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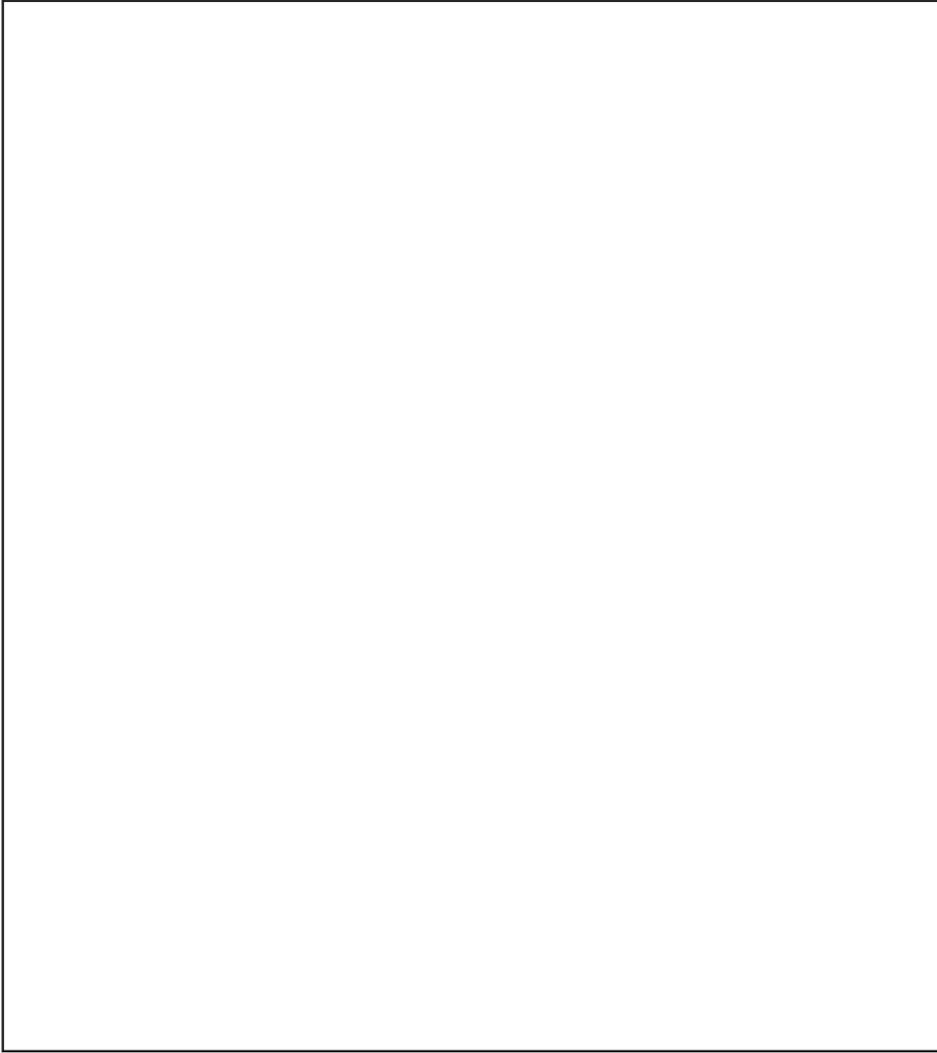
ISLAMIC THOUGHT IN THE DIALOGUE OF CULTURES
Innovation and mediation between antiquity and middle ages

Hans Daiber

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Prof. Dr. Hans Daiber

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IN THE DIALOGUE
OF CULTURES**

**innovation and mediation
between
antiquity and middle ages**

Sarajevo, 2007

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Preface by Tamara Albertini

Hans Daiber was invited in 2001 for a series of lectures to **the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization - ISTAC, Kuala Lumpur/Malaysia**. The purpose was to stimulate scholars and students there to reconnect with the best of Islamic intellectual tradition. Thanks to the enthusiasm and infatigable efforts of Dr. Nevad Kahteran, Associate Professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo, these lectures are now available in two bilingual editions, an English-Bosnian and a German-Bosnian version entitled *Islamic Thought in the Dialogue of Cultures: Innovation and Mediation between antiquity and Middle Ages/ Islamisches Denken im Dialog der Kulturen. Innovation und Vermittlung zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*. The title itself clarifies an essential trait of Islamic thought: It neither emerged *ex nihilo* nor did it remain confined to Islamic lands only. As with every great civilization before and after it, Islam absorbed the achievements of the cultures that preceded it but also developed them further. Daiber's book captures masterfully the nature of the dialogue Muslim intellectuals cultivated with their ancient predecessors.

The opening chapter teaches the reader an important lesson in medieval Islamic culture and religion. Daiber points out that far from being adverse to reason and sciences, early Qur'anic studies greatly contributed to a rational exegesis and the further development of Arabic philology. His plea to consider the rational theology (*Mu'tazila*) that dominated Islamic intellectual discourse until the days of the Abbasid ruler al-Ma'mūn (d. 833) as an essentially inner Islamic phenomenon, rather than a Greek-derived school of thought, is to be applauded. "Mu'tazilites," writes Daiber, "combined in their theological argumentation the Islamic heritage of the art of definition and of the comparative-rationalistic method of Islamic jurisprudence - which both have their starting-point in the oldest philological exegesis of the Koran - with the Hellenistic heritage of the dialectic, who is trained in logic". The second chapter explores the rational cosmology and anthropology developed by Mu'tazilites and validates Daiber's in-

itial claim of Islam being compatible with rational inquiry. Consequently, the third chapter entitled “The Encounter of Islamic Rationalism with Greek Culture” discusses the translation period as the outcome of Islamic rationalism. The following chapter on the autonomy of philosophy in Islam characterizes the specific place of thought in medieval Islamic society. The days in which 19th century Western scholars such as Ernest Renan could claim that Islam and rationalism represent mutually exclusive concepts are definitively over.

The chapter on “The Encounter of Islamic Philosophy with European Thought” traces in the light of most recent source research the paths through which Islamic ideas found their entry into Latin texts. The massive scholarly sources listed by Daiber represent, indeed, “indispensable materials” for future research. The same is true of the sixth and last chapter that follows the reverse path, if one may say so, by looking into the reception of Islamic thought in the Latin Middle Ages. It discusses this reception most appropriately “as an example of dialogue and misunderstanding”.

Hans Daiber’s *Islamic Thought in the Dialogue of Cultures: Innovation and mediation between antiquity and Middle Ages / Islamisches Denken im Dialog der Kulturen. Innovation und Vermittlung zwischen Antike und Mittelalter* also serves as a useful tool in which scholars may find valuable information pertaining to the current state of affairs of major projects such as the *Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus* in charge of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, or the ongoing Frankfurt edition of the Syriac encyclopedia *Butyrum Sapientiae* (= Cream of Wisdom) by Barhebraeus (alias Abū l-Faradj). Without any questions Daiber’s newest publication helps fill an important gap in Islamic scholarship.

Honolulu 2006

Preface

This book on “Islamic philosophy: Innovation and Mediation between Antiquity and Middle Ages” continues my book “The Struggle for Knowledge in Islam” (Sarajevo 2004). Philosophy as “love for wisdom” appears as a common link between different cultures, between ancient, medieval and modern civilizations. In this sense, Islamic philosophy is the most beautiful example of a multicultural dialogue. Its richness of ideas can be understood as an indication of plurality as mirrored in the manifold shapings of Islam during its history. This implies to a certain extent a plurality of values, which should be understood as a constructive bridge between the cultural heritage of Islam and the requirements of modern plurality.

The consciousness of the plurality of any culture including the complexity of Islam can generate new identities and thus meet the requirements of an intercultural dialogue in multicultural countries and in a global age. Here, Islamic philosophy becomes a symbol of the multiplicity of ideas resulting from the intercultural dialogue and at the same time of the universality of ideas as a common ground for a better understanding between differing cultures. “Love for wisdom” can become a bridge between differing religions, between differing civilizations, between differing ideologies, between past and present, between tradition and modernity. This could create a human society in the peaceful coexistence of transnational identities, of world-cultures which in an everlasting process of cultural transfer stimulate each other to new insights.

I hope and wish that this book contributes to the creation of a positive conception of a multicultural and multireligious country and that Bosnia and Herzegovina will continue to play its part in the dialogue of cultures.

Frankfurt/M., October 2007

Introduction

It is difficult to define Islamic philosophy, as it is a complex of ideas related to what the member of a society considered as desirable knowledge and wisdom. This simple explanation follows the etymology of the Greek term “filosofía”. It includes only a part of the truth, insofar as philosophy is also the result of the curiosity of man, who wants to know new things.

Philosophy as a complex of theoretical insights and practical experiences is, however, also the result of the encounter of persons with differing views and experiences; moreover, it is the result of the dialogue between differing societies and cultures. Philosophy and philosophers thus become participants of a dialogue between different cultures and centuries; philosophers mediate between the knowledge of the past and the present, between the cultures of the past and the present, between one nation and the other.

Therefore, we cannot talk about the encounter of Islamic philosophy with European thought, without discussing its preceding encounter with Greek thought. Greek ideas found their way into Islamic thought and became assimilated within the frame of the Koranic world-view of Islam. Scholastic philosophers of the European Middle Ages found Islamic philosophical thought attractive for their own Christian theology, in a similar way as Muslim theologians recurred to logical arguments and thoughts of the Greeks, following the model of hellenized Syriac speaking Christians. The selection from Greek ideas on both sides, the Muslim and the medieval Christian culture, was determined by the specific demands of both; each culture selected what seemed to be somehow familiar and agreeable; each culture created its own picture of the other. A mirror-picture is philosophy and the interpretations of philosophers, who contribute to philosophy by their way of understanding and also misunderstanding. They are participants of a dialogue, which in the case of Islamic philosophy gives us the chance, to investigate the conditions of inspiration, reception, assimilation and reorientation of philosophical thought between

antiquity and European Middle Ages. It will become clear, that Latin scholasticism is not a mirror-picture of Islamic philosophy, just as little as Greek philosophy, their common inspirative source, is uncritically taken over.

The Greek philosophical tradition common to Islam and Medieval European scholasticism requires a discussion of the way, how Greek thoughts passed to the Arabs, before we discuss the impact of Islamic philosophers on European scholastics. Only such a discussion will reveal the new orientation of Greek thoughts in Islam and its specific impact on medieval European thought.

However, before we look at Islamic philosophical thought, we should examine the Islamic background that became a fertile soil for the reception of Greek philosophical and scientific thought.

We start with a chapter on the koranic background of rationalism in early Islam. After this chapter we continue with a chapter on the appraisal of individuality in early Islam, as precondition of the development of a new rational world-view in the 8th/9th century. This rational world-view and the following period of translations from Greek into Arabic facilitated the assimilation of Greek thought during the development of an essentially Islamic world-view, which was shaped by Koran, koranic eschatology and the Islamic concept of revelation. This Islamic world-view became known in medieval Europe through Latin translations. Its influence challenged Europeans to critical reflexions. Appropriation and critical distance became elements of a thought process, which became manifest in an exemplary manner in Islamic thought between antiquity and Middle Ages and created an impressive picture of Islamic thinking. This can be informative for our present view of Islamic culture and can help to avoid still existing prejudices and misconceptions.

The chapters were originally delivered as lectures in English at the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC), Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

The transcription of the Arabic mostly follows the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

We thank dr. Nevad Kahteran for his meticulous translation into Bosnian and his meritorious work of making available a modest contribution to a better understanding and appreciation of Islamic culture and humanism. This was possible thanks to the untiring commitment of KULT-B and its publisher, Mr. Mustafa M. Kapidžić. We owe him and the Goethe Institute for its financial aid a debt of gratitude.

Hans Daiber
Frankfurt/M., October 2007

1. The Koranic Background of Rationalism in Early Islam

Often people have been inclined to suppose that Islamic religion is hostile to science or rationality.¹ In the 19th century the French orientalist Ernest Renan concluded, that Islam and rationalism are two contradictory concepts. In a well-known paper given at the Sorbonne in Paris on 29 March 1884 he defended the thesis that Islamic religion did not promote the rise of sciences, that science in Islam was in reality Greek science and that rationalism in contrast to religion is the precondition for the development of sciences. Renan was contradicted at that time by Djamāladdīn al-Afghānī who in his plea described Islamic religion as a moral force and as an inspirer of human fantasy which enabled the Muslim to contribute to science.²

In the eyes of those who consider Islam as a hindrance of science and progress Islam exclusively means confidence in tradition, which delays progress. They refer to Muslim scholars in classical times and their unquestioning adoption of meanings and decisions made by authorities in the past. In juridical and religious literature of the Arabs, this attitude is described by the term *taqlīd*³ which is contrary to *idjtiḥād*,⁴ i.e. independent research.

There was, however, a growing opposition against *taqlīd*,⁵ in the 5th/11th century the famous theologian and jurist al-Ghazzālī⁶ had asked the rational human being, who follows tradition, to give up blind *taqlīd* and to search independently for truth.⁷

Also for this reason we cannot maintain that Islam is simply a religion which, based on the Koranic revelation, aims at securing

1 Cf. Goldziher, Stellung.

2 Cf. Daiber, Science and Technology versus Islam.

3 Cf. EI² IV, S. 682 f.

4 Cf. EI² III 1026f.

5 Cf. EI² X 137f.

6 On him s. EI² II 1038-1041.

7 Cf. Lazarus-Yafeh, Taqlīd.

the faithfuls their place in the paradise. The one-sidedness of this view can be proved by the history of science and rational thought in early Islam. Therefore research in the history of scientific thought in Islam appears to be a pre-requisite for a better understanding of Islam.⁸ Islamic science and philosophical thought on the one side and Islamic religion on the other side are reciprocally related to each other: the study of the history of Islamic thought and science in early Islam is helpful for the proper appreciation of the development of Islamic religion and, vice-versa. The study of Islamic religion is indispensable for the reconstruction of the history of scientific thinking in early Islam.

The first scientific achievement of Islam is the collection of fragments of the Koran, which had been written down during the lifetime of the Prophet Mohammad. The Caliph 'Umar and perhaps already Abū Bakr organized a collection of all Koranic fragments. Then, a sample-text in four Koranic copies had been arranged by a commission which in 30/650 or later was formed in Medina by 'Uthmān, the third Caliph, and which consisted of Zayd Ibn Thābit, Sa'īd Ibn al-'Āṣ, 'Abdarrahmān Ibn al-Hārith and 'Abdallāh Ibn az-Zubayr. These four copies have been assigned to the four chief cities Kufa, Basra, Damascus and perhaps Makka. We are told, that orthography and reading of this Koranic text had not yet been standardized;⁹ it did not immediately replace older versions of the Koran, for example the one arranged by Ibn Mas'ūd. This diversity of Koranic versions circulating at that time and the religious interest in the divine revelation became the starting-point for intensive philological studies of the Koranic text: Islamic scholars were searching for the correct orthography, the correct pronunciation required by the recitation and for the preferable reading in the case of text-variants; they introduced

8 Cf. Plessner, *Geschichte der Wissenschaften im Islam*; id., *Bedeutung der Wissenschaftsgeschichte*.

9 On the history of the Koranic text Cf. Goldziher, *Richtungen* p. 8ff.; Jeffery, *Progress* 401 ff. and R. Paret, art. *Kirā'a* in *El*². A summary can be found in Gätje, *The Koran and its Exegesis*, 23ff. (German version: 39ff.).

the numbering of verses. I confine myself to the mention of Abū l-Aswad ad-Du‘alī, Yaḥyā Ibn Ya‘mar and Qatāda¹⁰.

All these endeavors end in the attempt of “philologists” of Umayyad times to create a “puristic” reading of the Koran, which should abolish once for all any obscurities caused by the Arabic script. However their works have not been successful;¹¹ later tradition accepted the reading - *qirā’a* - of seven canonical readers of the Koran;¹² some of them are said to be experienced in the ‘Arabiyya, the lingua franca of Bedouins, the poetical language¹³.

The briefly described philological investigations in the text of the Koran end in the formation of a generation of grammarians; during the early Abbasids we find them especially in Basra and Kufa: they have been engaged in the philological study of the Koran. The philologist Abū ‘Ubayda from Basra (died 210/825) used in his *Madjāz al-Qur’ān* old Arabic poetry for grammatical explanations of the Koran. He had a famous fore-runner, ‘Abdallāh Ibn al-‘Abbās, who died in 68/687 or later and who is represented by the tradition as “interpreter of the Koran”¹⁴. He tried to give a correct reading of the Holy text and to disclose its contents. It seems that he used a strict philological method: According to fragments, which have been preserved in later commentaries, partially in a slightly re-worked version, he offered explanations of foreign words in the Koran. He used old Arabic poetry, from which he had gathered verses serving as textual evidence (*shawāhid*)¹⁵.

Although scholars of these times did not follow the principles of critical research in the modern sense of the word, their philological interest deserves our attention; it has been concentrated on the Koran for the sake of finding a correct interpretation of

10 Cf. GAS I, 3ff.

11 Cf. Bergsträsser/Pretzl, *Geschichte des Korantextes* (Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, 2nd ed. p. 3) p. 120f.

12 Cf. R. Paret, art. Kirā’a in EI².

13 Cf. e.g. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, III 181.

14 Cf. GAS I 25. An edition of Ibn ‘Abbās’ commentary *Tanwīr al-miqbās min Tafsīr Ibn ‘Abbās* appeared e.g. in 1972 in Cairo.

15 Cf. Goldziher, *Richtungen*, 70f.

the text. This kind of Koran-orientated “philology” has been developed simultaneously with the Ḥadīth, the oral and written transmission of more or less authentic sayings of the prophet and his contemporaries. This transmission, which sometimes included short commentaries on Koranic verses, aimed at the replacement of earlier and less principle-orientated interpretations of the Koran¹⁶.

The above mentioned philological activities played a decisive role in the origin of Islamic philological sciences. Because the Koran was written in the language of poets and prophets, old Arabic poetry was indispensable for his interpretation (*tafsīr*) and for his recitation (*qirā'a*). Early exegesis of the Koran was primarily concentrated on explanations of Koranic words; therefore glossaries based on old Arabic poetry appeared to be useful. These activities resulted in the development of lexicography and grammar, which are both based on old Arabic poetry. Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā', who died in 154/774, organized a lexicographical collection on old Arabic poetry, which served as a control for correct reading of the Koran¹⁷. But already his pupil Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad appeared to be engaged in lexicography and metrics without any Koranic interest: religion-motivated cultivation of poetical language developed into Arabic-Islamic science of language¹⁸. In the first instance, lexicographical compilations and collections of *qaṣīdas* have been arranged;¹⁹ these are followed by collections of grammatical rules based on these compilations. Knowledge is primarily philological knowledge of poetical language, of poetical

16 Cf. Goldziher, *Richtungen*, 59ff.

17 Cf. Sellheim, *Gelehrte* 56; GAS VIII 50f.

18 On the beginnings of Islamic philology cf. the summary in Peters, *Allah's Commonwealth*, p. 215ff. This explains the influence of religious-ethical terminology in the grammar of Sibawayh (s. Carter, *Arab Grammarian*, p. 147 ff.; id., *Les origines*, S. 83ff.). Cf. the survey in *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie*, hrsg. v.H. Gätje, II, 141ff. (S. Wild) and 150ff. (C.H.M. Versteegh).

19 Cf. the summary of Peters, *Allah's Commonwealth*, p. 219.

vocabulary and grammar. Based on this knowledge – ‘ilm²⁰ - the Koran should be interpreted.

The outlined development forms the background for lexicographical registrations of technical terms; this registration became a particular branch of science in the history of Islamic science. For example zoological and botanical literature,²¹ which later became more and more based on translations of Greek texts, is strongly relying on lexicographical collections: in the 3rd/9th century al-Djāḥiẓ²² cites zoological texts of Iyās Ibn Mu‘āwiya (died 122/740)²³ and mentions as authorities of zoology Ash-Sharqī al-Quṭāmī, who died around 150/767²⁴ and Hishām Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Kalbī, who died in 204/819 or 206/821²⁵. In lexicographical collections of this time, descriptions of animals and plants in old Arabic poetry have been used; lexicographical interest prevails over botanical and zoological interests.²⁶ On the other side, animals are sometimes described for the sake of presenting a cosmological proof of God’s existence and His wisdom; an example is al-Djāḥiẓ’ book on animals: it rarely mentions experiments with animals.²⁷

To sum up: Philological science of early Muslims is a heritage of their occupation with the text of the Koran. After the collection, division and standardization of the Koranic fragments, their form and their contents had to be interpreted with the help of philology. Editorial activities are superseded by philological comparisons, which used old Arabic poetry because of its affinity to Koranic language. This development resulted in the emphasis of definition and description in different branches of science: they

20 Cf. Goldziher, *Richtungen*, 61f. – On this conception of knowledge (as the sum of all traditions going back to the Prophet and his companions) cf. Rosenthal, *Knowledge*, p. 70ff.

21 Cf. Ullman, *Natur-und Geheimwissenschaften* 5ff.; 6ff.; GAS IV 330ff.

22 S. GAS III 346f.

23 S. GAS III 357.

24 GAS VIII 115.

25 On him cf. GAS III 359; VIII 120.

26 Cf. Ullmann, *Natur-und Geheimwissenschaften*, 6ff.; 62f.

27 Cf. Ullmann, *Natur-und Geheimwissenschaften*, 20.

both form a peculiarity of early Arabic lexicography and grammar; but it was not only indispensable for the interpretation of the Koran, but also for the development of prophetic tradition and jurisprudence.

Prophetic tradition - *ḥadīth*²⁸ - means the orally or written transmission of sayings of the Prophet or his contemporaries already in the first century after the Hidjra. Their often doubtful authenticity is as far as possible verified by an uninterrupted chain of authorities on which the tradition is based (*isnād*). These sayings of the Prophet supplement the Koran-based knowledge of Islamic Jurists. However Koran and Sunna, the rule of the Prophet as transmitted in the *ḥadīth*, often could not provide the jurists with a guiding principle, a pattern for juridical decisions. Therefore many jurists made decisions according to their personal opinion - *ra'y*. The first representatives of this principle appear to be 'Abdallāh Ibn Mas'ūd, who died in 33/653 and the founders of the Hanafite and Malikite "school" in the 2nd/8th century, namely Abū Ḥanīfa²⁹ and Mālik Ibn Anas³⁰. The jurist Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (died 241/855) however restricted the use of *ra'y* "personal opinion" to difficult cases and preferred Koran and *ḥadīth* as juridical sources. Nevertheless many jurists did not constantly use one of the mentioned principles and disagreed about the preferable one. According to Ibrāhīm an-Nakha'ī from Kufa (died 97/715), even *ra'y* should be based on tradition³¹. This tradition does not only mean the exemplary behaviour of the Prophet, but also the practice - '*amal*, which is agreed on: *al-amr al-mudjtama'* '*alayhi*³².

Besides this principle of *idjmā'* i.e. the consensus of the authorities in legal questions, which should restrict the arbitrariness of personal opinion (*ra'y*), Iraki jurists very early tried to apply former legal decisions to actual law cases in a kind of analogy;

28 Cf. EI² III, 23-28, and on the question of oral and written transmission also GAS I, 53ff.; Abbott, *Studies* II, 5ff.

29 On him cf. EI² I s.n.

30 On him s. EI² VI s.n.

31 S. Abū Nu'aym al-Isbahānī, *Ḥilya*, IV, 225,4.

32 Cf. Schacht, *Origins*, 58.

by comparing with former law cases, jurists make decisions in an analogy *a majore ad minus* and *a minore ad maius*. Representatives of this principle of analogy - *qiyās* - are the Irakians Ibn Abī Layla, Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf and ash-Shaybānī in the 2nd/8th century; they use *qiyās*, but have not yet explicitly mentioned this method³³. As regards *qiyās*, orientalist have been inclined to suppose this pattern to be taken from Roman and Jewish jurisprudence, which might have reached the Arabs through Greek-Roman rhetorics and logic³⁴.

It seems, however, that actual convergences between Roman-Jewish law and Islamic *qiyās* do not necessarily mean real dependency. Indeed a Muslim jurist (*faqīh*) had been able to develop similar legal principles on his own, inspired by intrinsic elements: a comparison of concrete legal cases with the tradition, that from Koran and Sunna or even with the generally acknowledged practice of legal authorities automatically lead to the development of analogical principles, which have been more or less based on logical arguments. At the same time, we can suppose that methods of this genuine Islamic development were later improved under the influence of Greek logic.

The “comparative-deductive” method of analogy assimilated legal rules of Koran, Sunna and *idjmā’* to changed circumstances of the time. This method was a generally acknowledged principle, which did not aim at the total replacement of tradition; on the contrary, analogy was a principle, which enabled increased application of traditions. This means: Koran and traditions remain the first truth; they are the beginning and do not form the result of cognition obtained by induction. Even the rationalistic Mu’tazilite an-Nazzām (died between 220/835 and 230/845) could not escape from this principle; although he preferred the use of reason (*‘aql*) to personal decisions and to the *argumentum e silentio*, i.e. the argument drawn from the silence of companions of the Prophet in legal cases, an-Nazzām based legal decisions on

33 Cf. Schacht, *Origins*, 110; id., *Introduction*, 37ff.

34 S. Schacht, *Origins*, 99f.

the Koran: whenever its contents are interpreted according to the rules of logic, an unchangeable consensus can be attained³⁵.

To sum up: Early Islamic jurists tried to supplement legal prescriptions of Koran, Sunna and *idjmā'*; by doing so they developed, for the first time, rational methods of logic in the "comparative-deductive" principle of analogy. At the same time they could use in their work the philological heritage of early Koranic sciences. As regards exact definition, descriptive analysis with the means of philology, appear to be indispensable in jurisprudence.

Definition and logical argumentation form a useful symbiosis even in the development and demarcating formulation of the Mu'tazilite dogma, a forerunner of Islamic orthodoxy. The rational movement of the Mu'tazilites appeared for the first time in Irak - not without reason: in this country, the Mu'tazilites found an intellectual medium that enabled their development into a rational movement, which tried to replace tradition by reason (*ratio*). Here we find a genuine Islamic starting-point for the development of a scientific conception of the world, which tried to find generally valid and rational provable criteria. For the first time in Islamic history, a rational-logical conception of the world is constructed; the transmitted doctrines of faith are formulated in a manner that tried to follow argumentations of the intellect. The Mu'tazilites, however, did not aim at replacing the old piety by a new one; primarily they intended to demarcate Islam from religious groups of subjugated minorities. This happened by the way of systematical differentiation and subtilization of Islamic doctrines. Indispensable means are philological skill in the act of defining and describing, performed in the earliest exegesis of the Koran; furthermore logical argumentations already practised in Iraki jurisprudence.

The developments described so far became a fertile soil for stimulations from outside: In their argumentations as well as in their philosophical knowledge, the Mu'tazilites recurred more and more to Hellenistic ideas, which became influential in Irak:

35 Cf. van Ess, *Kitāb an-Nakt* pp. 118, 137f.; id., *Theologie und Gesellschaft* III (1992) 385ff.

Hellenistic logic and ontology reached the Arabs of the 2nd/8th century primarily in discussions with converts and Christians; furthermore in first translations from Syriac and later directly from Greek into Arabic.³⁶

In this way, Mu'tazilites from the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th century combined in their theological argumentation the Islamic heritage of the art of definition and of the comparative-rationalistic method of Islamic jurisprudence - which both have their starting-point in the oldest philological exegesis of the Koran - with the Hellenistic heritage of the dialectic, who is trained in Aristotelian logic. Greek logic had stimulated Christian-Hellenistic theology in an exemplary manner to philosophy-based formulations of doctrines, which later became influential in Islam.³⁷ Islam, however, was forced to defend itself not only against Christian theology, but also against gnostic-dualistic systems of Manichaeism.³⁸

A consequence of this struggle is the gradual development of Islamic dogma. A first result is the very complicated doctrine of God developed by the Mu'tazilites, who have been engaged very intensively in the problem of the definition of God; their starting-point is the Koranic idea of God's transcendence, which is expressed by the Koranic term *ghayb*.³⁹ Although they offered different solutions, they have one tendency in common: they avoid anthropomorphic descriptions of God as found in the Koran,⁴⁰ and they explain them allegorically.⁴¹

By doing so, the Mu'tazilites realized for the first time the difficulty of any definition: definitions by means of human lan-

36 Cf. Daiber (rev.): F.E. Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus* (Leiden 1968), in: *Gnomon* 42, 1970, 539-541; Daiber, *Mu'ammār* p. 16 and below ch. 3.

37 Cf. C.H. Becker, *Christliche Polemik und islamische Dogmenbildung*, in: *Islamstudien* I 432-449. Morris Seale, *Muslim Theology*, dazu die Kritik von J. van Ess in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 23, 1966, S. 101-104 und id., *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, IV Index s.n. „Christentum“.

38 Cf. Pretzl, *Atomenlehre* 128; Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 6f. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, IV Index s.n. Manichäismus.

39 Cf. Alparslan Açıkgenc, *Towards an Islamic Concept of Philosophy*, 566ff.

40 Cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 138ff.

41 Cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 140f.

guage restrict the - also Neoplatonic - infinity of God; language cannot reflect God's being. According to the Mu'tazilite Ḍirār Ibn 'Amr (lived between 110/728 and 180/796), God's attributes are describable only by negation of their opposite;⁴² God is not what is ascribed to him in the traditional doctrine of attributes. According to Abū l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf (died perhaps 227/796), God is - similar to the Platonic doctrine of the unity of being - identical with his attribute.⁴³ Another solution is offered by 'Abbād Ibn Sulaymān: Even by analogy one cannot ascribe to God any attributes; the attributes "knowing" (*'ālim*) or "almighty" (*qādir*) are mere "indications" of a name of God or "names", which do not mean human features of God. Here we find the important distinction between "utterance" (*qawl*) and "meaning" (*ma'nā*).⁴⁴ This conforms to the distinction between "word" (*lafẓ*) and "meaning" (*ma'nā*) in Arabic national grammarians, and it has a parallel in Stoic philosophy.⁴⁵ However the distinction has consequently been developed by the Arabs in a theological discussion about the definition of God; we have no reason to assume Stoic influence. The theory arose in a religious context, starting from the Koranic idea of God's *ghayb*, which has structural similarities with the Neoplatonic teaching of God's indescribability. God cannot be described with properties taken from this world; a consequence of this standpoint is the Mu'tazilite teaching of the createdness of the Koran, which became the official dogma during the reign of al-Ma'mūn: contrary to orthodoxy, the Koran cannot be eternal and an attribute of God.

The Mu'tazilite teaching of God's transcendence and indescribability was inconsistent with the Koranic teaching of God, the Creator: Because God cannot be described with terms from this world and because He is not related to this world in any man-

42 Daiber, *Mu'ammār* 136; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* III (1992) 37f.

43 Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 137; 198ff.; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, III (1992) 272ff.

44 Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 211f. and on 'Abbād's doctrine of attributes van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, IV (1997) 20ff.

45 Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 212.

ner, which could be described in our language - God cannot be the Creator of visible things. The Mu'tazilites have been fully aware of this consequence and they distinguished - similar to Aristotle, but within a new, Islamic frame - between substance and accident.⁴⁶ God has only created the substances but not the visible accidents, which inhere the substances and which mean the accomplishment of the form hidden in the substance.

This implicates a further important distinction, namely the distinction between the visible-accidental and the invisible-substantial. We are reminded of Aristotle's distinction between concrete-individual (*prote usia*) and the Platonic general, the essence (*deutera usia*). Like Aristotle the Mu'tazilites did not detach their notion of substance from the Platonic background of general essence: substance remains to be a general essence, of which the form gets visible in the accidental realization, in the accident (*'arad*). The distinction between essence and existence is not yet reflected upon⁴⁷ - just as little as the question, whether the essential-general is real or merely an abstraction made by human thinking. This shows the Mu'tazilite teaching of the smallest parts, the "atoms"⁴⁸. The Mu'tazilite Mu'ammār Ibn 'Abbād as-Sulamī (died 215/830) pre-supposed, in a kind of naive realistic thinking, the three-dimensionality of atoms, atomic substances, which get visible only in their accidents; the atom, which essentially owns its three-dimensionality, is similar to the atomic triangle of Plato, the prototype of substance. Here we see the geometrical-mathematical way of thinking providing a model for the description of the essence of things, not inductive experience. This kind of geometrical thinking reminds us of Euclid, who for his part is orientated at the Eleatic teaching of the indivisibility of being. The reality of points and lines is taken as granted and the reciprocal relation of concrete and general, induction and

46 Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 57ff.

47 Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 360 and 315.

48 Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 322ff.; on Mu'ammār's doctrine of atoms also van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, III (1992) 67ff. and id., 60 Years After: Shlomo Pines's Beiträge, S. 27f.

deduction is not discussed, as Aristotle did. The Platonic way of thinking is dominating; the concrete-individual is overshadowed by the general-essential much more than in Aristotle. Contrary to the indescribability of God as something essential general or individual, the smallest part, the atom, can be characterized as a geometrical form, which is realized and existing in the visible, concrete world only in the accidents. Accordingly knowledge of the smallest part, of the “indivisible substance” cannot be formulated as an abstract principle; on the contrary, every primordial substance, which forms the basis of the concrete, visible can after all only be described as something which can be perceived by eye and mind and which is in a geometrical manner characterized as something with three dimensions. The primordial substance is only imaginable as something with three dimensions; the imagination of a thing is orientated at the concrete, visible body with its three dimensions, length, breadth and depth. Here we find the same problem as in the Mu‘tazilite doctrine of God, namely the problem of definition of something existing, which cannot be perceived as something concrete; strictly speaking the unperceivable can only be described with categories of the perceivable. At the same time, the concrete-perceivable presumes an identical essential form (cp. Greek *eidos*, *idea*); the already mentioned Mu‘tazilite Mu‘ammar concluded, similar to Aristotle’s principle of the preservation of nature, that every form (*ma’nā*) is caused by a corresponding form, which for its part is caused by an identical other one, etc., without end.⁴⁹

In the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th century, we register as elements of the Islamic scientific world-view the terms substance and accident. We can add the term nature - *ṭabī‘a*, *ṭab’* or *ṭibā’*.⁵⁰ According to Mu‘ammar and Nazzām, nature was a leading principle in the accidental realization of substance: Accidents inhere in substances by the necessity of nature; for example fire causes burning with

49 Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 88.

50 Cf. Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 283ff. and on an-Nazzām (who also used the term *khilqa*) 402ff. and van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft* III (1992) 341f.; 378f.

the necessity of nature.⁵¹ According to some Mu'tazilites, however, God's almightiness is sometimes able to restrict this necessity of cause and effect.⁵² This opinion does not originate from a kind of "devaluation of causality" as is ascribed to Ghazzālī, who wrongly is said to be influenced here by Greek skepticism.⁵³ On the contrary, the "criticism of causality" is (as in Ghazzālī) motivated religiously: God's almightiness is able to combine even fire and wood without wood being burned by the fire.⁵⁴ Within this thesis of the non-necessity of each action, God's determining almightiness restricts the necessary sequence of cause and effect in nature. This proves in an exemplary manner that the Mu'tazilites tried - despite their rationalistic attitude - to keep fundamental tenets of Islamic belief; they keep to old Arabic and Koranic fatalism; however, they concede to human being's freedom of will in the following manner:⁵⁵ Man is free to decide, but as soon as he has decided and as soon as his decision resulted in an act, he is subject to the determination of all things. At any rate, determinism appears to be limited as in the above-mentioned thesis of the non-necessity of action.

Our description of the mentioned principles substance, accident and nature, indicates the distance to any kind of mechanistic philosophy of nature as, for example, developed by Galilei.⁵⁶ The described principles are terms gained by means of abstraction; their applicability is undoubted. Remarkable is the metaphysical superstructure: For the Mu'tazilites do not only offer an explanation of the primordial substance, the atom, by using geometry and by the use of deduction, not experimental induction. By following the Koranic doctrine of creation, their main aim is the at-

51 Cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 286.

52 Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 367f.

53 Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 284f.

54 Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 368. For more details cf. Daiber, *Rationalism in Islam and the Rise of Scientific Thought. The Background of al-Ghazzālī's Concept of Causality*, in: Daiber, *The Struggle for Knowledge in Islam*, Sarajevo 2004, pp. 67-86.

55 Cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 287; 367ff. and next chapter.

56 Cf. Crombie, *Von Augustinus bis Galilei*, 532.

tribution of all happenings to God, the leading and determining principle. This principle even has the power to suspend the causality of nature. It cannot be described; any description and act of defining will imply a restriction of God's almightiness. Human language fails in this case, in which Muslim theologians became aware of the discrepancy between wording and contents.

As we tried to show, this is the result of a long development, at the beginning of which we find the philological efforts of Koranic exegesis and Islamic jurisprudence. Theologians used a kind of logical-dialectical argumentation, which has already been exercised by early jurists in their method of analogy. This happened in the dispute with differing groups of the Islamic community but also in the confrontation with ideas of Non-Muslims, with gnostic-Manichaean systems and Christian-Hellenistic theology. Gnostic-Manichaean and Christian-Hellenistic doctrines became known to the Arabs during the extension of the Islamic empire under the Abbasids of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th century. In oral discussions with scholars of the surrendered peoples, they received foreign ideas and assimilated some of them.

Simultaneous with this development we see a growing activity of translating foreign scientific books.⁵⁷ Intensified by the transfer of the medical school and academic life at Alexandria to Baghdad⁵⁸ and for the sake of practical needs also non-philosophical texts have been translated. These activities were officially and sometimes privately⁵⁹ supported by the Abbasids;⁶⁰ under the Caliph al-Ma'mūn they became somehow organized in the library in Baghdad, called in later tradition "House of Wisdom"

57 For more details s. below ch. 3.

58 Cf. Meyerhof, *Von Alexandrien nach Bagdad*; GAS III, 7ff. and on the fictiveness of the report used by Meyerhof, namely al-Fārābī's Treatise *Fī Ṣūhūr al-falsafa* (quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a) s. below ch. 3.

