting near God as they enter a new phase of the *mu'raj*. When their respective guide Gabriel or Beatrice informs them of His grace, their eyes open. Gabriel and Beatrice not only serve as guides, but also pray for them at each post. As finally Beatrice leaves her place to St. Bernard when Dante enters heaven, so does Gabriel leave the Prophet when he advances to the presence of God guided by a ray of light. In studying Dante's Muslim sources, one has to compare the *Divina Commedia* with the Arab poet Abu al-'Ala' al-Maarri's *Risālat al-Ghayb*. There is a close relationship between the religious ecstasy, charitable pity, and irony, orienting the feelings of the author of this book and the religious ecstasy, criticism, satire, and irony of Dante. Since the topic of *mu'raj* is basic to the Arab poets' book too, in the absence of any historical documents to supplement a comparison of this kind, its study is still useful. In heaven, Dante meets his contemporaries Picoardos from Florence and Geniza from Padua. According to Abu al-'Ala', the Prophet meets Hāmid from Aleppo and Tawfīq from Bagdad, both have similar endings. As the Prophet in one case and Dante in the other enter the presence of God, they see Him as a strong ocean of Light. The Muslim adherents of *tasawwuf*, with the exception of Ibn Masarraf of Spain (270-319/883-931) and Hāmid from Aleppo and Tawfīq from Bagdad, are not as well known in Europe as were the "philosophers." Ibn Masarraf was the founder of the illuministic or *gharra* school. From Spain the ideas of this school were transmitted to the Augustinian scholasticists such as Duna Scoto, Roger Bacon, and Raymond Lull.14 Yet Goethe wrote the *Dichtungen Und Gesichte* (Compendium of Poems on

---


---

*Influence of Muslim Thought on the West*

in addition to the selections from his *Dīnadh* and also from the *Mašā'ūn*. Masson already has devoted his life to the study of Hālīj Masāqīr. The number of studies on the works of Hārīṯa Muhāṣibī has increased recently. Aḥmad Hālayk looks at the subject with reverence to Rūmī in his *Perennial Philosophy*, and thinkers like René Guénon have been directly inspired by *tasawwuf*. In our own times Corbin, by publishing the greater part of Suhrawardī's works in two volumes with his Arabic and Persian originals at Istanbul and Tehran entitled *Opera Metaphysica et Mystica*,15 has brought the great martyr to the attention of existentialists and philosophical anthropologists.16

6. The process by which Muslim thought laid the foundations of the Italian Renaissance and influenced subsequent thought was a long one. It will be briefly described in the sections that follow.

B. THEORETICAL INFLUENCE

The influence of Muslim theologians on the West was only secondary. The tension between the two religions, Islam and Christianity, was the reason for this. Nevertheless, Muslim theologians were known to the West; even though indirectly through the works of the "philosophers"; only the *qāḍīfī* theology was known to the Western scholars directly. St. Thomas refers to the theologians in his *Contra Gentiles*.17 However, for long knowledge of Muslim theology remained obscure and that for two reasons: (i) the information about the *mu'azzalī* and the first theologian was second-hand, nothing was taken from their own works; and (ii) the masters of the philosophico-theological movements after al-Ghazālī remained unknown. Up to the thirteenth/nineteenth century hardly any scholar in the West was acquainted with the works of Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī.


17. Le critici spanishi del Mediterraneo (Larançet) in: *Pourquoi St. Thomas a critiqué St. Augustin* by E. Gilson in *Archives*, 1926.
Influence of Muslim Thought on the West

fails to refer to any evidence to prove his assertion, though he has much documentary evidence about the transmission of al-Ghazali’s thought to the West. Take the example of historian-philosopher Bar Hebraeus known in the Muslim world as abu al-Paraj. He was a minister at the Syriac Jacobite church and was famous during the seventh/thirteenth century. He wrote in Arabic and Syriac and copied many chapters from al-Ghazali’s伊(s) (Itabif (Reinvention of Religious Sciences) and adapted them in his books entitled Ehlis and The Book of the Dove. This marks the beginning of al-Ghazali’s influence on Christian spirituality. If an author like Bar Hebraeus, who was rather influential in the Christian church, profits by al-Ghazali’s ideas in writing his own books considered fundamental in monastery instruction, the reason for this, according to Palacios, was that he regarded these ideas totally consistent with his own doctrine.

Palacios traces the development of al-Ghazali’s ideas in the West as follows. The Spanish Dominican monk Raymond Martini, who was Bar Hebraeus’ contemporary, borrowed the same ideas from him and from al-Ghazali. Instead of profiting only by the books of Muslim ‘philosophers,’ he, unlike the scholars, directly profited by al-Ghazali’s texts in his books entitled Pugio Fidei and Explanatio Symboli, written in the field of religion. These texts were taken from Tahafut, Maqāsid, al-Munathir, Maqāsid, Misbat al-anwār and .Interval, According to Palacios, the benefit derived here is more substantial than Bar Hebraeus’ adaptations which he had made without mentioning any source, for the arguments have been taken exactly as they were in the original. 14


Influence of Muslim Thought on the West

the hierarchy of the intellects there is al-naf al-fa'il (indelicate aepos) which al-Ghazali designates as Substantia existens per se quae non est corpus—subsistence existing in its own right without the need of body—a definition which we do not find in Ibn Sina and which proved valuable for the Western scholastics. Al-Ghazali calls the active intellect dator formarum.44

Al-Ghazali’s influence on the West was not confined to Raymond Martini. In his book Huellas de Islam, Palacios carries this influence down to Pascal. According to him, there is a conformity between al-Ghazali’s and Pascal’s ideas about the next world which is not due to coincidence. The sort of argument concerning the defence of religion extensively employed by al-Ghazali, known in the West as “betting” (pari), is elaborated again and again by Pascal in his Pensées. In addition to Lachelier’s well-known study on this topic, the same theme has also been studied by E. Dugas in his Péri de Pascal. Statement of the argument aims at making the non-believers see that there is no inconsistency in performing religious duties and believing in the possibility that the next world may not exist at all. This argument may be summarized in one sentence: If you win you shall win all; if you lose you will lose nothing (Si vous gagnez vous gagnez tout, si vous perdez, vous ne perdez rien). Those investigating the roots of this argument give us information about a short text by Arnoni who, after Bayle, was the first to use it. Another text in Sudoku’s Théologie Naturelle concerned itself with those roots. Finally, two French theologians, who were contemporaries of Pascal, formulated the betting argument in a way similar to his. One of them was Silhon, the author of Immortalité de l’âme. Blanchet and Lachelier studied in what ways these authors were like Pascal and how they differed. Following a penetrating analysis of the text, Blanchet demonstrates that they were Pascal’s sources both in ideas and literary form. The result of these investigations is as follows: Pascal’s betting idea was held by many authors in embryonic form since Arnoûs. The idea took a long journey from al-Ghazali to Raymond Martini and then to Pascal. Let us see only the comparisons Palacios draws between Pascal and al-Ghazali basing them on well-founded studies of the texts. Pascal, like al-Ghazali, is of the opinion that our senses may deceive us. Here, Palacios compares the text of al-Mansûq with that of Pensées and indicates the similarities. Pascal as much as al-Ghazali strongly suspects that our dreams are the reality, our life is nothing but a dream when we are awake, and that we wake up from that dream when we die. The resemblance to the effect that life is a dream and death waking up from that dream is significant. Both philosophers find the way to get rid of the state of doubt in mysticism. Both of them look for

