

THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT ON WESTERN PHILOSOPHY

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Islamic philosophy and faith developed during the 7th to 10th centuries and its great works were completed and had its influence in the West during the 11th to 13th centuries paving the way for Renaissance which was instrumental in the creation of today's western civilisation. Islamic science and philosophy matured between the 9th to 11th centuries as the translation movement became less intense and began penetrating the West by way of Sicily and Andalusia from the 12th century on. In that way, a great era of translations began in the West. The therapeutic methods of Abu Kasım Allaf b. Abbas (Albucasis) whom they esteemed as highly as Calinos (Galen) were being applied in the West. Don José Antonio Banqueri translated Abu Zekeriy-ya al Avam's book: «*Kitab al Hulasa*» into Latin where he established the principles of agriculture. Latin recognized Ibn Zuhr (Aben Zohar) as the greatest scholar in the field of pharmacy. In mathematics, they were constantly translating islamic books. To such a degree that they by that time discarded Greek mathematics. They were introduced to the basic islamic mathematics by Andalusian Arabs. Therefore, they primarily attributed importance to Andalusian books on medicine and pharmacy and then to their books on mathematics. Books on philosophy followed them. The first Islamic mathematicians to which Latins were introduced were Ali b. Abdurrahman b. Yunus (Ben Jonis), Abu Ali Hassen (Alhacen), Mohammed b. Djabir al Battani (Albatagnis). Prior to establishing relations with Moslems, western music consisted mainly of hymns. Eastern music of Islam is responsible for giving it depth by means of a fixed note. Moslems first used the sol

key and notes with five lines. Madjmuat ul alhan (Compendium of melodies) by Abu - l-Faradj Ali b. Mohammed and Farabi's Kitab al Musiki (Book of Music) were translated at that time. There are important documents at Toledo indicating the influence of islamic music. In a book by Alphonse le Savant written at that time, a note is mentioned invented by Guy d'Arrezo, a monk, in 1170 and the note with five lines and with key adapted from the Muslims before him. According to the information given in this book, moorish melodies and theories on Eastern music helped saving western music from the narrowness of church hymns.

The Salerno school was first established by moslems and it continued in the hands of Italians after they got control of it. It used to be one of the centers of a very active translation movement. As these translations were made, many Arabic words penetrated into western languages. Among them are the terms used in chemistry like: alambic, alkalis, alkalın, alkool, alkermes, alchimie, in mathematics like: alkorismi (alkoritmi), algébre, chiffre, zero, in agriculture and daily life like: sucker, coton, safran, artichaut (al harshouf), orange (narendj), music, sirop, alcove, amiral, boussole etc. Numerals were first used by Indians.

First islamic mathematicians, among them Khwarazmî called this Indian arithmetic. The term hesab-i gubari (Indian arithmetic) was used in Andalusia. The basis of this is the division of the circle by two perpendicular diagonals. Various parts of the diameter then stood for numbers one to nine, taking the circle as zero. Penetration of these figures to the West with some modification lead to establishing the arithmetical figures in use today instead of Roman numerals. Paper was first used in China, among Turks. When Kuteybe first arrived in Samarkand, he saw paper mills and China manufacturing plants there. Shortly after, Yusuf Amru from Mecca, began manufacturing paper from cotton instead of silk. During the reign of Henry II people were talking about Damascus paper all over Europe. Paper was introduced in Europe between 1270 to 1300. The compass and gunpowder was taken over by the Turks from the Chinese and with the mediation of Arabs penetrated to Europe. The claim that the compass was first invented by Cioja d'Amalfi is not true. The Chinese first made use of printing equipment in the

form of a primitive lithograph. It developed to some extent after it was introduced by the Turks to the Arabs. Western societies learned from Andalusia about printing equipment carved out of wood and not divided into pieces. During Gutenberg's era, letters began to be carved separately.

As the islamic civilization spread towards Andalusia and Sicily, many seminaries and philosophical and scientific centres were established in these new regions located near the western borders. The first seminary in the nature of a university was established within islamic borders. This is the Nizamiyye medrese (seminary) established in Baghdad by the Seldjuq vizar, Nizam ul Mülk. This seminary which was established with the joint efforts of Abbasî caliphs and Seldjuq monarchs in order to counteract batini and ismaili movements then threatening the islamic world, was soon followed by other seminaries, e. g., Mustansiriye, Kemaliyye, etc. Seminaries in Islamic domains near the West followed these. Each one of the Girnata (Granada), Kurtuba (Cordova), Eshbiliyye (Seville), Tuleytula (Toledo) seminaries was a great university. These were institutions where not only instructions were given, but also studies were made and research was conducted. The great Moslem physicians, mathematicians, and philosophers from the Sultan seminary, there was also the Ibn Ezre seminary. These seminaries were so famous that they were attended by jewish and christian students who wanted to get educated. We know that some Moslen physicians were invited for therapy and some were visited. Sancho I, an Austrian monarch, went to Cordova in 559 in order to be cured of a disease called hydropsie. He visited the Moslem seminaries there. In these seminaries, knowledge pertaining to pharmacy (Şaydalaniya) was taught by Ibn Zohr, mathematics by Ibn Yunus, Abu Ali Hassen, philosophy by Ibn Badjdje, Ibn Tufayl, Ibn Rushd. A number of recipient Universities were being established in the West across these seminaries trying to spread Islamic science. The most important among them were the University of Salerno in Italy, University of Boulonge and University of Montpellier in France. All translations from Arabic to Latin, and from Hebrew to Latin were made in these institutions. They were quite like knowledge receptors established with the purpose of receiving the science spread by the moorish seminaries.