59 Cf. Meyerhof, *Science and Medicine*, in: *The Legacy of Islam* (ed. Arnold/Guillaume), 315; Mieli, *Science arabe*, 71, 73f.

60 Not every scholar received financial aid from a caliph. On the livelihood of Islamic scholars Cf. Sellheim, *Gelehrte* 59ff.; Dodge, *Muslim Education*, 18f.

- *bayt al-ḥikma*.⁶¹ These translations reached the first climax under the Christians Yahyā Ibn al-Biṭrīq (died 226/840) and Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq (died 260/873) and his collaborators. Translations were made from Greek and Syriac, but also from Sanskrit and from Pahlavi.

The Arabs were interested in medical books of the Greeks, especially of Galen and Hippocrates,⁶² these medical books reached them at first in intermediary translations into Syriac made by the Persian school of Djundīshāpūr,⁶³ which was founded by Shapur I in the 3rd century A. D. Translations into Arabic also included Indian works on medicine,⁶⁴ books on geography⁶⁵ and stones,⁶⁶ on biology,⁶⁷ zoology⁶⁸ and agriculture,⁶⁹ on astrology⁷⁰ and astronomy;⁷¹ and in addition: mathematics,⁷² mechanics,⁷³ optics⁷⁴ and other, less important fields.⁷⁵ The interest of the Arabs in alchemy, which the 10th century philosopher al-Fārābī

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- 61 Cf. EI² I (Bayt al-ḥikma); Dodge, *Muslim Education* 16f.; Saʿīd Dīwahcī, *Bayt al-ḥikma*, 31ff.; al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Ḥayāt al-ʿilmiyya* 59f. and above all D. Gutas, *Greek Thought*.
- 62 Cf. GAS III, 23ff., 68ff.: Ullmann, *Medizin*, 25ff., 35ff.
- 63 Cf. O'Leary, *How Greek Science passed to the Arabs*, 67ff. GAS III, pp. 172ff.
- 64 GAS III, 187ff., Ullmann, *Medizin*, 103ff. (cf. 324ff.).
- 65 Cf. EI² II, 576-578.
- 66 Cf. Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 97ff. (on the translations from Greek), 102ff. (on the translations from Pahlavi).
- 67 GAS IV, 310ff.; Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften* 70ff.
- 68 GAS III, 349ff.; Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 8ff.
- 69 GAS IV, 318ff.; Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 428ff.
- 70 Cf. Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 271ff.
- 71 Cf. EI² I 36. – An impressive example is Ptolemy, *Almagest*, which has been translated during the reign of al-Ma'mūn, cf. Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest*; id., *Ibn aṣ-Ṣalāḥ*.
- 72 GAS V, 70ff., 191ff.
- 73 Cf. Rosenthal, *Fortleben*, 313ff./English version: *The Classical Heritage*, 231ff.
- 74 Cf. GAS V, 117; Rosenthal, *Fortleben*, 287f./English version: *The Classical Heritage*, 211f. and Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 320-322.
- 75 Cf. also the survey in *The Legacy of Islam*, ed. Schacht/Bosworth 425ff.; Gutas, *Greek Thought*, 193-196: "Greek Works translated into Arabic. A Bibliographical Guide by Subject".

found useful for the “training of the intellect and of philosophical cognition”,⁷⁶ is a heritage of Neoplatonic-syncretistic gnosis of Hellenism. This Hellenistic literature⁷⁷ is often lost, but can be reconstructed from Syriac-Arabic translations and redactions. Research in these texts shall perhaps give us insight into the history of translations before the time of the famous translators. It seems that the scientific terminology of Yaḥyā Ibn al-Biṭrīq and Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq is the result of a historical development, which is not yet sufficiently known. The systems of the Mu‘tazilites in the 2nd/8th century and 3rd/9th century give us an idea of the oral or written propagation of Greek thoughts already before the famous translators.⁷⁸ However we should concede, that results of Mu‘tazilite philosophizing - of which the terminology sometimes differs from Greek - cannot always be attributed to Greek or other influences. We should be aware of the possibility that ideas can develop independently - even if some splinters of Greek ideas are absorbed. Such convergent developments of course support possible later influence by Greek ideas: the assimilation of foreign thoughts requires the performance of congenial scientific thinking. The beginnings of this thinking are inside Islam: we find them in linguistic efforts of the philological interpretation of the Koran; they are followed by Arabic philological branches of science; further by the intellectual activities of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, tradition and jurisprudence.

This Islamic heritage may explain the fact that Islamic science cannot generally be characterized as experimental science;⁷⁹ exceptions are Rhazes,⁸⁰ al-Kindī, Ibn al-Haytham,⁸¹ Ibn Sīnā, ‘Alī Ibn

76 S. Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 250.

77 Cf. GAS IV, 1ff.; Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften*, 145ff.

78 Cf. Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 17.

79 Cf. Crombie, *Von Augustinus bis Galilei*, 245; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 2 and the references given there. – Comparable is the rationality of Greek science, which has preferred the deductive method to experiments: s. Festugiere, *Revelation*, 17f.

80 On autopsies of Rhazes cf. Bürgel, *Dogmatismus*, 43f.

81 Cf. Schramm, *Ibn Al-Haythams Weg zur Physik*.

Riḍwān or Naẓẓām.⁸² The Mu'tazilites developed a rational philosophy of nature; they used principles, which are integrated in a seemingly Neoplatonic doctrine of God and which are impressive as a first step towards an explanation of the world of phenomena by using unchangeable logical criteria. The Mu'tazilites developed a conception of the world, which combines theology and natural philosophy. An example is al-Djāḥiẓ, who took nature as a mirror of God's wisdom⁸³ and who found the knowledge of God indispensable for the study of nature.⁸⁴ Even the knowledge of God and of His revelation in the Koran is a key to the world of phenomena; God's almightiness can suspend the causality of cause and effect. This association of religious knowledge and scientific cognition weakened Islamic scientific thought and at the same time made it very strong. Islamic science is not only blind cult of authorities;⁸⁵ it deserves our full attention and as we tried to show: an appreciation of Islamic scientific and philosophical thought may not forget the Islamic background and its fundament, the Koran.

82 Cf. Paret, *an-Nazzām als Experimentator*; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, III S. 339ff.

83 S. above n. 27.

84 Cf. GAS III, 368.

85 Cf. Bürgel, *Dogmatism*, 30-46.

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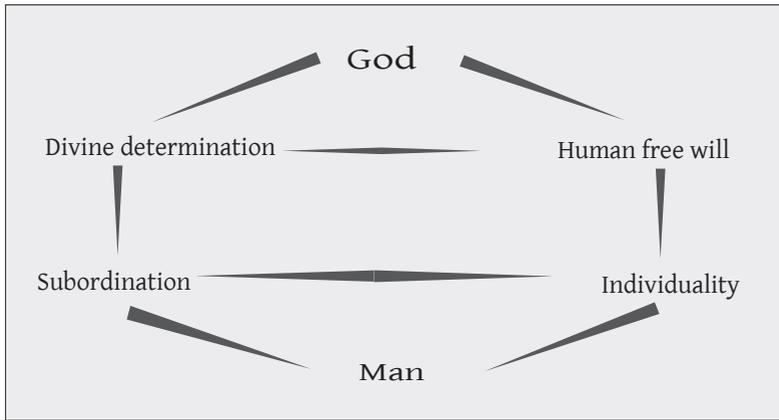
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2. Theocracy Versus Individuality :

The Dispute on Man's Free Will and Its Impact on a New Rational World-View in the 8th/9th Century*

In the history of Islam the role of man in society appears to be determined by a growing and constantly changing polarisation between divine determination and human free will.



The oscillation between subordination and individualism is mirrored in a colourful picture of Islamic intellectual history; the phenomena and their apparent causality might satisfy the curiosity of the modern reader and contribute to the development of his consciousness, above all to his not always unprejudiced knowledge of Islam as a culture with a rich and manifold heritage.

Any discussion on the Islamic world-view must start with Islamic religion and its impact on intellectual history of Islam, on its science and philosophy,⁸⁶ both are representative aspects of

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Islamic thinking and appear to be integrated in the religious ideology of a community, which is deeply aware of the interdependence between individual happiness and the welfare of the state. This is reflected in early Islamic discussions on God, man and society. Their description and evaluation must start with religion as an overall determining factor.

Islamic religion can be characterized as a religion of laws in a theocracy, which is penetrated by fatalistic tendencies.⁸⁷ Such a description does comprise only one aspect of Islamic religious thought.⁸⁸ In contrast to the fatalistic and deterministic aspect of Islamic religion early Islam fought its way through to the thesis of human free will. People referred to the Koran, which, however, is inconsistent in this theme.⁸⁹ Precisely this inconsistency may have stimulated the Muslim in the past⁹⁰ and in modern times,⁹¹ to reflect on the relation between predestination and freedom of will.

First beginnings of a contrast between determination and freedom of will can already be found in pre-Islamic time: There, we find side by side fatalistic resignation to fate and individual striving after virtue, called *murūwa*; this virtue means all those virtues, which serve for the glory of the individual and the tribe.⁹²

Oldarabic *murūwa* is drastically restricted by the prophet Muḥammad; he subordinated it to the new, Islamic belief.⁹³ The oldarabic ideal of *murūwa*, however, still remained alive in some

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86 Cf. above, ch. 1.

87 Cf. H. Ringgren: *Studies in Arabian Fatalism*; id.: Islamic Fatalism.

88 This is pointed at by T. Andrae, *Die letzten Dinge*, 119ff.

89 Cf. I. Goldziher: *Vorlesungen*, 83ff./English version: *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, 68ff.; R. Paret, *Der Koran und die Prädestination*; W. M. Watt: *Formative Period*, 90ff.

90 Cf. W. M. Watt: *Free Will*; H. A. Wolfson: *The Philosophy of the Kalam*, 613ff.

91 Cf. U. Schoen: *Determination und Freiheit*.

92 Cf. I. Goldziher: *Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 13ff.

93 Cf. Goldziher: *Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 13ff. and 19 ff.

reduced, modified and islamised shape, in the ideal of the so-called *faḍl*, the excellency of man; this is granted to man by God and enables him to attain *faḍīla* “virtue” by his own strain.⁹⁴ According to early Islamic thought *faḍīla* is, however, the privilege of only a few people. After the death of the prophet Muḥammad it justifies the claim of Muḥammad’s successors to guidance. This claim is religiously motivated by the establishment of a Koranic base, a relation to the prophet and his time.⁹⁵

Striving and will of man appears to be restricted by the religious authority of Koran and Sunna. The consciousness of tradition based on Koran and Sunna enlarges the opposition between individuality and deterministic traditionalism. This is mirrored in discussions on authority and human responsibility. They culminate in the political dispute on the legitimate succession of the prophet after the murder of the third caliph ‘Uthmān in the year 656 A.D. In the following civil war the so-called Shi‘a was split of from the Islamic community. The Shi‘a is the party of ‘Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib; according to this party the guidance of the community can only be adjudged to the members of Muḥammad’s family.

From this Shi‘a was soon split of the party of the Khāridjites, i.e. of the dissidents, who left the decision on the legitimate succession of the prophet not to human judges but to God.⁹⁶

Furthermore, the Khāridjites concluded that not the affiliation to the family of the prophet can justify a claim to leadership,⁹⁷ but personal excellency and the blameless life of the Muslim successor, irrespective of his nationality. He is *primus inter pares*, the first among equals;⁹⁸ he acts on behalf of a community, which has

94 Cf. E. A. Gruber: *Verdienst und Rang*, 15ff.; cf. review Daiber in: *OLZ* 75, 1980, col. 562-564.

95 Cf. Gruber (as prec. n.) 1.c.

96 *lā ḥukma illā li-llāh!* in Sura 6,57; cf. Watt, *Formative Period*, 14f. and on the history of political groups in early Islam J. Wellhausen: *The Religious-political Factions*.

97 In principle this can be compared with the pre-Islamic ideal of the inherited nobility, the *ḥasab* (on this cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 41f.; EI² III, 238f.).

98 Cf. Watt, *Free Will*, 37.

a charismatic character.⁹⁹ The individuality of man, his personal strain and initiative¹⁰⁰ is completely at the service of the community's *sharī'a*. Personal religious zeal replaces the principle of hereditary authority; at the same time the abuse of power should be avoided.

Individuality has received here a new rank and appears as an Islamic pendant of the already mentioned oldarabic *murūwa*.¹⁰¹ This happens at a period in which the dogmatic principles of the new Islamic religion were not yet fully developed. The Koran as fundament of the new belief more and more appeared to be insufficient as guiding-line for the shaping of the new society in a constantly changing world. The jurist of that time could rely in his juridical decisions less upon the Koran, but upon his own individual judgment (*ra'y*).¹⁰² The efforts to supplement the Koran and to develop new principles are mirrored in the oral and later written transmitted traditions (*ḥadīth*);¹⁰³ these traditions guarantee the necessary religious authority through a chain (*isnād*)¹⁰⁴ of transmitters going back to the time of the prophet.

Legal decision based on individual judgment is developed simultaneous with the already mentioned criticism of any religious motivation of political claims to leadership. In both cases human initiative is strongly emphasized, either in the shape of individual judgment or in the preference of the excellent, whose personal merit alone justifies the claim to leadership. We detect here the very beginning of the discussion on the problem of man's position

99 Cf. Watt, *Free Will*, 35f.

100 The Kharidjite fraction of the Nadjites speak of *idjtihād* in the application of Koranic prescriptions: cf. Watt, *Free Will*, 25.

101 The parallel with pre-Islamic *murūwa* is mentioned by Watt, *Free Will*, 36.

102 Cf. J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, 25f.; 37; id., *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, 98ff.

103 Cf. J. Robson, art. Ḥadīth, in *EP* III, 23-28; G. Schoeler, Die Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung; id., Weiteres zur Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung; id., Mündliche Thora und Ḥadīth.

104 Cf. J. Robson, art. Isnād, in *EP* IV, 207.

between autonomy and religious-political dependence, which started very early in Islam. This problem can be found in the first theological discussions in Basra; they are led by so-called Qadarites, people who defend the freedom of man's will.¹⁰⁵

The oldest so far known document, which mirrors such discussions, is the letter sent between 694 and 699 A.D. by the Iraqi preacher al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to 'Abdalmalik Ibn Marwān, the fifth Umayyad caliph.¹⁰⁶ Although the authenticity of this letter, as it is preserved, is doubted by some scholars, it does not contradict al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's qadarite position as affirmed by other testimonies.¹⁰⁷ This letter clearly expresses that man freely can choose between good and bad. God does not influence this; God determines human actions only by his orders and prohibitions and by causing reward and punishment.

Shortly afterwards, perhaps two decades after the letter by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and also in the Irak, the sect of the Khāridjite

105 Cf. Watt, *Formative Period*, 94ff.; van Ess, *Theologie* IV (1997) 489ff. ("Aspekte des Problems der Willensfreiheit"). The first who is said to have discussed in Basra *qadar* is the theologian Ma'bad al-Djuhanī, a friend of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, 53; Watt (as n. 105) p. 85; Bakr al-Khallāl, (died 923 A.D.): *Kitāb al-Djāmi' li-'ulūm* (or: *al-Musnad min masā'il*) *Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*, ms. British (London) 2765, fol. 86v9. – On the myth of Ma'bad as first Qadarite s. van Ess, Ma'bad al-Ḥuhanī, 59ff.

According to the above mentioned Bakr al-Khallāl fol. 86v12 Ma'bad followed here the doctrine of the Christians (cf. already Awzā'ī, who died 157/774: s. van Ess, *Theologie*, I [1991] 72); on the problem of Christian influence (which might at least have celebrated the development of similar and genuine Islamic beliefs) on the Qadariyya cf. Watt, *Formative Period*, 95 and 99; Josef van Ess, art. Kadariyya, in: *EI*² IV 371f.; id., *Theologie*, I (1991) 126; H. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 389f.; Wolfson, *Philosophy*, 60ff.; G. F. Hourani, *Islamic and Non-Islamic Origins*, 72ff.

106 The letter is edited by H. Ritter, *Studien*, 67ff. – Cf. on it M. Schwarz, The Letter of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; Watt, *Formative Period*, 77ff.; 99ff.; van Ess, art. Kadariyya, *EI*² IV, 369.

Perhaps some years older than al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's letter is the antiqadarite work by Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya, which is published by J. van Ess: *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie*.

107 Cf. van Ess, *Theologie*, II (1992) 46-50.

Shabīb an-Nadjrānī declares that man is authorized (*mufawwad*) to his actions without assent (*tawfiq*) and guidance (*hudā*) by God.¹⁰⁸ Contrary to the doctrine of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, as it appears in his *Risāla* to ‘Abdamalik Ibn Marwān,¹⁰⁹ God does not know in advance and does not thus determine the decisions and actions of man.¹¹⁰

Apparently addressed to these Khāridjites are the attacks of the caliph ‘Umar II (reigned 717-720 A.D.) against qadarite innovations;¹¹¹ according to ‘Umar II God knows in advance man’s actions, but he does not influence them.

Here, man appears to be autonomous in his decisions and in his actions. This line is further developed, perhaps under the impression of similar Christian ideas,¹¹² by the Egyptian Christian Ghailān ad-Dimashqī who was executed between 733 and 735 A.D. According to him God’s will does not influence man’s action.¹¹³ The best what God has created is the reason (*‘aql*) of man.¹¹⁴

108 Cf. the report by al-Malaṭī (died 987 A.D.): *Kitāb at-Tanbīh*, ed. al-Kawtharī 174,7ff. – According to al-Ash‘arī (died about 935 A.D.), *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* ed. Ritter 116,3 the sect of al-Nadjrānī defended as the Mu‘tazilites the doctrine of the free will.

109 Cf. his *Risāla* sent to ‘Abdalmalik ed. Ritter, *Studien* 77,4ff. and Schwarz, *The Letter of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī*, 29f.

110 Cf. al-Malaṭī, *Kitāb at-Tanbīh*, ed. al-Kawtharī, 175,10f.

111 S. van Ess, *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie*, 113ff. (on the problem of the authenticity cf. van Ess, *Theologie* I [1991] 134f.). Cf. Abū Nu‘aim al-Isbahānī (died 1038 A.D.), *Ḥilyat al-auliya’* 347,3ff.; van Ess, art. Kadariyya, *EI*² IV, col. 369b.

112 Cf. van Ess, art. Kadariyya, *EI*² IV, col. 371b and the reference given there.

113 Cf. the report by al-Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter 513,5ff.; Watt, *Free Will*, 41.

114 Cf. Ibn ‘Asākir (died 1176 A.D.): *Ta’rikh madīnat Dimashq (Tahdhīb* by ‘Abdalqādir Efendī Badrān), III 180, ult.ss.; id., *Mukhtaṣar Ta’rikh Dimashq* by Muḥammad Ibn Mukarram al-Ma’rūf bi-Ibn Manzūr, ed. as-Sāghirdjī/Murād, Damascus 1984, 94, 16ff. (slightly different); adh-Dhahabī (died 1348 or 1352-3 A.D.): *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* I, 147,3ff. (mentioned by van Ess [as n. 112] col. 370a/b.).

Ghailān's theology determined his political attitude: He refuses the pretension of the Qurayshite tribe to the caliphate. Everyone who is distinguished by personal excellence, who leads a life in accordance with Koran and Sunna, can be chosen as caliph. This caliph can be removed at any time.¹¹⁵

Here, religion provides man with a guidingline for correct acting. As the doctrine of the caliphate shows, freedom of man's acting is limited by the norms prescribed by Koran and Sunna. Therefore, it is not astonishing that in Basra the group around 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd (died about 761 A.D.), who is reckoned among the founders of the rationalistic school of the Mu'tazilites¹¹⁶ who is and is a pupil of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, emphasized the concept of divine justice;¹¹⁷ God's justice is not changed, even if man has the freedom to do the bad: God's reward and punishment are inevitable.

If we consider this, we realize that man in fact does not have much freedom; he is subject to the principle of reward and punishment by God - a doctrine, which was taken over later by the Mu'tazilites in the well-known principles of "promise and threats" (*al-wa'd wa-l-wa'id*) of reward and punishment as well as in the "command of the good and prohibition of the bad" (*al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa-n-nahy 'an-il-munkar*).¹¹⁸

The opponents of the Qadarites and of their Mu'tazilite followers, however, radically concluded that everything is determined by God and that there is no place for freedom of human will.¹¹⁹ The opposition between both positions conjured up a theological dispute, which lasted till the 10th century and which found its first settlement in al-Ash'arī (died 935 A.D.). We find the first

115 Cf. van Ess, art. Kadariyya, *EI² IV* col. 370a; id., *Theologie I* (1991) 130-132. Watt, *Formative Period*, 87.

116 Cf. Watt, *Formative Period*, 210f.; Daiber, *Wāṣil Ibn 'Aṭā'*, 18-20. - On 'Amr Ibn 'Ubayd cf. now van Ess, *Theologie II* (1992) 280ff.

117 Cf. van Ess, art. Kadariyya, *EI² IV*, col. 370b-371a; id., *Theologie II* (1992) 308f.

118 Cf. Watt (as n. 96) pp. 212 and 229.

119 Cf. van Ess (as n. 117) col. 371a-b; id., *Zwischen Ḥadī und Theologie*.

philosophical systematizations in the Irak, among those who strongly defend Qadarite tendencies and who can rely on a long prehistory.¹²⁰ Before the leading Mu'tazilites we find them in the proto-Shiite Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam who died about 795/6,¹²¹ during the caliphate of Hārūn ar-Rashīd (reigned 786-809). Through his discussions with Ḍirār Ibn 'Amr¹²² and with the first Mu'tazilites he apparently influenced the rising Mu'tazilite theology in a decisive manner.

Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam¹²³ is a pupil of the determinist Djahm Ibn Ṣafwān (executed in 746 A.D.).¹²⁴ Later he dissociated himself from the Djahmites¹²⁵ and looked for a middle course between Djahmite determinism and qadarite freedom of human will. This happened in a new terminology which shaped later developments: Hishām distinguished in human acting that which is subject to human free will (*ikhtiyār, irāda*) from that which happen by necessity (*iḍṭirār*).¹²⁶

120 This might have happened, at least partially, under the impression of Greek ideas which at the beginning supposedly were orally transmitted to the Arabs. Some ideas might in their starting point be developed independent from foreign influence and might facilitated eventually later shaping by similar Greek thought; on convergent developments and their opposite, the descent, s. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 12ff.; cp. above ch. 1. – A similar cautious judgment can be found in Hourani, *Islamic and Non-Islamic Origins*, pp. 83ff., in the question of foreign influences on the development of Mu'tazilite ethics.

121 See the note by al-Faḍl Ibn Shādhān (died in 874 A.D.) who is quoted by Abū Dja'far Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭūsī (=Shaykh aṭ-Ṭā'ifa), *Kitāb Ikhtiyār ma'rifat ar-ridjāl* (= *Ridjāl al-Kashshī*), Mashhad 1969, p. 256,2.

Ibn an-Nadīm mentions in his *Fihrist* (written around 987 A.D.) ed. Riḍā-Tadjaddud 24,18 a later date (shortly after the overthrow of the Bar-macides in the year 803 A.D.) which is taken over by Watt, *Formative Period*, 187; cf., however, W. Madelung, art. Hishām B. al-Ḥakam, in: *EI*² III, 496f. and van Ess, *Theologie I* (1991) 353.

122 On him see below.

123 On Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam cf. now van Ess, *Theologie I* (1991) 349-379.

124 Cf. on Djahm Watt, art. Djahm, in: *EI*² III, 388a and van Ess, *Theologie II* (1992) 493ff.

125 See Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Riḍā-Tadjaddud, 224,16.

126 According to the report by al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter 279,7f. both

Therefore, human acting is qualified by the following factors:¹²⁷

- 1) The will: man can decide for the one or the other action; it is up to to him, to want something and to fulfil his wish i.e. to “acquire” it, as Hishām formulated with Koranic terminology.
- 2) The action by man which happens by necessity. Here, Hishām discussed a new idea: he introduced as third factor the so-called “cause” (*sabab*), which is created by God. Actions by man can only be realized and happen “by necessity”, if this cause exists, which “rises” (*muhayyidj, ya’ti*) the actions.¹²⁸

Herewith, Hishām exceeds the deterministic tendency of his contemporary Ḍirār Ibn ‘Amr (lived around 728-815 A.D.). Ḍirār gave the Koranic-inspired terminology *khalq-iktisāb* a central place in his doctrine: man “acts” (*fā’il*) and “acquires” (*muktasib*) his acts which are “created” by God.¹²⁹ Here, “acquisition” appears as an independent acting of man; it is “acting in reality” as it is the case with God’s creative act. Insofar man remains responsible for his actions and is not condemned to passivity, as it is the case with Djahm’s doctrine.¹³⁰

terms were already used by Hishām’s teacher Djahm Ibn Ṣafwān who considered *irāda, ikhtiyār* and *qūwa* (ability) of man as something created by God. This interpretation reappears later among Ash’arites and in the Ḥanafite-Maturidite school: s. Daiber, *Mu’ammār*, 379f.

127 Cf. al-Ash’arī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter 40,12ff.; an-Nāshī’ (died in 906 A.D.), *al-Kitāb al-Awsaṭ*, ed. J. van Ess, *Frühe mu’tazilitische Häresiographie*, 92,18ff.; Daiber, *Mu’ammār* 385; M. Schwarz, “Acquisition” (*kasb*) in Early Kalām, 370f.; Wolfson, *Philosophy*, 672f.

128 Cf. van Ess, *Theologie*, I (1991) 369f.

129 Cf. J. van Ess, Ḍirār b. ‘Amr, in: *Der Islam* 43, 1967, 270ff.; id., *Theologie*, III (1992) 45ff.; Daiber, *Mu’ammār*, 374-376.

130 Herewith, man is not determined to good and bad; consequently, paradise and hell are not eternally pre-existent and are created by God only at the Doomsday. On this doctrine of Ḍirār s. J. van Ess, *Das begrenzte Paradies*, 124ff.

God
 creates a cause
 the created cause
 causes
 man's action
 man's volition "acquires" his action
 man has a will
 man

In contrast to this doctrine Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam only accepted the Koranic term *iktasaba* "acquire" and ascribed to God's deterministic almightiness an influence on man's acting only indirectly, through "causes" which are created by God. Here, man's acting is not equivalent with his will: human will, freedom of decision, is not subject to God's determination. For actions of man are only "created" by God insofar God "rises" intermediate causes.¹³¹

This qadarite heritage was not fully elaborated by Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam, apparently because of his Djahmite past. Also a later sympathizer of some of his doctrines, the Mu'tazilite an-Nazzām (died before 847 A.D.¹³²) did not draw new conclusions from this new accentuation: an-Nazzām replaced Hishām's intermediate "causes" by the term "nature" (*ṭabī'a*, *ṭab'*, *khilqa*) which he took over from Mu'ammār Ibn 'Abbād as-Sulamī (died in 830 A.D.); instead of Hishām's *idṭirār* "necessity" Nazzām used the term "coercion" (*idjāb*) of nature, which God has imposed on things in a creative act.¹³³ Here too God acts only in an indirect manner, namely

131 See the references mentioned in n. 127.

132 Van Ess, *Theologie*, III (1992) 302.

133 Cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 403f. and on Mu'ammār below.

through nature created by him. For example, God “provided the stone with such a nature, that it rolls, if someone pushes it”.¹³⁴

Let us return to Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam: he offers more differentiations which show the importance of his contribution to the Muʿtazilite speculations on human free will. He is aware of the fact that human will and intentions of man are not enough for the realization of an action; “will” and “acquisition” are not sufficient. Man must also be able to want something and to “acquire” it. This being able, the ability (*istiṭāʿa*) of man includes according to Hishām five aspects:¹³⁵

- 1) The health of the parts of the body;
- 2) the nonexistence of “circumstances” (*shuʿūn*) which might affect the acting of man;
- 3) time for acting;
- 4) instruments (*āla*) which are necessary for acting;
- 5) the already mentioned “cause” which necessitates an action. This “cause” exists, as Hishām explicitly explains, **simultaneous** with the action,¹³⁶ whereas the remaining factors must exist **before** the action.¹³⁷ They result in an action, if during the realization of an action the God-created “cause” exists and guarantees the process of the action.

Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam and Ḍirār belong to the oldest representatives of the doctrine of the pre-existence and simultaneity of ability (*istiṭāʿa*) and action (*fiʿl*). It is taken over by the Muʿtazilites. - We do not find here a distinction between mere potentiality and realizable possibility, as it is discussed among the Megarians:¹³⁸ ability means the possibility of man to actual realization.¹³⁹ The

134 Al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter, 404,7f.; cf. Daiber, *Muʿammar* 404, n. 5; van Ess, *Theologie*, III (1992) 360, 379.

135 See al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt* ed. Ritter, 42,12ff. = English translation by Watt, *Free Will*, 116; cf. van Ess, *Theologie*, I (1991) 370f.

136 See al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter, 43,1.

137 See al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter, 42,17.

138 Cf. E. Zeller, *Philosophie*, II/1 (6th ed. Darmstadt 1963), 269f.; Daiber, *Muʿammar* 92.

139 Cf. Daiber, *Muʿammar*, 98.

object of man's will, what he decided for with his will, can also be done. Ḍirār presupposed the classification of man's action as something "created" by God, which can be "acquired" by man. The equation of man's volition with what is created by God can only presuppose a realizable possibility.

This classification of ability as realizable possibility is also implied in the solutions by Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam and after him by his sympathizer an-Nazzām: both, however, concede to God only an indirect influence on man's volition, on his actions. For according to Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam God determines man only through "causes" which are created by God; an-Nazzām replaces them by "nature" which is created by God. In both cases man takes the initiative: his actions are subject to his volition, even if their realization follows the "cause" or the "nature", created by God.

These accentuations should be explained from the background of the developing doctrine of God: God's power cannot be estimated from the visible world. Accordingly, God's knowledge is classified by Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam as endless ability:¹⁴⁰ God knows, as is explained by Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam, "in eternity", what "will happen";¹⁴¹ God "knows the things after he did not know them".¹⁴²

Hishām keeps here to Djahm's denial of God's preexistent knowledge of the things, but contrary to Djahm he does not consider God's ability to know as a realizable possibility which is orientated at the known object. On the contrary, God's knowing is endless ability to know and cannot be measured from the known object.¹⁴³

Here, Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam used the principle of the so-called negative theology and dissociated himself from his predecessor Djahm or from his younger contemporary Abū l-Hudhayl (died

140 Cf. J. van Ess, *Erkenntnislehre*, 193; Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 195 (n. 7).

141 Ash-Shahrastānī, (died in 1153 A.D.), *Nihāyat al-iqdām* (with translation) Guillaume 217,2ff. – According to ash-Shahrastānī: *Kitāb al-Milāl wa-n-nihāl*, ed. Cureton 36,16-18 this was similarly taught by Abū l-Hudhail.

142 Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter 37.9f.

143 Cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 197.

around 841A.D.),¹⁴⁴ who both equated God's knowledge with God himself.¹⁴⁵ According to Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam God's knowledge is an "attribute (*ifa*), which is neither (God) nor something different from Him nor a part from Him, so that it would be possible to say: knowledge is brought forth (*muḥdath*) or eternal. For it is an attribute (of God); and (God's) attribute cannot be described".¹⁴⁶

God's knowledge cannot be described and can only be interpreted as infinite power. Would it be preexistent knowledge of what man is doing, i.e. would it be a realizable possibility which is orientated at the known object, this knowledge would be limited. In short, God's infinite power¹⁴⁷ cannot be defined and cannot be deduced from what is done by God's power, from the object of God's power. God's power cannot be explained, the only manner of talking about it is negation: God is what he is not.

Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam did not draw further conclusions from this principle of negation. This was done by the Mu'tazilites who in their doctrine of God's "unity" (*tawḥīd*) developed starting points of Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam and consequently made God a transcendent being.¹⁴⁸ Hishām kept to the anthropomorphisms of the Koran (cf. e.g. Sura 20,5);¹⁴⁹ he did not use allegorical exegesis as did later the Mu'tazilites,¹⁵⁰ who thus tried to harmonize the anthropomorphic description of God in the Koran with the structurally also Neoplatonic concept of the transcendent God. Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam was not consequent in his doctrine of God's infinite power; God did not break off every relation to this world: he is still, as we have seen, involved in man's acting by arising the

144 Cf. on him van Ess, *Theologie*, III (1992) 209ff.

145 Cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 198ff.; 201; van Ess, *Theologie*, III (1992) 273f.

146 Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter 37,10-12; cf. 494,1-3.

147 Cf. also al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter 38,1-4 and 494,5ff.

148 Cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 117ff. and on the "negative" theology pp. 129ff. – The Mu'tazilite doctrine of *tawḥīd* implies an demarcation from Iranian dualism: cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 126f. and George F. Hourani, *Islamic and Non-Islamic Origins*, 67.

149 Cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 138; van Ess, *Theologie*, III (1992) 358ff.

150 Cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 140f. and on the Mu'tazilite exegesis of the Koran I. Goldziher, *Richtungen*, 99ff.

intermediate “causes”, which cause man’s action following on his will. Yet the tendency becomes evident that God has no more a direct influence on man’s acting, as it is a characteristic feature of the determinists; God acts only in an indirect manner, through intermediate causes, in his creation.

Ultimate consequences from this new accentuation are drawn by an opponent of Hishām’s sympathizer an-Nazzām, by the Mu’tazilī Mu’ammar Ibn ‘Abbād as-Sulamī, who died in 830 A.D.¹⁵¹ He developed a system, which became a guiding principle for the Mu’tazilite theology. In it God completely became a transcendent being. Between him and the visible world is an unbridgeable gap. God has not created this world as it is visible to us. What is visible from this world is classified as something accidental which has no relation to God’s infinite power.

Nevertheless, God’s infiniteness has indirectly some relation to the finiteness of the visible world: God did not create the accidents - as Mu’ammar declares by using Aristotelian terms,¹⁵² but the substances, the substratum in which inhere the accidents. The visible effects are accidents of the substances, which are created by God. They necessarily arise from the nature of the substances.¹⁵³ This nature determines the necessary succession, the causality of cause and effect. According to Mu’ammar the cause of all accidental effects is an endless chain of so-called *ma’ānī* which determine each other. These *ma’ānī*, which in a platonic manner also could be described as *ideai*, have one first cause, the infinite determining power of God. These essentially determining “ideas”, which ultimately are determined by God, appear to be the only connection between the transcendent God and the finite world. For a better understanding we could compare these *ma’ānī* with the Stoic *logoi spermatikoi*¹⁵⁴ or the Philonic *dynameis*,

151 On him cf. Daiber, *Mu’ammar*; id., art. Mu’ammar Ibn ‘Abbād al-Sulamī, in *EI*² VII, 1991, 259-260.; van Ess, *Theologie*, III (1992) 63ff.

152 Cf. Daiber, *Mu’ammar*, 57ff.

153 Cf. Daiber, *Mu’ammar*, 283ff.

154 See Daiber, *Mu’ammar*, 230.

ideai or *logoi*, the formative powers by which God indirectly acts upon the creation.¹⁵⁵

There is, however, an importance difference between the *ma'ānī* and the Philonic *ideai*: according to Mu'ammār every determining “idea” is caused by another determining “idea”, and this for its part by a further “idea” etc. ad infinitum. We are reminded of the so-called *tritos-anthrōpos*-argument, with which Aristotle and already Plato in his treatise on Parmenides doubted the transcendence of the ideas.¹⁵⁶ Mu'ammār, however, did not doubt the transcendence of God, when he declared God to be the real and first cause of the determining “ideas”; on the contrary, he explicitly maintained it and emphasized it by placing between God and the visible accidents endless much essentially determining causes; the infiniteness of the chain of continuously determining causes saves the infiniteness of God's determining power; thus, it cannot be limited by the causal relation of cause and effect. The determination of cause and effect, the nature of substances, is not related in any way to the infinite power of God.¹⁵⁷ God is only indirectly cause of the determining cause “enlivening” or “killing”, not, however, of the accidents “life” and “death”.¹⁵⁸

Herewith Mu'ammār differs from Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam, who talks about a “cause” (*sabab*) of every effect, created by God; he is different from Hishām's sympathizer an-Naẓẓām, who replaced the “cause” by “nature”, which God has imposed on everything and who considers the creation as a result of God's “intention” (*ghara*), to do the “useful”.¹⁵⁹ Determination by God is replaced by determination through nature. God became a transcendent being which only indirectly through an endless chain of determin-

155 Cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 228.

156 Cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 78ff. and 88.

157 Mu'ammār's doctrine of nature appears to be consist with his system and therefore should not be deduced from a Platonic model as proposed by Wolfson, *Philosophy*, 574-4, who refers to Plato, *Timaeus*, 30B; 41E and 48A.

158 Cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 224ff.

159 Cf. al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter 252,16-253,2; similar Abū l-Hudhail (-al-Ash'arī, p. 253,13ff.); cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 232ff.

ing *ma'ānī* (platonically formulated: “ideas”) becomes a determining cause of the accidental phenomena in this world. Even human acting is subject to the determinism of nature, however with one restriction, in which Mu‘ammar apparently followed a suggestion of Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam: different from lifeless substances man has a will, which is not subject to the causal coercion of nature. In free choice man can decide with this will, his proper and only ability to act, for the one or the other action. The action of man following upon his decision, however, is subject to the coercion of cause and effect, just as the accidental effects inhere in substances “according to their nature”.