it in divine inspiration as a product of moral virtues and love of religion free from all logical judgments. The power of inspiration bestowed by God on the believers is the most dependable source for knowledge of the supernatural world, both in al-Ghazali and Pascal. It is evident that the foundation of Pascal's theory about the "logic of the heart" was laid in al-Ghazali's idea about the "eye of the heart." Both assigned deductive intellect to the lowest category, for it has practically no influence on our emotional life and beliefs; the mental attitudes determined by it vary; its field of activity is confined to a limited number of élite; and most people remain outside its influence. On the other hand, the functioning field of practical life which is based on habits, familiarity, imitation, and the emotions of the heart is very broad and can be considered to be the common and normal foundation of religious life. Palacios compares the ideas of al-Ghazali and Pascal on faith and human certitude, and also the anecdote on p. 68 in al-Ghazali's Fatwâ al-Tafrîgh with that on p. 350 in Pascal's Pensées. In terms of ideas, both say the same thing, viz. "God is felt not in the intellect but in the heart" (Dieu est sensible au cœur, non au raison). Then, Palacios notes the following points in Pascal about "betting" which remind us of al-Ghazali.

(i) The indifference of non-believers and free-thinkers towards the problem of the next world and eternity is stupid. It shows a weak intellect, an evil heart, and faulty perception. The Spanish author compares Pascal's work with al-Ghazali's Miṣrîn al-'Ama'il (Criterion of Action) and Iyâl in this respect.

(ii) In order to remedy the indifference of this group of non-believers it is not sufficient to depend on objective arguments, intellect, and faith, for, the state of doubt they are in originates from the doubtfulness of the causes of existence and the non-existence of the next world. Therefore, one should begin with the hypothesis which would affirm the impossibility of definite arguments concerning the eternity of the soul. Here, Palacios compares Pascal's Pensées with certain chapters and passages in al-Ghazali's works, e.g. Iyâl, Miṣrîn, and Arba'a, and shows how the arguments in them are repeated by Siñon and Pascal with very little change.

(iii) If one begins with the above hypothesis, in case of the insufficiency of convincing arguments by direct proof, one should look for such an argument as would recommend the idea of the existence of the next world where rewards and punishments should be calculated after death, depending upon personal interest, egotism, and the rules of most elementary caution and thereby convince non-believers of it. Here again Palacios compares passages from al-Ghazali's works, e.g. Iyâl, Miṣrîn, Arba'a, and Musâhirî, with the texts of Siñon, Surmond, and Pascal.

(iv) Above all this argument consists in putting the problem of next life in

---

**1364**

Influence of Muslim Thought on the West

the same way as the possibility of success in present life in terms of the game of chance and fate. The game of fate consists of actions and events dependent on chance, like hunting, taking a sea-trip, wars, surgical operations, drugs for therapy, commercial transactions, professional education, new industrial enterprises, etc. The person who takes measures in all these activities calculates that the gain which is expected to be obtained in the future would be more beneficial than the one that is risked. Here Palacios points out that in his Iyâl and Miṣrîn, al-Ghazali used the examples of hunting, commerce, political occupation, taking a sea-trip, drugs, and industry, and that as a matter of fact Pascal repeated many of them.

(v) The bulk of the argument is like the process of weighing as in a pair of scales. The values of the gains risked by betting as to whether the next world existed or not were put on one tray of this pair of scales and the values of the gains and losses, in either world, were put on the other. Here, Palacios gives examples from al-Ghazali's books, e.g. Iyâl, Miṣrîn, and Musâhirî, and compares them with those in the works of Siñon, Surmond, and Pascal. Pascal says, Lepid præcessit sub opus: penes le gain et la perte.

(vi) The first point to be taken into consideration in order to complete this comparison is that the pleasures and properties of this world should be weighed and then their uselessness and total quality stressed. The limited use that can be made of one's worldly possessions, during the lifespan lasting for about seventy years, should be emphasized. Texts from al-Ghazali's Iyâl, Miṣrîn, and Musâhirî are compared here with those of Surmond's and Pascal's.

(vii) The eternity of next life (the loss or gain of which is the case in point), i.e., its infinity, limitlessness, unique timelessness which cannot be compared with millions of years and centuries, is weighed. For this too Palacios makes detailed comparisons between al-Ghazali's and Pascal's texts.

(viii) It is understood that there are no comparison between that which has an end and is limited and that which is unlimited and is endless, in terms of the worth and quality of values. The party that wins is of those who choose the road of virtue and accept the existence of the next world, thus getting rid of the sinful pleasures of this life. Here, Palacios compares parts of Miṣrîn, Iyâl, and Arba'a with the like parts in the works of Pascal. "The one who does not believe is the loser."

(ix) This argument may leave the possibility to the infidels of raising the objection that it is based on doubt about the things to be gained or lost in the next world. We have no definite idea about a thing to be gained or lost in the next world, whereas in this world we can determine with absolute certainty the things we are going to gain or lose. There is doubt about the matters of the next world but definiteness about those of this world.

(x) This difficulty is solved by pointing out that a limited thing which is definitely risked is negligible as compared with the infinity of expected gains even though doubtful. Here too Palacios makes comparisons between the
A History of Muslim Philosophy

texts of Maimon al-Amal and Ḥṣāṣṣāt and those of the works of Sirmond and
Pascal, and indicates striking similarities between them.

(xi) Finally, assuming that the next world does not exist, if the unique
person who is not under religious discipline acts virtuously in this world, he
shall lose nothing. For the real happiness that man can find on this earth is not
merely the satisfaction of his passions. Just the opposite; it comes from control-
ing the passions, putting them under the control of the intellect. Only in that
way can man rise above the level of animals. This state saves man from
becoming a slave to sensuality and helps him gain his true freedom which
gives him nobility. It enables him to get rid of anxiety, sorrow, mental weak-
ness, and leaves him with infinite peacefulness of the soul, which is purer
and more lasting than the sensuous pleasures. Here also Palacios quotes from
Maimon al-Amal, Arba'in, Mutakāhir, and shows how many of Pascal's
statements resemble those of al-Ghazālī.

According to Palacios, it should be granted that there are some differences
between the two philosophers besides their similarities. First of all, like Sir-
mond, Pascal did not present the problem openly but mentioned it in an
indirect way. Al-Ghazālī, however, made a careful and detailed study of it.
The point mentioned in paragraph (xii) illustrates this. According to Palacios,
neither Sirmond nor Pascal stated the problem as thoroughly and applicably
as al-Ghazālī did. Thus, if the religious people and free-thinkers act virtuously,
as if the next world really did exist, they will strengthen their position when
a world which is doubtful for them materializes in the future. Besides, they
would be acting in a way which is consistent with their interests in this world.
The direct source for the betting problem lies in self-interest and the principle
of expediency.