Interest developed in Europe towards the East near the end of the 11th century. The Andalusia, Ahl-i salib, and Sicily seminaries and the inadequacy of the old western scholastic and scientific system in relation to the density and population and internal congestion, necessitated relations with the islamic world. In France and especially in Normandy, scientific trends occurred among the monks. First, Robert, the king of France of the Capet dynasty, was Gilbert's disciple at one time and rather friendly towards scientific endeavours. 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 Sicily and Naples seminaries acted as transmission in media for Islamic science to the west.

I — The first phase, we see that many students from Italy, Spain, and southern France attended the muslim seminaries in order to get educated. These students who studied mathematics, philosophy, medicine, and cosmography, became the candidates for professorships in the first western universities to be established shortly.

II — In the second phase, the first western universities were founded after the plan of Islamic seminaries. The style of architecture of the buildings, curricula, instruction methods, were exactly like those in the 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 Aristotelian interpretations were brought to Italy by the way of Salerno. Frederick, the king of Sicily, was known as patron of sciences. He founded the seminary at Naples. Aristotle's books were translated from Arabic into Latin by his order. He corresponded with Ibn Seb'in on philosophical matters. Alphonse I, the king of Castille and Lyon, ordered astronomy tables to be made, following a study of islamic books. At that time, important seminaries were established after the same pattern and thus the new science was transmitted to England and Germany.

From the 12th and 13th centuries on, among the scientific books in the Islamic world, only those which could be found

were translated. However, since enough copies of handwritten books by Islamic philosophers did not exist. Latins could not get them. A number of them were destroyed due to fires and invasions. In addition to these, selections of Latins from among Islamic books has to be taken into consideration, due to their consistency with their own beliefs and ideas.

One of the most important figures in the translation activity during the Western Middle Ages was Dominicus Gundissalvi (date of death: 1151 A. D.) This person who was the spiritual leader at Ségovie, in addition to his numerous translations, wrote a book entitled, *De Divisione Philosophia* which followed the steps and imitated Farabi's philosophy. In this book he changed the system of seven knowledges - trivium et quadrivium - which in the West used to be the tradition during the medieval period, substituting Farabi's encyclopedic classification in its place which was consistent with Aristotle's philosophy¹. Gundissalvi was very faithful to Farabi in his explanation and classification of science and the nature of the classification which was very new and original for the Western world, had an influence on the recently established universities of that era for a long period of time. These translations had an influence on Christian scholastic philosophy newly awakened during the 14th century and especially on St. Thomas and Albert le Grand. Robert Hammond, recently comparing the arguments of St. Thomas about the existence of God with Farabi's, proves his influence on the Christian philosophy. (R. Hammond, *The Philosophy of Al-Farabi and its influence on Medieval Thought*, New York 1948.)

The great Arab physicist Ibn Haytham was at the same time an adherent of scepticism. His research on light led him to the psychology of perception. His philosophical development proceeded from scepticism to a kind of criticism. Ibn Haytham's book was translated into Latin. In the West, he was known by the name Alhasen. *Kitab al-Manazir* (the Book of Perspective) is his most important book. Kemalladdin Abu'l Hassen al-Farisi wrote a summary of this book entitled, *Tenkîh al-Manazir* (Abbreviated Book of Perspective). Ibn Haytham learned the science of his times well and compared the philosophies of al-Kindî, Farabi, Razi

¹ Inspired by Farabi's *Ihsa al-'ulum*.

with the science of Hunayn, Sabit, Farganî, Sahl b. Bishr and Battanî. However, he owes to Farabî his evolution from scepticism to his own ideological synthesis. He died in Cairo in 1201. The translation of some of Ibn Haytham's books written during his empiricist and sceptic periods into Latin, has been instrumental in the development of R. Bacon's ideas. In addition to the western science profited by his detailed research on optics. It should be remembered therefore that he marks the beginning of physics in the West as well as the movement of empiricism. In the origination of empiricism, his role was greater than Râzi's. Ibn Haytham tried to illustrate the role of induction in syllogism. He criticized the smallness of the part attributed to this problem in Aristotelian logic. He even thought that induction was superior to syllogism. He defined it as the basic requirement for true scientific research.