God’s almightiness

endless chain of determining causes (*ma'ānī*)

accidents

nature

will

substance man

Mu‘ammar’s doctrine did not find many sympathizers; we can mention Thumāma and al-Djāḥiẓ.¹⁶⁰ His pupil Bishr Ibn al-Mu‘tamir protested against the above mentioned doctrine; according to him the causal effect following upon the throwing of an arrow - for example the wound of the hit - should be considered as something “produced” by man, because “it happens by causes (*asbāb*), which arise through us”.¹⁶¹ Herewith he follows Abū l-Hudhayl, a younger contemporary of Mu‘ammar. Accord-

160 Cf. on them Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 370ff.

161 al-Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter 401,10f.; cf. Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 399f.

ing to Abū l-Hudhayl the shooter is fully responsible for the effect of his arrow.¹⁶²

Later Islamic theology too did not take over Mu‘ammar’s doctrine: similar to the theory of equivalency in modern jurisprudence the Maturidite theologian al-Pazdawī (died in 1099 A.D.) considered all intermediate causes between someone’s action and the consequences of this action as equal to each other.¹⁶³ This judgment arose from the Ḥanafite-Maturidite tendency to equalize between God’s determination and human freedom of will: Man’s acting is nothing else than the application of an ability which God created in man.¹⁶⁴

In a similar manner the theologian al-Ash‘arī (died about 935/6 A.D.) classified man’s acting according to Koranic terminology as “acquisition” which is created by God; man does his action through his ability which is created by God (*bi-qudra muḥdatha*).¹⁶⁵ Herewith the former Mu‘tazilite al-Ash‘arī was looking for a compromise in a problem which was already discussed in Mu‘tazilite theology. He did not follow the doctrine of his teacher Abū ‘Alī al-Djubbā’ī, who classified man and God as “creating” actions;¹⁶⁶ on the contrary, he preferred the teaching of al-Djubbā’ī’s teacher, namely of Abū Ya‘qūb ash-Shahḥām (9th c. A.D.). This Mu‘tazilite from Basra taught that man is able to “acquire” his actions, which are created by God. He kept to a deterministic tendency, which we already found in Ḍirār and Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam.

Here, we find a dualism between divine and human acting; it cannot solve sufficiently the contradiction between God’s almightiness and human autonomy. Ash-Shahḥām, al-Ash‘arī and in his footsteps the orthodox theology of Islam¹⁶⁷ tend to follow

162 Cf. al-Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter 403,5-9/German translation van Ess, *Theologie*, V (1993) 435; cf. Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 401f.; van Ess, *Theologie*, III (1992) 249f.

163 Cf. Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 407.

164 See note 41.

165 Cf. al-Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter 542,8f.; Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 377-9; on the Djahmite forerunner s. n. 126.

166 Cf. Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 380f.

167 Cf. L. Gardet, *Dieu*, 51ff.

the deterministic doctrine. Mu'tazilite theories of human free will could not assert themselves.

The Mu'tazilite Mu'ammār Ibn 'Abbād as-Sulamī risked with his doctrine of human free will the total isolation of God, nature and human will. His theology saved God's transcendence, however, at the cost of any personal religiousness: God became out of reach and a neutral being; man is alone with his will and his acting is conditioned by nature: there is no more any cooperation between human and divine acting.¹⁶⁸ God's guidance and care is replaced by the guiding causal principle "nature".

This proposal by Mu'ammār is also an answer to the problem of theodicy: God is not responsible for the evil, which is caused by the will of man. This idea can already be found in antiquity.¹⁶⁹ At the same time evil is a result of the laws of nature. This explanation Mu'ammār shares with Stoic philosophy; there, however, evil has an educative function and aims at punishment and deterrence. In his struggle for ethical perfection and growing knowledge man should aim at the conquest of the evil. This evil is not caused by divine providence, but by the necessity of nature and its laws to which even human will is subject.

These Stoic ideas cannot be found in Mu'ammār;¹⁷⁰ his doctrine of God's transcendence is totally different from Stoic monism. Moreover, according to the Stoics even volition and not only man's acting is determined by nature. This nature appears to man to be a natural impulse (*hormé*), a free will, which he follows with his "assent" (*sygkatáthesis*). Natural impulse and "assent" remain, however, two qualities which are fatefully imposed upon man by God respectively by the Stoic *logos*. This *logos* determines man from inside to "assent" to nature; therefore his will is determined by the natural disposition of his character. Through this

168 Cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 386f.

169 Cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 257f. – Not convincing is the assumption that the doctrine of human free will is "based" "on the theodicy" (thus E. Mainz, *Mu'tazilitische Ethik*, 194 and Majid Fakhry, *History*, 50).

170 Cf. Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 275f.; on the Stoic theodicy cf. also W. Capelle, *Zur antiken Theodizee*, 176ff.

natural disposition man participates in the causal chain of nature. This participation appears to his consciousness to be freedom of will.¹⁷¹ Both aspects can be found in the Stoic concept of *sygkatáthesis*, which has no parallel in Mu'tazilite thought.¹⁷²

By contrast, we can find among Mu'tazilites two tendencies:

1. A stronger attachment of nature and man to God;
2. the establishment of God, nature and man as independent, "objective" factors.

Both tendencies share the classification of human will as something autonomous. It is neither subject to a superior norm nor the product of its historicity, its existence. It means endless many possibilities of volition inside the domain of nature. Human autonomy within freedom of will does not, however, mean the same autonomy in acting. Here, man as living being is placed in the context of causality of nature. The proto-Shiite Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam and later the Mu'tazilite an-Nazzām considered nature in a more deterministic manner as something determined by God. This continued the pre-Mu'tazilite line of the determinists. In contrast to this the innovation by Mu'ammār considered God, nature and human will as independent principles; this is a consequence of the development of God to a transcendent and infinite being in a stricter way than in Hishām Ibn al-Ḥakam and al-Nazzām.

The infinity of God's power appears to be a counterpart of the infinity of possibilities of man's will. Different from the assumption of God's almightiness, which in the opinion of some

171 Cf. (on the Stoic Chrysippus) Samuel Sambursky: Die Willensfreiheit im Wandel des physikalischen Weltbildes. In: *Naturkunde und Weltbild*. Zürich and Munich 1977, pp. 83-118, esp. pp. 87ff.; J. M. Rist, *Stoic Philosophy*, 35f.; 41ff.; 122ff.; 180ff.; Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 287f.

172 The Stoic concept of *sygkatáthesis* became known to the Arabs not before the 11th and 12th century, apparently through Aristotle's commentator Alexander of Aphrodisias, who wrote a refutation of Stoic doctrines and integrated in his psychology some Stoic terms. On *sygkatáthesis* = *idjmā'* and on its use in the psychology of Avicenna and Averroes – H. Gätje, *Zur Psychologie der Willenshandlungen*.

Muʿtazilites even can suspend the causality of nature,¹⁷³ the possibilities of human will are in their realization subject to the causal coercion of nature. Determination by God is replaced by determination by nature. Man is free exclusively in his possibility to choose with his will, to decide for the one thing or the other. Does this freedom of human will mean absolute arbitrariness of the individual or is man guided here by superindividual principles?

Here, Muʿtazilite circles have proposed an interesting solution. Freedom of human will does not mean Descartes's thesis of unlimited possibilities of choice.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, human will does not follow a universal causal law by being determined by preceding motives, as was maintained by Joseph Priestley in the 18th century.¹⁷⁵ And finally, it is not determined by God, as was taught by Spinoza.¹⁷⁶ According to the Muʿtazilites the freedom of human will is primarily based on the autonomy of thinking.

Thus, Abū l-Hudhayl taught, that man who is gifted with intelligence (*al-mufakkir*;¹⁷⁷ *al-mutafakkir*¹⁷⁸) can be independent from tradition;¹⁷⁹ by rational proofs¹⁸⁰ he can attain knowledge (*maʿrifa*) of God;¹⁸¹ he knows “what is good of the good and what is bad of the bad”.¹⁸² Therefore, the intelligent man “undertakes the good, for example speaking the truth and being just; moreover, keeps away from the bad, for example from lie and wickedness”.¹⁸³

Freedom of will turns out to be ability (*istiṭāʿa, qudra*)¹⁸⁴ of man to distinguish with his intellect between good and bad and to

173 Cf. Daiber, *Muʿammar*, 284f.; 367-369.

174 Cf. Sambursky, *Naturkunde*, 87.

175 Cf. Sambursky, *Naturkunde*, 93ff.

176 Cf. *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, II col. 151.

177 Ash-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal*, ed. Cureton 36,1.

178 Al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter 429,3.

179 Cf. ash-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal*, ed. Cureton 36,1.

180 *dalīl*: - ash-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal*, ed. Cureton 36,2; cf. *hudjdja*: - al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter 429,3.

181 Ash-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal*, ed. Cureton 36,2f.

182 Ash-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal*, ed. Cureton 36,3; R. M. Frank, *The Metaphysics of Created Being*, 30f.

183 Ash-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal*, ed. Cureton 36,3f.

184 Cf. Frank, *The Metaphysics of Created Being*, 29ff.

orientate his future decisions at his knowledge. From an objective point of view, however, already his decision is predestinated, because man must decide for the good in accordance with his knowledge. This argumentation reappears later in the school of ‘Abdaldjabbār (died in 1025 A.D.).¹⁸⁵

According to Abū l-Hudhayl man’s knowledge of the good is identical with the “impulse” (*khāṭir*) to “speculation” (*nazar*) and “reasoning” (*istidlāl*); it comes from God, whereas the opposite has its origin in the Satan.¹⁸⁶ Abū l-Hudhayl classified them also as the two “impulses” (*khāṭirāni*) of obedience (*tā’a*) and “disobey-ance” (*ma’ṣiya*) towards God.¹⁸⁷ Both appear in an-Nazzām, Abū ‘Alī al-Djubbā’ī and his son Abū Hāshim al-Djubbā’ī as the contrast reason - unreasonableness¹⁸⁸ which became a guiding-principle of human will.

Conspicuous is here the ethical restriction of man: knowledge of good and evil obliges man to responsibility. This obligation shapes his consciousness of the ability, to decide with

185 Cf. J. R. Th. M. Peters, *God’s Created Speech*, 412ff.

186 According to Abū l-Hudhayl the *mufakkir* as such is determined in his rational speculation by the “impulse” (*khāṭir*), which is sent by God into the heart of the “intelligent” (*‘āqil*): - ‘Abdalqāhir al-Baghdādī (died in 1037 A.D.), *Kitāb Uṣūl ad-dīn*, 27,10f. – Therefore, he does not need in his knowledge of God an additional *khāṭir*: The rational proof as such enables man to the knowledge of God: - ash-Sahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Mīlāl* ed. Cureton 36,1f.; al-Ash’arī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter 429,2f./German translation by van Ess, *Theologie*, V (1993) 433 (nr. 137).

187 Cf. al-Ash’arī, *Maqālāt*, ed. Ritter 429,2f.

188 Cf. Daiber, *Mu’ammār*, 391; Wolfson, *Philosophy*, 624ff. and on Abū Hāshim and Abū ‘Alī al-Djubbā’ī see Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī (died in 1055 A.D.), *al-Furūq al-lughawīya*, ed. Ḥusāmaddīn al-Qudṣī 60,8-14 (adds al-Ka’bī [= al-Balkhī] who is said to agree with Abū Hāshim); Ibn Mattawayh an-Nadjrānī (11th century A.D.), *at-Tadhkira fī aḥkām al-djawāhir wa-l-a’rāḍ* ed. Sāmī Naṣr Luṭf and Fayṣal Badīr ‘Awn, 393; Abū ‘Alī al-Djubbā’ī is said to have used here the terms *khāṭir*, *fikr* (reflection), *i’tiqād* (conviction) or *zann* (opinion).

Wolfson, *Philosophy*, 632f. compared the opposition reason – unreasonableness with Zoroastrian, Jewish and Greek (Plato, Aristotle) models; on the Greek parallels cf. M. van Straaten: *What Did the Greeks Mean by Liberty?* 124ff.

his will for the good or the evil. And this ability of decision appears as subjective freedom of human will.

It cannot remain hidden here that human reason appears to be overestimated. Not discussed is the possibility that man in his decisions is also determined by irrational forces.¹⁸⁹ Notwithstanding we can consider the Mu‘tazilite idea as revolutionary, that man’s free will cannot be shaped by God’s determination. Accordingly al-Djāḥiẓ, a pupil of Mu‘ammar’s adherent Thumāma,¹⁹⁰ taught that it cannot be determined by nature;¹⁹¹ on the contrary, human free will can base itself on human reason and its ability, to distinguish between good and bad.¹⁹²

189 This shortcoming shaped the whole history of the problem of human free will till the present time; cf. Sambursky, *Naturkunde*, 83ff.; 116ff.; art. Freiheit in: *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, II 1064ff.; David S. Winston: Freedom and Determinism in Greek Philosophy and Jewish Hellenistic Wisdom, in: *Studia philonica* 2, 1973, pp. 40-50; in vol. 3, 1974-5, pp. 47-70 the author discussed Freedom and Determinism in Philo of Alexandria; according to Philo everything is determined by the Stoic logos. – Cf. also A. Griffel: *Der Mensch – Wesen ohne Verantwortung?*

190 The concept of nature in al-Djāḥiẓ and his teacher Thumāma can be traced back to Mu‘ammar: – Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 370-373.

191 al-Djāḥiẓ did not consider thought and will as an autonomous acting of man, but as a result of each other opposing “impulses” (*dawā’in*, cf. the already mentioned *khawāṭir*, sg. *khāṭir*), which arise from man’s nature and whose balance (*taswiya*) solely enables man to free decisions: – ‘Abdaldjabbār, *al-Mughnī*, XII ed. Ibrāhīm Madhkūr 316,3ff.; J. van Ess, *Ĝāḥiẓ und die aṣḥāb al-ma‘ārif*, 173.

The “impulses” in al-Djāḥiẓ are no more “impulses” of reason and unreasonableness; herewith, man no more decides between reason and unreasonableness, but between what he considers as useful for him and harmful – without having the certainty of knowledge in every case; s. ‘Abdaldjabbār, *al-Mughnī* XII ed. Ibrāhīm Madhkūr 141,6ff.; 140,18ff.; van Ess, *Ĝāḥiẓ*, 172f.

192 Cf. also ash-Shahrestānī, *Kitāb al-Milal*, ed. Cureton 41,1 (on an-Nazzām); the poem by Mu‘ammar’s pupil Bishr Ibn al-Mu‘tamir in al-Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* ed. ‘Abdassalām Hārūn VI 292,12ff. = German translation in Goldziher, *Vorlesung*, 96/English translation: *Introduction to Islamic Theology*, 88; ‘Abdaldjabbār, *al-Mughnī*, VIII 83ff. = commentated translation by M. Schwarz: The Qādi ‘Abd Al-Jabbār’s Refutation of the Ash‘arite Doctrine of Acquisition (*kasb*), 236.

Here we find the very beginning of philosophical ethics which tries to develop objective criteria for human behaviour towards good and bad. This development culminated in the ethical rationalism of the Mu‘tazilite ‘Abdaldjabbār (died in 1025 A.D.).¹⁹³ His philosophical-rationalistic efforts, to give the empty term of human will more meaning and to provide the concept of human acting with an objective intention, cannot conceal the theocratic character of his ethics: The seemingly objective criteria of good and bad, which we already found in Abū l-Hudhayl, meet man’s want of certainty on his salvation by introducing a divine guarantor of ethical principles. God is just; he does not do the bad - even if he is able to it; on the contrary, according to general Mu‘tazilite doctrine God has the “intention” to do the “useful” (*al-manfa‘a*, *al-maṣāliḥ*)¹⁹⁴.

Here, the autonomy of human will and thought could not thrust aside God’s existence. God remains guarantor of every order in human society; he imposes limits on human will. God’s order is good, not as something authorized by divine revelation or by the laws, but as something expedient according to reason and therefore necessary.¹⁹⁵ Human will can use it as a guide. By being conscious of this possibility of ethical orientation human will appears to be free and at the same time bound.

The recognition and formulation of these connections in their complexity is an original achievement of early Islam. It is impressive as an example of unshakeable trust and belief in valid principles and standards.

193 Cf. G. F. Hourani, *Islamic Rationalism*; id.: *The Rationalistic Ethics of ‘Abd al-Jabbar*; R. M. Frank: *Several Fundamental Assumptions*; Peters, *God’s Created Speech*, 85-89; 415.

194 Cf. Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 232ff.; 253ff.

195 This concept can be traced back to the Mu‘tazilite thesis of the necessity of good, of what is useful, for God. Not all Mu‘tazilites kept to this doctrine (cf. Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 233f.); it was refused later by al-Ghazzālī and as-Sanūsī (cf. Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 220f.); cf. also Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 99-101/English translation: *Introduction to Islamic Theology*, 90f.

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3. The Encounter of Islamic Rationalism with Greek Culture: The Translation Period and its Role in the Development of Islamic Philosophy

3.1. Motives and principles of selection of translations from Greek into Arabic

The Islamic world had apparently no great interest in literary works of antiquity. Historical works were not translated, with the exception of one work, the Latin world history by Orosius, his “History against the heathens”, the *Historiae adversus paganos* from the 5th century. An expanded redaction from the 8th century was translated into Latin in Spain in the 9./10th century.¹⁹⁶ - Even the famous Greek poet Homer was known to the Arabs only through some quotations, which they found in Arabic gnomological collections.¹⁹⁷

From such gnomological collections in Arabic translation or redaction¹⁹⁸ the Arabs took worldly wisdom as well as philosophical thoughts from different “schools”. Their interest was concentrated on such ideas, which easily could be integrated into the Islamic world-view. They orientated themselves at practical and religious requirements; striving for knowledge therefore appears to be determined by socio-political circumstances of that time.

In this way the Arabic-Islamic sciences developed on the basis of the intellectual efforts of early Muslims. These were engaged in the interpretation of the oldest Arabic-Islamic document, the holy Koran which was revealed to the prophet Mohammed; moreover in the religious traditions and in the development of the Islamic law.¹⁹⁹ These first “scientific” efforts, as well as the learned disputes about the position of man as independent being

196 Daiber 1986c.

197 F. Rosenthal 1965, 24ff.; 344ff./English version: *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, 9ff.; 255ff.

198 Gutas 1994.

199 S. above ch. 1.

with free will in a theocratic world-view,²⁰⁰ became the fertile soil for the adoption and assimilation of Greek ideas in the beginning through oral transmission and since the second half of the 8th century increasingly through translations by Syriac Christians.

3.2. The Syriac Share in the early Greek-Arabic translations

The Syriac Christians²⁰¹ were engaged in that time in a vivid dialogue with Muslim scholars and inspired them to philosophical-scientific speculations within the context of the koranic world-view and to the shaping of a rationalistic theology of the so-called Mu'tazilites. Muslim theologians were open to new ideas, because these ideas were assimilated as a tool for the delimitation from non-Islamic including Iranian-dualistic systems.²⁰²

The Syriac Christians lived in the diaspora, the so-called Monophysites in the west of the Islamic empire and the Nestorians in the Iranian east. This is the reason why Iranians contributed to the Greek-Arabic transmission and this explains adaptations of Indian material. Therefore, we must taken into account in the Greek-Arabic transmissions Iranian and above all Syriac sources.²⁰³ Their cultural context shaped and changed Greek sciences in a specific manner. After the conquest of Nisibis²⁰⁴ by the Sasanians in the year 363 A.D. the academic life of the east-Syriac Christianity was transferred to Edessa in the South-East of minor Asia, which was still under Roman rule at that time. Special attention received the Aristotelian logic;²⁰⁵ Aristotle's *Organon* was translated and provided with commentary by Proba in the 6th century.²⁰⁶

200 S. ch. 2.

201 Cf. Yousif 2003.

202 Cf. van Ess 1991-1997; Sorabji 1983, 384ff..

203 S. Daiber (1986b) 298-303; on the Iranian share s. Gutas (1998) 25ff.

204 Today Nusaybin in South-East Turkey.

205 For more details on Arustotle's reception in Syriac s. Daiber (2001).

206 Hugonnard-Roche 1989b, 4ff.; 1990, 137f.

However, after the closing of this “school of the Persians”, of the Nestorian emigrants from Nisibis in Edessa, in the year 489 the scientific activities of Syriac scholars were primarily confined to the Nestorian schools in Sasanian Iran and Mesopotamia, namely in Djundīshāpūr/Khuzistan and in Seleucia-Ctesiphon. The hospital (bīmāristān) in Djundīshāpūr, which was founded perhaps by Shāpūr I (240-273), existed until ‘Abbasid times; the Christian physicians working in it during ‘Abbasid times were physicians in ordinary to the caliphs in Baghdad and contributed in an essential manner to the transmission of Greek medicine to the Islamic world.²⁰⁷ We mention here Bokhtīshō, the physician in ordinary to the caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd since 787, his son Djibrīl (died 828), Māsawayh and his son Yūhannā (died 857); a pupil of Yūhannā Ibn Māsawayh, the famous translator Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq (died 873 or 877), was much engaged in the Arabic translation of works by Hippocrates and Galen, often on the basis of Syriac translations.²⁰⁸

Parallel with the medical studies and not solely in the “tow-
 rope of medicine”²⁰⁹ philosophical works were studied and translated; the schools of the Nestorian monasteries studied Aristotelian logic because of their theological interests. This became a model for Muslim theologians, for the priority of philosophical knowledge over contradictory belief and for the doctrine of the divine attributes. A Nestorian representative of these logical studies is Paul “the Persian”, who wrote in Middle-Persian “Prolegomena” to philosophy and logic and commentaries on Aristotle’s *De interpretatione* and *Analytica priora*. Paulus Persia’s works were dedicated to Khosrouw I. Anushirwan (reigned 531-578); they are available only in Syriac and fragmentary in Arabic.²¹⁰

We have more informations about the scientific activities of the Monophysites. Because of a stronger hellenization of the West the literary transmission of Greek texts through Syriac transla-

207 Ullmann 1979; Sezgin III 1970.

208 Bergsträsser 1925; 1932.

209 R. Paret 1950.

210 ndress 1987, 408, n. 38; Gutas (1983).

tions by the Jacobites was prevailing. The Greek language was maintained there much longer than in the East; therefore texts were translated from Greek into Syriac not before the 6th century and mainly in the 7th and 8th century. These Syriac versions were often translated into Arabic, partly until the 10th century.²¹¹ The priest and physician Sergius (Sargīs) of Resh‘aynā, who died in 536, created the Syriac versions of the most important works by Galen, which were translated into Arabic in the 9th century. As he was a student of the Greek school in Alexandria, he wrote introductions to the Aristotelian Organon, discussed cosmological and astrological questions and translated single Greek texts such as Aristotle’s *Categories*,²¹² Porphyry’s introduction to Aristotle’s *Organon*, the *Isagoge* and the ps.-Aristotelian treatise “On the World” and “On the Soul”.²¹³

The strong interest in Aristotelean logic is motivated originally by Christian theology and shaped the works by Athanasius of Bālād (died 686), Jacob of Edessa (died 708), his pupil George called “Bishop of the Arabs” (died 724) and by Theophil of Edessa (died 785). It becomes clear, in addition, that the Monophysites of the West were much more than the Nestorians in the East interested in typical themes of late Hellenism, which subsequently shaped the Arabic translations. To these typical themes belong treatises on ethics and Hellenistic gnomological treatises, books on astrology, astronomy, alchemy and natural sciences. The example of Severus Sēbōkht (died about 666) in Qinnasrīn at the Euphrat indicates the existence of translations of astronomical and mathematical works from Persian into Syriac.²¹⁴

211 Hugonnard-Roche 1990, 139ff.; 1991; 1992.

212 Hugonnard-Roche 1987; 1997.

213 Endress 1987, 409, n. 44; Hugonnard-Roche 1989a.

214 Endress 1987, 409f.

3.3. The Iranian Share and the Role of the Nestorians in the Translation Movement

The Persian language plays a remarkable role in the history of Greek-Arabic translations: it was the medium for the transmission of popular ethics to the Islamic world, primarily in the shape of the Iranian works on mirror of princes or in ps.-Aristotelian treatises on the government of the state.²¹⁵ Also based on a Persian version, done by Ibn al-Muqaffa' who died in 756 or later, is the oldest Arabic redaction of Aristotle's *Organon*.²¹⁶ Moreover, we possess Persian redactions of Greek and Indian sources on astronomy, astrology and medicine.²¹⁷ The later Arabic transmission of Ptolemy, Dorotheos of Sidon and Vettius Valens therefore shows traces of Indian and Iranian-Sasanian traditions.

The open-mindedness of the Sasanians Shāpūr I (reigned 240-273) and Khosrow I Anūshirwān (reigned 531-578) for Greek-Indian astronomy, astrology, medicine and philosophy enabled many translations by Nestorians and monophysites. They translated Greek works from Middle Persian into Syriac or directly from Greek into Syriac and later into Arabic. A center of these activities was above all Djundīshāpūr, from which the physicians were invited to Baghdad by the 'Abbasid caliphs in the second half of the 8th century. In this manner Djundīshāpūr became a connecting link between Greek-Sasanian and Arabic science. Another connecting link was the "Persian school" of Edessa, originally a foundation by Nestorian emigrants from the town Nisibis, which was conquered by the Sasanians in 363. Even after the closing of the "Persian school" in Edessa by Emperor Zeno in 489 Edessa remains the home country for many Syriac scholars,²¹⁸ it became a connecting link with the arising Arabic natural sciences, especially astronomy, astrology and medicine. During the reign of the caliph Ma'mūn (reigned 813-833) Hiob of Edessa wrote his phil-

215 Endress 1992, 37ff.; Daiber 1996, 841ff.

216 Ed. by Dāneshpažūh; s. Ibn al-Muqaffa' 1978.

217 Endress 1987, 412-416.

218 S. section 2.

osophical-scientific encyclopaedia and translated Greek medical texts into Syriac.²¹⁹ Perhaps we owe to him the Syriac translation of the *Meteorology* of Theophrast (died c. 287 B.C.), a pupil of Aristotle. Its original is lost in its Greek original and its Syriac version was translated into Arabic in the 10th century, perhaps by the Nestorian Ibn al-Khammār (= Ibn Suwār).²²⁰

3.4. Ways of Transmission of Greek Sciences to the Arabs: From Alexandria to Baghdad

According to several Arabic reports, of which those by Ibn Riḍwān (d. 460/1068) and Ibn Djumay' (d. 594/1198) are perhaps closest to the original,²²¹ Harran played a not further specified role in the transmission of Greek sciences. We can derive from the reports that academic activities by the Alexandrians were continued in Antiochia, namely during the reign of the Omayyad caliph 'Umar II Ibn 'Abdal'azīz (reigned 717-720), but later, perhaps together with the transferal of the capital from Damascus to Harran by the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II (744-750) were transferred to Harran and from there under al-Ma'mūn (813-833) to Baghdad. - Although the scanty reports give the impression of being a later reconstruction of the way of transmission of Greek science from Alexandria to Baghdad,²²² it shows at least two things:

1. Alexandria was a mediating place of scientific tradition from antiquity to the Orient; the Syriac physicians Sergius of Rēsh'aynā (died 536), Paulus of Aegina (time of the Arabic

219 Endress 1987, 411 n. 58.

220 Ed. and transl. by Daiber 1992.

221 Gutas (1998) 90ff.; cf. Endress 1987, 411.

222 Cf. Meyerhof's attempt of reconstruction (1939: "Von Alexandrien nach Baghdad"); later scholars, however, pointed at the fictiveness of some traits of the reports. Strohmaier (1987); J. Lameer (1997) and D. Gutas (1999). Some critical remarks on Gutas' explanations can be found in Daiber, *Die Aristotelesrezeption* 331ff.

conquest) and Ahrūn (7th c.)²²³ studied in this town.

2. Harran played a role as mediator of medical and above all hermetic knowledge with Alexandrian origin. Within the frame of hermetic writings besides astrological traditions apparently also alchemical and Neoplatonic doctrines were discussed.²²⁴ It is not a mere coincidence that the person in charge of the library in Baghdad (*bayt al-ḥikma*)²²⁵ during the time of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, called also *Khizānat al-ḥikma* “Scientific Library”, was a Harranian called Salm.

The library in Baghdad is said to have become under Hārūn ar-Rashīd’s successor Ma’mūn (813-833) a storehouse of scientific books called by later tradition “House of Wisdom” (*Bayt al-ḥikma*);²²⁶ we can assume that it became a meeting-place, also for translators. According to D. Gutas²²⁷ this library is not something like an “institution” or “academy”, but continues a Sasanian tradition, according to which Zoroaster is an author of all existing sciences, including the Greek and thus motivated the translation of Greek works into Pahlavi during the Sasanian Empire. This would explain that besides astrological works translated from Pahlavi into Arabic at the beginning, during the Caliph al-Manṣūr (reigned 754-775) as part of “political astrology” of that time, and besides books on astronomy and mathematics translated later, under al-Ma’mūn, the climate was created also for Greek-Arabic translations within the Sasanian ideology of the universality of Zoroastrian sciences. We should, however, not overvalue Gutas’ Sasanian-Zoroastrian thesis, as the multicultural situation under the caliphs al-Mahdī and his sons and al-Ma’mūn, the Islamic cultural milieu, religion²²⁸ and requirements of people might have stimulated Greek-Arabic translations much more than Sasanian

223 S. below section 5.

224 Peters 1990; Joosse 1993.

225 Ibn an-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Firhrīst*, ed. Riḍā-Tadjaddud 304, 5 and 327,20. Cf. Gutas (1998) 57f.

226 Endress 1987, 412; 422-424. Cf. above all Gutas (1998) 53ff.

227 Gutas (1998) 34ff.; cf. also similar results by P.S. van Koningsveld, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 55, 1998, col. 378.

228 E.g. the use of trigonometry for the determination of the *qibla*.

ideology.²²⁹ Therefore, translations in the earliest period cannot be explained solely by political motivations for the interest in astrology or by the requirement for education of the secretary who administers the empire, must have knowledge of “accounting, surveying, engineering and time-keeping” and because of this required translations of books on “mathematical sciences - arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, and astronomy”.²³⁰

Compared with the mentioned two places Harran and Baghdad the third mediating place, the town Antiochia, does not seem to have played a remarkable role in the transmission of Greek sciences to the Arabs.²³¹ This is the reason why Syriac and Arabic translators were active in Islamic times mainly in Edessa, later in Harran and finally in Baghdad; they got their Greek material primarily from Byzance. The Greek texts betray the influence of Alexandrian traditions, insofar as the scientific and philosophical works of classical antiquity often were summarized and insofar as these summaries by the Alexandrians were provided with commentaries which show later developments of the partly Neoplatonic inspired interpretation of Aristotle.

3.5. Themes of Early Arabic Translations

Greek-Arabic translations are shaped by a multitude of factors, indirectly by Sasanian-Indian and by Alexandrian traditions and directly by the scientific activities of Nestorians and Monophysites. These factors determined the selection of Greek

229 As Gutas (1998) 61ff. describes, the caliph al-Mahdī (died 785), al-Mansūr's son, asked the Nestorian patriarch Timothy I for a translation of Aristotle's *Topics*, evidently as an introduction into the art of argumentation in the theological discussions, especially in inter-faith disputations between Muslims and Christians. On the request to Timothy I cf. now also Brock (1999), who informs us about the Syriac translations of Aristotle, *Topica*, *Sophistici Elenchi*, *Rhetorica*, *Poetica* and *Analytica posteriora*.

230 Gutas (1998) 111, on the basis of Ibn Qutayba (died 276/889), *Adab al-kātib* ed. M. Grünert (Leiden 1900) 10f.

231 Strohmaier 1987, 388.

texts translated into Arabic. Because of practical reasons scientific writings predominate. Already during the caliph Marwān I (reigned 684-685 A.D.) a priest from Alexandria called Ahrun is said to have translated a Greek handbook on medicine from Syriac into Arabic.²³² Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥāq translated it afresh into Arabic.²³³ Remarkable is, in addition, the interest in alchemy, astrology and cosmology, which appears to be motivated by the search after principles of the world and by striving after knowledge of God, derived from His creation.²³⁴ Already the Umayyad prince Khālīd Ibn Yazīd, who died 704, is said to have stimulated the translation of works on alchemy and astrology; the Shi'ite Imam Dja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq (died 765) and his pupil Djābir Ibn Ḥayyān are mentioned as alchemists in the 8th century. The legendary character of these traditions does not contradict the conclusion that there must have been first receptions of Hellenistic sciences already in the 8th century. As the transmitted material often underwent later redactions and revisions²³⁵ and as texts are sometimes ascribed to authorities from the past, for example to Djābir Ibn Ḥayyān,²³⁶ future research should concentrate on the analysis of the sources.

Besides alchemy also astronomy and astrology was studied since the first Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr (reigned 754-775). The Jew Māshā'allāh (died about 815) used in his astrology Persian-Sasanian and Syriac compilations from Greek and Indian sources; his contemporary 'Umar Ibn Farrukhān aṭ-Ṭabarī translated from a Persian intermediary version astrological works by Dorotheos

232 Endress 1987, 419.

233 A fragment only is preserved (ed. G. Bos, 1991/2).

234 Cf. below 3.8.

235 I mention as an example the cosmology attributed to Apollonius of Tyana and entitled "Book on the secret of creation": it is in fact an Arabic compilation of different Greek sources, made in the 9th century. The text is edited and accessible in a German paraphrase by U. Weisser 1979 respectively in 1980. Cf. the review of the paraphrase by Daiber in *Der Islam* 59, 1982: 326-332.

236 Cf. Daiber, review of P. Kraus, *Jābir Ibn Hayyān* (Le Caire 1942; repr. Paris 1986), in: *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 47/1-2, 1990, col. 236f.

of Sidon (1st c. A.D.).²³⁷ He commissioned al-Bīṭrīq Abū Yaḥyā the translation of the astrological work *Tetrabiblos* by Ptolemy (2nd c. A.D.), which he himself later commented upon.²³⁸ On behalf of the vizier Yaḥyā Ibn Khālid Ibn Barmak (died 805) Ptolemy's *Almagest* (*al-Madjisti*), a mathematical handbook of astronomy, based on the newly introduced geocentric system, was translated into Arabic for the first time by several translators.²³⁹ His translation was revised later, in 829, by al-Hadjdjādī Ibn Maṭar Ibn Yūsuf together with Sardjīs Ibn Hiliyā (Sergius Eliae).²⁴⁰ Moreover, al-Hadjdjādī translated for Hārūn ar-Rashīd and for al-Ma'mūn the *Elements* by Euclid (fl. ca. 300 B.C.).²⁴¹

With the support of caliphs and viziers and with the organisational aid of the already mentioned “scientific library” (*khizānat al-ḥikma*) in Baghdad medical books of the Greeks, especially by Hippocrates (5th c. B.C.) and Galen (2nd c. A.D.) were translated into Arabic because of practical reasons.²⁴² As a translator during the time of Hārūn ar-Rashīd and Ma'mūn is mentioned the physician Yūḥannā (Yaḥyā) Ibn Māsawayh from Djundīshāpūr (died 857).²⁴³ However, we do not know anything about his translations, and we can assume, that he asked other scholars to translate medical books of the Greeks. This assumption is confirmed by Ibn Māsawayh's Nestorian pupil Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq (died 873 or 877), who in his “Treatise” (*Risāla*) on the Syriac and Arabic translations of Galen's works mentions several Galenic works, which were translated into Arabic for Ibn Māsawayh by Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq and (from Arabic!) into Syriac by Ḥunayn's nephew Ḥubaysh Ibn al-Ḥasan.²⁴⁴

237 Endress 1987, 32ff.; Sezgin VII, 1979, 111-113 and on Dorotheos ib. 32ff.

238 Sezgin VII, 1979, 42ff.

239 Sezgin VI, 1978, 88f.

240 Ed. and transl. by Kunitzsch 1986; cf. Kunitzsch 1991.

241 Sezgin V, 1974, 225f.

242 Strohmaier 1996.

243 Sezgin III, 1970, 231ff.

244 S. Bergsträsser 1925, reg. s.n. Jūḥannā ibn Māsawayh.

§ 6. Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq and his “school”

Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq is one of the most important and best translators of Greek works directly from the Greek or from a Syriac version. The terminology and the style of his translations became a standard for other translators and contributed in an essential manner to the creation of a scientific language, which in fact is shaped by the Greek-Arabic translations in a decisive manner.²⁴⁵ The lexicographical registration of Greek-Arabic translations is not yet completed;²⁴⁶ only in single cases we have an analysis of the following factors which shaped a translation from Greek into Arabic: bilingualism of translators, whose native language was Syriac-Aramaic and whose Arabic did not always keep to the rules of classical Arabic; the lexicographical and grammatical tools, which sometimes were shaped by later developments of the Greek language in Hellenistic-Byzantine times; and the rhetorical and stylistical shaping of an Arabic translation from Greek.²⁴⁷

The translation work by Ḥunayn was continued by Ishāq Ibn Ḥunayn, the son of Ḥunayn (died 910),²⁴⁸ by Hubaysh, the already mentioned nephew of Ḥunayn, by the physician ʿIsā Ibn Yaḥyā²⁴⁹ and by Ḥunayn’s pupil Abū ʿUthmān Sa ʿīd Ibn Yaʿqūb ad-Dimashqī. To their work contributed the Sabian²⁵⁰ Thābit Ibn Qurra (died perhaps 288/901), a physician from Harran with philosophical, scientific and mathematical knowledge.²⁵¹ As Ḥunayn and Hubaysh he received financial support from the Banū Mūsā, three brothers who were specially interested in mathematics and engineering.²⁵² He translated Nicomachus (fl. c. 100 A.D.), *Introductio arithmetica*²⁵³ and Apollonius (3-2nd c. B.C.), work on conic

245 Cf. Endress 1992, 3-23.

246 Endress/Gutas 1992ff.

247 Daiber 1980, 16-74.

248 Endress 1987, 426, n. 70.

249 Kraus/Walzer 1951, 18ff.

250 Adherent of a local cult of stars.

251 Cf. Wiedemann 1970, 548ff.; Endress 1987, 426, n. 74.

252 Sezgin V, 1974, 246ff.; Hassan/Hill 1986, 12ff.; 53ff.; Hill 1991, 171ff.

253 Sezgin V, 1974, 165.

sections, book V-VII;²⁵⁴ moreover, he revised already existing translations, e.g. Euclid's Elements, Ptolemy's Almagest (s. above) and mathematical treatises by Archimedes (3rd c. B.C.) and Hypsicles (2nd c. B.C.).²⁵⁵

§ 7. Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā

A manysidedness comparable to that of Thābit Ibn Qurra is characteristic also of the Syriac Christian Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā from Baalbek (died around 300/912). He composed medical works,²⁵⁶ which betray a thorough knowledge of Greek physicians,²⁵⁷ translated the mathematical works by Hypsicles²⁵⁸ and Diophantes of Alexandria (fl. 250 A.D.),²⁵⁹ the mechanics by Hero of Alexandria,²⁶⁰ and Aristotle's *Physics*, together with the commentary by John Philoponus (6th c. A.D.), which is lost in its Greek original,²⁶¹ finally the "Opinions of the Philosophers" (*Placita philosophorum*) by ps.-Plutarch (=Aetius), a doxography of ancient doctrines of philosophy and natural sciences from the 2nd century A.D.²⁶²

3.8. Greek Natural Philosophy and Islamic World View.

The role of Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophy

The just mentioned "Opinions of the Philosophers" and doxographies, based partly on the *Philosophumena* by the Christian

254 Sezgin V, 1974, 139.

255 Sezgin V, 1974, 128f.; 145.

256 Sezgin III, 1970, 270ff.

257 Cf. Bos 1992.

258 Sezgin V, 1974, 145.

259 Sezgin V, 1974, 179; Rashed 1975; Sesiano 1975.

260 Sezgin V, 1974, 153f.

261 Lettinck 1994a; 1994b.

262 Daiber 1980.

Hippolytos (170-235 A.D.)²⁶³ and sympathizing with Neoplatonic philosophy, were used by the Arabs as a proof for the inconsistency of ancient scholars and thus became a fertile soil for Islamic scepticists. On the other side they were a most welcome collection of sayings, which could be used for specific aims and because of their ascription to authorities of the past received more attention. As they discussed cosmological themes and natural phenomena, the Arabs could use them in accordance with the Christian-Hellenistic model as proof for the creation of the world by God and for the divine order of the world.²⁶⁴

The mentioned doxographies presuppose a coherence of metaphysics and natural sciences, which became typical for Islamic sciences. Accordingly, the first Islamic philosopher Abū Ya‘qūb Ibn Ishāq al-Kindī (died 866 A.D.), also called “philosopher of the Arabs” (*faylasūf al-‘Arab*), considers philosophical knowledge as being based on increasing knowledge of the true nature of the things and of their cause, the divine “first truth”. From it rises in a kind of Neoplatonic emanation the being of the sensible world.²⁶⁵

In his scientific work Kindī studied all branches of sciences known in his time, besides philosophy even astronomy and astrology, medicine²⁶⁶ and optics.²⁶⁷ He asked Eustathios, to translate for him Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*²⁶⁸ and he asked ‘Abdalmasīh Ibn Nā‘ima al-Ḥimsī to write a paraphrase of Plotinus’ *Enneads* IV-VI, which was spread under the title “Theology of Aristotle” and is said to be combined with the commentary by Porphyry.²⁶⁹

263 An example is the doxography by ps.-Ammonius (ed. and translated by Rudolph 1989).

264 Daiber 1994.

265 S. next chapter.

266 Bos 1990.

267 D’Alverny/Hudry 1975, 167ff.; d’Alverny 1980; Lindberg 1976, ch. 2.

268 Endress 1987, 428, n. 89.

269 Zimmermann 1986; Brague 1997. – Zimmermann considers the mention of Porphyry as commentator of the “Theology” as an error by Nā‘ima al-Ḥimsī. According to him Porphyry has not commentated upon the “Theology”, but was active as an editor of it. – Cf. Daiber in *Der Islam* 65,

Finally, Kindī inspired Ibn al-Biṭrīq, to translate Proclus' *Institutio theologica*,²⁷⁰ which became widely spread in an Arabic redaction called *Kitāb al-khayr al-mahḍ*²⁷¹ and in the Latin translation of this Arabic redaction, the *Liber de causis*.²⁷² Ibn al-Biṭrīq also translated Aristotle's book "On the heaven"²⁷³ and Meteorology;²⁷⁴ finally can be attributed to him the Arabic summaries of Aristotle's book "On the Soul".²⁷⁵ However, his authorship of the Arabic translation of Aristotle's books on animals²⁷⁶ is not quite sure.