This kind of reasoning directed against the irreligious and the free-thinkers
who disregard all metaphysics and altruism is consistent with the rule of
argument ad hominem which consists of using the arguments of the opponent
against himself leaving him no way of escape. “If you win, you win all,
if you lose, you lose nothing” principle will constitute the strongest proof
for them. However, so long as they are convinced that as they bet is favour
of the existence of the next world, which establishes control over their appetites,
not only is earthly happiness which is very dear to them not sacrificed, but is,
on the other hand, realized positively and fully.

Al-Ghazālī explains the critical aspect of the betting idea better than Sir-
mond and Pascal. For neither of the two thinkers debates with the irreligious
who directly refute the next world and consider the religious dogmas a mere
fake and absolute nonsense. Sirmond and Pascal argue only with those who
are in a state of hesitation because of the lack of positive arguments to
reach a decision. Al-Ghazālī begins debating with the irreligious in Ḥṣāṣṣāt
‘Ulam al-Din because of their ruthless actions and in Mīzān al-Amal
and Arba'in he faces them and meets them on their own ground. In doing
so, al-Ghazālī's aim is to make them believe that they will find the positive

Influence of Muslim Thought on the West

happiness of the only life they believe in and wish to lead, not in loose life
but in knowledge and virtue.

According to Palacios, al-Ghazālī seems more open and thorough than
Pascal on betting. Pascal's Pensées does not seem to be a completed work
as al-Ghazālī's books are. It is in the nature of an outline which the philoso-
pher intended to develop in a complete work. His death, however, hindered that
plan. But the mathematical clarity of Pascal and the results of his calculations
of probability cannot be found in al-Ghazālī. Palacios finds the reason for this
in the Muslim philosopher's Islamic view of regarding all chance games as
illegitimate.**

C

PHILOSOPHICAL INFLUENCE BEFORE DESCARTES

Interest in Muslim philosophy developed in Europe towards the end of
the fifth/eleventh century. The Muslim rule in Spain, the Crusades, the
seminaries in Sicily, the inadequacy of the old Western scholastic and scientific
systems, and the density of population and internal congestion necessitated
relations of the West with the world of Islam. In Toledo Muslims and Chris-
tians lived side by side. It was here that Raymond I, Archbishop of the
provincial capital (525/1130-545/1160), established a translation bureau to
render Arabic masterpieces into Latin. In France and especially in Normandy,
scientific trend appeared first among the monks. Rober, the King of France
of the Capetian dynasty, at one time a disciple of Gilbert's, was friendly to-
wards the Muslim scientific endeavour. At the time he invaded southern
Italy, Calabria, and Sicily, he observed the Italian seminaries and borrowed
many things from them. In that way, the seminaries of Sicily and Naples
acted as transmission media of Islamic science to the West.

The transmission of Muslim thought to the medieval West passed through
the following phases:

1. In the first phase, a band of scholars went to Muslim countries and made
personal studies. Constantine of Africa and Adelard made studies of this
sort for the first time. Constantine, who was born in Carthage near the end
of the fifth/eleventh century, travelled all through the East. He made translations
into Latin from the Arabic translations of Hippocrates' and Galen's books
in addition to those of the original works of Muslim scholars on medical
science. Later on, many students from Italy, Spain, and southern France
attended Muslim seminaries in order to study mathematics, philosophy,
medicine, cosmography, and other subjects, and in due course became can-
didates for professorship in the first Western universities to be established
after the pattern of the Muslim seminaries.

** Palacios, "Contesta de la spiritualité musulmane et de la spiritualité Chré-
A History of Muslim Philosophy

2. The second phase starts with the founding of the first Western universities. The style of architecture of these universities, their curricula, and their method of instruction were exactly like those in Islamic seminaries. First, the Salerno seminary was founded in the kingdom of Naples. Courses were offered in grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and cosmography. Books of Aristotle and those on the interpretation of his philosophy were brought to Italy by way of Salerno. Emperor Frederick of Sicily was known as a patron of Muslim science. He founded the seminary at Naples. Aristotle's books were translated from Arabic into Latin by his order. He corresponded with Ibn Sab'īn on philosophical matters.41 Alphonso X, King of Castile and Leon (1221/1252-1284), ordered that astronomical tables be made following a study of Arabic works. At that time, important seminaries were also established at Padua, Toulouse, and later at Leon.

3. At last, the science of the Musalmans was transmitted to France and to other Western countries via Italy. Bologna and Montpellier seminaries were founded in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The University of Paris opened its doors for instruction somewhat later. At that time Oxford and Köln Universities were established after the same pattern and thus the new science was transmitted to England and Germany.

During the seventeenth century, the Oxford school became a centre of the activities of translation and interpretation. Here for the first time Alexander Neckam translated from Arabic Aristotle's books "On Heaven" and "On Soul." In the same school Michael Scot translated into Latin a book by al-Bīrūnī (Alberic de Fontanil) on cosmogony and several books by Ibn Sīna and Ibn Rūghdī. Robert Grosseteste was another member of the Oxford group (651/1253). His efforts were noted in the translations of Greek and Muslim philosophical works. Roger Bacon (1111/1124–1192/1292) was the most important member of this group. This great scholar who made researches in language, mathematics, and biology became known as a magician and occultist during the Middle Ages and was, therefore, convicted; in fact he was one of the founders of empiricism. The influence of Muslim philosophers on Roger Bacon, particularly that of Ibn Sīna, was very great. The word "experimentum" (experimentum) is closely associated with his scientific and extra-scientific studies. While the trends initiated by Ibn Sīna and Ibn Rūghdī constituted the roots of Western rationalism, Muslim naturalists like al-Rāzī and Ibn Haitham influenced the empirical thought of England.

The best known Polish author during the translation period was S. Thomas friend Wittelo (b. 628/1229). Wittelo went from Poland to Italy. He compiled an important work about Greek and Muslim scholars. In his book entitled Perspectives there were important selections from Rüedī, Appolonius Polymèly's

---

41 L. Masson, Ibn Sab'īn et la critique psychologique dans l’histoire de la philosophie musulmane (Memorial Henri Bonnet), Paris, 1924, pp. 87, 92. Latin translation of important works by Ibn Sīna and Ibn Rūghdī constitute the roots of Western rationalism, Muslim naturalists like al-Rāzī and Ibn Haitham influenced the empirical thought of England.

42 The famous Jābir ibn Ḥayyān is known among the naturalists as an alchemist, chemist, and philosopher. He is known in the Latin world better than in Persian and Islamic literature.


A History of Muslim Philosophy

Islam, not as a philosopher and chemist but as a magician and alchemist. Summa perfectionis magiæ is a translation of his collected works.