Ibn Sina may be considered as the summit of the meshshai school in the East. This movement which started with Farabî matured in his person. Ibn Sina's influence in the West has been very significant. During the period of translations into Latin, many of his books were known in the West. His greatest book, *Shifa*, was translated into Latin and entitled *Sufficientia* and printed during the XVI th century. It was translated into German in 1912 by Max Horten and entitled, *Das Buch des Genesung der Seele*. However, both its Latin version and the translation made from this version are incomplete. *Kitab al-Najat* is the second book by the philosopher which summarizes his system. Its Latin version was published in Rome in 1926 by N. Caramo entitled, *Metaphysica compendium*. It became possible to translate and publish *Al-Isharat* only in 1951 by Goichon who entitled it *Le Livre des Directives et des Remarques*. Ibn Sina's *Kitab Al-Nefs* was translated into Latin by Andrea Alpago in 1546 and entitled, *Compendium de Anima*. The same book was translated into english by E.H. von Dayak and published in 1906 in Verona and entitled, *A Compendium of the Soul*. Landauer's translation into German was released in 1875 entitled, *Die Psychologie des Ibn Sina*. The English translation of the sixth chapter of the *K. al-Najat* appeared in 1952 under the title *Avicenna's Psychology* by F. Rahman. vol. XXIX (1875) [ZDMG].

Ibn Sina's getting known in the Latin world resulted in the adaptation of his philosophy by the Latin philosophers. B. Haneberg elaborates on the details of this influence: — *Zur Erkenntnislehre von Ibn Sina und Albertus Magnus*, 1866. In his articles published in *Arch. d'hist. et lit. du Moyen Age* Et. Gilson shows his influence more fully.

Many christian philosophers during that era accepted Avicenna's theory of knowledge instead of Aristotle's theory of knowledge. We may observe the highest development of the trend favouring Avicenna, especially in Roger Bacon's illuminism. Eventually, this influence will get stronger than augustinism. For instance, the classification of intellects by Farabi and Avicenna dominates in Albertus Magnus. St. Thomas was still under the influence of these philosophers even when he criticized them just as Ghazali was under their influence in many points when he was making his criticisms.

Avicenna was getting known in the western world with the efforts of Johannes Hispanus. This individual is named Hispanensis in some of his translations. David, his father, was of Jewish origin. Sometimes he is called Ibn Davud. The translation of *De Anima* was his first book which they did together with Gundisalvi. Some of Avicenna's books on metaphysics were translated by him. Hispanus compiled these under the title *Opera = Mecmua = Collections*, and it was twice published in Venice, in 1495 and in 1500. The following books are compiled in *Opera*: 1 — *Logika*, 2 — *Sufficientia*, 3 — *De Coelo et Mundo*, 4 — *De Anima*, 5 — *De Animalibus*, 6 — *Intelligentia = Kitab al-Akl*, 7 — *Philosophia Prima = Falsafat al-'ula*.

It is certain that the translation of the majority of Avicenna's books into Latin lead to a considerable change in western thinking. E. Gilson studied his influence on Duns Scot in the following article: *Avicenna et le point de départ de Duns Scot*. *Arch.* 1927. In addition to that his considerations about the definition and classification of the soul had a wide influence. Avicenna defines the soul both as maturity of the bodies, entelechia, form, as Aristotle, and as substance which is autonomus of matter. This second definition marks the beginning of the substantive soul conception which is autonomous in relation to matter and

which will take its complete form in Descartes. The Muslim philosopher goes deep into the second category of the classification of the soul and in order to prove that the soul is autonomous in relation to the body, lists many arguments in favour of it and some of them like the argument of identity, the argument of unity, were used by the western philosophers following him. The example of the flying man Avicenna cites in order to prove the substantiveness of the soul, also used no doubt by the philosophers preceding him, was used in the west by Bonaventure and by those succeeding him was used in the West by Bonaventura and by those succeeding him as "l'homme volant", argument. Lastly, it should be pointed out that Avicenna started on the philosophy of illumination which developed with neo-platonic influences and this paved the way for the development of several trends in the west during the Medieval age. According to Avicenna, al-akl al-faal -intelligentia agens- active intellect does not contain the intelligible forms (al-surat al-ma'qula) in the form of faculties of the mind only, as in Farabî but also as acte-fi'il.

The Meshshai philosopher İbn Badjdje from Andalusia is known as Avampacce in the Latin world. Unfortunately his books in Arabic and most of their translations have been lost. However, the Jewish philosophers have made him known. Moise de Narbonne, jewish-latin philosopher who lived during 16th century put in his book parts of al-Tedbir al-Mutevahhid written by İbn Badjdje. Both east and west know this philosopher because of him. Tedbir al-Mütevahhid -The Regime of Solitude- helped developing Ibn Tofeyl's ideas also.

Ibn Rushd is known as Averroes in the Latin world. Almost all of his books were translated into Latin. He became more famous in the Latin world than in the Islamic world. He is considered as the greatest interpreter of Aristotle in the world. Averroes is not an interpreter only, but he has an original philosophy. The trend that started in the West called averroisme continued for centuries. Siger de Brabante was its last representative in the West. St. Thomas was the first one to oppose his system and criticize it in detail. Averroes considers all former interpretations of Aristotle as deviations from the thoughts of the master thus spoiling them. He tries to interpret him as he is, apart from all kinds of néo-platonicien influence. People during

the Medieval period who were looking for the real Aristotle, and got a glimpse of him from those preceding Averroes, therefore became rather enthusiastic about Averroes.