Kindī considered himself to be in accordance with the Islamic world-view and with the Islamic concept of God, when he combined Aristotelianism and Neoplatonism, natural philosophy and theology. The divine first cause created the world through emanations from nothing in order that the world serves God and worships Him.²⁷⁷ Here, Kindī propagates the striving for knowledge of God, for "happiness" (*sa'āda*) and herein refers to the Platonic-Aristotelian concept of ethics,²⁷⁸ which became widely spread in Islam.²⁷⁹ In accordance with Neoplatonic doctrines the virtues of the individual, even in his association with his fellow-citizen, leads to the purification and liberation of the soul from matter, to the ascent to the intelligible things.²⁸⁰ Philosophy does

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- 1988, 131f.
- 270 Endress 1973.
- 271 Taylor 1981.
- 272 S. below ch. 5.
- 273 Badawī 1968; Endress 1966.
- 274 Petraitis 1967; a new edition of the Arabic text, together with the Latin translation by Michel Scot, is published by P.L. Schoonheim (2000). The Arabic version was translated into Hebrew by Ibn Tibbon who supplemented his version with quotations from Alexander of Aphrodisias and Ibn Rushd: s. Fontaine 1995.
- 275 Arnzen 1998.
- 276 *De generatione animalium*: s. Brugmann/Drossaart Lulofs 1971; Arabic-Latin version by Michel Scot s. van Oppenraaij 1992; *De partibus animalium* s. Kruk 1979; *De historia animalium* s. Badawi 1977 (a new edition is being prepared in the project *Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus*; s. below ch. 5).
- 277 S. next ch., n. 351; Daiber 1990a, S. 233f.
- 278 Butterworth 1992.
- 279 Endress 1992, 40ff.
- 280 Daiber 1996, 844.

not contradict divine revelation and becomes an epistemological tool which shows the way to the True One.

This epistemological interest was connected with the Koranic doctrine of God as creator of the universe and thus lead to an intensive study of natural sciences. As the nature is a mirror-picture of God's almightiness, religion justifies the occupation with sciences.²⁸¹

3.9. From Translation to Commentary and the Role of the Alexandrian School

The mentioned "symbiosis" of religion and science in Islam did not exclude the possibility, that single branches of sciences became independent. This is shown by the cultural history of the 10th century. With regard to this century modern scholars have used the term "Renaissance" of Islam and referred to the scientific discussions and literary activities of learned circles, which were supported by the Buyides.²⁸² In this century we detect an unexpected cultivation of science and original developments of natural sciences.²⁸³ Fārābī (died 950), called the "second teacher" after Aristotle, wrote fundamental works on Islamic philosophy and could profit from the revival of the Aristotelian studies in the 10th century. To the sofar known books on *Categories*, *Hermeutics* and *Syllogistics* by Aristotle the Nestorian Abū Bishr Mattā Ibn Yūnus (died 940) added Aristotle's work on reasoning: he translated Aristotle's *Analytica posteriora* from Syriac into Arabic. Moreover, he translated Aristotle's *Poetics* and several peripatetic commentaries on Aristotle's logic, physics and metaphysics.²⁸⁴ His pupil, the Jacobite Yahyā Ibn 'Adī (died 974),²⁸⁵ his student 'Īsā Ibn

281 S. the chapter 1 and Daiber 1990a.

282 Kraemer 1986.

283 Daiber 1993.

284 Endress 1991.

285 Endress 1977, 25-41; Platti 1983, 16ff.; ed. Khalifat 1988.

Zur‘a (died 1008)²⁸⁶ and Ibn Zur‘a’s pupil Abū l-Faradj ‘Abdallāh Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib (died 1043)²⁸⁷ added further adaptations of Greek works. Here, the epitomes, paraphrases and commentaries by Abū l-Faradj ‘Abdallāh Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib, especially with regard to Aristotle, Plato, Porphyry and Proclus, deserve more attention.²⁸⁸

After Fārābī more and more commentaries and treatises on Greek philosophical, medical and scientific topics were written.²⁸⁹ In the philosophical field Aristotle prevails, as is shown by Fārābī.²⁹⁰ Aristotle’s oeuvre was known to the Arabs in complete Arabic translations, with the exception of the *Eudemic Ethics*, the *Magna Moralia* and the *Dialogues*;²⁹¹ Aristotle’s *Politics* was only partly known to the Arabs, through a paraphrase from Hellenistic or Roman times.²⁹²

The reception of Aristotle in the Islamic world is sometimes shaped by the Alexandrian and partly Neoplatonic inspired interpretation of Aristotle. An example is the Alexandrian *Summaria* of Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*, which are preserved only in Arabic and Arabic-Latin translation.²⁹³ Moreover apparently the Arabic compendium of Aristotle’s *Meteorology*, ascribed to Ḥunayn, which is quoted by the Nestorian Moshe Bar Kepha, obviously from a Syriac intermediate translation.²⁹⁴

Besides Aristotle and his commentators, especially Alexander of Aphrodisias,²⁹⁵ John Philoponus,²⁹⁶ Simplicius²⁹⁷ and Themis-

286 Endress 1977, 8.

287 Hein 1985, 53-55.

288 S. the reference given in Daiber (1999) II s.n. Abū l-Faradj Ibn al-Ṭayyib.

289 Endress 1987, 461ff.

290 Daiber 1986a.

291 Walzer 1963; Peters 1968; Daiber 1986b; 1990b, 124ff.; Dictionnaire I 1989.

292 Pines 1986, 146-156.

293 S. below ch. 5.3.2.

294 Daiber 1975; 1991, 47-49.

295 *Dictionnaire* I, 1989 s.n. and the references given in Daiber (1999) II s.n.

296 Lettinck 1994b; Wildberg 1987 and the references given in Daiber (1999) II s.n.

297 Gätje 1982 and the references given in Daiber (1999) s.n.

tius²⁹⁸ the Islamic world became acquainted with Neoplatonic works by Plotin²⁹⁹ and Proclus,³⁰⁰ by Porphyry³⁰¹ and Iamblichus.³⁰² Compared with the Aristotelian and Neoplatonic tradition Plato's oeuvre received less attention in the Islamic world. We find in Arabic transmission the following works by Plato: *Apology of Socrates, Laws, Phaedo, Politics, Republic, Sophist* and *Timaeus*. These works were partly available in the shape of paraphrases, compendia or excerpts (by Galen).³⁰³

The 10th century became the culmination in the reception of the Greek heritage and in the shaping of scientific activities, the concern of which was a suitable appreciation of the transmitted cultural heritage. This concern led to the development of a multiplicity of particular sciences, of medicine, natural and occult sciences, as well as of mathematical sciences.³⁰⁴ For the development of these sciences and, moreover, for the rise of a scientific theology, the Kalām as well as for the formulation of Islamic philosophical thought Greek philosophy, especially Aristotle's *Organon*, guaranteed a methodological training³⁰⁵ and inspired Muslim thinkers to new ideas on the fertile soil of Islamic rationalism.

Moreover, Alexandrian exegesis of Aristotle inspired the development of the classification of sciences and of encyclopaedias in Islamic culture.³⁰⁶ Here, the Alexandrians became a model for the transmission of knowledge in medieval Islam in the shape of summaries, commentaries, introductions and encyclopaedias. Islamic culture began to play an essential role in the transmission

298 Gätje 1977 and the references given in Daiber (1999) s.n.

299 Kraus 1994, 313-345; Lewis 1959 and the references given in Daiber (1999) II s.n.

300 S. above section 8 and the references given in Daiber (1999) II s.n.

301 Walzer 1966 and the references given in Daiber (1999) II s.n.

302 Daiber 1995 and the references given in Daiber (1999) II s.n.

303 Cf. Fr. Rosenthal 1940; Gabrieli 1951; Kraus/Walzer 1951; E.I.J. Rosenthal 1956, 46.6-8; Walzer 1960; Bürgel 1971; 1974; Klein-Franke 1973; Badawi 1974, 121-170 (collection of Arabic texts by Plato); Mahdi 1991, 14ff.

304 Endress 1992, ch. 8.

305 Endress 1992, 52ff.; Maroth 1994.

306 Hein 1985; Endress 1992, 47ff.

of knowledge, not only in the Islamic empire, but also to the Latin Middle Ages³⁰⁷ and to the European Jews of the Middle Ages.³⁰⁸

Finally, we should not forget, that the literary efforts of the translators have preserved texts of the Greeks, which were lost in the original³⁰⁹ or which derive from lost Hellenistic adaptations of known Greek texts³¹⁰ or of which the known Greek version is based on late and defective Greek manuscripts.³¹¹

307 Watt 1972; Lindberg 1992; below ch. 5, § 1.

308 Zonta 1996.

309 Cf. e.g. Arnzen 1998; Daiber 1992; 1995; Drossaart Lulofs 1989.

310 E.g. the *Problemata physica* ascribed to Aristotle: s. Filius 1999.

311 E.g. Daiber 1980.

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4. The Autonomy of Philosophy in Islam³¹²

“Philosophy” (*falsafa*) never was taught in medieval Islamic colleges, in the *madrasa*. It is a heritage of the Greeks. Who studied philosophy, simultaneously with his bread-winning, did so because of personal interests or because he was encouraged and paid by the caliph. For practical purposes the ‘Abbasid caliphs in the first place supported the translation of Greek scientific texts, above all texts on medicine, astronomy and mathematics.³¹³ At the same time and not exclusively “taken in tow by the medical art”³¹⁴ Muslims became more and more interested in “philosophy”, in Greek philosophy. Above all its logic and art of demonstration delivered guiding lines for Islamic theologians and jurists.³¹⁵ Philosophy is primarily a way to knowledge and is a part of the sciences, which serve as a proof of God’s miraculous action in his creation.³¹⁶ It seems to us, that man as philosopher is neither theoretically nor practically autonomous; philosophy is a tool of man in the service of God.

This should not be understood as a devaluation of philosophy; philosophy is not simply a handmaiden of theology. Such an estimation would neglect the coherence of sciences in the Middle Ages. Moreover, if we talk about the autonomy e.g. of philosophy, we should be aware that the concept of autonomy is developed in modern times, first in jurisprudence and then - since Kant in philosophy.³¹⁷ And finally, our interest in rules and peculiarities

312 Based on the German version in *Knowledge and the Science in Medieval Philosophy* I, Helsinki 1990 (=Acta Philosophica Fennica 48), pp. 228-249. For additional bibliographical informations on philosophers and themes s. Daiber, *Bibliography of Islamic Philosophy*.

313 Cf. above, ch. 1.

314 On this thesis by Rudi Paret (“im Schlepptau der Medizin”) see his *Der Islam und das griechische Bildungsgut* (1950), 18ff.; cf. my remarks in *Gnomon* 42, 1970, 540f.

315 Cf. G. Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, 107.

316 Cf. R. Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, 458ff.

317 Cf. art. “Autonomie” in: *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, ed. by Joachim Ritter. I. Darmstadt 1971.

of philosophy and of other sciences arises from modern theories of sciences engaged in structures and methods.

The transfer of modern questions to the field of classical Islamic philosophy can be justified. This enables us, to recognize the coherence and continuity of ideas. In addition, such a transfer of questions continues the discussion of the scientific character of theology which started in the Middle Ages, above all since Thomas Aquinas.³¹⁸ The scientific character of theology was never doubted and discussed by its Islamic representatives. Form and contents of *'ilm al-kalām* in its classical shape used philosophy, logic and ontology, dialectics and metaphysics. As in patristic and medieval tradition philosophy appears in the eyes of the modern observer to be *ancilla theologiae*, an aid of theology. He will find, however, that long before the discussions in the Middle Ages and modern times, the apparent subordination of philosophy under theology, the concept of philosophy as *ancilla theologiae* was subject to changes. In the context of the Islamic world-view, which was determined by Koran and religious tradition, and inspired by Greek philosophies and sciences, philosophy increasingly got its own rank.

At the same time, there is a strong tendency to keep to the symbiosis of religion and sciences as it was common in the religious world-view of that time. Autonomy and dependence of sciences including philosophy appear to us as being engaged in a permanent duel. This struggle makes Islam an interesting scene for the development of a concept of philosophy, which always was challenged to come to terms with Islamic orthodox belief.³¹⁹

Before we discuss details of the Islamic concept of philosophy, we should take into account the possible parallelization of the Greek-pythagorean etymology of philosophy as “love of

318 Cf. M. Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*; Ch. Lohr: *Theologie und/als Wissenschaft im frühen 13. Jahrhundert*.

319 Cf. A.J. Arberry: *Revelation and Reason*; George F. Hourani: *Averroes on the Harmony of Religion and Philosophy*, 2ff. – On the other side, philosophical ideas even entered kalām – if we leave aside parallel developments: cf. R.M. Frank, *Reason and Revealed Law*.

wisdom”³²⁰ with striving after knowledge, which already in early Islamic traditions³²¹ was recommended to the believer. In the Islamic concept of belief knowledge and acting belong together.³²² Knowledge is primarily religious-juridical knowledge in Koran and tradition. And during the expansion of the Islamic empire since the 7th century Muslims were more and more confronted with numerous cultures. Therefore knowledge increasingly included foreign sciences, above all philosophy and natural sciences of the Greeks. Philosophy, namely logic and metaphysics, supplied Muslim theologians with the necessary tools for the formulation and demarcation of Islamic dogma from non-Islamic religions and gnostic-dualistic movements.³²³

Here, philosophy appears to be knowledge of the tools of theology and is *ancilla theologiae*. A typical example is the Mu‘tazila, a scholastic movement, which started to develop in the late 8th century, in the Iraq; the Mu‘tazilites tried to replace *traditio* by *ratio* by defining and demonstrating transmitted doctrines of belief. In their demonstrative arguments in religion they developed - partly inspired by Greek-Hellenistic philosophy - refined methods in the art of theological disputations (*kalām*).³²⁴ At the same time the adaptation of philosophical knowledge and methods included the study of “sciences”; already in an early period Mu‘tazilites were interested in problems of natural sciences.³²⁵

In their high estimation of the reason Mu‘tazilites were nev-

320 Cf. Ammonius, *In Porphyrii Isagogen* ed. A. Busse 9,7ff.; taken over e.g. in the 9th century by al-Kindī, *Risāla fī hudūd al-ashyā’ wa-rusūmihā* ed. Abū Rīda (*Rasā’il al-Kindī al-falsafīyya* I 172 or in the 10th century by Qoṣṭā Ibn Lūqā in a titleless treatise on the division of sciences: Daiber, Qoṣṭā Ibn Lūqā, 108f.

321 Cf. Fr. Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 70ff.; above, ch. 1.

322 Cf. Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 143f., n. 7.

323 Cf. Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 16ff.; 123ff.

324 Cf. J. van Ess, *The Logical Structure*; id., *Disputationspraxis in der islamischen Theologie*.

325 Cf. Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 283ff. and above, ch. 1. – A similar explanation can be found in Abū l-Ḥasan al-‘Āmirī (10th century), *Kitāb al-lām bi-manaqib al-Islām* (“Book on the merits of Islam”); cf. G. Endress, *Grammatik und Logik*, 216.

ertheless conscious of the imperfection of human mind. Already Wāṣil Ibn ‘Aṭā’ (died in 748 or 749 A.D.), one of the alleged founder of the Mu‘tazila, says in his famous sermon: “men provided with knowledge” (*al-‘ālimūn*), “those who are gifted with language (or: reason)” (*an-nāṭiqūn*) can describe God only in an imperfect manner, only “insofar as God described himself [in the Koran] for his creation”.³²⁶ Here we discover first beginnings of the problem of later Islamic doctrines on divine attributes. According to Wāṣil’s pupil Ḍirār Ibn ‘Amr (died 796) God’s attributes can only be described in the denial of their opposite³²⁷. Or according to the Mu‘tazilite ‘Abbād Ibn Sulaymān (died in 864 A.D.) divine attributes are mere signs of language, “names”, which are not identical with the named³²⁸. This explanation reminds us of the negative theology; the already Koranic³²⁹ infinity of God, His transcendence can perceived by language and thought of man only in an imperfect manner.

This position became the fertile soil for the Islamic adaptation of Neoplatonic ideas on the infinity of God in the 9th century. Besides logic of the Greeks Muslims became interested in the *Enneads* by Plotin, which were known to the Arabs already in the early 9th century in a paraphrase which was called *Theology of Aristotle*.³³⁰ Approximately at the same time Proclus’ *Institutio theologica* in a paraphrasing revision, translated into Latin under the title *Liber de causis*, became known to the Arabs.³³¹

326 *Khuṭbat Wāṣil* ed. Daiber (Wāṣil Ibn ‘Aṭā’ als Prediger und Theologe) fol. 87v22ff.; cf. commentary p. 42.

327 Cf. Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 136 and above, ch. 1.

328 Cf. Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 211f. and above, ch. 1. – Such theological discussions on the divine attributes became the fertile soil for later discussions on the relation between language and thought, which included elements of Greek logic; cf. Endress, *Gramatik und Logik*; W. Kuhn, *Die Rehabilitierung der Sprache*.

329 Cf. e.g. Sura 3,174; art. *Ghayb* in: *EI 2 II* (Leiden-London 1965); Daiber, *Mu‘ammar*, 117ff.; above ch. 1.

330 Cf. *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages* and the review by Daiber in: *Der Islam* 65, 1988, 130-134.

331 Now edited afresh by Charles Taylor, *Liber de causis* (1989).

These Neoplatonic works shaped the concept of philosophy among Islamic philosophers from the very beginning.

Among his definitions of philosophy³³² the first Islamic philosopher, Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb Ibn Ishāq al-Kindī (died after 866 A.D.), defined philosophy according to Aristotle³³³ and Plato³³⁴ as “knowledge of the true nature of things, as far as it is possible for man”;³³⁵ metaphysics, “the first philosophy”, is explained as “knowledge of the first truth, which is the first cause of every truth”. By following Plotin and Proclus³³⁶ and in the adaptation of the Koranic concept of *ḥaqq* “truth” = God³³⁷ the Aristotelian explanation “that which causes derivative truths to be true is most true”³³⁸ received a Neoplatonic nuance with an Islamic accent. “For knowledge of the cause is better than knowledge of the effect”.³³⁹

This explanation became crucial for the development of the Islamic concept of philosophy. On the first place, philosophy studied the divine cause of every being and strives for the knowledge of “the first truth” (*al-ḥaqq al-awwal*). According to al-Kindī it should be based on the knowledge of preceding generations and other peoples.³⁴⁰

332 Cf. G.N. Atiyeh: *Al-Kindi*, 18ff.

333 *Metaphys.* II 1.993b20 (*epistème tés alétheias*).

334 *Theat.* 176AB; followed by Ammonius, *In Porphyrii Isagogen*, ed. Busse 3,8f.; cf. A. Ivry, *Al-Kindi's Metaphysics*, 117f.

335 *Rasā'il al-Kindī al-falsafiyah*, ed. Abū Rīda I 97,9/transl. Ivry, *Al-Kindi's Metaphysics*, 55.

336 Cf. G. Endress: *Proclus Arabus*, 152; 286, n. 1.

337 Sura 10,32 (33).

338 *Metaph.* 993b27.

339 Cf. *Rasā'il al-Kindī al-falsafiyah*, ed. Abū Rīda I 102/transl. Ivry, *Al-Kindi's Metaphysics*, 56.

340 Cf. *Rasā'il al-Kindī al-falsafiyah*, ed. Abū Rasā'il al-Kindī al-falsafiyah ed. Abū Rīda I 102/transl. Ivry, *Al-Kindi's Metaphysics*, 57, commentary p. 126 (on the Aristotelian source of inspiration) and A. Cortabarría, *El método de Al-Kindī*, 210-212. Thus, forerunners in antiquity and as well all times contributed in a similar manner to scientific progress; a similar conclusion can be found in the 12th century, in astronomer al-Aṣṭurlābī and the mathematician as-Samaw'al; cf. Fr. Rosenthal, *Al-Aṣṭurlābī*. – On the idea of progress in Islam cf. T. Khalidi, *The Idea of Progress*.

By keeping to this principle and by following the Koranic-Islamic theology of the *creatio ex nihilo* al-Kindī develops the thesis that universe, body, movement, time and beginning do not exist without each other and have a cause outside, namely the absolute unity, the divine true One.³⁴¹ From this divine One arises in emanations (*ḥayd*) the being (*tahawwī*) of every perceptible (*al-maḥsūs*).³⁴² Through emanation the rational and metaphysical things become something perceptible, something of which a picture (*mithāl*) can be formed in the human soul. In contrast to that the universals, the genera and species exist only in the mind.³⁴³ Their first cause, however, the first truth is neither genus nor species;³⁴⁴ it is the essential unity, what we find accidentally in the things.

Herewith philosophy became knowledge of the divine cause, of the universals, which only exist in the human mind, and of the perceptible particulars, which exist in the soul in the shape of pictures. This knowledge is “knowledge of the true nature of things” (*‘ilm al-ashyā’ bi-ḥaqā’iqihā*).³⁴⁵ The striving of the philosopher after this knowledge aims at the “first truth, the cause of every truth”³⁴⁶ and at “the acting in accordance with truth”;³⁴⁷ al-Kindī’s explanation³⁴⁸ follows Aristotle’s division of philoso-

341 Cf. on the argument of al-Kindī Michael Marmura: *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M. Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 332ff.

342 Cf. *Rasā’il al-Kindī al-falsafiyya* ed. Abū Rīda I 162,2f./transl. Ivry, *Al-Kindī’s Metaphysics*, 113.

343 Cf. *Rasā’il al-Kindī al-falsafiyya* ed. Abū Rīda I 107f./transl. Ivry, *Al-Kindī’s Metaphysics*, 61ff.; also al-Kindī’s *Risāla fī sharḥ mā li-n-naḥs dhikrūhū mimmā kāna laḥā fī ‘ālam al-‘aql idh sārāt fī ‘ālam al-hiss wa-mā laḥā dhikrūhū mimmā laḥā fī ‘ālam al-hiss in sārāt fī ‘ālam al-‘aql* and on this G. Endress, *Al-Kindī über die Wiedererinnerung der Seele*.

344 Cf. *Rasā’il al-Kindī al-falsafiyya* ed. Abū Rīda I 113./transl. Ivry, *Al-Kindī’s Metaphysics*, 67ff.; 76ff.; Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M. Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 334ff.

345 Cf. above ad n. 334.

346 Cf. above ad n. 331.

347 Cf. *Rasā’il al-Kindī al-falsafiyya* ed. Abū Rīda I 97,10/transl. Ivry, *Al-Kindī’s Metaphysics*, 55.

348 Cf. also Ivry, *Al-Kindī’s Metaphysics*, 117f. – Kindī’s definition of philoso-

phy into theoretical and practical knowledge aimed at truth and acting.³⁴⁹

The practical-ethical component of philosophy appears in Kindī's ethical writings essentially as individualistic ethics of the soul.³⁵⁰ Man strives for happiness in the hereafter, by neglecting the world and by striving for increasing knowledge of the spiritual things, of the Creator. At the same time, man's righteous actions in relation to his fellow-citizen are a way to a higher spiritual goal, the increasing knowledge of the true nature of things by the soul. These emanate from the true One and are a *creatio ex nihilo*. In accordance with the Koranic doctrine (cf. Sura 55,6) the universe is created for the sake of the service and adoration of God³⁵¹. Here, as well as in other typical doctrines of al-Kindī,³⁵² the religious-Islamic frame becomes visible; philosophy is not contradicting revelation.

Nevertheless it is not *ancilla theologiae*. Philosophical interpretations of religious language, as we can find them in al-Kindī's treatise on the adoration of God by the universe (s. above), only point at the conformity between philosophy and revelation. Philosophy is autonomous and shows the way to knowledge and to active striving for this knowledge. Here, al-Kindī's epistemology distinguishes between perception and abstractions in the mind (s. above). Religious revelation does not play a primary role: it is not contradicting philosophy, but it does not play a fixed role in the process of cognition. It is not contradicting what philosophers can prove by their mental efforts - even if their cogni-

phy influenced Ibn Sīnā, *ash-Shifā'*, *al-Mantiq*, *al-Madkhal* ed. G.C. Anawati, Maḥmūd al-Khuḍayrī and Aḥmad Fu'ād al-Ahwānī 12; cf. M. Marmura: Avicenna on the Division of the Sciences.

349 Cf. Aristotle, *Metaph.* II 1.993b20.

350 Cf. Daiber, *Political Philosophy*, 844 and now also Ch. Butterworth, *Al-Kindī and the Beginnings of Islamic Political Philosophy*.

351 This shows al-Kindī's treatise *Fī l-lbāna 'an sudjūd al-djirm al-aqsā wa-ta'atihī li-llāh*, in: *Rasā'il al-Kindī al-falsafīyya* ed. Abū Rīda I 238-261.

352 Cf. Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M. Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 337; E. Torner, *Religion y filosofia en al-Kindi, Averroes y Kant*.

tions ultimately can not become equal to the revelation of the Prophet.³⁵³

Al-Kindī did not say very much about the specific role of religious revelation vis-à-vis philosophy. This became apparently a challenge to posterior philosophers, who increasingly became interested in the relation of philosophy to revelation. The physician and philosopher Abū Bakr Muḥammad Ibn Zakariyā' ar-Rāzī (Rhazes in the Latin Middle Ages; died in 925 or 932 A.D.) took up and developed al-Kindī's theory of the autonomy of philosophy. He based his denial of the necessity of prophets and revealed religions on the independence of thought, on philosophy. All people are capable to philosophy, it is not a privilege of some people - as less as a just and merciful God grants his revelation only to single people or to a single nation. Philosophy enables man to control his passions through ratio, through his reason; this delivers the soul from the bodily instincts and in a migration of the soul moves it upwards to higher forms of life after the death of man.³⁵⁴ Reason, a gift of God's mercy and an emanation from His essence, enables man, to waken his soul from its bodily slumber and to bring it back to its original state. The universal soul is one of the five eternal principles, besides matter, space, time and creator.³⁵⁵ These five principles appear in a Platonic interpreted theory of Democritus atoms; the Koranic doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* is replaced by creation as arrangement of the already actually pre-existing eternal atoms.³⁵⁶

353 Cf. *Risālat al-Kindī fī kamiyyat kutub Aristūṭālīs* in: *Rasā'il al-Kindī al-falsafiyya* ed. Abū Rīda I 372f.; M. Marmura, *The Islamic Philosophers' Conception of Islam*, 91; R. Walzer, *Greek Into Arabic*, 181ff. – In the 11th century al-Kindī's doctrine found an echo in the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Ḥazm: s. A.G. Chejne, *Ibn Hazm*, 72ff.; esp. 80. On Ibn Ḥazm as a critic of al-Kindī's philosophy s. Daiber, *Die Kritik des Ibn Ḥazm*.

354 Cf. Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M. Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 344f.

355 Cf. Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M. Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 339ff.; id.: *Islamic Philosophers' Conception*, 92f.

356 On the details cf. Sh. Pines *Beiträge*, 34ff./English version: *Studies in Islamic Atomism* 41ff.

Here, philosophy appears to be an autonomous thinking with ethical component, common to all men and nations. The “philosophical way of life” (*as-sīra al-falsafiyya*)³⁵⁷ becomes a model, no more the life of the prophet. Philosophical knowledge enables man to rational control of his passions, to salvation of the soul from them. After Kindī the philosopher Miskawayh (died in 1030 A.D.) described this as “improvement of character” (*tahdhīb al-akhlāq*);³⁵⁸ he appears to be stimulated here by Platonic-Aristotelian ethics and at the same time followed a Farabian accentuation. In both cases, however, religious revelation is not necessary.³⁵⁹

Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī’s opinion was refuted by his Ismaili contemporary Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī (died 933 or 934). In his book on the “Proofs of Prophecy” (*A’lām an-nubūwa*)³⁶⁰ he intends to prove that the plurality of religions cannot destroy their transcendent unity. According to him their diversity is caused by the variety of nations. Philosophy like religious revelation is divine and requires a mediator, just as in the past astronomy, astrology and alchemy was to be transmitted by Idrīs and among the Greeks by Hermes. The divine revelation of the Koran is speaking to us by using pictures (*amthāl*); it is necessary to search for the universal meaning (*ma’nā*) of these pictures and for their outer appearances (*zāhir al-alfāz*).³⁶¹

Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī looked for a vindication of his thesis of a religious revelation by a prophet by pointing at the universal truth of religions. This universal, transcendent truth is said to be identical with philosophy and like this has a divine origin.

357 Cf. a treatise with this title in ar-Rāzī, *Rasā’il falsafiyya*, ed. Kraus 99-111.

358 Miskawayh wrote a book on *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq*, ed. by C. Zurayk, 1966; translated by the editor (1968) and by M. Arkoun (1969). Cf. Daiber, *OLZ* 67, 1972, col. 370-73.

359 Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī was apparently followed here by Abū’l-‘Alā’ al-Ma’arrī (973-1057): cf. R.K. Lacey, *Man and Society*, 146ff. and 160f.; on an additional parallel between Rāzī and al-Ma’arrī s. 273ff.

360 Ed. by Salah al-Sawy, Tehran 1977. On the text s. Daiber, Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī (10th century A.D.) on the Unity and Diversity of religions.

361 Cf. *A’lām an-nubūwa* ed. al-Sawy 104ff./French translation by F. Brion, *Philosophie et révélation*, 152ff.

The transmitted message, the pictures themselves require an interpretation (*ta'wīl*) for the sake of understanding their universal meaning. The universal truth (*kullu ma'rifatin*) has its origin in God and is transmitted by the prophet, “the first wise man” (*al-ḥakīm al-auwal*). Man’s knowledge of it is based on preceding knowledge. This fact too proves the existence of a preceding prophetic mediator.³⁶²

Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī’s symbiosis of philosophy and religious revelation by supposing a common transcendent truth turns out to be a further development of ideas by his forerunner al-Kindī. The knowledge of a philosopher ultimately has its origin in God; it is conform to the religious revelation, which is transmitted by the prophet. The contents of this religious revelation is accessible to man in the shape of pictures, of which the meaning becomes evident by interpretation (*ta'wīl*).

At the same time al-Kindī’s epistemological distinction between pictures of the perceivable in the soul and abstractions of the mind is abandoned. The picture of religious language is identical with the thought. Religion has a symbolical meaning, which can be understood through interpretation.

We recognize here in its rudimentary form an idea, which Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī’s younger contemporary al-Fārābī (died in 950 A.D.) made a main thesis of his political philosophy.³⁶³ According to al-Fārābī religions are a symbolical rendering of philosophical truth, an “imitation” of philosophy; similar to the Ismaili Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī they solely differ in their symbolism, not however in the symbolized.³⁶⁴ Al-Fārābī argues here with the Aristotelian thesis of interrelation between thought and perception; soul thinks in pictures of perception, through “imitation” (*muḥākāt*) of the perceivable by its phantasy. Contrary to al-Kindī, who had distinguished between perceived pictures of the soul and mental

362 Cf. ed. al-Sawy 314ff.

363 On the following cf. Daiber, Prophetie und Ethik bei Fārābī; id.: *The Ruler as Philosopher*.

364 Cf. al-Fārābī, *as-Siyāsa al-madaniyya*, ed. Najjār 85f.; Daiber, *The Ismaili Background*.

abstractions, in al-Fārābī the universals of philosophy have a pictorial and symbolic pendant in the particulars, in religion. This constellation corresponds in al-Fārābī in an original manner with the Aristotelian bipartition of philosophy in theory and praxis, knowledge and ethical action, which al-Kindī had not discussed extensively.

The ethical component, which already Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī has included as a means to the purification of the soul through ratio, serves in al-Fārābī's Platonic-Aristotelian world-view as a way to the realization of true philosophy in the ethical perfection of the individual in the ideal state. A guiding-line is religion and its prescriptions. Religion at the same time is the only possible rendering of philosophical truth, which is accessible to the knowledge of all people and which consists of the universals in the shape of symbols, pictures. Moreover, religion is the only possible realization of philosophy through ethical perfect acting of the individual in the perfect state. For these reasons religion restricts here the autonomy of philosophy in a special manner. Religion is not only an epistemological and ethical factor, but also an indispensable "tool" of philosophy.³⁶⁵ Moreover, religious revelation turns out to be indispensable for the philosophical knowledge and for the logical proof of the specific nature of things, i.e. of the structure of the universe, which are "imitated" and become a symbolical-pictorial rendering through the imagination of man, especially of the prophet philosopher in the ideal state. Human perception is imperfect and requires the inspiration by the divine active intellect. Here, al-Fārābī refers to psychological doctrines by Aristotle and his commentator Alexander of Aphrodisias (2nd-3rd century A.D.).³⁶⁶ They enabled al-Fārābī to give Islamic prophecy and religious revelation a basis in philosophy. Religion is not only a pictorial and symbolic rendering of philosophical truth addressed to the non-philosopher, the masses; it is also realization of the true philosophy by determining the ethical behaviour of the individual in the ideal state. Through the mediation of its prophet it

365 On the details cf. Daiber, *Ruler* 14f.

366 Cf. Daiber, *Prophetie und Ethik*.

is a source of inspiration for this philosophy. Therefore, the ruler of the ideal state is philosopher and prophet.

With his doctrines al-Fārābī deeply influenced the later concept of philosophy in Islam. Apparently he succeeded in the combination of philosophy and religious revelation in a philosophical persuasive manner and in a way which was acceptable and understandable for the Muslim believer. On the one side philosophy appears as “servant of theology”, *ancilla theologiae* and on the other side philosophy becomes in reality philosophy in religion. This brilliant idea has impressed very much later philosophers who sometimes added modifications and criticized details.