Summa perfectionis magiæ is a translation of his collected works. E. Gilson, in a number of detailed studies, investigating Aristotle's psychology reached al-Fārābī and al-Khwārizmī, how it developed in their hands, and how it was transmitted to the Latin world.44 Many of al-Khwārizmī's books and how it was transmitted to the Latin world.44 Plato of Tivoli translated his book on the problems were translated into Latin. In the 11th century, his book on the problems of De geometria; Arnold of Villanova, his book on astronomy entitled "On the Græcalis"; Robert the Englishman, his book on physics and meteorology. The last book was first printed in Venice in 913/1007 and then in Paris in 947/1540.44 This book was first printed in Venice in 913/1007 and then in Paris in 947/1540.44 It was translated into Latin perhaps by John of Segovia under the title De Intellectu. Gerald of Cremona also translated some books by the philosopher. According to Quadri, Giordano Bruno, the great philosopher of the Renaissance, refers to al-Khwārizmī "Al-Khwarizmī is an Arab philosopher. Among the first scholars to al-Khwārizmī, he is the best. Ibn Rûbûl profited by his books. Does this not signify his power?" In the West, al-Khwārizmī was known as one of Aristotle's faithful disciples and, therefore, for a long time, was considered to be a heretic. However, with his works and those of his successors, empiricism penetrated into the West from the Arab world and helped the rise of modern thought. Quadri notes that besides al-Khwārizmī's book "On the Intellect," the Latin translation of two other works of his, namely, Liber de quinque essentiarum and Liber introductorius in artem logicae demonstraciones, were also known in the West. The latter text was compiled by his disciple, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Sarrajī, its authenticity, however, is doubtful. The former marks progress in the classification of the intellects and is an important work. According to Latin texts, al-Khwārizmī's philosophy is inclined towards Neo-Platonism.44 Coming to al-Fārābī, al-Khwārizmī, not all but some of his works were known in the West during the Latin medieval period.44 Translations were made into Latin from his psychology, metaphysics, and logic. Through these translations he had a penetrating influence on Latin philosophers of the medieval West.

One of the most important figures in the translation activity during the Western Middle Ages was Gundissalvi (d. 546/1151). He was the spiritual leader at Segovia; in addition to numerous translations, he wrote a book, De Divisione Philosophiae, which imitated al-Fārābī almost step by step.44 In this book he substituted al-Fārābī's encyclopedic classification for the system of seven types of knowledge (trivium et quadrivium) which was traditional in the East during the medieval period, and this classification was very new and original for the Western world. It was followed for long in the then recently established universities. Gundissalvi's translations had an influence on Christian scholastic philosophy, newly awakened during the seventh/eighth century, and especially on St. Thomas and Albert the Great. Al-Fārābī and, following him, Ibn Sina added the third form of the famous cosmological proof of God based on the conceptions of possibility and necessity, the first two being based on the ideas of motion and potentiality as formulated by Aristotle. It was taken up from Ibn Sina by the Jewish philosopher, Maimonides, and from him by St. Thomas Aquinas, and then it passed on to Spinoza and Leibnitz. It was this proof that Kant criticized as the model cosmological proof. Al-Fārābī's idealistic logic, according to B. Bara de Vaux, produced a permanent effect on the logical thought of Jewish scholars.44 Robert Hammond, comparing the arguments of St. Thomas about the existence of God with al-Fārābī's, has recently shown his influence on the Christian philosopher.49 By placing some other ideas of these two thinkers in opposite columns as follows, Hammond reinforces his views regarding this influence:

The proof of movement:
Due to our sense it is evident that in this world there are things that move. Each being is moved by something else.

Summa

Active cause:
In this world we evidence an order of active cause.

Summa

Divine attributes:
God is an absolutely eternal Being.

Summa

Al-Fārābī synthesizes Aristotelianism and Neo-Platonism but supports the trends towards Neo-Platonism in the medieval West. As E. Gilson has shown,44 45

44 E. Gilson, "Le saeuvre erre-erudits de l'anglicisation ancienne" (le texte latin médiéval du De intellectu d'Alfarabi); "Jean Scot Erigena, source du Pseudo-Abbe de l'Antiquité chrétienne," Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge, Année, 1929, Avouvement, pp. 5-149.
45 D. Campbell, Arabian Medicine, 2 Vols., 1926, Chap. IV, "al-Khwārizmī"; F. W. Watson, Die Übersetzungen arabischer Werke in das Lateinische seit dem XI. Jahrhundert, 1877, p. 129.
46 Al-Bīrūnī, Al-Khwārizmī, (Beitrag II, 5), Münster, 1897; S. M. Yaqubi, Miliones de philosophia fiscia et grave, Paüa, 1895.

Influence of Muslim Thought on the West
A History of Muslim Philosophy

al-Fārabi's translations were long used as arguments by those Western philosophers who wished to reinstate the Augustinian era.

With al-Fārabi originated the idea of definite determinism based on a metaphysical foundation. As a result this conception led to the distinction between psychological necessity and physical necessity. God is the Necessary Being according to al-Fārabi (Wujūd al-Wujūd) and takes necessity from Himself. All other beings take their necessity from God. The conception of God understood as Universal and Necessary Being is substituted in this way for the conception of God as the "efficient autonome" of the theologians.

The world which takes its necessity from God and is as necessary as God Himself depends no longer, as in Aristotle, on the subtle laws of beauty and habits. It is not dependent on the autonomous will of God either. Thus physics found a stronger and more unshakable foundation in al-Fārabi than in the Greeks. This foundation is the metaphysical conception of necessity.

During the era of translations into Latin, many of the following were the main translations from al-Fārabi:

John of Seville and Gundisalvus, Liber Alfarabii de Orbe Scientiarum.

Gerard of Cremona, Liber Alfarabii de syllogismo, De Division, de Scientiis, Distinctio super librum Aristotelis de naturali auditu, and Liber Alfarabii de Scientiis.

Hermann the German, Decraptor compendi viae divisionis Alfarabi super libri victorius Aristotelis ed formam clariorum et facili reducta.

To this list may be added E. Gibson's edition of De Intellctu et intellectibus with a French translation.

The philosophical development of the great Arab physicist ibn Haṣṣāb (Alhazen) proceeded from scepticism to a kind of criticism. The evolution from scepticism to his own ideological synthesis, he owed to a-Fārabi. The Latin translations of some of Ibn Haṣṣīb's books written during his empiricist and sceptical periods were instrumental to the development of Roger Bacon's ideas. In addition to this, Western science profited by ibn Haṣṣīb's detailed research on optics. He really marks the beginning as well as that of the movement of empiricism in the West. In the origination of empiricism, his role is even greater than that of al-Razi. Ibn Haṣṣīb explained the role of induction in syllogism. He criticized Aristotle for the meagreness of his contribution to the method of induction which he regarded as superior to syllogism. He considered it to be the basic requirement for true scientific research.

14 The Metaksalimini's conception of God is expressed by the term 'al-Dī' mukhār. 15 F. Wüstefeld and D. Campbell, Steinschneider has annotated De Intellctu, Distinctio has published the Arabic text, and E. Gibson the Latin version. E. Gibson has also translated it into French in Archives, 1909.


Influence of Muslim Thought on the West

Besides his analysis of light, ibn Haṣṣāb devoted the major part of his book to a detailed discussion of the problem of perception. He studied the perception of darkness, distance, position, body, size, and then in the mental field, the perception of proportion, appearances, and beauty. He saw the relation between perception and reflection and showed great sensibleness in explaining how true knowledge is founded on these two processes. He believes that knowledge combines the substance of the intellect with the content of experience and, thus, reconciled rationalism with empiricism.