Orientalists like Cassiri, Rossi, Jourdain indicate Averroes Aristotle's first Arap translator by mistake. In fact, Averroes did not even know either Greek or Syriac let alone being the first translator. We know that Aristotle's works were translated and interpreted by many persons before him. But his great work made Aristotle widely known in Europe. That text and accompanying interpretations were published in Venice in 1952. Ernest Renan in his book entitled *Averroes et Averroisme*, gives a full account of the Latin texts in this catalogue. As Renan pointed out, the following attributes should be designated for Averroes: (a-) physician he achieved it by a series of books: named *Kulliyat* (*Coliget*). b- Interpreter of Aristotle. This is considered under two headings: 1. As nature interpreted by Aristotle and 2. As Aristotle interpreted by Averroes¹.

Apart from his several interpretations, Averroes wrote many books himself on philosophy and on other sciences.

1. *Tahafut al-tahafut* (*Distruction of The Distruction*)² he wrote in answer to Ghazali's *Tahafut* was translated into Latin and Hebrew.

2. One of his important books entitled *Fasl al-Makal* which discusses the relationship between faith and philosophy was translated into Hebrew. His book entitled *Minhadj al adillah* on philosophy and theology. It was translated into Hebrew and Latin.

3. His book on Moslem jurisprudence (*Fikh*) entitled *Al Mudjahid* contains his main juridical ideas. It does not have Hebrew or Latin versions. Another book in which he summarizes Ghazali's epistle on Moslem Jurisprudence (*Fikh*) entitled *Al Mustawfi* is not known in the West either. But his three volumes on law in Latin entitled *Vigilia super erroris reportas in textibus civilisis* was known.

4. There is the Hebrew translation of the summary of *al-Madjesti* = (*Almageste*) on astronomy. Only the Latin version exists of the book *De Motu spehare celestis*.

¹ Munk and lastly Gauthier studied Averroes.

² This book is translated recently under the title *Incoherence of Incoherence*.

5. His writings in medicine were compiled in a volume entitled, *Kulliyat* (Compendium). These were translated into Latin and published in seven volumes entitled *de Colliget*. Volumes 2, 4, 7, were compiled by Jean Pruyerin Champiera and entitled *Collectanea de remedica*. He wrote an interpretation on Avicenna's poetry on medicine entitled *Al-arudiyya* and this is one of Averroes' best known books. An epistle by him entitled, *Theriaque* (*Tiryak*) has Arabic, Latin and Hebrew versions.

The reason why Averroes was not too well known in the Moslem world and his works forgotten after his death, is that very few copies of his books were made and circulated in the Moslem countries, thus the true Islamic world in the East was not aware of them. The disgrace he had to face at the end of his life was instrument in his being forgotten. Another important reason for that it was the destruction of books in Andalusia by the order of Ximenez. In accordance with this order 80,000 handwritten books in Arabic were burnt in the squares of Granada. All remaining handwritten copies are those written at Maghrib. This information is given by Ernest Renan (p. 80) Scaliger, while searching for new handwritten copies in Andalusia, did not find any by Averroes and he was not contented with this outcome 1600 A. D. approximately.

Ibn Tofayl who is a philosopher of illuminism who lived in Andalusia was known in the Latin world since for a very long time as Abentofal or Abubacher (1110-1185 A. D.). Most of this philosopher's books were lost: Probably during the destructions of Ximenez. But his fame is due to his philosophical novel entitled *Hayy İbn Yakzan*. This topic was studied by Avicenna before. Avicenna's work was put into verse by Ibn Aberiyya and subsequently interpreted by Abu Mansur. However the book of Ibn Tofayl that was on the same topic is entirely new in terms of ideas. In that book the story of a parentless child is told who was born in a distant island on the Atlantic Ocean who grew up alone and whose complete mental development proceeded without any help from the society and civilization. Therefore, according to Abentofal, there is no need to learn and teach in order to reach at the high metaphysical realities. This book was translated into Latin by Eduardo Pocochio in 1671 and entitled, "Phi-

losophus autodidactus sive epistola ebn Tophail de Hai ebn Yek-dhan" and published together with the Arabic text. Many books have been written in the west on this topic; among them F. Bacon's philosophical novel, Atlantis and other utopic novels and lastly Robinson Crusoe were all inspired by it. This book was first translated into Hebrew and Moise de Narbonne wrote an excellent interpretation on it. In addition to that, Pocochio translated the book from Latin into English twice. The third translated from the original Arabic into English was accomplished by Simon Ockley (London 1711). The Dutch version was first published in Rotterdam in 1672 and again in 1701. It was translated into German twice. Finally, Gothier published the French version of the book with an analytic summary in 1900. The number of these translations is indicative of the intensity of influence of this philosophical novel on western thought.