The famous physician and philosopher Ibn Sīnā (died in 1037 A.D.) took over al-Fārābī’s concept of religion as imitation of philosophy in the shape of symbols with some modifications.³⁶⁷ Philosophy is not accessible to the uneducated masses; therefore the prophet must address them with symbols, without giving the impression that some knowledge is withheld from them. This admonition by Ibn Sīnā implies the existence of philosophical knowledge which is not addressed to the masses.³⁶⁸ For religion is not any more the necessary realization of true philosophy, as al-Fārābī had explained with epistemological arguments. It became exclusively a language of symbols and pictures, which talks about God’s majesty and incomparability, on resurrection, eternal happiness and condemnation.³⁶⁹

367 Cf. Marmura, *Islamic Philosophers’ Conception*, 98f.

368 Cf. e.g. Ibn Sīnā, *Aḥwāl an-nafs* ed. a-Ahwānī 141f.; id., *Risālat al-qadar* on which cf. G.F. Hourani, *Reason and Tradition*, 227-248, esp. 240ff. (review by Daiber, in: *Der Islam* 64, 1987, pp. 299-302). – Ibn Sīnā is inspired here by al-Fārābī’s description of Aristotle’s method: cf. al-Fārābī, *Mā yanbaghī an yuqaddam qabl ta’ allum falsafat Aristū* ed. F. Dieterici (Alfārābīs philosophische Abhandlungen, Leiden 1892) 53f./transl. Dieterici 89. al-Fārābī for his part follows Alexandrian tradition: cf. Elias, *In Porphyrii Isagogen* Busse 124,25ff. and E.K. Rowson: *A Muslim Philosopher*, 49.

369 Cf. Ibn Sīnā, *ash-Shifā’, Ilāhiyāt* X ed. Mūsā/Dunyā/Zāyid 443/English translation by Marmura in: *Medieval Politican Philosophy*, 100f.; French translation by G.C. Anawati, *Avicenne, le métaphysique du Shifā’, livres de VI à X*, 177.

Therefore Ibn Sīnā distinguishes between two kinds of prophecy:³⁷⁰

- 1) imaginative prophecy, in which the prophet receives his knowledge from the celestial souls, “the active angels” in the shape of pictures and symbols of universal knowledge;
- 2) intellectual prophecy, in which the prophet receives the intelligibles from the active intellect without assistance and through intuition (*ḥads*). This higher form of perception can be transmitted to non-philosophers in the language of pictures and symbols; in this case something of the philosophy must be withheld, as already said.

This esoteric attitude, which al-Fārābī had criticized³⁷¹, is justified by Ibn Sīnā with the admission, that besides the primary intelligibles which can be received by man directly, there are also such intelligibles which can only be received by prophets, by men who are capable of demonstrative and abstract thinking and of logical conclusions.³⁷² These intelligibles can be transmitted to non-philosophers only to a restricted extent and in the shape of symbols; the rational soul of man should learn with this knowledge - par excellence with the revealed law, a symbolical representation of philosophical truth - to rule the animal passions. This frees man after his death from his body, leads him to eternal happiness and contemplation of the celestial beings and of God.

370 Cf. Ibn Sīnā, *Aḥwāl an-naḥs* ed. Ahwānī 114ff.; *Avicenna's De Anima* ed. F. Rahman 173ff.; Ibn Sīnā, *Ithbāt an-nubūwāt* ed. M. Marmura 45ff./English translation by Marmura in *Medieval Political Philosophy* 114ff. Cf. also Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters* in: W.M. Watt / M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 363; Elamrani-Jamal, *De la multiplicité des modes de la prophétie*; J. R. Michot, *La destinée de l'homme selon Avicenne*, 104ff., esp. 120ff.

371 Cf. Daiber, *Ruler* 17f., where we criticize Leo Strauss' interpretation of Fārābī, who is said to have disguised his real opinion about Plato and by doing so follows the esoteric attitude of Plato. On Strauss' interpretation of Fārābī cf. now G. Tamer, *Islamische Philosophie und die Krise der Moderne* (2001).

372 Cf. Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M. Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 359-361.

This conception of symbolic language can be contrasted with Ibn Sīnā's proofs of his Farabian notion of God as something necessary in his own essence, in which ends the chain of essential causes and their coexistent effects; God knows himself but knows the particulars only "in a general manner", just as the celestial intellect, which necessarily exists through him.³⁷³

Religious symbolism and philosophical truth are not any longer strongly connected as in al-Fārābī. This is caused by an important innovation, which Ibn Sīnā - perhaps inspired by the encyclopedia of the Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā', a philosophical-scientific establishment of Sufism for the sake of salvation of the soul³⁷⁴ - had introduced in his philosophy, namely the explicit inclusion of mysticism in his philosophy. According to Ibn Sīnā the prophet is therefore a mystic, who through his announcement of the divine law intends to guide man to the mystical path.³⁷⁵ The mystical path is the only way which can liberate the rational soul from the body and its passions and lead to the complete contemplation (*mushāhada*) of God.³⁷⁶ This mystical component of Ibn Sīnā's notion of philosophy is completely in contrast to al-Fārābī's concept of philosophy as way to happiness in the ethical perfect behaviour of the individual in the virtuous city. It is akin to the Neoplatonic ideal of *apragmōn bíos* of a philosopher, who should prefer to retreat from society. Already before Ibn Sīnā the Nestorian Christ Ibn al-Khammār (died in 1017 A.D.) had written a treatise on this

373 Cf. Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M. Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 359-361.

374 Ibn Sīnā's knowledge of the Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā' is mentioned by S. Diwald, *Die Bedeutung des Kitāb Ikhwān as-Safā'*, esp. 23f. - On the notion of philosophy in the Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā' cf. *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā'* ed. Khayraddīn az-Zirkī III 325ff./translation S. Diwald, *Arabische Philosophie*, 427ff.

375 On details cf. Marmura, *Avicenna's Theory of Prophecy*; id., *Avicenna's Psychological Proof of Prophecy*.

376 Cf. L. Gardet, *La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne*, ch. 5; Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M. Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 363.

theme.³⁷⁷ It is treated in Ibn Sīnā's allegory Ḥayy Ibn Yağzān³⁷⁸ and in his poem on the soul;³⁷⁹ both texts are symbolical descriptions of the way of the soul away from the chains of the body, from the darkness of matter and leading to the celestial light of the pure intellect, to the unification with God.

Ibn Sīnā's mystical orientation of his notion of philosophy as intellectual ascent to higher forms of perception did not prevail immediately; it found an echo one century later, in Ibn Bādjdja. In the meantime Ibn Sīnā's philosophy found an admirer but also a critic in Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (died in 1111 A.D.). al-Ghazzālī reduced philosophy to its original function as ancilla theologiae; in his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (*Destructio philosophorum*)³⁸⁰ he points to discrepancies of the philosophers and to explanations which contradict sayings by theologians of his time, the Ash'arites; we mention here the philosophers' opposition to the doctrine of the eternal will of God and his creative acting in time. Al-Ghazzālī denies the philosophical theories of the pre-eternity of the world,³⁸¹ of God's knowledge of particulars in an universal manner and of the individual immortality of the soul excluding the body. Logic remains, however, the instrument of perception, also in theology and jurisprudence. The logic of Ibn Sīnā mostly fascinated al-Ghazzālī; he used it as an instrument in his criticism of philosophers, namely Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī³⁸². Inspired by his Ash'arite

377 Al-Ḥasan Ibn Suwār Ibn al-Khammār, *Maqāla fī ṣifāt ar-radjul al-faylasūf* ed. and translated by B. Lewin, *L'idéal antique du philosophie*; cf. J. L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam*, 128.

378 Arabic text ed. Aḥmad Amīn, *Ḥayy Ibn Yağzān*, 40-49/translated with commentary in A.M. Goichon, *Le récit de Ḥayy Ibn Yağzān*. – Cf. the art. *Ḥayy Ibn Yağzān* in: *EI*² III and the references given there.

379 Arabic text with study can be found in: Fathallāh Khulayf, *Ibn Sīnā wa-madhhabuhū fī n-naḥs*, 129-131; French translation by H. Jahier and A. Moureddine, *Anthologie de textes poétiques attribués à Avicenne*, 30-36.

380 Ed. by M. Bouyges, Bayrouth 1927. Recent edition with annotated English translation by M. Marmura (1997). The book was known in the Middle Ages, also in Latin translations of the refutation by Averroes since the 14th century; cf. below ch. 5.

381 Cf. M. Marmura, *The Conflict over the World's Pre-Eternity*.

382 On details cf. Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M.

teacher al-Djuwaynī³⁸³ he developed the conception of God's almighty knowledge, willing and acting; this induced al-Ghazzālī to the denial of the philosophical idea that everything caused must have a cause; for the time being God created things simultaneously and with his will and almightiness he determined the connection between both.³⁸⁴

Herewith, al-Ghazzālī also denied Ibn Sīnā's Neoplatonic doctrines of emanation, but followed him in the inclusion of mysticism in the belief in God: In his work on *The Revival of the Religious Sciences (Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn)*³⁸⁵ he aims at a synthesis between Sufic virtues of love to God, Koranic ethics and the Aristotelian doctrine of virtue as golden mean.³⁸⁶ Philosophy became a logical tool for man's occupation with religion, for theology. In theology we find - as among the preceding Mu'tazilites - a growing use of philosophical doctrines.

In a countermove al-Ghazzālī tried to lay more emphasis on the particulars of religion. The striving for perfection is orientated at the Islamic law and at the Koranic-Islamic expectations of the other world from within the context of a mystical piety of the individual believer. Human society, al-Fārābī's ideal state as a frame of the realization of philosophy in the virtuous acting of man, is thrust into the background; in addition, the epistemological aspect of philosophy lost its importance: al-Ghazzālī took it over from Ibn Sīnā in a restricted manner and reduced it to

Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 366ff.

383 Cf. W.M. Watt in: W.M. Watt/M. Marmura *Der Islam* II, 404ff.

384 On details cf. Marmura: *Ghazali and Demonstrative Science* and the references given in Daiber, *Mu'ammār*, 248f.

385 Edited in four volumes in Cairo 1862; afterwards reprinted or republished several times. A critical edition of this work, which in Islamic world today continues to have a very high repudation, does not yet exist; on the mss. see the preliminary list in 'Abdarrahmān Badawī, *Mu'allafāt al-Ghazzālī*, 98-112 (no. 28).

386 Cf. O.E. Chahine, *L'originarité créatrice*, 105ff.; al-Ghazzālī, *Mīzān al-'amal* ed. Sulaymān Dunyā/translation by Hikmat Hachem, *Critère de l'action*.

the use of logic as a mean to demonstration by the philosophical elite.³⁸⁷

Ibn Sīnā's concept of philosophy as mystical ascension to higher forms of knowledge appears to be further developed in the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Bādjī (died in 1139 A.D.). According to him the aim of this ascension is the liberation of the soul from matter and its unification with the active intellect; this active intellect is an emanation of God, through which soul attains an increasing abstract notion of what can be perceived by the senses and what is composed of matter and form.³⁸⁸ Here, Ibn Bādjī used the slogan of the "solitary" philosopher, called *al-mutawaḥḥid*. He adds a new accentuation to a statement by al-Fārābī, in which he admits, that a virtuous man or philosopher sometimes must live under a wicked rule and is like "a stranger in the world".³⁸⁹ Ibn Bādjī does not restrict himself to al-Fārābī's pessimistic attitude, according to which for the virtuous man, who does not find a virtuous state, "death is better than life". Ibn Bādjī argues that the "solitary" philosopher, who does not find like-minded and does not find an echo among his fellow-beings, must separate like a Sufi from society, from the others, among whom he must live like "seed" (pl. *nawābit*). Although in accordance with Aristotle man is by nature a political animal, this retirement under these circumstances can accidentally become something good.³⁹⁰

387 Cf. al-Ghazzālī, *Ildjām al-'awwām min 'ilm al-kalām*.

388 Cf. Ibn Bādjī, *Risālat Ittiṣāl al-'aql bi-l-insān* ed. Fakhry, *Opera metaphysica* 155ff.; id., *Tadbīr al-mutawaḥḥid* ed. Ma'n Ziyādeh; M. Chemli, *La philosophie morale d'Ibn Bājja (Avempace)*; G. Zainaty, *La morale d'Avempace*; J. Kraemer, *Ibn Bajja y Maimonides sobre la perfeccion humana*.

389 Cf. al-Fārābī, *al-Fusūl al-muntaza'a* ed. Najjār 95; id. *Kitāb al-Milla* ed. Maḥdī 56f./translation by Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M. Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 354 above; Endress, *Grammatik und Logik*, 233ff.

390 Cf. Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M. Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 375f.; G. Endress, *Wissen und Gesellschaft*, 236; O. Leaman, *Ibn Bājja on Society and Philosophy*, esp. 118f.

Ibn Bādjja's philosophy, the philosopher in his retirement from the world and in his mystical contemplation and intellectual ascent, turns out to be a justification of the independence of philosophy, which - in Farabian formulation - does not require the particulars of this world.

This thesis of the philosopher's isolation is taken up by a younger contemporary of Ibn Bādjja, by the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Ṭufayl (died in 1185 or 1186 A.D.); he adapted it in his philosophical novel Ḥayy Ibn Yaḳzān and herewith criticized al-Fārābī, al-Ghazzālī and Ibn Bādjja.³⁹¹ Here, Ibn Ṭufayl turns out to be a pupil of Ibn Sīnā.³⁹² He takes over Ibn Sīnā's thesis of God's contemplation through mystical contemplation and of the unity of all things, which have a first, necessary and divine cause.³⁹³ At the same time he adapts the Farabian-Avicennian thesis of religion as symbolic mirror-picture of philosophical truth, which can be understood by all men; he does not, however, accept al-Fārābī's assessment of religion as realization of philosophy in the virtuous behaviour of the individual in the perfect state:

The religion of Absāl, who knows the hidden truth of revelation and who in contrast to Salamān (a pious king from a neighbouring island) does not restrict himself to the external form, the letters and the prescribed rituals, does not contradict philosophical knowledge, which Ḥayy Ibn Yaḳzān independently had acquired on the island, in mystical separation.³⁹⁴

As philosophy can be transmitted to the non-philosopher only through the symbolism of religion, Ḥayy Ibn Yaḳzān necessarily

391 Cf. Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M. Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 377f.; id., *The Philosopher and Society*, 318ff.

392 On the dependence upon Ibn Sīnā cf. also Z.A. Siddiqi, *Philosophy of Ibn Ṭufayl*, 133ff.

393 Cf. above (s. n. 376).

394 In contrast to this explanation Ibn an-Nafīs one century later ascribes to the *Theologus autodidactus* the conclusion, which he arrived at by contacts with the outer world, that man needs society; furthermore, through his own reflexion the *theologus autodidactus* discovers his religious duties, the necessity of a prophet and the signs of the coming end of the world; cf. M. Meyerhof, J. Schacht, *The Theologus Autodidactus*, 30f.

remains the “solitary” philosopher, as he had been from the very beginning; Absāl accompanies him, because his knowledge of the symbolic meaning of religion gave him access to philosophical truth. Here, we discover in Ibn Ṭufayl the same esoteric attitude which we found in Ibn Sīnā: the majority of the people is not able, to understand the deeper meaning of religion; therefore, they should not become confronted with the doctrines of the philosophers and they should - in accordance with an Ash‘arite maxim - keep to the religious rules without any question (*bi-lā kayfa*).³⁹⁵

This assessment of philosophy as a deeper meaning of religion is taken over by Ibn Ṭufayl’s younger friend Ibn Rushd (died in 1198 A.D.). In his *Faṣl al-maqāl* (“The decisive treatise”)³⁹⁶ he offers a juridical defense of philosophy. According to the law philosophy is a duty; logical argumentation and the study of God’s creation for the sake of Gods’ contemplation is ordered by the Koran (e.g. Sura 59,2).³⁹⁷ But as in the Farabian-Avicennian concept of Ibn Ṭufayl not everyone is capable to philosophical knowledge; Ibn Rushd distinguishes between the philosophical elite, which is capable to logical conclusions and which according to Sura 3,7 is called people “who have a thorough knowledge”³⁹⁸ - from those who must be satisfied with rhetorical convictions; between both classes he inserts the theologians (*mutakallimūn*) who are not able to anything more than the dialectical argumentation.

In Ibn Rushd’s doctrine every conflict between philosophy and religion is only apparently and is a result of the fact, that difficult texts of the religious revelation are interpreted literally and not metaphorically, moreover by people, who are not capable to demonstration.³⁹⁹

395 Cf. Ibn Ṭufayl, *Ḥayy Ibn Yaḡzān*, ed. Gauthier 153f./translation Goodman, *Ibn Ṭufayl’s Ḥayy Ibn Yaḡzān*, 164f.

396 Ed. by G.F. Hourani (1959); English translation by Hourani, *Averroes on the Harmony of Religion and Philosophy*.

397 Cf. Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M. Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 381f.

398 Cf. Hourani, *Averroes on the Harmony of Religion and Philosophy*, 52, n. 74 and 54, n. 87.

399 On details cf. Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M.

In contrast to al-Ghazzālī, however, - whose criticism of the philosophers⁴⁰⁰ he repudiates in his *Tahāfut at-tahāfut*,⁴⁰¹ - an error in the assessment of revelation as a text which should be interpreted either literally or allegorically, is not yet “unbelief” (*kufr*). An example is the religious tradition on the resurrection: here, it is not sure, with respect to the immortality of the soul, whether it should be interpreted literally or philosophically; Ibn Rushd interprets it literally and considers it as a confirmation of the individual immortality of the soul. He offers, however, also a philosophical interpretation and simultaneously he concludes against al-Ghazzālī the non-existence of individual immortality: Here, Ibn Rushd argues with his theory of the active, eternal intellect.⁴⁰² This intellect is the form of the hyle-intellect, which comparable to the form-matter-connection - on its part is form of the soul. Herewith, the form of the soul, the hyle-intellect, is eternal potentiality and has the disposition (*isti'dād*), to receive under influence of the active intellect the intelligibles through imagination and to connect the acquired knowledge with the active intellect. This connection (*ittiṣāl, ittiḥād*) is the most perfect form of human knowledge, which can be attained by the speculative intellect of man in constant occupation with sciences.⁴⁰³ From this connection of the soul with the eternal form of the active intellect and the transient imaginary forms of the hyle-intellect Ibn

Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II, 382-4.

400 Cf. Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M. Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 384ff.

401 Ed. by M. Bouyges (1930)/English translation by S. van den Bergh. - Between both works 'Alā'addīn aṭ-Ṭūsī (died in 1482 A.D.), *adh-Dhakhīra* (= *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*) tries to mediate. The book is anew published by Riḍā Sa'āda 1981 in Beirut.

402 Cf. A.I. Ivry, *Averroes on Intellection and Conjunction*; id., *Towards a Unified View of Averroes' Philosophy*; Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M. Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 385ff.; K.P. Bland, *The Epistle on the Possibility of Conjunction*, Introd. pp. 1ff. and text; O.N. Mohammed, *Averroes' Doctrine of Immortality*.

403 Cf. translation by Bland (as prec. n.) p. 36; 69 (where Ibn Rushd explicitly turns against the Sufis); 103ff.; M. Kassem, *Théorie de la connaissance*, 235ff.

Rushd concludes against Ghazzālī the non-existence of individual immortality of the soul.⁴⁰⁴

Significant in this epistemological statement on the immortality is the relation between sensual, transient single perceptions and abstracted eternal general notions, between intellect and perceptions of the senses. Here, Ibn Rushd continues in a modified manner ideas of al-Fārābī and Ibn Bādjdja;⁴⁰⁵ the active intellect is the connecting link between the absolute simplicity and eternity of God's knowledge and the multiplicity of the acquired knowledge about the visible, transient world. Its connection with the acquired knowledge is the task of philosophers, who thus without assistance of the divine revelation can attain happiness, namely immortality, at any time and at any place.⁴⁰⁶

Herewith Ibn Rushd restricted the Fārābian-Avicennian conception of divine revelation through the prophet as something indispensable for human perception. Furthermore, he did not accept Ibn Bādjdja's and Ibn Ṭufayl's mystical doctrine of the "solitary" philosopher; instead of that he refers to al-Fārābī's doctrine of happiness of man in the community, in the perfect state⁴⁰⁷. In his theory of the conjunction of acquired knowledge with the active intellect Ibn Rushd refrained from al-Fārābī's parallelism between Aristotelian dependence of thought upon perception on the one side and philosophical theory and praxis, namely understanding and ethics on the other side. Ibn Rushd argues that community is more a hindrance of philosophical recognition.⁴⁰⁸

However, the particulars of Ibn Rushd too point at universals, at general notions, which can be abstracted by the theoretical ability of man. Here, al-Fārābī's thesis of religion as mirror-picture and instrument of philosophy appears to be replaced by the

404 On additional arguments against this doctrine of al-Ghazzālī Marmura, *Die islamische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, in: W.M. Watt/M. Marmura, *Der Islam* II 386-388.

405 Cf. Bland, *The Epistle on the Possibility*, 4ff.

406 Cf. Bland, *The Epistle on the Possibility*, 6f.

407 Cf. Bland, *The Epistle on the Possibility*, 108f.

408 Cf. Bland, *The Epistle on the Possibility*, ib.

more complicate thesis of philosophical knowledge of man about the manifestation of divine knowledge through the connection of his soul with the eternal form of the active intellect and with the transient form of the hyle-intellect.

Not any longer the philosopher, prophet and ruler of the perfect state (al-Fārābī), not any longer the mystic and solitary seeker of truth (Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Bādjja, Ibn Ṭufayl), but this connection, which is a task of all mankind, leads to happiness.⁴⁰⁹ Philosophy became the highest form of universal human knowledge of religious truth. As in al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Bādjja and Ibn Ṭufayl it can be understood by everyone. Even philosophers might err here, because the theoretical ability of man is dependent upon pictures. Therefore sometimes it remains unclear, whether an idea must be interpreted allegorically or not.

Ibn Rushd's doctrine is the end of a long development, which reached its first climax with al-Fārābī. In the following time this philosopher in a decisive manner shaped with his harmonization of philosophy and religion the concept of philosophy. Philosophy became an autonomous branch of knowledge, of which the contents is orientated at Greek philosophers since Plato and Aristotle until Proclus, but also at Islam, Koran and religious transmission. Its ideas and epistemological methods more and more affected single sciences in their formal shape, in their contents and in their demarcating divisions;⁴¹⁰ even Islamic theology received inspirations from them.⁴¹¹

409 Cf. Sh. Pines, *La philosophie dans l'économie du genre humain*; Endress, *Wissen und Gesellschaft*, 239f.

410 Cf. A.A. al-Rabe, *Muslim Philosophers Classification of the Sciences*; G. Endress, *Wissen und Gesellschaft*, 219ff., esp. 223ff.

411 We may mention here Ibn Tūmart (died 391/1001), ash-Shahrastānī (12th century), Naṣīraddīn aṭ-Ṭūsī (13th cent.), Ibn Taymiyya (13/14th cent.) and Ibn Abī Djūmhūr al-Ahsā'ī (15th cent.): G. Vajda, *Une synthèse peu connue de la révélation et de la philosophie*.

W. Madelung, *Ash-Shahrastānī's Streitsschrift gegen Avicenna*. - Ash-Shahrastānī's *Musāra'at al-falāsifa* and aṭ-Ṭūsī's *Maṣāri' al-Maṣāri'* are edited by Maḥmūd al-Mar'āshī and Ḥasan al-Mu'izzī (Qumm 1405/1984).

S.A. Kamali, *Types of Islamic Thought*, 53ff. (on Ibn Taymiyya); Th. Michel, *Ibn Taymiyya's Critique of Falsafa...*

During its duel with religious revelation, which is mirrored in a changing history of lively and partly politicized discussions,⁴¹² Islamic philosophy developed its profile just like the other sciences and just like religious thought and acting. Philosophy shaped the consciousness of that time in such a manner, that the famous Islamic historian Ibn Khaldūn (died in 1406 A.D.) could offer in his *Muqaddima* a not uncritical synopsis of Islamic society, religious-political law and philosophy; despite his critique of philosophy Ibn Khaldūn's synopsis betrays the impact of the philosophical world-view, which was developed since al-Fārābī and until Ibn Rushd.⁴¹³ Following Ibn Rushd's example it stresses the importance of correctly understood philosophy⁴¹⁴ for the universal history of mankind. Ibn Khaldūn's description of history and his philosophical view of history, in which he took into consideration social facts and requirements, is written for all and not for a minority of educated people.⁴¹⁵ Here too Ibn Khaldūn refers to examples from the past.

At the same time he criticizes the traditional concept of philosophy as metaphysics, which he regards as useless and the study of it even harmful.⁴¹⁶ The invisible things of religion and philosophy, understood as metaphysics, cannot be object of empirical research. Religion and empirical knowledge are two different domains: unbridgeable is the gap between Islamic theology of creation and the Aristotelian and Averroistic conception of the eternity of the world respectively Ibn Khaldūn's thesis of the eternal, cyclical recurrence of the same. Nevertheless, reli-

W. Madelung, *Ibn Abī Ğumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī's Synthesis of Kalām, Philosophy and Sufism*.

S. Schmidtke, *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik*.

412 Cf. Endress, *Wissen und Gesellschaft*, 233f.

413 Cf. M. Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldūn's Philosophy of History*, 84ff.; id., *Die Kritik der islamischen politischen Philosophie bei Ibn Khaldūn*; E.J. Rosenthal, *Ibn Jaldūn's Attitude to the Falāsifa...*

414 Cf. al-Rabe, *Muslim Philosophers Classification of the Sciences*, 171f.; 187ff.

415 Cf. Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldūn's Philosophy of History*, 113ff.; F. Ghazoul, *The Metaphors of Historiography*.

416 Cf. Daiber, *Ibn Khaldūn*, 47f.

gion has the function to intensify the *'aṣabiyya*, the solidarity of the tribe, it is a divine law with social function. Here, Ibn Khaldūn appears to have retained the concept of philosophy as knowledge of causalities in the history, which can be described and which are accessible to empirical research and which he pretends to describe in his *Muqaddima*.

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5. The Encounter of Islamic Philosophy with European Thought: Latin Translations and Translators of Arabic Philosophical Texts and their Importance for Medieval European Philosophy. Survey and State of the Art*

5.1. Introduction

During the expansion of the Islamic empire until Spain in the West activities of translating from Arabic into Latin began rather slowly in the 10th century; they continued from the 11th century onwards even during the beginning confrontation between Islam and Christianity in the Crusades.

Compare the following surveys: M. Alonso Alonso, Traducciones árabe-latino en el siglo XIV o a fines del siglo XIII, in *Estudios Lulianos*, 8, 1964: 54-66; M.-Th. D'Alverny, Translations and Translators, in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R.L. Benson and G. Constable, Cambridge Mass., 1982 (paperback 1985), 421-462 (reprint in d'Alverny, *La transmission des textes philosophiques et scientifiques au Moyen âge*. Ed. by Charles Burnett. Aldershot, Hants.; 1994. = Variorum. Collected Studies Series; v. CS 463); R. Beeldsnijder, Enige notities over Spanje en de overdracht der Grieks-Arabische wetenschappen naar West-Europa in de middeleeuwen, in: Opstellen over de Koninklijke Bibliotheek en andere studies. Bundel samengesteld door medewerkers van dr. C. Reedijk ter gelegenheid van zijn aftreden als bibliothecaris van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek te 's Gravenhage, Hilversum,

* For additional bibliographical informations on philosophers and themes s. Daiber, *Bibliography of Islamic Philosophy*. I: Alphabetical List of Publications. II: Index of Names, Terms and Topics. Leiden, Boston, Köln. = *Handbuch der Orientalistik*. 1. Abt., vol. 43,1-2. - Supplement: id., *Bibliography of Islamic Philosophy*. Supplement. Leiden-Boston 2007. = *Handbuch der Orientalistik*. 1. Abt., Bd. 89.

1986: 341-355; Charles Burnett, *The Introduction of Arabic Learning into England*. London 1997. = *The Panizzi Lectures*. 1996 (on the Arabic philosophical sources of Daniel Morley, Alexander Neckham, John Blund and Alfred of Sareshel); Gilbert Dahan, Les traductions latines du grec, de l'arabe et de l'hébreu. *Identifier sources et citations*. (Ed. by) Jacques Berlioz. Turnout 1994 (= *L'Atelier du médiéviste*. 1): 47-75; G. F. Hourani, The Medieval Translations from Arabic to Latin made in Spain, in *The Moslem World* 62, 1972: 97-114; J. Jolivet, The Arabic Heritage, in *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. by P. Dronke, Cambridge 1988: 113-148; Husain Kassim, *Aristotle and Aristotelianism in Medieval Muslim, Jewish, and Christian Philosophy*. Lanham, New York, Oxford 2000; D. Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought*, London 1962 (2 1963), 221ff.: "The philosophical revolution of the 13th century"; R. Lemay, Dans l'Espagne du XIIe siècle. Les traductions de l'arabe au latin, in *Annales. Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 18, 1963: 639-665; D.C. Lindberg, The Transmissions of Greek and Arabic Learning to the West, in *Sciences in the Middle Ages*, ed. by D.C. Lindberg, Chicago and London, 1978 (pp. 52-90), 58 ff; D. Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England*, New Haven, 1977; J.M. Milás-Vallicrosa, La corriente de las traducciones científicas de origen oriental hasta fines del siglo XIII, in *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 2, 1954-5: 395-428; English translation: Translations of Oriental Scientific Works (to the End of the Thirteenth Century), in *The Evolution of Science*, ed. G.S. Metraux et F. Crouzet, New York, 1963, 128-167.

These activities of Arabic-Latin translations are concentrated at the beginning on scientific works of the Arabs.⁴¹⁷ We find books on astronomy and mathematics and since the 11th century an in-

417 Cf. L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 1-8, New York², 1929-1964; H. Schipperges, *Die Assimilation der arabischen Medizin durch das lateinische Mittelalter*, Wiesbaden, 1964 (= *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaft*, Beiheft 3). – The oldest traces of Arabic-Latin translations (in the field of astronomy) can be found in writings of Gerbert of Aurillac (later Pope Sylvester II); cf. C.H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, Cambridge, Mass., 1924, 8f.

creasing number of medical texts. In an exemplary manner we are informed about the Arabic-Latin transmission of medical books in the Middle Ages and about their centers of assimilation Salerno and Toledo in Heinrich Schipperges, *Die Assimilation der arabischen Medizin durch das lateinische Mittelalter*. This book, which appeared in 1964, supplements in many details the results by Charles Homer Haskins in his *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* from the year 1924, which continue, however, to be a mine of informations for the historian of Islamic and Western science.

5.2. Indispensable Research Material

Arabic philosophical works were translated into Latin mainly in Toledo since the second half of the 12th century (s. § 5.11.3, end) and - to a smaller extent - also in Italy. On these translations we do not have a monograph comparable to that of Schipperges. The “influence of the Arabic philosophy on the scholastic philosophy”⁴¹⁸ is far from being discussed in an exhaustive manner.⁴¹⁹ The historian of philosophy, who is interested in the reception and assimilation of Islamic philosophy in Europe, can find many observations in the mentioned works by Haskins and Schipperges or in works by historians of philosophy⁴²⁰ who only in a few cases are experts of Arabic *and* Latin.⁴²¹ We should be

418 Thus the title of an article written by J. Forget in 1894 in French: “De l’influence de la philosophie arabe sur la philosophie scolastique”, in: *Revue néoscholastique* 1: 384-410.

419 Cf. below § 11.

420 Cf. e.g. Dod (s. below n. 434) 47f.; E. Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1955, 235ff.; M. Haren, *Medieval Thought. The Western Intellectual Tradition from Antiquity to the Thirteenth Century*, Hampshire-London, 1985, 132-137; J. Marenbon, *Later Medieval Philosophy (1150-1350). An Introduction*, London-New York 1987, 50ff.; F. van Steenberghen (s. n. 568), the references given in W.M. Watt, *The Influence of Islam on Medieval Europe*, Edinburgh, 1972 (2nd 1982), 103f.

421 An exception is, for example, the survey by G.C. Anawati, in *The Legacy of Islam*, 2nd edition ed. by J. Schacht with C.E. Bosworth, Oxford, 1974

aware, that the picture of the translating period and the process of reception and assimilation of philosophical and scientific works of the Arabs is still incomplete and future research might deliver new details, e.g. with regard to Antioch as a “link between Arabic and Latin Culture” (12/13th c.), Theodore of Antioch and Pisa as a centre of Arabic Latin translations.⁴²² The historian of philosophy has now at his disposal a useful referencebook on translators, translations and philosophers in Peter Schulthess and Ruedi Imbach, *Die Philosophie im lateinischen Mittelalter. Ein Handbuch mit einem bio-bibliographischen Repertorium* (Zürich 1996; pb. 2000).

With regard to the Arabic-Latin transmission of philosophical texts we have now at our disposal quite a lot of investigations aiming at the collection of the material on translators, translations and manuscripts. The results so far reached can supplement, revise and correct numerous statements made by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld in his *Die Übersetzungen arabischer Werke ins Lateinische* from the year 1877⁴²³ or by Moritz Steinschneider in his *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* from the years 1904 und 1905.⁴²⁴

Since Wüstenfeld and Steinschneider new manuscript mate-

(²1979), 380-389 (German translation in *Das Vermächtnis des Islam*, II, Zürich-Munich 1980, 156-165).

422 Cf. Ch. Burnett, Antioch as a Link between Arabic and Latin Culture in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, In: *Occident et Proche-Orient: Contacts scientifiques au temps des Croisades*. Actes du colloque de Lovain-la-Neuve, 24 et 25 mars 1997, édités par Isabelle Draelants, Anne Tihon, Baudouin van den Abeele. Turnhout; 2000 (= *Réminiscences*. 5); 1-7; on “Master Theodore” at the court of Frederick II s. also Jürgen Tubach, Ein Nestorianer am deutschen Kaiserhof? – In: Tamcke, Martin; Heinz, Andreas (eds.): *Zu Geschichte, Theologie, Liturgie und Gegenwartsfrage der syrischen Kirchen*. Ausgewählte Vorträge des deutschen Syrologen-Symposiums vom 2.-4. Oktober 1998 in Hermannsburg. Münster-Hamburg-London; 2000 (= *Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte*. 9): 275-312, and the references given there.

423 Appeared as vol. 22 in *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*.

424 Appeared in *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Philos.-hist.Kl. 149/IV, repr. Graz 1956.

rial on the Arabic-Latin transmission of philosophical texts became known and could be identified with some exceptions.⁴²⁵ A useful instrument for further information is Lynn Thorndyke and Pearle Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin*.⁴²⁶ It can be supplemented and corrected from new published catalogues, as Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*⁴²⁷ or the not yet finished *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum. Mediaeval and Renaissance Translations and Commentaries*⁴²⁸ by P.O. Kristeller and F. Edward Cranz, or Charles Lohr, *Medieval Latin Aristotle commentaries*.⁴²⁹

425 Thorndyke-Kibre (s. next note), 1253 mention for example a book ascribed to Fārābī and bearing the title: *Liber de natura loci ex latitudine et longitudine* (inc.: Quod naturam loci scire oportet in scientia naturali); or p. 1305 mentions *Questiones Nicolai Periphatetici Liber Alfarabii* (?) (inc.: Quoniam terra spherica est vapor ascendens in terra...): on this cf. the references given in Schulthess/Imbach [above] p. 530.

Not identified is Aganafat/Aganasat, *Thesaurus Philosophorum*, a source of the *Tractatus de modo opponendi et responendi*. Cf. L.M. De Rijk, in *Vivarium* 11, 1973: 105-107 and id., *Mittelalterliche Traktate De modo opponendi et responendi*, Münster 1980.

Not identified is Virgilius Cordubensis, *Philosophia*, in: *Bibliotheca anecdotorum seu veterum monumentorum ecclesiasticorum collectio visissima*. Ex codicibus bibliothecarum hispanicarum collegit, descripsit, disposuit et edidit Gothh. Heine. Ars I: Monumenta regni Gothorum et Arabum in Hispanis. Praefatus est M.J.E. Volbeding. Lipsiae. 1848: 211-244. According to Henry George Farmer, Virgilius Cordubensis (in: *JRAS* 1929: 599-603) the work is an Arabic-Latin translation, made in Toledo about 1290. The text is not mentioned in Schulthess/Imbach.

426 Revised and argued edition London 1963. – More Incipit-catalogues (and catalogues of Latin manuscripts) mentions M.-Th. D’Alverny, Editions de textes, in *L’homme et son univers au moyen âge*, ed. Chr. Wenin, I (= *Philosophes médiévaux*, XXVI), Louvain-la-Neuve 1986 (121- 140), 128f.

427 I¹ - X, Leiden 1977-1997 (also available as online catalogue, which will be updated).

428 1-6, Washington, 1960-1986.

429 In *Traditio*, 23, 1967: 313-413; 24, 1968: 149-245, 26, 1970: 135-216; 27, 1971: 251-351; 28, 1972: 281-396; 29, 1973: 93-197; *BPhM* 14, 1972: 116-126.

5.3.1. Aristoteles Arabico-Latinus

From the material, available until now, we get a clear picture of the Arabic-Latin transmission of Aristotle. It is clearer than that of the Latin transmission of Islamic philosophers. After the publication of Amable Jourdain's monograph on the Latin translations of Aristotle, which was a standard book for a long time after its appearance in 1843,⁴³⁰ and after Martin Grabmann's *Forschungen über die lateinischen Aristoteles-Übesetzungen des XIII. Jahrhunderts* from 1916,⁴³¹ we possess now another reliable reference-book in the collective edition *Aristoteles Latinus*, which is being published since 1939. This referencebook includes a catalogue of "Codices",⁴³² which also lists the Arabic-Latin translations of Aristotle. Based on this list L. Minio-Paluello has published in 1965 a survey⁴³³ and the translations and their translators are included in monographs like F.E. Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus* from the year 1968 (New York) or like Bernard G. Dod in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy* from the year 1982.⁴³⁴ We have now at our disposal a lot of material of which future research can profit.