The influence of ibn Sīna on the West was very significant. During the period of translations into Latin, many of his books became known in the West. His greatest work al-Šafi'ī was first transmitted to the West in the fifth/eleventh century through Yaqūt al-Ḥaṣṣāb, a philosophical work by th Jewish philosopher, Solomon b. Gabīrīl (known to the Latins as Avenceo or Avicenna). Many adaptations of ibn Sīna's philosophy were made by the Latin philosophers. B. Honebarg has given an elaborate account of this influence (Ze Erkenntnistheorie von ibn Sīna und Albertus Magnus, 1896). In his article published in Arch. d'hist. et lit. du Moyen Âge, Gibson shows this influence still more fully.

By comparing the Latin translations of ibn Sīna's works with the original Arabic texts we have prepared the following table of parallel terminology.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin Term</th>
<th>Arabic Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animā vegetātīonis</td>
<td>al-naṣf al-nabdītī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vis nutritīa</td>
<td>al-gwāvat al-ḥālīyyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vis augmentātīa</td>
<td>al-gwāvat al-māṣīyathah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vis generātīa</td>
<td>al-gwāvat al-muṣawwaḥah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animā animalis</td>
<td>al-gwāvat al-ḥaywāniyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. vis motīva</td>
<td>al-gwāvat al-ṣawwārīkah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. vis apprehendens</td>
<td>al-gwāvat al-mudāridkāh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1732
The translation movement received new impetus during the beginning of the sixteenth century. By his work Daddat al-Hujjârîs (The Guide for the Perplexed) Maimonides introduced Muslim philosophers and especially Ibn Sina (Avicenna), to the West in great detail. During the same century arguments started between Abuard and St. Thomas in the Latin world. Numerous translations from Arabic into Latin, especially of al-Fârîbî and Ibn Sina, during that era suddenly widened the horizons of thought in the West.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the main centres where translations were made from Arabic into Latin were Toledo, Duras, Sicily, and Naples. Translatâqâns made by John of Seville and Gundissalvs were of primary importance. The first translated Arabic texts into the Roman language and the second, from Roman into Latin. Ibn Sînâ’s al-Shîrûr was also partly rendered into Latin and entitled Suifeciunis. Kâhit al-Qâsin fi al-Tîbq (Canon of Medicine) was also translated during the same period. The Latin rendering of the works of these as well as of other Muslim philosophers continued during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The influence of these translations has to be classified in two groups.

i) The influence beginning with Ibn Sina and al-Fârîbî and leading to the development of the trend of Avicennism.

ii) The continued influence exercised by al-Ghazzâlî’s summaries of al-Fârîbî’s and Ibn Sînâ’s views.

The translations from al-Fârîbî and Ibn Sina helped in the establishment of Augustinian philosophy. It supplied it with affirmative arguments. Hippon., in his book Doctrina Sacra, succeeded in making synthesis, Ibn Sînâ’s influence on medieval Christian thinkers was of primary importance since


Influence of Muslim Thought on the West
A History of Muslim Philosophy

Roger Bacon followed Ibn Sina in social ethics, conception of the City-State, and also in philosophy of religion. He argued that God is eternal, and His being eternal signifies infinite power. Infinite power necessitates infinite goodness and sagacity. If the power of the First Cause is infinite, then the universe can be created by It. Goodness of the First Cause necessitates its creation by It and its sagacity necessitates its creation according to purpose. Ibn Sina had arrived at the same conclusions through the same kind of thinking (E. Gibson, “Les Sources, etc.”, Archives, 1920).

Alfons of Rothschild also studied Ibn Sina and, like Roger Bacon, was an Avicennist in a broad sense.

The book entitled De Cassius Primus et Secundus was attributed to Ibn Sina for some time, because the anonymous author of this work was thought to have been inspired by him. Without mentioning the name, he refers to Ibn Sina’s Metaphysics three times and to his De Animae once. In another place, without mentioning his name, he quotes passages from him. Many times he summarises his ideas or makes free adaptations from them. The plan of the book as well as the prominent topics belong to Ibn Sina altogether.

In the book entitled De Divisione Nature, the author of which is also unknown, Ibn Sina’s views are partially Christianised and St. Augustine’s ideas are partially laicised in an attempt at reconciliation. Gibson regards this book as the limit of Augustinian-Avicennism. De Vaux sees an apparent Avicennism in it. The most daring passages from Ibn Sina have been adopted in it without modification. Ibn Sina dominates the book. On the other hand, Erigena and St. Augustine are included in it with many modifications and further interpretations. In fact, texts from Erigena and Denys together with Ibn Sina’s cosmism are put into a Christian composition.

Eventually, the influence of Avicennism got stronger than Augustinianism. For instance, the classification of intellects of al-Farabi and Ibn Sina dominated Albert the Great. St. Thomas was still under the influence of these philosophers even when he criticised them just as al-Ghazali was under their influence on many points even when he offered a criticism of them.

Ibn Sina was getting known in the Western world also through the efforts of John of Seville who is named Hispanensis in some of his translations. He compiled these under the title Opera (Magistri = Collections). John compiled these on the title Opera (Magistri = Collections), and it was twice published in Venice, in 961/1450 and in 960/1500. The following books have been included in this Opera: 1. Logica; 2. Sufficientia; 3. De Consilii et Mundum; 4. De Animalibus; 5. De Intellectibus (Kittl al-Agh); 7. Philosophia Prima (Falsafatul-Dis).49

A History of Muslim Philosophy

were used by the Western philosophers following him. The example of the flying man as cited by Ibn Sina, in order to prove the substantiveness of the soul, given no doubt by the philosophers preceding him, was used in the soul. West by St. Bonaventure and by others after him. Lastly, it may be noticed that Ibn Sina's philosophy of illumination, developed under Neo-Platonic influence, paved the way for the development of several religio-philosophical traditions in the West during the medieval period.

However, the failure to make complete translations of Ibn Sina's works and to fill in the incomplete parts of Aristotle's texts found at a later date hindered the accurate appreciation of the Muslim philosopher and led even to the spread of certain vague ideas about him for centuries to come.42

For Ibn Sina as for al-Ghazalli after him and for Kant in the modern age, the categories are subjective. Indeed, the Kantian position of the categories is subjective and the knowledge of objects is due to a synthesis of sense-perception and logical intelligence, was a commonplace of Muslim philosophy in the sixteenth/seventeenth century. It was expounded not only by Ibn Sina and al-Ghazalli, but also by the latter's contemporaries: Ibn Hatimah, famous for his optics, and al-Ritini (d. 440/1048), well known for his studies in mathematics, astronomy, geography, and ethnology.43

By the middle of the seventh/thirteenth century, almost all the works of Ibn Rushd, known as Averroes in the Latin world, had been translated into Latin. This translation work was executed in various institutions by several scholars. At the college founded by Raymond, Archbishop of Toledo, some of the most important works of Muslim writers on philosophy and science, including Arabic versions of Aristotle and commentaries and abridgments by al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, and Ibn Rushd were translated into Latin. One of the well-known translators working at Toledo was a German, Hermann by name, but his renderings of the Arabic translations of Aristotle's works were regarded by Roger Bacon as barbarous and unintelligible. Orientalists like Cassiri, Rossi, Jourdain erroneously regard Ibn Rushd as Aristotle's first Arab translator. In fact, Ibn Rushd knew neither Greek nor Syriac, let alone his being the first translator of Aristotle. Aristotle's work, in fact, been translated into Arabic and interpreted by many persons before him and Ibn Rushd read him through these translations.