In discussing the Islamic philosophers, finally we should elaborate on the influence of Ibn Khaldun. Ibn Khaldun, who lived in North Africa at the end the 14 th century is accepted as the father of sociology and philosopher of history as well as a historian (1332-1406 A. D.) Ibn Khaldun is the first philosopher to clearly oppose Greek and Muslim philosophers asserting that human societies should not be studied from an idealist-rationalist point of view and that they ought to be taken as natural phenomena. These important ideas of Ibn Khaldun which concern philosophy are included in a book entitled "Mukaddime" (*Prolegomena*) he wrote for his detailed historical book entitled «*Kitab al-Iber*» (A History of the Berbery People) was first printed at Bulak, Egypt. Its first translations were made in Turkey by Piri zade Sahip Molla and Ahmet Djevdet Pasha. Western people were not aware of this philosopher until the beginning of the 18 th century. At the end of the 17 th century d'Herbelot refers to him in Bibliotheca Orientalis. Sylvestre de Sacy emphasized his importance at the beginning of the 19 th century. At the end of that century Hammer-Purgstall wrote articles about him and referred to him as the "Montesquieu of the Arabs". Some years later Garcia de Tarcy translated a number of chapters from Ibn Khaldun's Prolegomena into French. Quatremère published the original version of the Prolegomenâ under the title of Prologomènes

and attempted to translate it in summary but could not finish his translation. Baron de Slane succeeded in making the complete translation between 1863 - 1886. [William Mac Guckin de Slane, *Prolégomènes*, 3 vols. Paris 1863 1886.] In 1938 this translation was reprinted in photo-print. The translation made it possible for philosophers and sociologists to study the text. In the West since then Ibn Khaldun is often referred to. Some have over emphasized his importance and considered him the founder of a new science. Articles are still written in the West praising him. Some consider him as a philosopher of history, others think that he announced sociology. For instance Rappoport, R. Flint, N. Schmidt think he is a philosopher of history, Gumplovitz, R. Maunier, Findikoglu, Sati al Husri and Schmidt again consider him the announcer of sociology. Bouthoul thinking that he has both these qualities, compares him with scholars. He thinks he is the leader of the biological society conception of Vico, Montesquieu and Marx. F. Schulz wrote many articles on Ibn Khaldun in the *Journal Asiatique* (Paris, 1885). Graeberg de Hemsö, Rosenthal, Kremer, Lewine, G. Bouthoul Gabriel, Colosio, Ferreiro, Carra de Vaux, De Boer, G. Richter, Gauthier, A. Bombaci, Ch. Issavi, W. Fichel, G. Mac Donald, Breisig, H.A.R. Gibb, R. Altemira etc, have referred to him from the end of the last century on. It should be pointed out that as a result of the strong interest shown in him, his conceptions on history and on society have had an influence on contemporary scholars e. g., on Spengler the author of *Untergang des Abendlands*, and his philosophy of decline, on some Marxists or philosophers of history like Breisig. At present, Sati al-Husri in Egypt and Findikoglu in Turkey still prize him.

Ghazali made use of Ash'ari's arguments in chapter 18 of his *Tahafot* when he was criticizing Avicenna. Going one step further, Ghazali put this in the form of scepticism. Avveroes in defending necessary causal relationship and the intellect in *Tahafot al-Tahafot*, shall criticize Ghazali on this point later. These two points of view which oppose each other stated by Islamic meshshai philosophers and by ash'ari theologians, as dogmatism and scepticism or else intellect orientedness and empiricism according to the theory of knowledge and as necessary.

Being comprehended by the intellect or absolute will into the nature of which it is impossible to penetrate according to the theory of Being, lead to the most ardent discussions in the Islamic world during the Middle ages and their influence in the West lasted until our times. The theories of the theologians on this issue are stated in Ghazali's *Destructio* which was translated into Latin and also explained in detail in Maimonide's *Delil al-Khâirin*, the Hebrew version of which is entitled, *More Nebukhim*. The second book has been translated into French and entitled, *Le Guide des égarés*. In criticizing the Ash'ari theologian Albertus Magnus in book 8 of his *Physica* and St. Thomas in *Summum Theologicum* refer to this.

The influence of Islamic theologians in the West is second to that of Islamic philosophy. The tension between the two religions is the reason for this. Islamic theologians were known in the West in spite of that, even if partially. The reason for that is that on the one hand some theologians got to be known with the works of the philosophers and on the other hand Ghazali was known in the West as well as these philosophers. St. Thomas refers to the theologians he criticizes in his *Contra Gentes* as *loquentes*. However, we must immediately point out that knowledge on this point was lacking for: a-) The information about Mu'tezila and the first theologians was second hand, nothing was taken from their books and b-) Masters of the philosophical theology movement after Ghazali were unknown. For instance, they did not know in the West about the works of Fahrud-din Razî, Seyfuddin Amidî, Ibn Teymiya, Siradjuddin Urmevî, Seyid Sherif Djordjani, Sa'daddin Taftâzani etc. No complete account can be given therefore, of the influence of Islamic theology.