L. Bottin could profit from Hermannus Alemannus' still unpublished Arabic-Latin translation for the textual criticism of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*: cf. Bottin, *Contributi della tradizione greco-latina al testo della Retorica di Aristotele*, Padova, 1977. Cf. on Hermannus' version also M.C. Lyons (Hrsg.), *Aristotle's Ars Rhetorica*, The Arabic Version, I, Cambridge, 1982, S. XVI ff. and the commentary by Lyons. - Hermannus had a predilection for Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, as he

430 *Recherches critiques sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote et sur les commentaires grecs ou arabes employés par des docteurs scolastiques*, Paris, repr. New York 1974.

431 *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen*. XVII/5-6.

432 I, 1939; II, 1955; Supplementa altera, 1961.

433 Aristotele dal mondo arabo a quello latino, in *L'occidente el'islam nell'alto medioevo (2-8 aprile 1964)* 11, Spoleto 1965, 603-637. Cf. also M.-Th. D'Alverny, Les traductions d'Aristote et de ses commentateurs, in *Revue de synthèse*, Paris 89 (nr. 49-52), 1968: 125-144.

434 Pp. 74-79 and the survey pp. 58-60.

also translated the rhetorical works by Fārābī and Ibn Rushd; s. below §§ 8 and 11.1 and William F. Boggess, Hermannus Alemanus's Rhetorical Translations, in *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Berkeley-Los Angeles - London 2, 1971: 227-250.

Here, it is worthwhile to mention Hermannus' Latin translation of a compendium of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (perhaps translated from Syriac into Arabic), the *Summa Alexandrinorum*, which is available in several Latin manuscripts: s. D'Alverny, Remarques sur la tradition manuscrite de la "Summa Alexandrinorum", in *AHDL* 49, 1982 (Paris, 1983), 265-272 (also in d'Alverny, *La transmission des textes philosophiques et scientifiques au Moyen âge*. Ed. by Charles Burnett. Aldershot, Hants.; 1994. = Variorum. Collected Studies Series; v. CS 463). - On the basis of two manuscripts the text is edited by C. Marchesi (*L'ethica Nicomachea nella tradizione latine medievale*, Messina 1904; reprinted in an annex to the edition of the Arabic text by Badawī, s. below) and now by G.B. Fowler, Manuscript Admont 608 and Engelbert of Admont (c. 1250-1331), in *AHDL* 49 (1982; Paris, 1983), 195-252.

The Arabic original of the Latin translation is edited by 'Abdarrahmān Badawī, *al-Akhlāq*, Kuwait 1979, 394-445. Cf. on the text D.M. Dunlop, The Arabic Tradition of the Summa Alexandrinorum, in *AHDL* 49, 1982 (Paris, 1983), 253-263. A critical edition with English translation appeared in 2005 (s. n. 442).

5.3.2. Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus

The edition of the Arabic-Latin translations of Aristotle's works is the aim of the project *Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus*, which is founded in 1971 by Hendrik Joan Drossaart Lulofs and which is now supervised by Hans Daiber (University of Frankfurt/M., Germany) and Remke Kruk (University of Leiden/Netherlands). The *Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus*, a project in the charge of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences and under the auspices of the Union Académique Internationale, has published 19 volumes in the past 32 years.

So far the publications have concentrated on six complexes of Aristotle's work:

- 1) On the Arabic and Syriac transmission of Aristotle's *Organon*;⁴³⁵
- 2) on the reception of Aristotle's *Physics* in the Arabic world;⁴³⁶
- 3) on the Arabic, Hebrew and Latin transmission of Aristotle's *Meteorology* and *Cosmology*;⁴³⁷
- 4) on the Arabic and Latin transmission of Aristotle's *zoology*;⁴³⁸

435 *Der Kategorienkommentar von Abū l-Faraǧ 'Abdallāh ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib. Text und Untersuchungen.* Hrsg.v. Cleophea Ferrari. Leiden 2006. - *Aristotelian Rhetoric in Syriac.* Barhebraeus, *Butyrum Sapientiae, Book of Rhetoric.* Hrsg.v. John W. Watt, with assistance of Daniel Isaac, Julian Faultless and Ayman Shihadeh. Leiden 2005.

436 *Aristotle's Physics and its reception in the Arabic World.* With an edition of the unpublished parts of Ibn Bājja's Commentary on the Physics. By P. Lettinck. Leiden 1994.

437 *Ein Kompendium der aristotelischen Meteorologie in der Fassung des Hunain Ibn Ishāq.* Hrsg.mit Übers., Komm. u. Einl. v. H. Daiber. Amsterdam, Oxford 1975 (= Verh. Kon. Nederl.Ak.v. Wet., Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. 89)..-

Otot ha-Shamayim. Samuel Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew version of Aristotle's Meteorology. A critical edition, with introduction, translation, and index by R. Fontaine. Leiden 1995.

Aristotle's Metereology and its reception in the Arab world. With an edition and translation of Ibn Suwār's Treatise on Meteorological Phenomena and Ibn Bājja's Commentary on the Meteorology. By P. Lettinck. Leiden 1999.

Aristotle's Meteorology in the Arabic-Latin Tradition. A critical edition of the texts, with introduction and indices by P.L. Schoonheim. Leiden 2000. *Pseudo-Avicenna, Liber celi et mundi*, ed. by O. Gutman. Leiden, Boston 2003.

Aristotelian Meteorology in Syriac. Barhebraeus, *Butyrum sapientiae, Books of Mineralogy and Meteorology.* Ed. and translated by Hidemi Takahashi. Leiden, Boston 2004.

438 *The Arabic Version of Aristotle's Parts of Animals.* Books XI-XIV of the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*. Critical edition with introduction and selected Glossary by R. Kruk. Amsterdam, Oxford 1979 (= Verh. Kon. Nederl. Ak.v. Wet., Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. 97). - This continues the edition by J. Brugman and H.J. Drossaart Lulofs of *Aristotle, Generation of Animals.* The Arabic Translation commonly ascribed to Yahyā ibn al-Bitrīq. Leiden 1971. = Publica-

- 5) on Aristotle's biology in the edition and translation of the Syriac, Arabic, Latin, Hebrew translations of *De plantis* in the redaction of Nicolaus Damascenus by H.J. Drossaart Lulofs in his opus magnum published in 1989, together with E.L.J. Poortman's edition of the Latin-Greek version.⁴³⁹ Poortman has published in 2003 *Petrus de Alverniás commentary on the Arabic-Latin version*;⁴⁴⁰
- 6) on the Arabic and Arabic-Hebrew tradition of Aristotle's psychology, his *De anima*;⁴⁴¹
- 7) on the Arabic transmission of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*;⁴⁴²
- 8) on the *Problemata physica*, mainly a medical text betraying influence of the Greek physician Galen from the 2nd

tion of the 'De Goeje Gund' XXIII.

Aristotle: De Animalibus. Michael Scot' Arabic-Latin Translation. Part 2: Books XI-XIV: Parts of Animals. Ed. by A..M.J. van Oppenraaij. Leiden 1998.

Aristotle: De Animalibus. Michael Scot's Arabic-Latin translation. Part 3: Books XV-XIX: Generation of Animals. Ed. by A.M.J. van Oppenraaij. With a Greek index to *De Generatione animalium* by H.J. Drossaart Lulofs. Leiden 1992.

439 *Nicolaus Damascenus, De Plantis, Five Translations.* Edited and introduced by H.J. Drossaart Lulofs and [Latin and Greek translations] E.L.J. Poortman. Amsterdam, Oxford, New York 1989 (= Verh. Kon. Nederl.Ak. v. Wet., Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. 139).

440 *Petrus de Alvernia, Sententia super Librum ,de vegetabilibus et plantis'*, ed. by E.L.J. Poortman. Leiden, Boston 2003.

441 *Das Kapitel über das Begehren aus dem Mittleren Kommentar des Averroes zur Schrift über die Seele.* [Introd., ed. and transl. by] Helmut Gätje. Amsterdam, Oxford, New York 1985 (= Verh. Kon. Nederl. Ak. v. Wet., Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. 129).

Aristotle's De anima translated into Hebrew by Zerahyah ben Isaac ben Shealtiel Hen. Ed. by G.Bos. Leiden 1993.

Aristotle's De anima. Eine verlorene spätantike Paraphrase in arabischer und persischer Überlieferung. Arabischer Text nebst Kommentar, quellengeschichtlichen Studien und Glossaren. Hrsg.v. R. Arnzen. Leiden 1998.

442 *The Arabic Version of the Nicomachean Ethics.* Ed. by Anna A. Akasoy and Alexander Fidora, with an introduction and annotated translation by Douglas M. Dunlop. Leiden 2005.

century A.D. and attributed to Aristotle; in its Arabic and Hebrew version it is based on a lost Greek-Alexandrian redaction;⁴⁴³

9) the Syriac reception of Aristotle's works in Barhebraeus' *Butyrum sapientiae*.⁴⁴⁴

What have we learned from the Syriac, Arabic, Hebrew and Latin versions of Aristotle's works? What have they contributed to our knowledge of the Greek heritage and its reception in Arabic and medieval Latin? The answer is manifold:

Firstly, the oriental tradition has preserved lost Greek texts, as it is the case with the books *De plantis*.

Secondly, the oriental tradition has preserved texts, which confirm readings of preserved Greek manuscripts and prove their age: examples are the Arabic version of Aristotle's book *De animalibus* and the Arabic-Hebrew translation of *De anima*. Or the oriental translations differ from the transmitted Greek versions and are based on late, hellenistic redactions, perhaps from the Alexandrians in the 3rd century or later: examples are the Arabic and Hebrew versions of the *Problemata physica* or the Arabic paraphrase of Aristotle's *De anima* keeping to the commentaries of John Philoponus and others; or the Arabic versions of Aristotle's *Meteorology*, namely the compendium attributed to Ḥunayn Ibn Ishāq and the translation by Ibn al-Biṭrīq of a version, in which Aristotle's old-fashioned explanations, e.g. the description of the Milky Way as a fiery secretion of anathymiasis, are sometimes replaced by "modern" ones.

Thirdly, the oriental tradition of Aristotle included the Greek commentaries on Aristotle, which modified the picture of Aristotle and his reception in the Arabic and medieval Latin world. An example is the Hebrew version of Aristotle's *Meteorology*, which

443 *The problemata Physica attributed to Aristotle. The Arabic Version of Hunain ibn Ishāq and the Hebrew Version of Moses ibn Tibbon.* (Ed. and transl. by) L.S. Filius. Leiden 1999.

444 *A Syriac Encyclopaedia of Aristotelian Philosophy. Barhebraeus (13th c.), Butyrum sapientiae, Books of Ethics, Economy and Politics.* A Critical Edition, with Introduction, Translation, Commentary and Glossaries. By Peter N. Joosse. Leiden, Boston 2004. -

relies in several places on Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary on Aristotle's *Meteorology*; or the Arabic tradition of Aristotle's *Physics*, which is indebted to the commentary of Themistius and to the lost commentaries by Alexander of Aphrodisias and John Philoponus.

Fourthly, the Oriental tradition, including the Muslim commentaries and adaptations of Aristotle's works, especially those by Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd, became decisive for the picture, which the Latin Middle Ages created from Aristotle's thought. It is not only shaped by the Latin translations of Arabic versions e.g. of Aristotle's *De animalibus*. Here, the *Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus* is related to the projects *Avicenna Latinus* and *Averroes Arabicus/Hebraicus* and *Latinus*.

This survey of what has been done so far and of its focuses reveals several desiderata which will be met only partly with the work in progress and the planned continuation of the project *Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus*. At the moment editions are being prepared of the Arabic and Latin versions of Aristotle's *De caelo* and *De historia animalium*, of the Arabic version of the *Parva naturalia*, which is based on a lost redaction perhaps from Alexandria.

Special attention is given to the Syriac tradition of Aristotle. In Frankfurt, a research project is being carried out on the edition of Barhebraeus' encyclopaedia *Butyrum sapientiae*, his *Ḥēwath hekhmthā* from the 13th century, the most impressive description of Aristotelian philosophy in the Syriac language. It often follows Ibn Sīnā's encyclopaedia entitled "The Book of Cure" (*Kitāb al-Shifā'*) or the Avicennian Naṣīr al-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī and uses Greek-Syriac sources like Nicolaus Damascenus' lost compendium of Aristotle's philosophy. Only a small part of the Syriac version of Nicolaus' compendium has been published so far,⁴⁴⁵ but an edition of all its surviving sections is now being prepared in Tokyo

445 Das Fragment von *De plantis* : s. Anm.22. - Ferner J.H. Drossaart Lulofs, *Nicolaus Damascenus on the Philosophy of Aristotle*. Fragments of the first five books translated from the Syriac with an introduction and commentary. Leiden 1969 (Nachdr. d. A. 1965, mit Verbesserungen). (= *Philosophia antiqua*. 13).

(H. Takahashi) on the basis of a unique manuscript in Cambridge. Here, Barhebraeus appears to be an important witness for the reconstruction of the Nicolaus-text, but also generally for the Syriac Aristotle: he is indispensable for the edition of the Syriac version of Aristotle's *Poetics*, of which an edition is being prepared.⁴⁴⁶

The edition of Barhebraeus' adaptations of the Aristotelian works does not require special justification. The following editions of parts of his *Butyrum sapientiae* are completed: *Meteorology* and *Minerals* in the *Butyrum sapientiae*, *Ethics*, *Economy* and *Politics*,⁴⁴⁷ moreover, the book on *Rhetoric*. The next step will be an edition of the part *De animalibus* in Barhebraeus' *Butyrum sapientiae*, of *De caelo* and *De generatione et corruptione* in this work, and of the *Physics*.

The part *De animalibus* will receive special attention, as it will help us to supplement our picture of the oriental and medieval tradition of Aristotle's zoology. The Leiden group of Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus, under the supervision of R. Kruk, is doing research into the Arabic transmission of Aristotle's zoology, including commentaries and adaptations.

In the Constantijn Huygens Institute in The Hague the Latin translation of Aristotle's *De animalibus* by Michel Scot will be edited. This edition will be followed by editions of Pedro Gallego's compendium *De animalibus* and of the Latin version of Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb ash-Shifā'*, the part on animals, for the Belgian project *Avicenna Latinus*. The Latin section of the project Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus including commentaries on Arabic-Latin translations, like that by Petrus de Alvernia on *De plantis*, entitled *Sententia supra Librum de vegetabilibus et plantis*⁴⁴⁸ will be of increasing importance for the history of sciences in the Middle Ages. An Ar-

446 Cf. Daiber, *Die Aristotelesrezeption in der syrischen Literatur. Die Gegenwart des Altertums. Formen und Funktionen des Altertumsbezugs in den Hochkulturen der Alten Welt*. Hrsg.v. Dieter Kühn und Helga Stahl. Heidelberg; 2001:327-345. - Eine Edition der syrischen Version von Aristoteles' *Poetik* wird zur Zeit in Amsterdam vorbereitet.

447 See above n. 435, 437, 444.

448 See above n. 440.

abic-Latin translation can correct and confirm the editions of their Arabic originals, or might even become a substitute of a lost Greek-Arabic original, as is the case with the Ps.-Avicennian *Liber de celi et mundi*.⁴⁴⁹

The Arabic, late Syriac and Latin tradition is for a large part coloured by Ibn Sīnā's encyclopedia *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, which has already been mentioned. Besides Ibn Sīnā another author shaped the picture of Aristotle in the Middle Ages, not only of the Latin, but also of the Hebrew Aristotle: this is Ibn Rushd from the 12th century who wrote many commentaries on Aristotle's work; of his commentary on *De animalibus*, which is preserved only in a medieval Hebrew translation, an edition is planned in the Averroes project. Ibn Rushd is quoted and discussed in the Hebrew encyclopaedia *Midrash Ha-Hokhma* by Solomon ha-Cohen from the 13th century, of which too an edition is being prepared.

5.3.3. Arabic-Islamic Determinants of the Picture of Aristotle in the Middle Ages

About the echo of the Arabic-Latin transmission of Aristotle's works we have at our disposal several surveys which cannot claim to be final.⁴⁵⁰ A summarizing evaluation is difficult because of the fact, that the picture of Aristotle is shaped in the Middle Ages by several factors, which sometimes were not taken into account in a sufficient manner. If we leave aside the Greek-Latin transmission, the Latin transmission of the Arabic commentators on Aristotle, became here very influential; moreover, the Aristotelian natural philosophy of Arabic-Latin works on astronomy, as has been shown in 1962 by Richard Lemay in his monograph on *Abū Ma'shar and Latin Aristotelianism in the 12th Century* (published

449 Ed. by O. Gutman, s. n. 437.

450 Cf. M. Grabmann, Aristoteles im Werturteil des Mittelalters, in Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben*, II, Munich 1936, 63-102 and esp. F. van Steenberghen, *Aristotle in the West*, Louvain, 1955, esp. pp. 89ff.

in Beirut). In addition, it is still unclear, whether ideas of the late Hellenistic exegesis of Aristotle, e.g. in ps.-Apollonius of Tyana's "Book on the Secret of Creation" (*Kitāb Sirr al-khaliqa*), played an essential role. This cosmology is an Arabic compilation from the 9th century A.D., based on several sources, among them Greek texts and is translated into Latin, mostly in a paraphrasing manner, in the first half of the 12th century by Hugo Sanctelliensis⁴⁵¹. Just as little known is the impact of the Arabic alchemical literature, e.g. of the Arabic-Latin translation of the *Turba philosophorum*⁴⁵², on the medieval Aristotelian natural philosophy.

5.3.4. Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā in Latin Transmission

We have more information on the influence of the philosophical-medical treatise "On the Difference between the Pneuma (*rūh*) and the Soul (*nafs*)", written by the Christian Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā in the 9th century A.D. Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā's thesis that the immortal soul is the cause of perception and life and that the pneuma is a medium therefore, has surely influenced medieval discussions on the immortality of the soul. John of Sevilla translated this treatise in 1130 into Latin and Hermann of Carinthia translated it afresh, perhaps before 1143 and by using this translation. Both versions

451 Cf. U. Weisser, *Das Buch über das Geheimnis der Schöpfung von Pseudo-Apollonius von Tyana*, New York 1980, 54f (= *Ars medica*, III. Abt., vol. 2) and the review by Daiber, in *Der Islam* 59, 1982: 326-332; C.S.F. Burnett, A Croup of Arabic-Latin Translators Working in Northern Spain in the Mid-12th Century, in *JRAS* 1977, (62-108), p. 64. The Latin version is unpublished, the Arabic text is edited by U. Weisser (Aleppo 1979).

452 Ed. by J. Ruska, *Turba philosophorum. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alchemie*, Berlin 1931 (= *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*. 1); on this book cf. M. Plessner, *Vorsokratische Philosophie und griechische Alchemie. Studien zu Text und Inhalt der Turba philosophorum*. Nach dem Manuskript ediert v. F. Klein-Franke, Wiesbaden, 1975 (= *Boethius IV*) and on its late-hellenistic interpretation of Aristotle cf. H. Daiber, Democritus in Arabic and Syriac Tradition, in *Proceedings of the 1st International Congress on Democritus (Xanthi, 6-9 October 1983)*, Xanthi 1984, part B (pp. 251-264), pp. 258-260.

are published in 1985 by Judith Wilcox, together with an English translation of the longer version and an edition (by Shmuel Friedländer) of the anonymous Latin-Hebrew translation from the late 13h century.⁴⁵³

5.4. Liber de causis

Besides the mentioned factors the medieval picture of Aristotle is, moreover, shaped by several ps.-Aristotelian texts.⁴⁵⁴ We can leave aside here the ps.-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*,⁴⁵⁵ which is more a practical handbook advising on medical matters and practical ethics following the literature on the mirror of princes. Extremely important, however, became the *Liber de causis*, followed by those Islamic philosophers, which were translated into Latin and which were known in the Middle Ages.

The *Liber de causis*⁴⁵⁶ is ultimately based on an Arabic redac-

453 *The transmission and Influence of Qusta Ibn Luqa's "On the Difference between Spirit and Soul"*, PhD thesis City University of New York. – Cf. on the echo in Petrus Alfonsi Charles Burnett, *Encounters with Rāzī the Philosopher: Constantine the African, Petrus Alfonsi and Ramón Martí. Pensamiento medieval hispano: Homenaje a Horacio, Santiago Otero*. Ed. M. Soto Rábanos. Madrid; 973-992.

454 Cf. Ch. Schmitt, D. Knox: *Pseudo-Aristoteles Latinus. A Guide to Latin Works falsely attributed to Aristotle before 1500*, London, 1985 (= Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts. XII); moreover, the collective works *Pseudo-Aristotle, The Secret of Secret. Sources and Influences*, ed. W.F. Ryan and Ch. B. Schmitt, London 1982; *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages. The Theology and other Texts*, ed. J. Kraye, W.F. Ryan, C.F. Schmitt, London 1986 [review by H. Daiber in *Der Islam* 65, 1988: 130-132].

455 S. preceding note.

456 Ed. by A. Pattin in *Tijdschrift voor filosofie* 28, 1966: 90-203. Cf. on this edition C. Vansteenkiste, *Intorno al testo latino del Liber de causis*, in *Angelicum* 44, 1967: 60-83 (with a useful annotated Arabic-Latin glossary, pp. 67-83) and on the problems of a critical edition A. Fidora and A. Niederberger in the introduction to their edition (without collation of all available mss.) and annotated German translation of the *Liber de causis*, published under the title *Von Baghdad nach Toledo. Das "Buch der Ursachen" und seine Rezeption im Mittelalter*. (Mit einem Geleitwort von

tion of Proclus' *Institutio theologica* from the 9th century A.D. The varying remarks of the Latin tradition on the authorship of the *Liber de causis* caused a long discussion,⁴⁵⁷ which today is not yet completely settled but from which it became rather sure that the Latin text is based on an Arabic original from the 9th century and that this Arabic original was translated into Latin in the second half of the 12th century⁴⁵⁸ by Gerhard of Cremona. This Latin version might have been revised by Dominicus Gundisalpinus (from 1110 to 1181) in collaboration with the Jew Avendauth, whose identity however is not quite clear.⁴⁵⁹ Final conclusions depend upon the still missing complete critical edition of the Latin text,⁴⁶⁰ including the variants of the *textus receptus*, and a complete comparison with the Arabic original.⁴⁶¹ For the establishment of the Arabic original and its Latin translation also the so far neglected Hebrew tradition⁴⁶² can be helpful, as has been shown by David

Matthias Lutz-Bachman), Mainz 2001 (= *Excerpta classica*. XX), 22-24. – An edition (without collation of all available mss.) and Spanish translation is Rafael Aguila Ruiz, *Liber de causis*. Bilbao 2001.

- 457 Cf. on the history of the discussion about the authorship of the *Liber de causis* now Fidora/Niederberger (s. prec. n.) 16ff.
- 458 Fidora/Niederberger (s. n. 456) p. 17 assume the period between 1167 and 1187.
- 459 Cf. article by D'Alverny, Avendauth (s. § 4.3). – Adriaan Pattin, Over de schrijver en de vertaler van het *Liber de causis*, in *Tijdschrift voor filosofie* 23, 1961: 323-333; 503-526 and id., Author du *Liber de causis*. – Quelques réflexions sur la recente littérature, in *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 41, 1994: 353-388 assumes Avendauth as author of the *Liber de causis*. Compare, however, G. Endress, *Proclus Arabus*, Beirut 1973 (= *Beiruter Texte und Studien* 10), 21 and the answer by Pattin, De "Proclus Arabus" en het *Liber de causis*, in *Tijdschrift voor filosofie* 38, 1976: 468-473. Against Pattin cf. now the article by R.C. Taylor, Remarks on the Latin Text and the Translator of the *Kalām fi'l-ḥayr al-maḥḍ* / *Liber de causis*, in *BPhM* 3, 1989: 75-102 and Fidora/Niederberger (s. n. 455) 20f.
- 460 Cf. on them R.C. Taylor, The *Liber de causis*: a preliminary list of extant manuscripts, in *BPhM* 25, 1983: 63-80 and his article mentioned in the prec. note.
- 461 The begin of such a comparison is the article by Vansteenkiste mentioned in n. 456; cf. also R.C. Taylor, A Note on Chapter I of the *Liber de Causis*, in *Manuscripta* 22, 1978: 169-172.
- 462 Cf. on this M. Steinschneider, *Die hebraeischen Überetzungen des Mittela-*

Kaufmann (1883)⁴⁶³ in his review of Otto Bardenhewer's edition of the Arabic original.⁴⁶⁴

With regard to the philosophical importance and the echo of the *Liber de causis* in the Middle Ages, especially in the 13th century, in Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, we have at our disposal several studies, which are listed below. These offer fruitful suggestions for the philosophical interpretation of the contents, which is not clear in all details.

Rafael Aguila Ruiz, *El Liber de causis y la metafísica del siglo XIII. Actes del Simposi internacional de Filosofia de l'Edad Mitjana*. 1996: 165-176; K. Allgaier, *Engel und Intelligenzen. Zur arabisch-lateinischen Proklos-Rezeption*, in *Orientalische Kultur und Europäisches Mittelalter*, ed. by A. Zimmermann, Berlin-New York 1985 (= *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 17): 172-187, esp.179ff.; M.-Th. D'Alverny, *Les pérégrinations de l'âme dans l'autre monde d'après un anonyme de la fin du XIIe siècle*, in *AHDL* 1940-42 (Paris 1942): 239-279 (informs about influences of the *Liber de causis*, of Algazel and Avicenna's *Metaphysics* and of the *Fons vitae* by Ibn Gabirol); J. Bach, *Des Albertus Magnus' Verhältnis zu der Erkenntnistheorie der Griechen, Lateiner, Araber und Juden*, Wien 1881, 182ff.; C. D'Ancona Costa, *L'Influence du vocabulaire arabe: causa prima est esse tantum*, in: *L'Élaboration du vocabulaire philosophique au moyen âge. Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve et Leuven 12-14 septembre 1998 organisé par la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale*. Édités par Jacqueline

*lter*s und die Juden als Dolmetscher, Graz, 1956, 259ff.

463 In *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1883: 536-565; reprinted in Kaufmann, *Gesammelte Schriften* IV (ed. by M. Braun, Frankfurt/M., 1915): 411-431 [also reprinted in *PlnHAIS.IP* 106, 2000: 55-75], esp. 422ff.

464 *Die pseudo-aristotelische Schrift über das reine Gute bekannt unter dem Namen Liber de causis*, Freiburg i.Br. 1882. = Reprinted in 1961 in Frankfurt/M. and in 2000 in Frankfurt/M. (ed. Fuat Sezgin. = *PlnHAIS.IP* 105). – Reviews of the edition by Bardenhewer: Georg von Hertling in: *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland*. Munich. 1882; 90: 717-735. = Reprinted in *PlnHAIS.IP* 106: 35-53; Kaufmann s. 37.

A new edition of the Arabic text is prepared by R.C. Taylor in his PhD thesis *The Liber de causis: (Kalam Fi Mahd ALKHAIR): A Study of Medieval Neoplatonism*, Toronto 1981.

Hamesse et Carlos Steel. Turnhout; 2001 (= *Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale. Rencontres de Philosophie Médiévale*.8): 51-97 (on anniyya, huwiyya and causa prima est esse tantum in the Liber de causis); ead., Le Livre des Causes: structure, antécédents, histoire littéraire, in *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. - Section des Sciences Religieuses*. Paris. 106, 1997-1998: 423-433; G. Federici Vescovini, L'influenza neoplatonica: I libri "de causis", in ead., *Studi sulla prospettiva medievale*, Torino, 1987, 19-32; M. Feigl, Albert der Grosse und die arabische Philosophie, in *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 63, 1955: 131-150 (reprinted in *PInHAIS.IP* 106, 2000: 213-232); Fidora/Niederberger, *Von Bagdad nach Toledo* (2001): s. n. 456; M. Gogacz, La Métaphysique (s. § 9.2), J. Chiu Yuen Ho, La doctrine de la participation dans le commentaire de saint Thomas d'Aquin sur le Liber de causis, in *Revue philosophique de Louvain*, 70 (1972), S. 360-383; K. Kremer, Die Creatio nach Thomas von Aquin und dem Liber de causis, in *Ekklesia. Festschrift für Bischof Dr. Matthias Wehr*, Trier 1962: 321-344; Ch.H. Lohr, The Pseudo-Aristotelian Liber de Causis and Latin Theories of Science in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, in *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages* (s. n. 454): 53-62; Edward Michael Macierowski, *Thomas Aquinas's Earliest Treatment of the Divine Essence.: Scriptum super libros Sententiarum, Book I, Distinction 8*. With a Foreword by Joseph Owens. Binghamton, NY; 1998. [Contains Latin text from Pierre Mandonnet's edition [1929] of Thomas's commentary on Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, book I, Distinction 8, with index of the sources, including Arabic sources, e.g. Averroes, Avicenna, *Liber de causis*]; K. Oshika, Thomas Aquinas and the Liber de causis, in *Studies in Medieval Thought*, 9, 1967: 102-122 (in Japanese); A. Pattin, De hierarchie van het zijnde in het "Liber de causis", in *Tijdschrift voor filosofie*, 23, 1961: 130-157; F. Pelster, Beiträge zur Aristotelesbenutzung Albert des Grossen. 3. Der Verfasser des Liber de causis, in *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 46, 1933: 458-463 (reprinted in *PInHAIS.IP* 106, 2000: 118-123); B.J. Rucinski, La connaissance du Liber de causis dans la littérature polonaise depuis le XVe jusqu'au XXe siècles, in *Actas del V congreso internacional de filosofia medieval* 1, Madrid, 1979:1187-1192; Constantin Sauter, Dante und der Liber de Causis,

in *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland*. 147, Munich 1911: 81-91 (reprinted in *PInHAIS.IP* 106, 2000: 97-117); E. Schillebeeckx, Arabisch-neoplatoonse achtergrond van Thomas opvatting over de ontvangelijkheid van de mens voor de genade, in *Bijdragen. Tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie* 35, 1974: 298-309 (does not mention the *Liber de causis!*); L. Sweeney, Doctrine of Creation in *Liber de causis*, in *An Etienne Gilson Tribute, presented by his North American Studies with a response by E. Gilson*, ed. Ch.J. O'Neil, Milwaukee, 1959: 274-289; id., Research Difficulties in the *Liber de Causis*, in *Modern Schoolman* 36, 1959: 109-116; R.C. Taylor, Aquinas, the Plotiniana Arabica, and the Metaphysics of Being and Actuality. *JHI* 1998; 59:217-239 [*Liber de causis* - comparison of its source, the Plotiniana arabica - with Thomas Aquinas]; id., St. Thomas and the *Liber de causis* on the Hylomorphic Composition of Separate Substances, in *Mediaeval Studies* 41, 1979: 509-513; C. Vansteenkiste, Il *Liber de causis* negli scritti di San Tommaso, in *Angelicum* 35, 1958: 325-374 (reprinted in *PInHAIS.IP* 106, 2000: 233-282) [with detailed references]; J. Wrobel, Le probleme "reditio" dans la XIV-ème proposition du commentaire de Roger Bacon au *Liber de causis*, in *Actas del V congreso internacional de filosofia medieval* I, Madrid 1979: 1371-1376.

The *Liber de causis* is commented among others by Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274)⁴⁶⁵ and by Aegidius Romanus (end of the 13th c.).⁴⁶⁶ Not at least through these commentaries it became the most important Neoplatonic source for the medieval scholastic

465 *Sancti Thomae de Aquino super librum de causis exposito*, ed. H.-D. Saffrey, Frebourg-Louvain 1954; cf. W. Beierwaltes, Der Kommentar zum "Liber de causis" als neuplatonisches Element in der Philosophie des Thomas von Aquinas, in *Philosophische Rundschau* 11, 1963: 192-215. – An Italian translation with commentary is published by C. D'Ancona Costa: *S. Thommaso d'Aquino, Commento al Libro delle cause*, Trad., introd. e note, Milano 1986.

466 *Opus super authorem de causis Alfarabium, Venetiis, 1550*. Cf. G. Trape, Il neoplatonismo di Egidio Romano nel commento al "de causis", in *Aquinas* 9, 1966: 49-86. – A new edition is being prepared as a project (Aegidii Romani opera omnia) under the auspices of the Union Académique Internationale, s. Compte rendu de la soixante deuxième session annuelle du comité (Bruxelles, du 12 au 18 juin 1988), Bruxelles, 1988, 46f.

philosophy. It is scarcely replaced later through the pseudo-Aristotelian “Theology”,⁴⁶⁷ an Arabic compilation based on Plotinus’ *Enneads* and the Proclus-tradition of the *Liber de causis*, which at the beginning of the 16th century became known in Europe through a Latin translation.

5.5. The Arabic-Latin Alexander of Aphrodisias

The medieval picture of Aristotle became influenced through the *Liber de causis* in a decisive manner; however, the Arabic Platonic tradition⁴⁶⁸ is completely thrust into the background and not taken up by Latin translators.⁴⁶⁹ Instead of it Latin scholasticism received important stimulations from Arabic texts on the intellect following the peripatetic exegesis of Aristotle. Primarily Alexander of Aphrodisias, a commentator of Aristotle from the 2nd/3rd century A.D., has influenced Islamic philosophers since Kindī (9th century A.D.)⁴⁷⁰ and partly through them shaped the medieval doctrine of the intellect;⁴⁷¹ the process of shaping resulted in terminological and doctrinal modifications,⁴⁷² already

467 Cf. J.Kraye, The Pseudo-Aristotelian Theology in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe, in *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages* (s. n. 454), pp. 265-286.

468 Cf. on this Fr. Rosenthal, On the Knowledge of Plato’s Philosophy in the Islamic World, in *Islamic Culture* 14, 1940: 387-422 (reprint in id., *Greek Philosophy in the Arab World. A collection of essays*, Aldershot 1990 [Variorum. Collected Studies Series. CS; v. 322], nr. II); articles listed in Daiber, *Bibliography*, (s. n.*), Index s. Plato.

469 Cf. R. Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition during the Middle Ages*, London 1939.

470 Cf. below § 7.

471 On Kindī, Fārābī, Avicenna and Averroes cf. G. Thery, *Autour du décret de 1210:II. Alexandre d’Aphrodise*, Kain 1926 (= *Bibliothèque Thomiste*. VII): 34ff.

472 Cf. R. Ramon Guerrero, En el centenario de E. Gilson: Las fuentes árabes del augustinismo avicenzante y el “Peri nou” de Alejandro de Afrodisia. Estado de la cuestión, in *Anales de historia de la filosofía, Universidad Com-*

among Islamic philosophers.⁴⁷³ Thomas Aquinas knew Alexander's doctrine of the intellect and criticized it, by taking his knowledge of Alexander from Averroes' commentary on Aristotle's *De anima*.⁴⁷⁴ It is not clear, whether Thomas also knew Gerhard of Cremona's Arabic-Latin translation of Alexander's treatise "On the Intellect" (*Peri nou*).⁴⁷⁵

Gerhard of Cremona translated three more treatises by Alexander of Aphrodisias from Arabic into Latin, namely *De sensu et sensato*, which is lost in the Greek original;⁴⁷⁶ *De eo quod augmentum et incrementum fiunt in forma et non in yle*;⁴⁷⁷ and *De motu et tempore*.⁴⁷⁸ - Another treatise with the title *De unitate* and attributed to

plutense de Madrid, IV, 1984: 83-106. - Jolivet (s. n. 495), in his monograph on Kindī's treatise about the intellect, pointed to the Alexandrian influences (John Philoponus); cf. on this G. Endress in *ZDMG* 130, 1980: 429ff.

473 Cf. J. Jolivet, *Intellect et intelligence. Note sur la tradition arabo-latine des 12e et 13e siècles*, in *Mélanges offerts à Henry Corbin*, ed. by S. Hossein Nasr, Téhéran 1977 (= *Wisdom of Persia*, IX): 681-702. - Here, we should remind the reader of the role of Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's *Risāla fī l-farq bayna r-rūḥ wa-n-nafs* in medieval discussions (s. n. 452).

474 Cf. Thery (s. n. 471) 105ff.; C. Vansteenkiste, *Autori arabi e giudei nell'opera di San Tommaso* (*Angelicum* 37, 1960: 336-401), 351f.

475 Ed. by Thery (s. n. 471) 74-82. On the Arabic original (ed. J. Finnegan, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 33, Beyrouth, 1956: 159-202) s. A. Dietrich, *Die arabische Version einer unbekanntenen Schrift des Alexander von Aphrodisias über die differentia specifica*, (= *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Philol.-hist. Kl., 1964: 85-147), p. 98; F.W. Zimmermann, H.V. Brown, *Neue arabische Übersetzungstexte aus dem Bereich der spätantiken griechischen Philosophie* (*Der Islam* 50, 1973: 313-324), 316-318. *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, 1, Paris, 1989, p. 134.

476 Ed. by Thery (s. n. 471) 86-91; the Arabic text is edited by H.-J. Roland, *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*. I. Philol. hist. Kl., Jg. 1978, Nr. 5, pp. 159-225 (lat. Text pp. 212-225).

477 Ed. by Thery (s. n. 471) 99f. - On the Arabic text (ed. 'Abdarrahmān Badawī, *Commentaires sur Aristote perdus en grec et autres épîtres*, Beirut 1971, nr. 9; H.-J. Ruland, *Nachrichten* [as prec. n.] Jg. 1981, nr. 2) cf. Zimmermann/Brown (s. n. 475) pp. 319; *Dictionnaire* (s. n. 476) p. 132, nr. 19b.

478 Ed. by Thery (s. n. 471) 92-97. On the Arabic text (ed. Badawī [s. n. 477], nr. 1) cf. Zimmermann/ Brown (s. n. 475) 314f.; *Dictionnaire* (s. n. 476) p. 135, nr. 23.