The following of Ibn Rushd's works were translated into Latin and/or Hebrew: Tahdhis al-Tahdhis (‘Destruction of Destruction’) into Latin and Hebrew.\textsuperscript{44}


43 M. M. Sharaf, op. cit., p. 98.

pan-psychism which implied immortality of the universal soul of humanity and mortality of the individual soul, (4) eternity and potentiality of matter, and (5) emancipation of women.

Ibn Rushd’s theory of two truths, combined with the doctrine that matter is eternal and potent to produce all forms from within itself, was a godsend for the scientifically-minded people in the West who were, as a rule, condemned and persecuted by the orthodox Church and the State. They found in the above theses, which passed as Averroism, their best support. For this reason de Wulf calls Ibn Rushd Doctor of the Anti-Scholastics.

In transmitting Muslim thought to the non-Muslim West, the Jews of Spain took the lead. During the short fanatical rule of the Berbers of Morocco, the Murawijids, one of whom, Abu Yasnaf Ya’qub al-Mansur (r. 580/1184–606/1199) banished even Ibn Rushd from Morocco for a time to appease the orthodox, the Jews were persecuted and forced to migrate to the neighbouring countries, viz., to Leon and Castile (the Christian part of Spain), to France across the Pyrenees, and to Sicily. They were welcomed by Alfonso VI who had himself been educated among the Arabs and had done the work of initiating the Christians into Muslim thought. His successors Ferdinand II and Alfonso the Wise maintained the tradition and engaged Jewish scholars for translation work. Later, many of the Jewish scholars who were living in the country adjacent to the Pyrenees, having been turned out from there because of their Averroism, fled to other parts of Europe taking with them the learning of the Muslims. Wherever they settled down they translated the works of Muslim thinkers, especially those of Ibn Rushd whom they universally admired, from Arabic into Hebrew and from Hebrew into Latin. The family of Tibbonids, established at Lunel undertook the translation almost exclusively of Ibn Rushd’s original works and his commentaries. Such were Samuel ibn Tibbon’s “The Opinions of the Philosophers,” Juda ben Solomon Cohen’s “The Search for Wisdom,” and Gershon ben Solomon’s “Gate of Heaven.” Among Jewish philosophers, while Hs-Levi followed al-Obbagi, and Maimonides ibn Sas, Gerondides was a disciple of Ibn Rushd. Besides Jewish scholars, Jewish statesmen and travellers were instrumental in spreading Averroism in France, Italy, and Central Europe. The Friars also took a lead in acclerating the spread of Averroism; under their influence were translated Aristotle’s works from the original Greek as well as Ibn Rushd’s commentaries on these works.

By the end of the sixteenth century Averroism, i.e., the philosophy of Ibn Rushd, had become so popular, particularly among the whole school of philosophers represented first by the Faculty of Arts at Paris, and had become such a menace to Orthodox Christianity that in 607/1210 the Council of Paris forbade all teachings of Aristotle’s Natural History and Ibn Rushd’s commentaries on it. This prohibition was confirmed by the Legate Robert of Courcey, Cardinal of Paris, in 612/1215, and renewed by the Popes in 629/1231 and 643/1245. The Physics and Metaphysics of Aristotle were forbidden at the University of Toulouse by Urban IV in 662/1263. In 688/1290 the Bishop of

Influences of Muslim Thought on the West

Paris condemned thirteen of Ibn Rushd’s basic doctrines, and in 676/1277 h condemned the prominent Averroist, Siger of Brabant. Yet the strength of Averroism was irresistible. No force could suppress it.

In 612/1215, Frederick II became the Emperor of Rome. Having been educated at Palermo under Arab teachers and having come into close contact with the Muslims of Sicily and during the Crusades also with those of Syria, he had become a great admirer of Muslim thought in general, and of Ibn Rushd in particular. In 621/1224 he established a university at Naples chiefly with the object of introducing Muslim philosophy and science to the people of the West. St. Thomas received his education at this university. Here both Christian and Jewish translators were engaged for rendering Arabic works into Latin and Hebrew. The works of Aristotle and Ibn Rushd in their Latin translation were used not only in the curriculum of this university, but were sent also to the Universities of Paris and Bologna. Nowhere did Averroism strike deeper roots than in the Universities of Bologna and Padua. Of the two centres of learning Padua became the "hot-bed of Averroism."

Averroism became requisite for medieval Europe were agitated by Ibn Rushd’s Aristotle as by no other author. From the end of the sixth/seventh to the end of the tenth/sixteenth century Averroism remained the dominant school of thought, and that in spite of the orthodox reaction it created first among the Muslims in Spain then among the Talmudists and, finally, among the Christian clergy. "His writings... after being purged of objectionable matter by ecclesiastical authors, became prescribed studies in the University of Paris and other institutions of higher learning."

Ibn Rushd became more famous in the Latin world than in the Muslim world, because very few copies of his books had been made and circulated in Muslim countries. Besides, the disgrace he had to face towards the end of his life was instrumental to his being forgotten. Another important reason for the destruction of his books in Spain by Ximénez’s order. In pursuit of this order, 80,000 manuscripts in Arabic were burnt in the square Granada. In about 1000/1600, Selliger, while searching for new manuscripts in Spain, could find not even a single copy of Ibn Rushd’s works.

D

PHILOSOPHICAL INFLUENCE FROM DESCARTES TO KANT

Although Pascal was a contemporary of Descartes, he cannot be said to have been a pioneer of modern philosophy in the West. Modern philosophers thought really began with the speculation of Descartes. Muslim philosopher had penetrated deep into the West much before Descartes’ time, and m

48 Ernest Renan, op. cit., p. 86.

1381
of the works of al-Ghazâlî had been translated into Latin before the middle of the sixth/seventh century, and since then had exercised a considerable influence on Jewish and Christian scholasticism. Much before Descartes, his scepticism had been taken up by Jehuda ha-Levi (d. 540/1146) in his work Chasidah and it had also shown its mark on Crescas (d. 615/1410). The Dominican Raymond Martin had freely used the Hebrew translation of Tuhfat al-Fikrijâh, another of al-Ghazâlî’s works, and incorporated a great deal of it in his Pigis Fidei. Pascow too had been deeply affected by his thoughts.

The influence of al-Ghazâlî on modern European thought has not so far been sufficiently appreciated. There is no acknowledgment by Descartes of his indebtedness (direct or indirect) to any Muslim thinker, and yet it is difficult to believe that he did not know al-Ghazâlî’s general position and was not influenced by it through the Latin scholastics, whom beyond question he must have read. This conclusion forces itself upon the mind all the more strongly when one realises that he was not only a scholar of Latin, but had himself written two of his most important works, Meditationes de prima philosophia and Principia philosophiae, in Latin.