Miguel Asin Palacios studied Ghazali's influence on western thought in many of his writings. As it was previously known, this influence was not confined to *Tahafut* only, the Latin version of which was published during the 12th century. However, in fact, Ghazali's influence was effected through another channel, later on. *Mekâsid* was translated into Latin by Gundissalvi and published in Venice in 1506. The book was published in Venice under the heading: *Logica et Philosophia Algazeli's Arabis*, Venitti, 1506, "in addition to the above, Ghazali's "De Anima Humana" has been translated.

As to his influence which Asin Palacios elaborates in his book: "La espiritualidad de Algazel y su sentido cristiano", it has gone through several phases. The influence delegated by Ramon Marti, a Dominican monk who profited by Ghazali's works on theology and philosophy, heads the list; According to Asin, primarily the influence of the first Christian sources; for instance of St. Augustin's on Ghazali should be taken into consideration. Although it is not possible to indicate how and by what means Augustin's ideas were transmitted to Ghazali. It is quite possible that these influences were widespread in the intellectual circles where Ghazali was raised. M. Asin cannot find an argument on this matter to prove his assertion. However, he has many documents about transmission to the west from Ghazali. The historian and philosopher Bar Hebraeus known in the islamic world as Abu'l Faradj adheres to that pattern. Abu'l Faradj who was the minister at the Syriac-Jacobite church, was famous during the 13th century. He wrote in Arabic and Syriac; Bar Hebraeus copied many chapters from Ghazali's IHYA (Revivification of Religious Sciences) and adapted them in his books entitled: "Ethicon" and "The book of the Colombe". This event marks the beginning of Ghazali's influence on Christian spirituality. If an author like Bar Hebraeus who was rather influential in the Christian church profits by Ghazali in writing his own books, considered fundamental in monastery instruction, according to Palacios the reason for this is that the party citing them considers those ideas totally consistent with his doctrines. However, we must immediately point out that he himself finds the roots of the pragmatic argument about faith in the next world frequently cited by Ghazali in the several of his books in the sayings of Hz. Ali and in a poem by Abu'l-Ala.

In his study on Ghazali, Wensinck shows that the two books by Bar Hebraeus are not only written in accordance with the organization of the chapters taken from Gazali's Ihya (virtues-vice, the degrees of moral perfection may resemble) but also Gazali's ideas and even his examples, analogies and at times phrases, and the sorts of witness Ihya bears from poetry and literature, are employed in exactly the same way. According to Asin, Bar Hebraeus did so because in reality these were total-

ly consistent with the Christian spirit and because he wanted to keep the apparent source of the ideas transmitted from that origin a secret. However, there is no need for Asin at this point to go to make interpretations which would contradict his straight argument (Palaeos, M. Asin, *Contacts de la spiritualité musulmane et de la spiritualité chrétienne, dans l'islam et l'occident*, 1935).

Asin follows the development of this idea in the West as follows: The Spanish Dominican monk Ramon Marti who is Bar Hebraeus' contemporary, borrowed the same ideas from there and from Ghazali. Instead of only profiting by the books of Islamic philosopher, he, like the scholastics, directly profited by Ghazali's texts on dogmatic theology in his books entitled: "Pugio Fidei" and "Explanatio Symboli" in the field of religion. These texts have been taken from *Tahafut*, *Makâsid*, *Al-Munkidh Al-Mizan*, *Al-Erbain*, *Al-Mishkat Al-Anwar* and *Ihya*. It seems according to Asin, that the benefit derived here is more substantial than Bar Hebraeus' adaptations which he did without mentioning any source, and furthermore, take all the arguments as they are.

Furthermore, St. Thomas used some texts by Ghazali in "Contra Gentes", either directly or with the mediation of Ramon Marti. Ghazali's influence was very significant near the end of the Middle Ages. During the 14th century, three sceptic philosophers were influenced by Ash'ari's arguments on the problem of causality (*al-illiya*) with the mediation of Ghazali. Their names are given below: 1) Peter d'Ailly, 2) Nicholas d'Auricuria 3) Guillaume d'Occam.

Occam, who was the most influenced by Ash'ari's nominalism in the West, was getting at the conception of intuitive and divine knowledge via his criticism of the causality theory. There, with his own occasionalism he was trying to do away with St. Thomas's rationalist philosophy and he was doing it under Ghazali's influence. (Dr. Horowitz : *Der Einfluss der griechischen, Skepsis auf die Entwicklung der Philosophie bei den Arabern*, 1915)

A relation was established for the first time between Christian and Islamic philosophies with Gundissalvi's translations from Ghazali. C. Baeumker called public attention on these transla-

tions first. From the studies of this scholar, and later by Ed. Gilson, it was understood that Avicenna had an influence in the West in two ways: 1) directly by his own writings 2) through Gundissalvi's translations of Ghazali's works. Ghazali was Avicenna's disciple in a way but opposed him later on. First he elaborated only on the ideas inspired by him and later he criticized these, Ghazali therefore followed the philosopher's point of view in the classification of souls, e. g. Avicenna divide the soul into three faculties: vegetabilis, sensibilis, rationalis. In the Ghazali's translation, the terms *anim vegetativa*, *anima animalis*, *anima humana* (*al-nefs al'nebatî*, *al-nefs al-hayvanî*, *al-nefs al-insanî*) are used. As to *nefs al-natika* (the soul endowed with the gift of speech). Gundissalvi designates here certain differences in terminology. Above the hierarchy of intellects there is *al-akl al-faal* (*intellectus agens*) which Ghazali designates as *»substantia existens par se quae non est corpus«* -substance existing in its in own right without need of body- a definition which we do not find Avicenna and which is valuable for scholastics too Ghazali calls the active intellect *datur formarum*.