Alexander of Aphrodisias and (at the end of the Latin ms. Paris 6443) to Kindī, is said to be translated by Gerhard of Cremona;⁴⁷⁹ it can be identified as a work by Dominicus Gundissalinus, as his *Liber de unitate et uno*.⁴⁸⁰

5.6. Other Channels of Philosophy from Islam to Europe

We have already mentioned the influence of Alexander of Aphrodisias on Islamic philosophers since Kindī. As some of them were translated into Latin, they too became mediators of Greek philosophy, who added, however, their own interpretations. We shall enumerate now in chronological order Islamic philosophers in Latin translation. Before that we should point at the possibility, that scholars also came into contact with Arabic philosophical and scientific ideas during travels in the orient, in scientific centers in Italy or Spain, either orally or through exchange of letters. We mention as examples Hermannus of Carinthia⁴⁸¹ (12th

479 Mentioned by Moritz Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, Graz, 1960, p. 135, nr. 22 and id., *Die europäischen Übersetzungen* (s. n. 425), p. 16, nr. 5.

480 Ed. by Paul Correns in *Baiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, 1/1, 1891 and by M. Alonso Alonso, *El liber de unitate et uno*, in *Pensamiento* 12, 1956: 56-77; 179-202; 431-472; 13, 1957: 159-201. – On the identity of Dominicus Gundissalinus cf. Adelime Rucquoi, *Gundis- alvus ou Dominiscus Gundisalvi?* In *BPhM* 41, 1999: 85-106 (Dominicus Gundis(s)alinus – confusion between (“Gundisalvus” is archdeacon of Talavera and philosopher; his contemporary “Dominiscus Gundisalvi” is archdeacon of Cuéllar and translator).

481 Cf. C.S.F. Burnett, Hermann of Carinthia, in: *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, ed. P. Dronke, Cambridge 1988, 386ff. – On Hermann of Carinthia as translator cf. Burnett, Arabic into Latin in Twelfth Century Spain: the works of Hermann of Carinthia, in *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch*, 13, 1978: 100-134; id., Hermann of Carinthia’s Attitude towards his Arabic Sources, in particular in respect to theories on the human soul, in *L’homme et son univers au moyen âge*, ed. Chr. WENIN, I, Louvain-la-Neuve 1986 (= *Philosophes Médiévaux*. XXVI): 306-322.

c.), Adelard of Bath (12th c.)⁴⁸² or the answers by the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Sabʿīn on questions by Frederick II during his reign in Sicily (1237-1242). These answers discuss among others the eternity of the world, the definition of “divine knowledge”, the Aristotelian categories and the individual immortality of the soul.⁴⁸³ They reveal the far-reaching interests of Frederick II who, moreover, had scientific contacts to the east.⁴⁸⁴ In a still basic study Martin Grabmann pointed in 1936 at the connections with Latin scholastic thought.⁴⁸⁵

The described oral contacts clearly show, that with regard to the Latin transmission of Islamic thought we should not always look for a written Arabic-Latin source. Moreover, remarks on an Islamic philosopher or his ideas could be taken from a text relying on a scholastic adaptation of Arabic texts e.g. by Dominicus Gundissalinus (s. below §§ 7; 8 [n. 87]; 9.2), or on an Arabic-Latin doxographical source: For example, Thomas Aquinas quotes the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Bādjdja (Avenpace; d. 1138) from

482 Cf. Adelard of Bath. An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century, ed. Ch. Burnett, London 1987 (= *Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts*. XIV).

483 Cf. Anna Ayşe Akasoy: *Philosophie und Mystik in der späten Almohadenzeit. Die Sizilianischen Fragen des Ibn Sabʿīn*. Leiden 2006. = *Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science. Texts and Studies*. 59.

484 Cf. Dag Nikolaus Hasse, Mosul and Frederick II Hohenstaufen: Notes on Atīraddīn al-Abharī and Sirāğaddīn al-Urmawī. *Occident et Proche-Orient: Contacts scientifiques au temps des Croisades*. Actes du colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve, 24 et 25 mars 1997, édités par Isabelle Draelants, Anne Tihon, Baudouin van den Abeele. Turnhout 2000 (*Réminiscences*. 5): 145-163.

485 Kaiser Friedrich II. und sein Verhältnis zur aristotelischen und arabischen Philosophie, in Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben* II, Munich 1936, 103-137 (reprinted in *PlnHAIS.IP* 80, 1999: 275-309; also in *Stupor mundi. Zur Geschichte Friedrichs II. von Hohenstaufen*. Ed. by G.G. Wolf, Darmstadt 1982 (= *Wege der Forschung*. 101): 32-75, esp. 65ff.; cf. also D. Cabanelas, Frederico II de Sicilia e Ibn Sabʿīn de Murcia. Las “cuestiones Sicilianas”, in *Miscélanea de estudios arabes y hebraicos* 4, 1955: 31-64 (reprinted in *PlnHAIS.IP* 80, 1999: 373-406) and G. Kattoura, *Das mystische und philosophische System des Ibn Sabʿīn*, PhD thesis Tübingen 1977, 42ff.

Averroes' works.⁴⁸⁶ Ibn Bājdja's physical doctrines apparently exerted a great influence on medieval discussions through the fragments preserved in the Latin Great Commentary by Averroes on Aristotle's *Physics*.⁴⁸⁷ Already Peter Abelard (1079-1142) might have intended Ibn Bājdja with the "philosopher", the third participant of his "Dialogue" between a philosopher, a Jew and a Christian.⁴⁸⁸ Until now we have no information about a Latin translation of Ibn Bājdja's works. In each single case we must check, whether remarks by scholars of the Latin Middle Ages on Islamic philosophers are based directly on an oral or written Arabic-Latin source, or go back to an Arabic-Latin translation, which either reproduces original ideas or texts of a philosopher or merely doxographical reports.

In this context we should not underestimate the role of the Arabic gnomological literature, for example the *Ādāb al-falāsifa* by the Christian translator Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥāq (809-873), which were translated in the 12th or 13th century into Castilian and Latin.⁴⁸⁹ Finally, ideas of Islamic philosophers also became known in Medieval Europe through Latin translations by Jewish scholars, who either translated from Hebrew or from Arabic.⁴⁹⁰ An important example of a philosophical treatise written in Arabic by a medieval

486 Cf. Vansteenkiste (s. n. 474) 352-356.

487 Cf. E.A. Moody, Galileo and Avempace. The Dynamics of the Leaning Tower Experiment, in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 12, 1951: 163-193; id., Ockham and Aegidius of Rome, in *Franciscan Studies* 9, 1949: 417-442; E. Grant, Motion in the Void and the Principle of Inertia in the Middle Ages, in *Isis* 55, 1964: 265-292 (also in Grant, *Studies in Medieval Science and Natural Philosophy*, London, 1981 [= *Variourum Reprints*. IX]), esp. p. 269; id., The Principle of the Impenetrability of Bodies in the History of Concepts of Separate Space from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century, in *Isis* 69, 1978: 551-571 (also in Grant, *Studies in Medieval Science*, etc.), esp. p. 562; H. Shapiro, Walter Burley and Text 71, in *Traditio* 16, 1960: 359-404.

488 Cf. J. Jolivet, Abélard et le philosophe, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 164, 1963: 181-189.

489 Cf. J.K. Walsh, Versiones peninsulares del "Kitāb Ādāb Al-Falāsifa" de Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥāq, in *Andalus* 41, 1976: 355-384.

490 Cf. below § 5.11.1.

Jewish philosopher and influenced by Islamic philosophy, is the *Fons vitae* by Solomon Ibn Gabirol (Avicemol; ca. 1020-1057/8),⁴⁹¹ which is preserved only in the Latin translation, finished in about 1150 by Johannes Hispanus and Dominicus Gundissalinus in Toledo. It shaped very much medieval ontological discussions about form and matter.⁴⁹² We cannot enter here into the field of Arabic-Latin translations of Islamic philosophical texts by Jewish scholars, although it too would be promising for the history of Islamic philosophy and for its afterlife in medieval Europe.⁴⁹³

5.7. The Latin transmission of Kindī

In the following we confine ourselves to Islamic philosophers, who were translated direct into Latin. On the spread of these Latin translations we have now at our disposal a valuable monograph in Harald Klaus Kischlat, *Studien zur Verbreitung von Übersetzungen arabischer philosophischer Werke in Westeuropa 1150-1400. Das Zeugnis*

491 Identified and edited by Salomon Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, Paris 1857 (reprint 1955 and 1979).

492 Cf. C. Sirat, *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1985, 68ff.; H. and M. Simon, *Geschichte der jüdischen Philosophie*, Munich 1984, 67-77 and references given there.

493 Much information can now be found in Mauro Zonta, *La filosofia antica nel medioevo ebraico. Le traduzioni ebraiche medievali dei testi filosofici antichi*. Brescia 1996. (= *Philosophica. Studi e testi*. 2). Cf. also § 11.1. – In rare cases Latin translators have translated Arabic philosophical texts written by Jewish scholars. For example, Gerherd of Cremona translated from Arabic into Latin Isaac Israeli's "Book of Definitions" and "Book of Elements": cf. A. Altmann, S.M. Stern: *Isaac Israeli, a Neo-platonic Philosopher of the Early Tenth Century*, Oxford 1958; Sirat, *History* (s. n. 492), 58. – The Latin translation of the "Book of Definitions" is edited by Muckle in *AHDL* 12-13, 1937-8; 299-328. – The Arabic-Hebrew translation by Nissim Ibn Salomon is edited by H. Hirschfeld in *Festschrift zum achtzigsten Geburtstag Moritz Steinschneider's*, Leipzig 1896, 233-234; hebr.t. pp. 131-141. The text is not yet compared with Arabic literature on *ḥudūd*.

der Bibliotheken (thesis Bonn 1998/99),⁴⁹⁴ published in the series *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie (und Theologie) des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen. N.F. 54, Münster 2000.*

We start with the first great Islamic philosopher, with Kindī from the 9th century. We had already mentioned him in connection with Alexander of Aphrodisias' treatise on the intellect in Latin transmission. Philosophers of medieval Europe had access to Kindī's treatise "*On the Intellect*"⁴⁹⁵ through two different translations, one by Gerhard of Cremona and the other perhaps⁴⁹⁶ by Johannes Hispalensis. Both translations are edited in 1897 by Albino Nagy.⁴⁹⁷ In Nagy's edition follow an edition of the Latin translation of Kindī's *Liber de somno et visione*⁴⁹⁸ and of Kindī's *Liber de quinque essentiis*,⁴⁹⁹ both translated by Gerhard of Cremona. The *Liber de quinque essentiis*, a discussion of basic terms in Aristotle's *Physics*, is not preserved in its Arabic original but seems to be written indeed by Kindī.⁵⁰⁰ Not quite clear is the authorship of the

494 = *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie (und Theologie) des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen. N.F. 54, Münster.*

495 The Arabic text is edited and translated by J. Jolivet, *L'intellect selon Kindī*, Leiden 1971; cf. the review by G. Endress in *ZDMG* 130, 1980: 422-435.

496 Cf., however, D'Alverny, Al-Kindī: De radiis (s. below n. 505), 171, n. 24: "à notre avis, peu vraisemblable".

497 *Die philosophischen Abhandlungen des Ja'qūb Ben Ishāq Al-Kindī*. Zum ersten mal hrsg. Münster (= *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen*, II/5, S. 1-11. Vgl. dazu H. Bédoret, *Les Premières traductions tolédanes de philosophie. Oeuvres d'Alfarabi*, in *Revue neoscholastique et philosophique* 41, 1938: 80-97 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 47, 1999: 290-316), here pp. 95-97.

498 Ed. by Nagy (s. prec. n.) 12-27. – The Arabic original is edited by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hādī Abū Rīda, *Rasā'il al-Kindī al-falsafīya* I, Cairo 1950, 293-311: *Fī māhiyyat an-nawm wa-r-ru'yā*.

499 Ed. by Nagy, 28-40; cf. Nagy p. XIV.

500 Already Nagy (p. XXV) had pointed at similarities to the *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā'* (s. ed. Khayr al-Dīn al-Zirkilī I, Cairo 1928, 205f.) and to the remarks in *Ya'qūbī* (s. Ta'rīkh ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1969, p. 148, 7ff. = transl. M. Klamroth, *ZDMG* 41, 1887: 428); however, he wrongly concluded, that al-Kindī and *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā'* used a common source. In fact, *Ya'qūbī* and *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā'* depend upon Kindī: cf. Kindī, *Risāla fī kammiyyat kutub Aristūṭālīs wa-mā yuḥtādju ilaihi fī taḥṣīl al-falsafa*

Liber introductorius in artem logicae demonstrationis,⁵⁰¹ the last treatise in the edition of Nagy. The Latin translator, perhaps Johannes Hispalensis, ascribed the text to *Mahometh discipulus Alquindi philosophi*. In fact, this is a literal translation from the 10-century encyclopaedia *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā'*;⁵⁰² therefore, an identification is proposed with Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad Ibn Ma shar al-Bustī al-Maqdisī/Muqaddasī, one of the alleged authors of the encyclopaedia.⁵⁰³

On the influence of Kindī in the Latin Middle Ages, especially in Albertus Magnus, we have excellent studies by Angel Cortabarría Beita.⁵⁰⁴ We can recognize that several treatises by Kindī on natural sciences and astrology were known to the Latin Middle Ages.⁵⁰⁵ Any study of Kindī's echo in the Latin Middle Ages must

ed. M. Guidi/R. Walzer, *Studi su al-Kindi I: Uno scritto introduttivo allo studio di Aristotele*, Roma 1940 (= *Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. VI, vol. VI, fasc. V), 402/ed. Abū Rīda (s. n. 497), 383f. –Guidi/Walzer had already mentioned the dependence of Ya'qūbī upon Kindī; they did not discuss, however, that ed. Guidi/Walzer 402, 15 (“*wa-l-baht(?) wa-l-khalā'*”)/ed. Abū Rīda 382,-2 are a corrupt rendering of the terms for “matter” and “form”, in Ya'qūbī *'unṣur* and *ṣūra* and in the *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā' hay(y)ūlā* and *ṣūra*.

501 Pp. 41-64; cf. H. Bedoret, *Les premières traductions toledans* (s.n. 546), 94f.

502 S. already T.J. de Boer, *Zu Kindi und seiner Schule* (in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 13, 1900: 153-178), 177.

503 Cf. S. Diwald, *Arabische Philosophie und Wissenschaft in der Enzyklopädie Kitab Iḥwān aṣ-Ṣafā' (III)*, Wiesbaden 1975, 11 and the references given there; F. Rosenthal, *Aḥmad B. Aṭ-Ṭayyib as-Sarāḥsī*, New Haven 1943 (= *American Oriental Series*. 26), 57.

504 *Las obras y la filosofía de Alfarabi y Alkindi en los escritos de San Alberto Magno*, Las Caldas de Besaya (Santander) 1953 (originally published in *La Ciencia tomista* 77, 1950: 362-387; 78, 1951: 81-104; 79, 1952: 633-656; *Estudios Filosóficos* 1, 1951/52: 191-209; 2, 1953: 247-250; id., *A partir de quelles sources étudier Al-Kindi ?* (*MIDEO* 10, 1970: 83-108) pp. 98ff.; id., *Al-Kindi vu par Albert le Grand*, *MIDEO* 13, 1977: 117-146. – J. Jolivet, *The Arabic Inheritance* (s. § 1) 137 points at quotations in Dominicus Gundissalinus' *De divisione philosophiae* from the *Liber de quinque essentiis* and from the *Liber introductorius in artem logicae demonstrationis*.

505 Cf. the references given by N. Rescher, *Al-Kindi. An annotated bibliography*,

taken into account this;⁵⁰⁶ it is, moreover, possible that Kindī's ideas often were overshadowed by comparable complexes of ideas in Fārābī and Avicenna.⁵⁰⁷

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- Pittsburgh 1964, 51f., nr. 4; M.-Th. D'Alverny/F. Hudry (Ed.s), Al-Kindī, De radiis, in *AHDL* 49, 1975: 139-269 [a fascimile edition of the Arabic text *Maṭār' as-shu'ā'* was published by Muḥammad Yaḥyā Hāshimī, Aleppo 1967]; D'Alverny, Kindiana, in *AHDL* 54, 1980: 227-287 (reprint in: d'Alverny, *La transmission des textes philosophiques et scientifiques au Moyen Age*. Ed. by Charles Burnett. Aldershot, Hants.; 1994. = Variourum. Collected Studies Series; v. CS 463); first observations in d'Alverny, Trois opuscules inédits d'al-Kindī, in *Akten des 24. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses* (Munich 1957). Wiesbaden. 1959: 301-302 (also in d'Alverny, *La transmission*, 1994); C.S.F. Burnett, Al-Kindī in the Renaissance, in *Sapientiam amemus*. Humanismus und Aristotelismus in der Renaissance. Festschrift für Eckhard Keßler zum 60. Geburtstag. Hrsg. v. Paul Richard Blum in Verbindung mit Constance Blackwell und Charles Lohr. Munich 1999: 13-30 (including edition and translation of Kindī, *De mutatione temporum*, Latin fragment and "On Comets". – German and Latin fragment). The complete text of *De mutatione* can be found in Gerrit Bos, Charles Burnett: *Scientific Weather Forecasting in the Middle Ages. The Writings of Al-Kindī*. Studies, Editions, and Translations of the Arabic, Hebrew and Latin Texts. London and New York 2000, S.263-323. – Charles Burnett speaks of a "second revelation of Arabic philosophy" during the Italian Renaissance; s. his "The Second Revelation of Arabic Philosophy and Science: 1492-1562", in *Islam and the Italian Renaissance*. Ed. by Ch. Burnett and Anna Contadini. London. 1999 [= *Warburg Institute Colloquia*. 5]: 185-198.
- 506 Cf. e.g. on Kindī's De Radiis (s. prec. n.) K. Hedwig, *Sphaera Lucis*, Münster 1980 (= *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters*, N.F. 18), 98-100. – In the 13th century Aegidius Romanus used this text in his *Errorum philosophorum*; s. J. Koch (ed.), *Giles of Rome - Errores philosophorum*, English translation by J.O. Riedl, Milwaukee 1944, pp. XLVI-XLVI. – Cf. also G. Federici Vescovini, La tradizione stoica e il pensiero di Alkindi, in ead., *Studi sulla prospettiva medievale*, Torino 1987, 33-52, esp. 38ff.
- 507 Cf. P. Zambelli, L'immaginazione e il suo potere. Da al-Kindi, al-Fārābī e Avicenna al Medioevo latino e al Rinascimento, in *Orientalische Kultur und europäisches Mittelalter* (p. 11): 188-206.

5.8. The Latin Transmission of Fārābī

Because of common ideas among Islamic philosophers it is not always easy, to distinguish in the Latin tradition between Kindī's ideas and those of later philosophers, like Fārābī (died 950 A.D.) and Avicenna.⁵⁰⁸ This is the case, above all, with the doctrine of the intellect, on which Fārābī too wrote a treatise.⁵⁰⁹ This treatise was translated into Latin in the 12th century⁵¹⁰ by a translator who cannot clearly be identified.⁵¹¹ Through this translation its ideas became well received by many authors of the Middle Ages.⁵¹²

Not less important became the influence of Fārābī's "Enumeration of Sciences" (*Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*)⁵¹³ in the Middle Ages. From this treatise we have two translations made in the 12th century: one, less precise version, which is ascribed to Dominicus Gundissalinus,⁵¹⁴ whose *De divisione philosophiae* made use of it;⁵¹⁵

508 Cf. E. Gilson, Les sources graeco-arabes de l'augustinisme avicennisant, in *AHDL* 4, 1929: 5-149 (reprint 1981) and R. Guerrero (s. n. 472).

509 *Risāla fī l-'aql*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut 1938 (= *Bibliotheca arabica scholasticorum*, ser. Arabe, VIII, 1); cf. the annotated translation by F. Lucchetta: *Fārābī, Epistola sull'intelletto*, Padova 1974.

510 Cf. Lucchetta (s. n. 509) p. 5.

511 *De intellectu*, ed. E. Gilson (s. n. 508), 115-126. The usefulness of this Latin translation for the establishment of the Arabic original is emphasized by Lucchetta, Osservazioni sulla traduzione latina medievale del "de intellectu" di Fārābī nei confronti col testo arabo, in *Actas del V congreso internacional de filosofia medieval*, I, Madrid 1979: 937-942.

512 Cf. the references given in Lucchetta (s. n. 501) p. 17; J. Bach, *Des Albertus Magnus Verhältnis zu der Erkenntnislehre der Griechen, Lateiner, Araber und Juden*, Wien 1881, 85ff.; They, *Autour du décret de 1210* (s. n. 471), 37ff.

513 Among others edited by A. Gonzáles Palencia, *Al-Fārābī, Catalogo de la ciencias*, Madrid² 1953 and by 'Uthmān Amīn, Cairo 1968.

514 Ed. by González Palencia (s. prec. n.) 85-176; critical edition by M. Alonso Alonso, *Domingo Gundisalvo De scientiis*, Madrid-Granada 1954. The text can already be found in *Opera omnia quae Latina lingua conscripta reperiri potuerunt*, ed. G. Camerarius [= William Chalmers], Paris 1638 (repr. Frankfurt 1969), 1-37.

515 Cf. Ludwig Baur, *Dominicus Gundissalinus, De divisione philosophiae*, Münster 1903 (= *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Texte und*

the other translation is literal⁵¹⁶ and made by Gerhard of Cremona, who perhaps intended to improve the one ascribed to Dominicus Gundissalinus.⁵¹⁷ Finally, there existed in Latin another text on division of sciences, attributed to Fārābī but until now unknown in its Arabic original, the *De ortu scientiarum*.⁵¹⁸ It was translated by Johannes Hispanus, perhaps with the assistance of Johannes Gundissalinus.⁵¹⁹

This is not yet an exhaustive list of Fārābī's works translated into Latin. A standard survey of all Fārābī-texts translated into Latin is still D. Salman (Salmon), *The Mediaeval Latin Translations of Alfarabi's Works* from the year 1939.⁵²⁰ According to his list, which

Untersuchungen. IV/2-3), Quellenanalyse pp. 166ff.

As M. Bouyges, *Notes sur les philosophes arabes connus des Latins au Moyen Age (Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph. IX/2, 1923)*, 56ff. shows, the Arabic contributes to the establishment of Gundissalinus' Latin text.

Gundissalinus' *De divisione philosophiae* was used by Robert Kilwardby, *De ortu scientiarum* (written about 1246-47); Kilwardby also knew Avicenna's division of sciences (based on Avicenna's *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, Latin translation; cf. below § 9.1); cf. E. Weber, la classification des sciences à Paris vers 1250, in *Etudes sur Avicenne*, ed. J. Jolivet and R. Rashed, Paris 1984: 77-101.

Ideas of Fārābī and other Islamic philosophers often became known in the Middle Ages through the works of Gundissalinus; cf. e.g. Gilbert Dahan, *Notes et textes sur la poétique au moyen âge*, in *AHDL* 47, 1980 (Paris 1981): 171-239.

- 516 Ed. (from ms. Paris 9335) by A. Gonzalez Palencia (s. n. 513), 119-176.
- 517 This is assumed by H.G. Farmer, who compared the chapter on music in different Latin versions: s. Farmer, The Influence of Al-Fārābī's "Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm" on the Writers on Music in Western Europe, in *JRAS* 1932: 561-592, esp. 574ff. = id., *Al-Fārābī's Arabic-Latin Writings on Music*, New York-London-Frankfurt 1965, 16ff.
- 518 Ed. C. Baeumker, *Al-Fārābī über den Ursprung der Wissenschaften (de ortu scientiarum)*, Munich 1916 (= *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen*, XIX/3). – On the echo in Daniel of Morley cf. Charles Burnett, *The Introduction of Arabic Learning into England*. London 1997. = *The Panizzi Lectures*. 1996.
- 519 Cf. H.G. Farmer, A Further Arabic-Latin Writing on Music, *JRAS* 1933: 307-322 (= id., *Al-Fārābī's Arabic-Latin Writings on Music* (s. n. 517), S. 37-58; Bedoret, *Les premières traductions* (s. n. 546), 88ff.
- 520 In *New Scholasticism* 13, 1939: 245-261; cf. also Bedoret (s.n. 546).

we will supplement and revise, we can add the following texts:

- 1) The *Declaratio compendiosa super libris rhetoricorum Aristotelis* (mentioned Salman p. 246) has its origin in the *Didascalia in Rhetoricam Aristotelis ex glosa Alpharabii*, a Latin translation by Hermannus Alemannus from the year 1256.⁵²¹ Its Arabic original, the *Ṣadr Kitāb al-Khiṭāba*, an introduction to *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Khiṭāba li-Arisṭūṭālīs*, is lost.
- 2) The *Liber exercitationis ad viam felicitatis*, which Salman had found⁵²² and published,⁵²³ could be identified by Manuel Alonso⁵²⁴ with Fārābī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih 'alā sabil al-sa'āda*⁵²⁵ and its Latin translator could be identified by him as Dominicus Gundissalinus.
- 3) We do not have a complete Latin translation of Fārābī's logical works.⁵²⁶ Salman collected the quotations in Latin scholastic philosophers⁵²⁷ and concluded from them the existence of a Latin translation. Additional material collected Mario Grignaschi in his article, published in 1972, on *Les traductions latines des ouvrages de la logique arabe et*

521 Ed. by M. Grignaschi, in J. Langhade/M. Grignaschi, *Al-Fārābī. Deux ouvrages inédits sur la rhétorique*, Beyrouth 1971 (= *Recherches publiées sous la dir. de l'Institut de lettres orientales de Beyrouth*, ser. 1, t. 48), 149-257. – On the after-life in the Middle Ages s. A. Maieru, *Influenze arabe e discussioni sulla natura della logica presso i Latini tra XIII e XIV secolo*, in *La diffusione delle scienze islamiche nel medio evo europeo*, Roma 1987 (243-267), p. 251ff.

522 Salman p. 248f.

523 In *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 12, 1940: 33-48. – New edition (from ms. Paris 6286, fol. 21v), with analysis, by M.-Th. D'Alverny, *Un témeoin muet des luttes doctrinales du XIIIe siècle* in *AHDL* 16, 1949 (223-248), 241-242.

524 Traducciones del Arcediano Domingo Gundisalvo, in *al-Andalus* 12, 1947 (295-339), 320-328.

525 Ed. Hyderabad 1346/1927; new edition by Dja'far Āl Yāsīn, Beirut 1985.

526 The Arabic text is published by Rafīq al-'Adjam (part 1-3) and by Majid Fakhry under the title *al-Manṭiq 'ind al-Fārābī* (Beirut 1985-87). Another edition by Muḥammad Taqī Dāneshpažuh: *al-Manṭiqiyāt li-l-Fārābī*, 2 vols., Qumm 1408/1987-8.

527 Salman pp. 256-260.

l'abrégé d'Alfarabi.⁵²⁸ In an appendix⁵²⁹ he connected with good reasons Latin fragments, which Salman had edited under the title *Notas ex logica Alfarabii quaedam sumpta*,⁵³⁰ with Fārābī's *Kitāb Bārī Armīniyās ay al-'ibāra*, an adaptation of Aristotle's *De interpretatione*.⁵³¹ The Latin text is shorter, appears however, to be based on the mentioned text by Fārābī. The assumption of Nicolas Rescher,⁵³² that we have here a Latin translation of Fārābī's lost *Kitāb Sharā'it al-burhān*, cannot be confirmed.⁵³³

- 4) The *Flos Alfarabii secundum sententiam Aristotelis*, which neither Salman nor the editor Jeanne Bignami-Odier⁵³⁴ could identify, is according to Alonso Alonso⁵³⁵ a fragmentary translation of Fārābī's 'Uyūn al-masā'il'.⁵³⁶
- 5) Still uncomplete is our knowledge of Fārābī's commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* and its Latin transmission. Alexander

528 AHDL 39, 1972: 41-107.

529 Pp. 97-101.

530 In his article : Fragments inédits de la logique d'Alfarabi, in *Revue des sciences philosophiques* 32, 1948: 222-225.

531 The passages edited by Grignaschi can be found now in the edition by 'Adjam (s. n. 526) in vol. I, pp. 133ff. and in the edition by Dāneshpažuh (s.n. 526) in vol. I, pp. 83ff. – Grignaschi wrongly mentions as Latin equivalent to the beginning Arabic passage on the *alfāz ad-dālla (vocabula significatoria)* the text ed. Salman 223, 16ff. and the text ed. Salaman 223, 1-15.

532 On the Provenance of the Logica Alfarabii, in *New Scholasticism* 37, 1963: 498-500.

533 Rescher had concluded this from sporadic correspondences with Fārābī's *al-Fusūl al-khamsa* (now edited by 'Adjam I, 63ff. [cf. esp. 67, ult.ss.]ed. Dāneshpažuh I, 18ff. [cf. esp. 22,12ff.], an extract from Fārābī's lost *Kitāb Sharā'it al-burhān*. The correspondences with Fārābī's treatise on Aristotle's *De interpretatione* is, however, more convincing.

534 Le Manuscrit Vatican 2186, in AHDL 12-13, 1937-8 (133-166), pp. 54f.

535 Traducciones del Arcediano Domingo Gundisalvo (s. n. 524), 319.

536 Ed. F. Dieterici, *Alfarabi's philosophische Abhandlungen*, Leiden 1890: 56-58, 12; also edited, together with the Latin fragment and an Arabic-Latin glossary by M. Cruz Hernandez, El "Fontes questionum" ('Uyūn Al-Masā'il) de Abū Naṣr Al-Fārābī, in AHDL 25-26 (1950. 1951): 303-323.

Birkenmayer⁵³⁷ published in 1935 a Latin text by Gerhard of Cremona, which bears the title *Distinctio sermonis Abunazar Alpharabi super librum auditus naturalis*. This text is in fact a survey of the contents of the second half of Aristotle's *Physics* and is not identical with Fārābī's commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*, which is mentioned several times in Latin sources.⁵³⁸ As not a single Arabic work by Fārābī on Aristotle's *Physics* is preserved, the only possibility is the comparison of quotations from that work, for example in Ibn Bādjdja's commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*.⁵³⁹ The same way could be followed with regard to the quotations by Albertus Magnus from different works ascribed to Fārābī.⁵⁴⁰ Here we should check, however, in each case, whether some confusions occurred. Helmut Gätje proved in one case that Albertus Magnus' quotation from Fārābī's alleged *Liber de sensu et sensato* in fact derives from Averroes.⁵⁴¹ This, however, does not diminish the value of the Latin transmission of Fārābī as a source for lost writings by Fārābī and for the comprehensive influence of Fārābī on Latin scholastic philosophy.⁵⁴²

537 Eine wiedergefundene Übersetzung Gerhards von Cremona, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters*, Suppl.bd. III, Halbbd., Münster 1935: 472-481; id., *Etudes d'histoire des sciences et de la philosophie du moyen âge*, Wrocław, 1970 (= *Studia Copernicana*. 1): 22-23.

538 S. Bedoret (s.n. 546) 252-256.

539 Ed. M. Fakhry, *Sharh as-samā' at-tabī'ī*, Beirut 1973; ed. Ma'n Ziyāda, *Shurūḥāt as-samā' at- tabī'ī*, Beirut 1978. An edition of additional parts not contained in the mentioned editions can be found in Lettinck, *Aristotle's Physics* (s. n. 436).

540 Cf. A. Cortabarría, *Las obras y la filosofía* (s. n. 504), 15ff.

541 Gätje, *Der Liber de sensu et sensato von al-Fārābī bei Albertus Magnus*, in *Oriens christianus* 48, 1964: 107-116.

542 Cf. besides the references given above also those in N. Rescher (s. n. 505) 51.

5.9.1. The Latin Transmission of Ibn Sīnā

Much greater than Fārābī's influence is the importance of Ibn Sīnā/Avicenna (died 1037 A.D.) for the philosophy and history of medicine in the Middle Ages. In the past research could rely only on often insufficient editions which were published in 1485 in Pavia or in 1508 in Venice.⁵⁴³ - After Moritz Steinschneider's attempt in 1904/1905, to collect all available informations about the Latin Avicenna in his *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen*, and after single efforts to add new facts⁵⁴⁴ and to publish new texts, including the Latin version of Ibn Sīnā's biography by Djuzdjānī,⁵⁴⁵ we had to wait more than 30 years until H. Bedoret started to check all Latin manuscripts of Avicenna and to sketch a first picture of the first Latin translations of Avicenna in the 12th century in Toledo.⁵⁴⁶ Finally, Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny succeeded in creating through here publications since 1952,⁵⁴⁷ a solid basis

543 Thus M. Winter in his Study of *Avicennas Opus agregium de anima (Liber sextus naturalium)*, thesis Munich 1903.

544 Cf. e.g. C. Sauter, *Avicennas Bearbeitung der aristotelischen Metaphysik*, Freiburg/Br. 1912 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 45, 1999: 109-232), 15ff.

545 E.g. the biography of Ibn Sīnā, written by Djuzdjānī, which appears in the introduction of *Ibn Sīnā's Kitāb as-Shifā'* and from that was translated into Latin; A. Birkenmayer edited the Latin version under the title *Avicennas Vorrede zum "Liber Sufficiente" und Roger Bacon*, in *Revue néoscolastique de philosophie* 36, 1934: 308-320 and herewith made available a source of Roger Bacon (s. Birkenmayer pp. 310f.). On the Arabic-Latin biography of Avicenna cf. now S. van Riet, *Données biographiques pour l'histoire du Shifā' d'Avicenne*, in *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques*, 5e s., 66 (1980-1): 314-329.

546 *Les premières versions tolédanes de philosophie. Oeuvres d'Avicenne*, in: *Revue néoscolastique de philosophie* 61, 1963: 583-626.

547 *Ibn Sīnā et l'occident médiéval*, in: d'Alverny, *Avicenne en occident*. Recueil d'articles de Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny réunis en hommage à l'auteur. Avant-propos de Danielle Jacquart. Paris; 1993. (= *Études de philosophie médiévale*. LXX), nr. I.; L'introduction d'Avicenne en Occident. *Revue du Caire* 27 (nr. 141), 1951: 130-139 = in d'Alverny, *Avicenne en Occident*, nr. II; Notes sur les traductions médiévales d'Avicenne, in *AHDL* 27, 1952: 337-358 (with detailed remarks on the Latin translation and the Arabic

for the project *Avicenna Latinus* which aims at the critical edition the Latin translations of Avicenna, including a comparison of the Arabic original. With this aim and with the material collected by d'Alverny, Simone van Riet edited since 1972 on the basis of her own results,⁵⁴⁸ the Latin version of the following parts of Ibn Sīnā's encyclopaedia *Kitāb al-Shifā'*:

original), also in d'Alverny, *Avicenne en occident*, nr. IV; Les traductions latines d'Ibn Sīnā et leur diffusion au moyen âge, in *Millenaire d'Avicenne*. Congrès de Bagdad, 20-28 mars 1952. Le caire 1952: 59-69; = d'Alverny, *Avicenna nella storia della cultura medioevale*, Roma 1957 (= *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, anno CCCLIV – 1957. *Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura*. Quaderno. 40): 71-90; = d'Alverny, *Avicenne en occident*, nr. V; L'explicit du "De animalibus" d'Avicenne, traduit par Michel Scot, in Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres 115, 1957: 32-42; = d'Alverny, *Avicenne en occident*, nr. IX; Avicenne, son traducteur Andrea Alpago, et l'histoire des religions. – In, d'Alverny, *Avicenne en Occident*, nr. XII (originally published in *Congrès des orientalistes XXIII*, 1954: 362-363); Andrea Alpago interprete et commentateur d'Avicenne, in *Atti del XII congresso internazionale di filosofia (Venezia, 12-18 settembre 1958)* 9, Firenze 1960: 1-6; = d'Alverny, *Avicenne en occident*, nr. XIV; *Avicenna Latinus*. Codices. Descriptis...Addenda collegerunt Simone van Riet et Pierre Jodogne. Louvain-La-Neuve, Leiden; 1994. [1-348 are a republication of "Avicenna Latinus" from *AHDL* 1961 (Paris 1962) – 1971 (1972)].

The manuscripts are listed in the following publications by d'Alverny: La tradition manuscrite de l'Avicenne Latin, in *Mélanges Taha Husain*, publ. by A. Badawi, Le Caire 1962: 67-78; = d'Alverny, *Avicenne en occident*, nr. VI; Survivance et renaissance d'Avicenne à Venice et à Padoue, in *Venezia e l'Oriente tra tardo medioevo e rinascimento*, Venezia 1966 (= *Civiltà europea e civiltà veneziana. Aspetti e problemi*. 4): 75-102; = d'Alverny, *Avicenne en occident*, nr. XV; Les traductions d'Avicenne. Quelques résultats d'une enquête, in *Vecongrès international d'arabisants et d'Islamisants*, Bruxelles 1970, *Actes*, Bruxelles 1971 (= *Correspondence d'orient*. 11): 151-158; = d'Alverny, *Avicenne en occident*, nr. VII; Avicennisme en Italie, in *Oriente e Occidente nel medioevo: filosofia e scienze*, Roma 1971 (= *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Fondazione Alessandro Volta. Atti dei convegni*. 13): 117-139. = d'Alverny, *Avicenne en occident*, nr. XVI.

- 548 La traduction latine du "De anima" d'Avicenne, in *Revue philosophique de Louvain* 61, 1963: 583-626; De latijnse vertaling van Avicenna's *Kitāb Al-Nafs*, in *Orientalia Gandensia* 1, 1964: 203-216; Reserches concernant la traduction arabo-latine du *Kitāb Al-Nafs* d'Ibn Sīnā. La notion d'idjmā' – voluntas, in *Atti del III Congresso di studi arabi e islamici (Ravello, 1-6 settembre 1966)*, Napoli 1967: 641-648.