We notice that, exactly like al-Ghazâlî, Descartes came to his conclusions by a study of his own self, al-Ghazâlî’s starting formula being “I will, therefore, I am,” and Descartes’ being “I think, therefore, I am.” He followed al-Ghazâlî’s derivation of the negative and positive attributes of God from the concept of necessary existence. The distinction made by him, and by Galiles before him, between the infinite (that the parts of which cannot be expressed by any number or measurement) and the indefinite (that which has no limit) was exactly the same as given by al-Ghazâlî and ibn Sinâ and, following them, by Crescas and Bruno. Exactly like al-Ghazâlî he begins with describing how in his mind he interrogated in his mind every axiom and every creed for an answer to the problems that disturbed him and finally resolved to discard all authority.

If the Muslim world had possessed the original of any mode of thought or movement, particularly in matters of detail, which was developed by the West later, most of the classics of Muslim thought in the spheres of philosophy, medicine, and science had been translated into Latin, then, even in the absence of direct evidence, one would be justified in presuming that that mode of thought or movement was stimulated by influence from the Muslim East. Although all other masterpieces of al-Ghazâlî had been translated into Latin before 545/1150, and had admittedly exerted great influence on the Western scholastic thought, there is no evidence that al-Ghazâlî’s al-Mungidh min al-Dalal had been translated into Latin before Descartes’ time. It is for the scholars of Latin to discover that. But there is so much internal evidence in the most remarkable parallel of that work with Descartes’ Discours de la méthode, printed in 1647/1662, that it becomes impossible to deny its influence on the father of modern philosophy in the West.

Both of these works, al-Ghazâlî’s al-Mungidh and Descartes’ Discours de
A History of Muslim Philosophy

translation of it existed in the days of Descartes, everyone would have cried out against the plagiarism."

If it were only a few facts of their autobiographies, their going, for example, to quieter places for contemplation, and a few other things common to these works of al-Ghazâlî and Descartes, they might be considered to have been due to mere coincidence, but when the entire plan of their respective works, the whole treatment of the subjects discussed, and the whole content of these subjects down to detailed arguments, examples, and relatively unimportant matters, culminating in scepticism and in ultimate discovery of the method of finding the truth, run parallel to each other, it becomes impossible to attribute all that to coincidence. It might be that along with other masterpieces of al-
Ghazâlî, al-Mansûrî too had been translated into Latin and read by Descartes.

Nowhere has there been the existence of a translation of this work been mentioned, but nowhere has it been expressly denied. Alfred Guillaume in his article in The Legacy of Islam states, "His books on Logic, Metaphysics and Physics became known through the translators of Toledo in the sixteenth century." He mentions no exception. It might have been one of the eighty-seven Arabic works translated by Gerard of Cremona or one of the works rendered into Latin by John of Seville and Dominicus Gundisalvus. Or else it might have been the case that the text of al-Ghazâlî was orally translated for Descartes by some scholar of Arabic. Descartes himself refers to "the example of many fine intellects that had previously had this plan." (D. 29), but does not mention any by name. This may be a veiled reference to al-Ghazâlî who alone among his predecessors had followed exactly the same plan. In any case, whatever the facts, in our opinion the influence of al-Ghazâlî on Descartes' Discours de la méthode is indubitable.

The next great luminary of modern philosophy was Spinoza. As shown by Dinnin Borkowski, he was deeply influenced by al-Fârâbî, whose ideas had reached him through Jewish scholars like Maimonides. "Any one who reads Spinoza's De Emendatione Intellectus would be struck by the great similarity between this book and al-Fârâbî's book What Should Proceed the Study of Philosophy. The succession of ideas in the two books is the same. . . . Even the final aim of the two books is the same, namely, the knowledge of God, 'in order to follow His example as much as lies in human capacity.'" 23 Ibn Sînâ's influence on Spinoza through Maimonides is noticeable in his (Spinoza's) view that in God intelligence, intelligent, and intelligible are identical, and are essence and existence, while in created beings existence is an accident super-added to essence.

As mentioned before, the cosmological proof for the existence of God given by al-Fârâbî and Ibn Sînâ was accepted by Spinoza, as by Maimonides and St. Thomas before him, and al-Ghazâlî's distinction between the infinite and the indefinite was followed by him as it was done by Crescas, Bruno, Galileo,

1384

Influence of Muslim Thought on the West

and Descartes. Besides, his idea of substance was the same as al-Ghazâlî's idea of God—simple, having no accidental qualities, no distinction of genus and species, and no separation of essence from existence. His idea of freedom was also identical with al-Ghazâlî's idea of necessity (non-dependence upon anything else) and that of necessity was identical with the latter's idea of possibility (dependence upon a cause). Again, Spinoza's definition of the form of imagination more or less conformed to the distinction between retentive memory and composite memory made by Maimonides following al-Ghazâlî.

In all these cases there is merely a difference of terminology.

The greatest name in modern philosophy after Spinoza is that of Leibniz. But before we show his relation to Muslim thought, we should like to make a few remarks about the philosophy of another great thinker of the modern age, Kant, who claimed to be the Copernicus of philosophy.

Like al-Ghazâlî, Kant distinguished between phenomena and noumena and regarded the physical world of which alone the scientific knowledge is true as the world of phenomena, to which alone the categories, which to him are equally subjective to the mind, are applicable, causality, substance, and attribute itself are not excepted by al-Ghazâlî. Like him, he demonstrates that theoretical reason can analyse only what the senses yield, and that it cannot solve the basic and more important questions of philosophy and religion, such as the existence of God, the nature of His attributes, the immortality of the soul, and the eternity of the universe. Kant found the key to the solution of these questions in the practical reason of man, while al-Ghazâlî discovered it in the religious experience of the Prophet and the mystic, which in its turn is to be tested by the moral certitude and moral influence which it exercises upon the soul.

This comparison should make it clear as to who the Copernicus of philosophy was, al-Ghazâlî or Kant.

How are we to explain this close resemblance between the philosophical ideas of al-Ghazâlî and Kant? We believe that this explanation can be found in the philosophy of Leibniz, for, as T. H. Green observed, the doctrine of Leibniz formed a permanent atmosphere of Kant's mind, despite the inspiration he received from Hume in his youth. 24 The minds of both worked on the same lines. 25 Kant was only a corrected and developed form of Leibniz, whereas Leibniz was an incorrect and undeveloped form of al-Ghazâlî combined with the Agwâne atomism.

Leibniz, like al-Ghazâlî and Kant, regarded the world as phenomenal. For him, as for these others, human knowledge does not consist solely in the perception of universal truths, nor does it entirely depend upon the senses. Like both of them, he made a distinction between concepts and perceptions, though he used different terms (relatively clear and confused perceptions) to express this distinction. Time and space for him, as for them, are not real.


1386

1387
A History of Muslim Philosophy

characteristics of the real, though, like al-Ghazali and unlike Kant, he regards them not as intuitions but as ideas of relations. As for them, so for him, the categories—being, substance, unity, causality, identity, etc.—are supplied to experience not by the senses but by the mind. Only their lists of these categories are in some details different.