St. Thomas' in general the theologians, was criticizing atomism. Ghazali's influence in the West is not confined to Ramon Marti. In his book "Huellas de Islam", M. Asin carries that influence to Pascal. According to him, there is a consistency between Ghazali's and Pascal's ideas about the next world that is not due to coincidence. The sort of argument concerning the defence of religion which is extensively employed by Ghazali and which is known as "betting" -*pari*- is elaborated on again and again by Pascal in his "Pensées". In addition to Lachelier's well known study on this topic the same theme is also studied in "Pari de Pascal" by E. Degas. Statement of the argument aims at making the non-believers the consistency of performing the religious duty in spite of the hypothesis that the next world may not exist at all. This argument may be summarized in the following dilemma under two parts: If you win, you shall win all, if you loose, you will loose 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 Arabiou who first since Bayle is one of his oldest

pioneers. Another text first in Sohund's "Théologie naturelle" concerns the roots of betting. Finally two French theologians who were contemporaries of Pascal stated a betting topic before he did which was conspicuously similar to his. One of them is Silhon, the author of "Immortalité de l'âme" and the other is Sirmond, the author of "Demonstration de l'immortalité de l'âme". Blanchet and Lachelier study in what ways these authors are like Pascal and how they differ. These are the thinkers responsible for presenting Pascal with his famous argument and supplying the source for it. Following a penetrating analysis of the texts, Blanchet demonstrated that they were Pascal's sources both in terms of 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 Arnibiou. The idea took a long journey from Ghazali to Ramon Marti and then to Pascal. Let us only consider the comparisons he makes between Pascal and Ghazali based on well founded text studies. Pascal, like Ghazali is of the opinion that our senses may deceive us. Here, Palacios compares Al-Munkidh with the *Pensées*' text and indicates the similarities. Doubt is expressed in Pascal just as in Ghazali in that e.g. our dreams are the reality, our life is nothing but a dream when we are awake, and we wake up from that dream when we are dying.

It has been rather difficult for western philosophers to look at Islam and the east with an understanding eye, getting rid of fanaticism and imperialistic, racial prejudices. In spite of the fact that Renaissance was founded through profiting by islamic philosophy, doctrines, and translations and interpretations from them, some centuries of the attitude of the western people which was hostile towards the civilization that created these works. This shows how deep-rooted these religious economic and racial prejudices were. However, from the 17th century on, western philosophers have, doubtless, gotten rid of these prejudices. Cultural influences to which they were subjected for centuries were instrumental in bringing about this result.

Leibniz refers to Islam in rather a general way in his "Theodicee" and criticizes the accident and fate conception he names as „*fatum muhammetanum*". On the other hand, Kant praises

Islam in his "La Religion dans les Limites de la simple Raison".¹ "Islam distinguishes itself with pride and courage. For it propagates faith not by miracles but by conquests and it is founded on courageous ascetism. This important phenomenon is due to the founder who propagated the conception of the super-natural and only God. The nobleness of a people who were fresh from idolatry has been an important factor in bringing about this result. The spirit of Islam is indicated not by conformity without will but in complete adhering to the divine being, which, above all, is a noble ability of high order". In his play "Mohammed", Goethe with great sympathy and enthusiasm describes the power of the new faith exalted against idolatry, and the sincere adherence of believers in this faith. This work is in the nature of an answer especially to a work of Voltaire bearing the same name. Goethe read the Koran in 1770 and noted certain verses which are referred to later in Megerlin's German version of the Koran. The prophet now was known in Germany as the founder of "Natural Religion", and the prophet of intellect and of religion. At that time, Megerlin's (1772) and Boysen's (1773) translations of the Koran were published in Germany in addition to Turpin's book „The Life of Mohammed" in that book Turpin describes Mohammed as a "great prophet", "powerful mind", "true believer", and "the founder of natural religion",

Although Nietzsche severely attacks Christianity in all his books and wrote the "Antichrist" merely against Christianity, he does not include Islam in his judgements at the end of that book and mentions it with apology. Ed. Von Hartmann in his book "The religion of the future" after stating that although Hebrew religion marks a progress compared to paganism, the conception of the monotheistic God hinders progress. He reaches the conclusion that monotheism finds in Islam its most powerful way of expression and that the total abstract unity of God becomes the topic of religious fanaticism. However, according to him, "this kind of fanaticism cannot last very long" The religion of the future is not Christianity either. In order for the religion of the future to become universal religion it should reach a synthesis between pantheist and monotheist developments, that is, the religious developments of East and West.

¹ We have consulted to french translation of this book.

Contrary to all former opinions expressed, Carlyle designates Islam as a very superior faith and thinks that Mohammed is the hero of the prophets. [Thomas Carlyle "Les Héros, le culte des héros et l'héroïque dans l'histoire"]¹ He refutes the false accusation of the western people about the prophet and states: "this kind of opinion is shame on us".

Auguste Comte in his "Law of three stages of social development" considers Islam as the most advanced phase in his so-called theological stage and also a preparation for the metaphysical phase: [Aug. Comte, "Systeme de politique positive" t. 3, p. 470.] Oswald Spengler compares Islam with the protestant faith. In Mohammed, he sees the puritan personalities of Luther and Calvin. According to him, Islam calls for the same kind and quantity of „illumination" and "intellect" as wanted by Confucius, Buddha, Lessing, and Voltaire. (O. Spengler "Le declin de l'occident" trad. franç., V. 2. P. 173-298.)

Miguel Asin Palacios² in his study of the influence of the moslem conception of the next world in "Divina Commedia" investigated Muhyiddin Al 'Arabi's influence on Dante. A. Cabaton wrote a summary of this research in the Journal of the History of Religions.³ He showed that according to this study the great Italian poet who opened the modern ages was first of all influenced by the conception of the creation and destruction of the world and especially by Al- Arabi's "Kitap al-Isra" (The book of the Night Journey) and by his Futuhât al Mekkiya. Dante's admirers stress that this claim is not true⁴, and likewise due to religious prejudice the Christians think that this kind of research is uncalled for, however, although Palacios occupies himself with Islamic studies, he does not wish to cause any harm to the glory and fame of the poet from Toscana, because he is a sincere and strong Christian. On the contrary, he gives a clear account of how he became part of humanity over and above religions and decades, from the point of view of the width of his knowledge.

¹ Consulted to french translation of this book.

² Miguel Asin Palacios, *L'a Escatologia musulmana y la Divina Comedia*, 2 vol., Madrid, 1943.

³ M. A. Cabaton: *La divine Comédie et l'Islam, Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, Nr, 8, 1920; Harold Sunderlad, *Islam and the Divine Comedy* 1926,

⁴ Et. Gilson; "Dante et Philosophie, 1948

Islamic influences became perfect during the 12th to 13th centuries. Then there were reactions made against this extreme imitating. The Hellenism trend began against the Islamic trend and Renaissance was the result of this reaction. During the 13th century, the Oxford school became a branch of the activities of translation and interpretation. In here for the first time Alexandre Neckam translated from arabic, Aristotle's books on Heaven and soul. In the same school Michel Scot translated into latin a book by Albatragîus -Ibn Batradj- on cosmography and several books by Averroes and Avicenna. Robert Grosseteste is another member of the Oxford group (1253). His efforts were noted in the translation of (Greek and Islamic philosophies. Roger Bacon (1210-1277 A. D.) is the most important member of the Oxford group. This great scholar who made research in language, mathematics and biology became known as a kind of magician and occultist during the Middle Ages and therefore he was convicted. The influence of islamic philosophers and scholars has been very extensive on Roger Bacon who is the grandfather of Francis Bacon, the founder of modern times, and he himself is one of the founders of empiricism. The word experiment (Experimentatum) is closely associated with his scientific and extra-scientific studies. As the trend of Averroes and Avicenna constituted the roots of western rationalism, so did the ideas of islamic naturalists and Râzî and Ibn Haytham influence English empiricism.

In the University of Paris, much importance was attributed to Aristotle's texts and interpretations in arabic from the day it was established in 1215. Guillaume d'Auxerre and Philippe de Gréve were the leaders of this movement. Guillaume d' Auvergne was studying Ibn Djabirol and criticizing Avicenna and Averroes. Instruction on Aristotle directly, was lagging. However, a trend was getting under way in the public opinion in the west against islamic philosophy. From 1231 on the Pope Gregoire IX renewed the decree against the instruction of Aristotle and his texts. In the following years the actions the Popes took against the Universities became increasingly severe. Nominalists like Bacon and Duns Scot were convicted. Nicholas Autricura who profited by the theologians was convicted in 1346. Investigations were made about these matters.

Arveroistes and their books were prohibited from circulation and they were convicted. These severe actions continued until the end of the 14th century. On the other hand which had been originated by fanaticism and enmity, had ideological roots also. In general, it was a reaction against Aristotelianism. In that way, the mentality of Platonism against Aristotelianism and of experimentation against the dialectic tendency was reinstigated. Islamic philosophy was unable to meet the needs of the West in terms of Plato's dialogues.

When it came to Plato's dialogues. For, many of them were not known by the moslems. The ones that were known, were incomplete. At the end of the XVth century extensive publication of books translated into Latin from Arabic rendered the decrees by the priests partially ineffective and these books rapidly spread all over outside of university instructions. However, since the mental orientation towards experimentation and Platonism was now struggling against Aristotelianism in the field of ideology and research directly, the ground was ready for the Renaissance.

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