Leibniz was a younger contemporary of Spinoza whose indebtedness to Muslim thought is undeniable. He could read Latin with the help of pictures at the age of eight; he wrote poetry in that language at the age of fourteen and read the scholastics during his youth. Therefore, he cannot be supposed to have been ignorant of al-Ghazali’s views through Latin translations. In fact, the influence of Muslim thought on him is evident in some other respects as well. Al-Farabi’s proof of the existence of God from the concepts of necessity and contingency came down to him through Ibn Sina, Maimonides, and St. Thomas, and his view that man’s perfection comes from God and imperfection from his own nature is also traceable to Muslim scholastics. The same is true of his view of God as simple. Ibn Sina’s influence on him can hardly be doubted for there is a curious parallelism in al-Ghazali’s and the Monadology of Leibniz in describing association and memory. The similarity is remarked not only in the treatment of the subject but also in the example of the dog and the stick with which they illustrate their theory.

Without intensive research in the education that Locke and Berkeley received and the studies they pursued it is difficult to say whether al-Ghazali had any influence on their philosophy or not, but what we can say with certainty is that he anticipated much of their speculation. Like the empiricists from Locke to Hume, he bases knowledge on experience rather than on intellectual concepts, though he does not define the meaning of the term “experience” to sensory experience only, but extends it so as to include within it the intuitive experience of the Prophet, the mystic, and the saint, and thus escapes scepticism to which the European empirical thought inevitably led. This latter kind of experience is, according to him, far more important than sense-experience, since this alone yields the knowledge of Ultimate Reality. Like Hume, al-Ghazali proclaims that we can have no knowledge of cause and effect in the realm of phenomena. All we know is that one event succeeds another. His description of induction is, according to him, far more important than sense-experience, since this alone yields the knowledge of Ultimate Reality.

Like Hume, al-Ghazali proclaims that we can have no knowledge of cause and effect in the realm of phenomena. All we know is that one event succeeds another. His description of induction is, according to him, far more important than sense-experience, since this alone yields the knowledge of Ultimate Reality.

Influence of Muslim Thought on the West

of events must come to pass by necessity, for if it came by mere chance could not have occurred always or in most cases in the past. It is, he say by this argument alone that induction of empirical laws can be rational justified.

al-Ghazali anticipates Schopenhauer and other voluntarists in holding that not thought but will is the fundamental reality, but he steers clear Schopenhauer’s pessimism. God, according to him, is Will and the world flows from Him like a river. Like Bergson, even more like Jacoby and Schleiermacher, he makes intuition or immediate consciousness the source of know ledge. al-Ghazali exerted great influence over the East and the West. It w the Protestant revolt that freed the West from the grip of this great war intellect, and in the East, having conquered all rival thought, it has even this day a hold too tight to allow any fresh movement.27

E

PHILOSOPHICAL INFLUENCE IN THE POST-KANTIAN PERIOD

In the sixteenth/seventeenth century some stir was created by another Muslim thinker ibn Tafail (Chapter XXVII) known in the Latin world for long Abenton of Abbeauza. Most of his writings were lost probably during t destruction by Simón. But his fame is due to his Happy Ibn Yaqin, a phi sophical romance, in which he shows that even without the help of tradition and revelation man can attain to the knowledge of nature and through that the knowledge of God. This remarkable work was first translated into Hebrew and then into Latin. It was translated into Latin by Edward Pococke Junior under the title Philo phus antediluvianus sive Epistolae Adus Anter am Topikhe de Die ad Yahw and published together with the Arabic text at Oxford in 1682/1671. Its German version was first published in Amsterdam in 1682/1673 and again in 1712/1701. It was translated into German twice. Finally, Gauthier published the French version of the bo with an analytic summary in 1818/1800. In Paul Reese’s words, “in comparatively short time it caught the fancy of the public—in fact it to the world by storm and for a long time it remained in vogue.” The work interest in it has not yet ceased, for it was translated into Russian in 1820, and into Spanish in 1833/1834.

The large number of these translations is indicative of the influence of this philosophical novel on Western thought. After the appearance of

A History of Muslim Philosophy

translations, many books written in the West were inspired by this work. Among them may be Bacon's philosophical novel, Atlantis, and other Utopian novels, the last of which was Robinson Crusoe produced by Daniel Defoe in 1719, eleven years after the publication of Simon Ockley's translation. It has, therefore, been justly concluded that, among others, Daniel Defoe was indebted to the great Muslim philosopher for the conception of his work.

In discussing the influence of Muslim philosophy on Western thought we cannot omit the reference to Ibn Khaldūn. He has been recognized by many to be the father of sociology and the first philosopher of history. He was the first to oppose Greek and early Muslim philosophers explicitly by asserting that human societies should not be studied from an ideal-rationalist point of view, but ought to be taken as natural phenomena. This view is fully expanded in his Muqaddimah (Introduction) to his historical work entitled Kitāb al-‘Ibar. The introduction was first printed in Paris by Quatremère and then by Musafir Fehmi at Bâle. Its first translation was made in Turkey by Pirzâde Şihîb Molla and Ahmet Jevdet Pâsha. Western readers were thus introduced to this philosopher of history until the beginning of the twelfth/eighteenth century. At the end of the eleventh/seventeenth century, Hâbrebî solely referred to him in Bibliotheca Orientalia; Sylvester de Sacy emphasized his importance at the beginning of the thirteenth/nineteenth century. At the end of that century, Hammer Pragstall wrote articles about him and referred to him as the “Montesquieu of the Arabs.” Some years later, Gareon de Quatremère published the official version of the “Introduction” under the title Prélégements d'Edm. G. Gareon and attempted a summarized translation of it but could not finish it. Baron de Slane succeeded in making a complete translation between 1879/1882 and 1285/1888. In 1851/1858 this translation was reproduced in photoprints. This treatise was made it possible for philosophers and sociologists to study Ibn Khaldūn. In the West since then, Ibn Khaldūn has been often referred to by Western thinkers and some have considered him the founder of a new science. Some consider him a philosopher of history. Others think he pioneered sociology. For instance, Rappeport, B. Knut, N. Schmidt think he is a philosopher of history. Gumpoldt, R. Macnair, Findikglu, Stâtî Bu-Heiri, and Schmidt consider him the pioneer of sociology. According to Gaston Bouthoul, he had both these qualities. He regards him as the leader of the biological conception of society—a conception later worked out in their own way by Vico, Montesquieu, and Marx. F. Schultz wrote many articles on Ibn Khaldūn in the Journal Asiatique (Paris, 1883/1885), Grabow von Hremo, Franz Rosenthal, von Kremer, Lewine, G. Bouthoul, Gabrieli, Stefano Calosi, Perreir, Carrs de Vaux, T. J. de Boer, G. Rüther, Gauthier, A. Bombacci, Charles Lecuit, W. Fischel, D. B. MacDonald, Breisig, H. A. R. Gibb, R. Almeida, etc., have referred to him since the end of the last century. As a result of the interest shown by the Orientalists in him, his conceptions of history and society have had an influence on some contemporary philosophers of history such as Spengler and Breisig.

1988

Influence of Muslim Thought on the East

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Chapter LXXIX

INFLUENCE OF MUSLIM THOUGHT ON THE EAST

A INTRODUCTION

Gibbon describes the rise and expansion of Islam as one of the most memorable revolutions which has impressed a new and lasting character on the nations of the world. Beginning with a few following, ill-equipped financially and militarily, Islam turned out eventually a mighty force, wielding its scythe

1839