- 1) *Liber de anima seu sextus de naturalibus*,⁵⁴⁹ including a fragment from the Latin translation, finished by Arnaldus of Villanova in 1306 in Barcelona, of Ibn Sīnā's medical treatise *al-Adwiya al-qalbiyya*.⁵⁵⁰
- 2) *Liber de philosophia prima sive scientia divina*.⁵⁵¹
- 3) *Liber tertius naturalium. De generatione et corruptione*.⁵⁵²
- 4) *Liber quartus naturalium de actionibus et passionibus qualitatum primarum*.⁵⁵³

If we compare this enumeration with the list of Arabic-Latin translations, which d'Alverny has published,⁵⁵⁴ we find quite a lot of parts from Avicenna's Latin *al-Shifā'* unpublished, namely from

549 Louvain-Leiden 1972; 1968 (= part IV-V). Cf. M. Kurdzialek, Die ersten Auswirkungen Avicennas "Liber de anima seu Sextus de naturalibus" und Averroes' "Metaphysik" auf die Lateiner, in *Actas del V congreso internacional de filosofía medieval I*; Madrid 1979: 897-903. – In the 13th century Aegidius Romanus used that book and Ibn Sīnā's *Philosophia prima* in his *Errores philosophorum* : cf. J. Koch (ed.), *Giles of Rome* (s. n. 506) p. XLIV; Chr. Van Nispen tot Sevenaar, La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne vue par Gilles de Rome, in *MIDEO* 8, 1964/66: 209-252.

550 In part IV-V, pp. 187-210. Cf. van Riet, Trois traductions latines d'un texte d'Avicenne: "al-Adwiya al-qalbiyya", in *Actas do IV congreso de estudios arabes e islamicos (Coimbra-Lisboa 1968)*, Leiden 1971:339-334.

551 Louvain-Leiden 1977 (part I-IV); 1980 (part V-X); 1983 (Lexiques). – Cf. on this and on the *Liber de anima* R.Ramón Guerrero, La Metafísica de Avicenna en la edad media latina. A propósito de dos recientes publicaciones, in *Boletín de la Asociación española de orientistas* 15, 1979, 243-248; M.-Cl. Lambrechts, Un fleuron de l'Avicenna Latinus, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 79, 1984: 79-87.

552 Louvain-Leiden 1987. Cf. van Riet, Le "de generatione et corruptione" d'Avicenne en traduction latine médiévale, in *Philosophie im Mittelalter. Entwicklungslinien und Paradigmen*, ed. by J.D. Beckmann, L. Honnefelder, G. Schimpf and G. Wieland, Hamburg 1987, 131-139.

553 Louvain-Leiden 1989.

554 Notes (s. n. 547) 349ff.; cf. van Riet, The Impact of Avicenna's Philosophical works in the West, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* III, 1985: 104-107.

the part on logic,⁵⁵⁵ the rhetoric,⁵⁵⁶ the physical books except *tertius*, *quartus* and *sextus de naturalibus*.⁵⁵⁷ After the completion of the whole edition a final conclusion on the Latin translators will be possible: as translators are mentioned - if we leave aside the late translator Andreas Alpago (died 1522)⁵⁵⁸ - Avendauth, also

555 Cf. A. Chemin, La traduction latine médiévale de l'Isagoge d'Avicenne. Notes pour une édition critique, in *Proceedings of the World Congress on Aristotle (Thessaloniki, August 7-14, 1978)*, II, Athens 1981: 304-307. - The Latin version of the *Analytica posteriora* (*Burhān*) appears as a fragment in Dominicus Gundissalinus, *De divisione philosophiae*, ed. Baur (s. n. 515) 124-133 (cf. 304-308). Cf. H. Hugonnard-Roche, La classification des sciences de Gundissalinus et l'influence d'Avicenne, in *Etudes sur Avicenne* (s. n. 515): 41-75.

556 Cf. D'Alverny, Notes (s. n. 547), 351.

557 The section on *Physics* will be edited by J. Janssens (one part appeared now in print: *Liber primus naturalium. Tractatus secundus: De motu et de consimilibus*, Bruxelles 2006: édition critique par S. van Riet, J. Janssens, A. Allard. Introduction doctrinale par G. Verbeke). The section on *Animals* will be edited by A. van Oppenraay, who published an article on that: Michael Scot's Translation of Avicenna's Treatise on Animals. *Tradition et traduction. Les textes philosophiques et scientifiques grecs au moyen âge Latin*. Hommage à Fernand Bossier. Édité par Rita Beyers, Jozef Brams, Dirk Sacré, Koenraad Verrycken. Leuven 1999:107-1 14.

558 Cf. D'Alverny, Andrea Alpago (s. n. 547); the discussed edition of the translation by Alpago (Venice 1546) is reprinted in 1969 in Westmead, Farnborough. Even this Latin version can be useful for the critical edition of the Arabic, as has been shown by F. Lucchetta (ed. and tranl.): Avicenna, *Epistola sulla vita futura (ar-Risāla al-aḥwāyīya fī l-ma'ād)*, Padova 1969 (cf. pp. Xlf). On the transmission of the Risāla cf. also ead., La cosiddetta "teoria della doppia verità" nella Risāla Adhawīyya di Avicenna e la sua trasmissione all'occidente, in *Oriente e Occidente nel medioevo: filosofia e scienze*, Roma 1971 (= *Accademia Nazionale de Lincei. Fondazione Alessandro Volta. Atti dei Convegni*. 13): 97-116. - A passage from Ibn Sīnā, Risāla adhawiyya and its Latin version by Andrea Alpago (Avicenna, De Almahad) can be found in d'Alverny, Anniya - anitas, in: *Mélanges offerts à Etienne Gilson*. Toronto-Paris. 1959: 59-91. (Also in d'Alverny, *Avicenne en occident*. Recueil d'articles de Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny réunis en hommage à l'auteur. Avant-propos de Danielle Jackuart. Paris; 1993. (= *Études de philosophie médiévale*. LXX), no. X).

We should add here, that Avicenna's division of sciences, his *Tractatus de divisionibus scientiarum* in the Latin translation by Alpago (fol. 139-146), has been analysed by L. Baur, Dominicus Gundissalinus (s.n. 515), 346-

called *Israelita philosophus*, who translated from Arabic into colloquial Spanish of that time and Dominicus Gundissalinus, who translated from the colloquial Spanish into Latin; furthermore, Michel Scot (about 1175-1235), Hermannus Alemannus (d. 1272), Alfred of Sareshel (about 1210) and for the medical treatise *al-Adwiya al-qalbiyya*⁵⁵⁹ Arnaldus of Villanova (about 1240-1311). Perhaps Gerhard of Cremona too was involved in the translation.⁵⁶⁰ This would explain, why he is mentioned in some manuscripts as translator; he was a contemporary of Dominicus Gundissalinus in Toledo and translated Avicenna's *Canon medicinae* into Latin.⁵⁶¹

In rare cases medieval scholars quoted from Islamic philosophers by translating direct from their source into Latin. For example Raymund Martin (died 1285) quotes in his *Pugio fidei* by translating direct from Avicenna's *Kitāb al-Ishārāt wa-t-tanbīhāt* and from *Kitāb an-Nadjāt*.⁵⁶²

5.9.2. "Avicennism"

Besides "Averroism"⁵⁶³ the influence of Avicenna's philosophy on medieval scholastic philosophers received much attention among historians of European medieval philosophy.⁵⁶⁴ Ernest

349; a French translation (based on the Arabic) has been published by G.C. Anawati in *MIDEO* 13, 1977: 323-335.

559 Cf. van Riet, Impact (s. n. 554), 105a.

560 S. n. 459.

561 On the Arabic-Latin transmission of the *Qānūn fī ṭ-ṭibb* cf. U. Weisser, The Influence of Avicenna on Medical Studies in the West, in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* III (1985), p. 107.

562 Cf. D'Alverny, notes (s. n. 547), 358 and Cortabarría, La Connaissance des textes arabes chez Raymond Martin O.P. et sa position en face de l'Islam, in: *Islam et chrétiens du Midi (XIIe-XIVe s.)*, Toulouse 1983 (= *Cahiers de Fanjeux*, 18), 281f.

563 Cf. on this below § 5.11.

564 S. van Steenberghen, *Philosophie* (s.n. 568), 112. – Cf. however below § 11.1.

Gilson spoke in 1230 in connection with Augustinian theories on illuminationism of “Avicennizing Augustinism”⁵⁶⁵ and did so under influence of the 19th century scholar Ernest Renan from the 19th century, who in his monograph on *Averroès et l’averroïsme* propagated the thesis of an “Averroistic school”.⁵⁶⁶ At the same time Gilson assumed that Averroes’ ideas were not traceable among Christian thinkers before 1230. - Some years after Gilson R. de Vaux⁵⁶⁷ went so far as to maintain the existence of an Avicennian schooltradition. Here, we see the danger of an overestimation of the so-called “Avicennism” or “Averroism”. This is clearly recognized by Fernand van Steenberghen in his description of the “Philosophy in the 13th Century”, as he entitled his book, which appeared in 1966 and in 1977 in a revised German version.⁵⁶⁸ Van Steenberghen points at the diversity of existing trends of thought and avoids the use of slogans like “Averroism” or “Avicennism”,⁵⁶⁹ which wrongly presuppose the existence of

565 Cf. below § 11.2.

566 Gilson, *Les sources greco-arabes* (s.n. 508); cf. also id., *Avicenne en Occident au moyen âge*, in *AHDL* 40, 1973: 7-36. = *Oriente e Occidente nel medioevo: filosofia e scienze*, Roma 1971. = *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei; Fondazione Alessandro Volta. Atti dei convegni*. 13): 65-96; id., Roger Marston: *Un cas d’augustinisme avicennisant*. *AHDL* 8, 1933: 37-42; reprinted in *PlnHAIS.IP* 47, 1999: 187-192.

567 *Notes et textes sur l’avicennisme latin aux confins des XIIe-XIIIe siècles*, Paris 1932. = *Bibliothèque thomiste*. 20. Reprinted in *PlnHAIS.IP* 46, 1999: 223-404.

568 *Philosophie im 13. Jahrhundert*. Ed. by M.A. Roesle. Aus dem Französischen übertragen v. R. Wagner, Munich-Paderborn-Wien. Cf. id., *Introduction à l’étude de la philosophie médiévale*, Louvain 1974, 544. -The value of van Steenberghen’s description is not essentially affected by his obsolete opinion expressed in ch. 2 of his *Philosophie im 13. Jahrhundert*, that the culture of the Arabs only possesses an extraordinary ability to assimilate and has not developed something on its own. More serious, however, is the fact that his description is not sufficiently based on a comparison with the Arabic-Latin sources of scholastic philosophers.

569 The terms continue to be used in the historiography of philosophy; cf. e.g. the article by R. Ramon Guerrero, *En el centenario de E. Gilson* (s.n. 472); cf. also e.g. P.-M. de Contenson, *Avicennisme latin et vision de dieu au début du XIIIe siècle*, in *AHDL* 34, 1959: 29-97; or C.J. de Vogel, *Avicen-*

dominating “schooltraditions”.⁵⁷⁰

Therefore, historians of medieval philosophy should restrict themselves to the examination of those Arabic sources, which medieval scholastic philosophers have used and either have approved or rejected. We find a colorful palette of Avicenna’s ideas with varying accentuations in Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and many other thinkers. This shows the still recommendable small book by Amélie Marie Goichon on *La philosophie d’Avicenne et son influence en Europe médiévale*, which was published in 1942 and reappeared in 1951 in a revised version.⁵⁷¹ Later publications are listed in the mentioned book of van Steenberghe and in the article “The Impact of Avicenna’s Philosophical Works in the West”, published by the Avicenna-specialist Simone van Riet in 1985.⁵⁷² We can add some research results, which both scholars have overlooked or which were published or republished after them:

M. Alonso Alonso, Ibn Sina y sus primeras influencias en el mundo latino, in *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de estudios islámicos* 1, 1953: 36-57 (reprinted in *PInHAIS.IP* 48, 1999: 86-107); M. Cruz Hernandez, La significación del pensamiento de Avicenna y su interpretación por la filosofía occidental, in *Avicenna Commemora-*

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- na en zijn invloed op het West-Europese denken, in *Algemeen Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Wijsbegeerte en Psychologie* 44, 1951-2: 3-16, esp. 10ff. and K. Foster, Avicenna and Western Thought in the 13th century, in *Avicenna: Scientist and Philosopher. A Millenary Symposium*, ed. by G.M. Wickens, London 1952, 108-123 (reprinted in *PInHAIS.IP* 48, 1999: 160- 175).
- 570 Van Steenberghe (s. n. 568), 179ff. Cf. the similar criticism by Th. Crowley, Roger Bacon and Avicenna, in *Philosophical Studies* 2, 1952, 82-88 and already 1934 J. Teicher in his article Gundissalino e l’agostinismo avicennizzante, in *Rivista di filosofia neoscolastica* 26, 1934: 252-258 (reprinted in *PInHAIS.IP* 47, 1999: 236-242). Both articles are not mentioned by van Steenberghe.
- 571 Paris (reprint 1979, 1981), 89ff.; English translation by M.S. Khan, *The philosophy of Avicenna and its Influence on Medieval Europe*, Delhi-Patna-Varanasi, 1961. – Goichon’s article L’influence d’Avicenne en Occident, in *Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes (IBLA)* 14, 1951: 373-385 (reprinted in *PInHAIS.IP* 48, 1999: 123-135) is a summarizing survey which also sketches the role of Avicenna’s scientific writing for the Middle Ages.
- 572 Mentioned above n. 554.

tive Volume, Calcutta 1956: 133-146 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 48, 1999: 243-256); Alfonso García Marqués, La polemica sobre el ser en el Avicena y Averroes Latinos, in *Anuario filosófico*. Pamplona XX, 1987: 73-103; Dag Nikolaus Hasse, Das Lehrstück von den vier Intellekten in der Scholastik: von den arabischen Quellen bis zu Albertus Magnus, in *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales. Forschungen zur Theologie und Philosophie des Mittelalters*. Köln; Leuven LXVI/1, 1999: 21-77; I. Madkur, Avicenne en orient et en occident, in *MIDEO* 15, 1981: 223-229, G. Palermo, Avicenna e il medio evo, in *Educare. Rivista di pedagogia e cultura generale* 3, 1952: 162-169; 241-262; S. Swiezawski, Notes sur l'influence d'Avicenne sur la pensée philosophique latine du XVe siècle, in *Recherches d'Islamologie. Recueil d'articles offerts à Georges C. Anawati et Louis Gardet par leurs collègues et amis*, Louvain 1977 (= *Bibliothèque philosophique de Louvain*. 26): 295-305; Erminio Troilo, Avicenna - filosofo e la sua influenza su la filosofia e la cultura europea del medio evo (e anche d'oltre m. e.), in *Avicenna nella storia della cultura medioevale*. Roma (= *Accademie Nazionale dei Lincei*. Anno CCCLIV - 1957. = *Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura. Quaderno n. 40*) 1957: 5-70 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 48, 1999: 257-322); id., Lineamento e interpretazione del sistema filosofico di Avicenna, in *Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*. Roma 1956; ser. 8, vol. 7: 397-446 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 48, 1999: 323-372).

It can be noticed that historians paid more attention to Thomas Aquinas than to Albertus Magnus or other philosophers, like Henry of Gent (about 1217-1293) and Dominicus Gundissalinus, Duns Scotus (1265/6-1308), Roger Marston (d. 1303), William of Ockham (about 1280-1349), Gregorius Ariminensis (d. 1358), Gasparo Contarini (d. 1542), or even Montaigne (16th c.) and Pascal (17th c.).

Publications on **Thomas Aquinas** (cf. also Daiber, *Bibliography*, Index s.n.): G.C. Anawati, St. Thomas d'Aquin et la métaphysique d'Avicenne, in *St. Thomas Aquinas 1274-1974 Commemorative Studies I*, Toronto 1974: 449-465; id., Saint Thomas d'Aquinas et les penseurs arabes: les loquentes in lege maurorum et leur philosophie de la nature, in *La philosophie de la nature de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*.

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Doctor communis 27, no. 3, 1974: 30-45; *id.*, La distinzione tra l'essenza e l'esistenza e logica in Avicenna ed e (sic) ontologica in S. Tommaso, in *Actas del V congreso internacional de filosofía medieval*, 1, Madrid 1979: 775-784; *id.*, In tema di dipendenze di S. Tommaso da Avicenna, in *L'homme et son destin d'après les penseurs du moyen âge*. Actes du premier congrès international de philosophie médiévale (Louvain-Bruxelles. 28 août - 4 septembre 1958), Louvain-Paris 1960: 535-544; *id.*, *I primi concetti metafisici. Platone-Aristotele-Plotino-Avicenna-Tommaso*. Bologna 1968; M. Gogacz, La métaphysique de Plotin, du liber de causis et d'Avicenne comme point de départ de l'idée héliocentrique de l'univers dans de revolutionibus de Nicolas Copernic, in *Actas del V congreso internacional de filosofía medieval* 1, Madrid 1979: 789-796; A. Judy, Avicenna's "Metaphysics" in the Summa contra Gentiles, in *Angelicum* 52, 1975: 340-384, 541-586; 53, 1976: 184-226; Joseph Kenny, The Human Intellect: The journey of an idea from Aristotle to Ibn-Rushd. *Orita. Ibadan Journal of Religious Studies*. Ibadan 1998; 30: 65-84 [on the concept of human intellect in Aristotle, the Greek commentators, Kindī, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, al-Fārābī, Miskawayh, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Bādjdja, Ibn Ṭufayl, Ibn Rushd Thomas Aquinas]; Wilhelm Kleine, Die Substanzlehre Avicennas bei Thomas von Aquin auf Grund der ihm zugänglichen lateinischen Quellen, thesis Munich 1933 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 46,1999: 1-221); W. Kühn, *Das Prinzipienproblem in der Philosophie des Thomas von Aquin*, Amsterdam 1982 (= Bochumer Studien zur Philosophie. 1); P. Lee, St. Thomas and Avicenna on the Agent Intellect, in *Thomist* 45, 1981: 41-61; H.G. Listfeldt, Some Concepts on Matter of Avicenna, Averroes, St. Thomas and Heisenberg, in *Aquinas* 18, 1974: 310-321; A. Lobato, Avicena y Santo Tomás, in *Estudios filosóficos* 4, 1955: 4580; 5, 1956: 83-130, 511-551 (the part published in vol. 5 is originally a thesis in Rome: *De influxu Avicennae in theoria cognitionis St. Thomas Aquinatis*, Granada 1956); Edward Michael Macierowski, *Thomas Aquinas's Earliest Treatment of the Divine Essence.: Scriptum super libros Sententiarum, Book I, Distinction 8*. With a Foreword by Joseph Owens. Binghamton, NY; 1998. [Contains Latin text from Pierre Mandonnet's edition [1929] of Thomas's commentary on Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, book I, Distinction 8,

with index of the sources, including Arabic sources, as Averroes, Avicenna, Liber de causis]. A.N. Nader, Eléments de la philosophie musulmane médiévale dans la pensée de St. Thomas d'Aquin, in *Thomas von Aquin. Werk und Wirkung* (s. above EL-Khodeiry): 161-174; T. O'Shaugnessy, St. Thomas and Avicenna on the Nature of the One, in *Gregorianum* 41, 1960: 665-679; id., St. Thomas's Changing Estimate of Avicenna's Teaching on Existence as an Accident, in *The Modern Schoolman* 36, 1958-9: 245-260; J.F. Quinn, St. Bonaventura and Arabian Interpretations of Two Aristotelian Problems, in *Actas del V congreso internacional de filosofía medieval* 1, Madrid 1979: 1151-1158. Also in *Franciscan Studies* 37 (annual 15), 1977: 219-228 (on Avicenna and Averroes); L. De Raeymaker, La esencia Avicenista y la esencia Tomista, in *Sapientia* 11, 1956: 154-165; id., L'être selon Avicenne et selon S. Thomas d'Aquin, in *Avicenna Commemorative Volume*, Calcutta 1956: 119-131 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 48, 1999: 229-241); Stanislao Renzi, Una fonte della III via: Avicenna, in *De Deo in philosophia S. Thomae et in hodierna philosophia*. Roma 1966 (= Acta VI. congressus thomisticiinternationalis. = Bibliotheca Pontificiae Academiae Romanae S. Thomae Aquinatis. VII): 288-293; M.D. Roland-Gosselin, De distinctione inter essentiam et esse apud Avicennam et D. Thomam, in *Xenia thomistica offert Ludovicus Theissling...* edenda curavit Sadoc Szabo, vol. 3, Romae 1925: 281-288 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 45, 1999: 249-256); M.F. Rousseau, Avicenna and Aquinas on Incorruptibility, in *The New Scholasticism* 51, 1977: 524-536; A. Tognolo, Il problema della struttura metafisica dell'uomo in Avicenna e Tommaso d'Aquino, in *Actas del V congreso internacional de filosofía medieval* 1, Madrid 1979: 1283-1290; N. Ushida, *Etude comparative de la psychologie d'Aristote, d'Avicenne et de St. Thomas d'Aquin*, Tokyo 1968; id., Le problème de l'unité de la forme substantielle chez Saint Thomas d'Aquin et Avicenne, in *Actas del V congreso internacional de filosofía medieval* I, Madrid 1979: 1325-1330; Vansteenkiste, 'Autori Arabi e Giudei (s. n. 474); id., Avicenna-citaten by S. Thomas, in *Tijdschrift voor filosofie* 15, 1953: 459-507 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 48, 1999: 177-227); G. Verbeke, *Avicenna, Grundleger einer neuen Metaphysik*, Opladen, 1983 (Vorträge/Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften Geisteswiss., G 263; id., Avicenna's

Metaphysics and the West, in *Proceedings of the First International Islamic Philosophy Conference (19-22 November 1979, Cairo)*, Cairo 1982: 53-64; J.F. Wippel, *Metaphysical Themes in Thomas Aquinas*, Washington 1984 (= *Studies in Philosophy and the History of Philosophy*. 10); B.H. Zedler, Saint Thomas and Avicenna in the “De potentia Dei”, in *Traditio* 6, 1948: 105-159 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 48, 1999: 1-55); ead., St. Thomas, Interpreter of Avicenna, in *Modern Schoolman* 33, 1955/6: 1-18.

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On Henry of Gent cf. Daniel O. Gamarra, Esencia, posibilidad y predicacion: a proposito de una distincion aviceniana, in *Sapientia. Revista tomista de filosofía*. La Plata. 1986; 41 (no. 160): 101-120 (elaborated in Gamarra, *Esencia y objeto*. Bern, Frankfurt/M., New

York, Paris 1990 [= *Europäische Hochschulschriften*. Frankfurt/M. [etc.]. Series XXX, vol. 321], 15-133; includes a comparison with Giles of Rome, Henry of Ghent, Duns Scotus); *Jules Janssens*, Some Elements of Avicennian Influence on Henry of Ghent's Psychology, in: *Henry of Ghent*. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on the Occasion of the 700th Anniversary of His Death. Ed. by W. Vanhamel. Leuven. 1996: 155-169; Udo Reinhold Jeck, *Aristoteles contra Augustinum*. Zur Frage nach dem Verhältnis von Zeit und Seele bei den antiken Aristoteleskommentatoren, im arabischen Aristotelismus und im 13. Jahrhundert. Amsterdam, Philadelphia; 1994 (= *Bochumer Studien zur Philosophie*. Amsterdam. 21) [includes, besides Henry of Ghent, also Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Robert Kilwardby, Ulrich of Strasbourg, Aegidius Romanus, Siger of Brabant, Petrus Iohannis Olivi, Dietrich of Freiberg, Eckhart]; R. Macken, Avicennas Auffassung von der Schöpfung der Welt und ihre Umbildung in der Philosophie des Heinrich von Gent, in *Philosophie im Mittelalter* (s.n. 552), 245-258; id., Henri de Gand et la pénétration d'Avicenne en Occident, in: *Philosophie et culture (Actes 17 Congr. intern. de Philosophie)*, vol. III, Montreal 1988: 845-850; P. Porro, Enrico di Gand. La via delle proposizioni universali, in: *Vestigia. Studi e strumenti di storiografia filosofica*. 2.1990; 2: 26-30; 99-114; id., "Possibile ex se, necessarium ab alio": Tommaso d'Aquino e Enrico di Gand. *Medioevo*. Padova. 1992; 18: 231-273; K.H. Tachau, What Senses and Intellect do: Argument and Judgment in Late Medieval Theories of Knowledge, in: *Argumentationstheorie*. Scholastische Forschungen zu den logischen und semantischen Regeln korrekten Folgerns. Ed. Kl. Jacobi. Leiden, New York, Köln. 1993 (= *Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters*. XXXVIII): 653-668.

On Dominicus Gundissalinus' dependence upon Avicenna and on Gundissalinus influence on William of Auvergne cf. M. Burbach, *The Theory of Beatitude in Latin-Arabian Philosophy and its Initial Impact on Christian Thought*, thesis Toronto 1944, 190ff. and the publications listed in Daiber, *Bibliography*, index s.n.

Publications on Duns Scotus, Gasparo Contarini, William of Ockham, Gregorius Ariminensis, Roger Marston, Montaigne and Pascal (cf. also Daiber, *Bibliography*, Index s.n.): After

the article by E. Gilson, Avicenne et le point de départ de Duns Scotus, in *AHDL* 21, 1927: 89-149 (repr. in id., *Pourquoi Saint Thomas a critique Saint Augustin? Suivi de Avicenne et le point de départ de Duns Scotus*, Paris 1986, 129-189) [both mentioned titles are reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 47, 1999: 1-123 and 125-185] the following studies were published on Duns Scotus: M. Cruz Hernández, El Avicenismo de Duns Escoto, in *De doctrina Ioannis Duns Scoti*, I, Romae 1968: 183-205; id., Duns Escoto e o avicenismo medieval, in *Revista portuguesa de filosofia* 23, 1967: 251-260; Ludger Honnefelder, Die Kritik des Johannes Duns Scotus am kosmologischen Nezessitarismus der Araber: Ansätze zu einem neuen Freiheitsbegriff, in *Die abendländische Freiheit vom 10. zum 14. Jahrhundert. Der Wirkungszusammenhang von Idee und Wirklichkeit im europäischen Vergleich*. Hrsg.v. Johannes Fried. Sigmaringen; 1991 (= Vorträge und Forschungen. Hrsg.vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte. XXXIX): 249-263; I. Madkur (Madkour), Duns Scot entre Avicenne et Averroes, in *De doctrina Ioannis Scoti*, I, Romae 1968: 169-182 (also in *MIDEO* 9, 1967: 119- 131); J.A. Weisheipl, The Spector of Motor Coniunctus in Medieval Physics, in *Studi sul XIV secolo in memoria di Anneliese Maier*, Roma 1981 (= *Storia e letteratura. Raccolta di studi e testi*. 151), 81-104, esp. 96ff. and 99ff. on Duns Scotus's refutation of Avicenna.

On Gasparo Contarini cf. C. Giacon, L'Aristotelismo avicennistico di Gasparo Contarini, in *Atti del XII congresso internazionale di filosofia (Venezia, 12-18 settembre 1958)*, 9, Firenze 1960: 109-119.

On Avicenna's influence on William of Ockham s. R.E. Shanab, Avicenna and Ockham on the Problem of Universals, in *The Pakistan Philosophical Journal* 11/2, 1973: 1-14.

On Gregorius Ariminensis cf. J. Worek, Avicennismus et averroismus in gnoseologia Gregorii Ariminensis, in *Actas del V congreso internacional de filosofia medieval*, I, Madrid 1979: 1359-1370.

On Roger Marston: Étienne Gilson, Roger Marston: Un cas d'augustinisme avicennisant. *AHDL* 8, 1933: 37-42; reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 47, 1999: 187-192; Graham McAleer, Augustinian Interpretations of Averroes with respect to the status of prime matter, in *Modern schoolman. A quarterly journal of philosophy*. St. Louis, Mo. 1996; 73,2: 159-172.

On a comparison with Pascal and Montaigne s. van den Bergh, Pascal, Montaigne et Avicenne, in *Millénaire d'Avicenne*, Congrès de Bagdad, 1962: 36-38.

5.10. 1. The Latin Transmission of Ghazzālī

We shall now discuss a philosopher, whom scholastic philosophers often considered as a student of Avicenna, although he was in fact a critic of some points of his philosophy,⁵⁷³ namely al-Ghazzālī (Algazel; died 1111). His *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa*⁵⁷⁴, a description of Fārābī's and Ibn Sīnā's philosophy which is orientated at Ibn Sīnā's *Dānesh-nāme* and *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, was translated into Latin in Toledo at the end of the 12th century, shortly after the translation of Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, the book on the Soul. As translator is mentioned "magister John" who collaborated with Dominicus archidiaconus (apparently Dominicus Gundissalinus). The identity of the translator is not quite clear.⁵⁷⁵ The translation was widely spread in the Middle Ages under the title *Summa theorie philosophie* and was printed for the first time in 1506 in Venice.⁵⁷⁶ A new edition of the part on logic was published in 1965 by Charles Lohr;⁵⁷⁷ the following two parts, the Metaphysics and

573 Cf. Jules Janssens, Al-Ghazzālī's Tahāfut: Is it really a rejection of Ibn Sīnā's Philosophy? In *Journal of Islamic Studies*. Oxford 12/1, 2001: 1 - 17.

574 Ed. by Sulaymān Dunyā, Cairo 1961.

575 Cf. D'Alverny, Algazel dans l'occident latin, in *Un trait d'union entre l'orient et l'occident: Al-Ghazzali et Ibn Maimoun*, Rabat 1986 (= *Académie du Royaume du Maroc*, 12): (125-146) (reprint in: d'Alverny, *La transmission des textes philosophiques et scientifiques au Moyen Age*. Ed. by Charles Burnett. Aldershot, Hants.; 1994. = *Variourum. Collected Studies Series*; v. CS 463), p. 127.

576 Under the title *Logica et philosophia Algazalis arabis*, ed. P. Lichtenstein (2.ed. without place: 1536); a reprint of the edition 1506 appeared in 1968 in Frankfurt (introduction by Ch. Lohr).

577 *Logica Algazelis*. Introduction and Critical Text, in *Traditio* 21, 1965: 223-290.

the Physics, was edited in 1933 by J.J. Muckle. He did not, however, consult all manuscripts⁵⁷⁸ and did not compare the Arabic original.⁵⁷⁹

In his article on Algazel in the Latin world⁵⁸⁰ D. Salman edited a prologue to the Latin *Maqāṣid*, which is preserved in one Latin manuscript only and which contains the information that the *Maqāṣid* do not render Ghazzālī's point of view and instead give a summary of those doctrines, which Ghazzālī intends to refute in his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (*Liber controversie*). Salman showed, that most of the scholastic philosophers considered the text as a reproduction of Ghazzālī's own doctrines, but that at least Raimund Martin (1230-1286), who knew further texts by Ghazzālī in the original,⁵⁸¹ and Roger Bacon (13th c.), knew the real state of affairs.⁵⁸² Not before the 14th century scholastic philosophers could get information about Ghazzālī's criticism of philosophers through the Latin translation of Averroes' *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, a refutation of Ghazzālī's criticism.⁵⁸³ Nevertheless, the Middle Ages often became acquainted with doctrines attributed to Ghazzālī and refuted them,⁵⁸⁴ which in fact are Avicennian or are shaped by Avicenna's model Fārābī.⁵⁸⁵

578 *Algazel's Metaphysics*, Toronto, 1933. On additional manuscripts s. Ch.H. Lohr, *Algazel Latinus. Further Manuscripts*, in *Traditio* 22, 1966: 444-445.

579 Cf. the review of Muckle's edition by M. Alonso Alonso, *Los Maqāṣid de Algazel*, in *al-Andalus* 25, 1958: 445-454.

580 *Algazel et les latins*, in *AHDL* 10/11, 1936 (103-127), 126f.

581 Cf. Cortabarría, *La connaissance* (s. n. 562), 282-284; D'Alverny, *Algazel* (s. n. 575), 131-137.

582 Cf. Lohr (s. n. 577) 231.

583 Cf. below § 5.11.1.

584 E.g. the 13th century by Aegidius Romanus in his *Errores philosophorum*: cf. J. Koch (s. n. 506), pp. XLIV-XLVI.

585 G.-G. Hana, *Die Hochscholastik um eine Autorität ärmer*, in *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag*, II (= *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte*, 36/II, Göttingen 1972: 884-890), p. 885 therefore speaks of a "Überlieferungsgeschichte der lateinischen *Maqāṣid* zu einem von Sagen umgebenen Kapitel der Philosophie geschichte"; this is an exaggeration and underestimates besides Ghazzālī's critical attitude towards the philosophers the importance of Ghazzālī as transmit-

Information on the spread of the *Maqāṣid* in the Middle Ages can be found besides in the mentioned article by Salman also in M. Alonso Alonso,⁵⁸⁶ Charles Lohr⁵⁸⁷ and above all M.-Th. D’Alverny.⁵⁸⁸ More studies, which are not listed by the mentioned authors, discuss above all the echo of Ghazzālī’s writings and thought in Thomas Aquinas.⁵⁸⁹ It has been remarked that they might become known to Thomas Aquinas partly also through Maimonides (1137/8-1204/5),⁵⁹⁰ whose “Guide of the Perplexed” (*More Nevukim*) was translated into Latin about 1233 at the court of Frederick II.⁵⁹¹ The same possibility must also be taken into account with regard to Albertus Magnus,⁵⁹² whose recourse to Ghazzālī

ter of Avicenna’s ideas and as sympathizer of philosophical logic.

586 Influencia de Algazel en el mundo latino, in *al-Andalus* 23, 1958: 371-380.

587 Logica Algazelis (s.n. 577) 230ff.

588 Algazel dans l’occident latin (s. n. 575).

589 R.E. Abū Shanab, Ghazali and Aquinas on Causation, in *Monist* 58, 1974: 140-150; id., Points of Encounter between Al-Ghazali and St. Thomas Aquinas, in *Tommaso d’Aquino nella storia del pensiero. Atti del congresso internazionale (Roma-Napoli, 17/24 aprile 1974)*. = *Tommaso d’Aquino nel suo settimo centenario*, 1, Napoli 1975; 261-267; S. Beaurecueil, Ghazzali et S. Thomas d’Aquin. Essai sur la preuve de l’existence de dieu proposée dans l’iqṭisād et sa comparaison avec les “voies” Thomistes, in *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 46, 1947: 199- 238; T. Hanley, St. Thomas’ Use of Al-Ghazzālī’s Maqāṣid Al-Falāsifa, in *Mediaeval Studies* 44, 1982: 243-271.

590 Cf. D’Alverny, Algazel (s. n. 575), p. 142, n. 28, with reference to Moses Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, translated with introduction and notes by S. Pines, with an introductory essay by L. Strauss, Chicago 1967, introd.pp. CXXVI-CXXXI.

591 Cf. G. Freudenthal, Pour le dossier de la traduction latine médiévale du Guide des Egarés, in *Revue des études juives* 147, 1988: 167-172; id., Maimonides’ Guide of the Perplexed and the Transmission of the Mathematical Tract “on Two Asymptotic Lines” in the Arabic, Latin and Hebrew Medieval Traditions, in *Vivarium* 26, 1988: 113-140; W. Kluxen, Maimonides and Latin Scholasticism, in *Maimonides and Philosophy*, Papers presented at the Sixth Jerusalem Philosophical Encounter, May 1985, ed. by S. Pines and Y. Yovel. Dordrecht, Boston, Lancaster 1986 (= *Archives internationales d’histoire des idées*. 114), 224-232.

592 Cf. H.A. Wolfson, Nicolaus of Autrecourt and Ghazali’s Argument against Causality, in *Speculum* 44, 1969 (234-238), pp. 234f.

has been considered by Angel Cortabarr'a Beita,⁵⁹³ without, however, making a precise identification of the sources. H.A. Wolfson defended the thesis, that already before the Latin translation of Averroes' refutation the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* by Ghazzālī was known from a Latin translation; this can be proven from a passage in Albertus Magnus and from the criticism of causality by Bernard of Arezzo and Nicolaus of Autrecourt.⁵⁹⁴ Here, the ways of transmission are not yet sufficiently clear. The same must be said with regard to parallels between Ghazzālī and William of Ockham,⁵⁹⁵ comparisons with Meister Eckhart (about 1260 - 1328)⁵⁹⁶ and St. Bonaventura (1217-1274),⁵⁹⁷ or similarities to Ghazzālī in Anselm of Canterbury (1033/4-1109),⁵⁹⁸ Pascal⁵⁹⁹ and Descartes (17th c.).⁶⁰⁰

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- 593 Literatura Algazeliana de los escritos de san Alberto Magno, in *Estudios filosóficos* 11, 1962: 255-276; cf. also Bach (s. n. 512), 118ff.
- 594 Wolfson, Nicolaus (s.n. 592); cf. now Dominik Perler and Ulrich Rudolph, *Occasionalismus. Theorien der Kausalität im arabisch-islamischen und im europäischen Denken*. Göttingen 2000. = *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*. 3. Folge. 235.
- 595 Cf. W.J. Courtenay, The Critique on Natural Causality in the Mutakalimun and Nominalism, in *Harvard Theological Review* 66, 1973: 77-94, esp. 84ff.
- 596 Cf. J. Politella, Al-Ghazali and Meister Eckhart, Two Giants of the Spirit, in *The Muslim World* 54, 1964: 180-194; 233-244.
- 597 Cf. R.E. Abū Shanab, Two Politically-Oriented Theologians. Al-Ghazali and St. Bonaventure, in *San Bonaventura maestro di vita francescana e di sapienza cristiana*, Roma 1976 (Atti del congresso internazionale per il VII centenario di San Bonaventura da Bagno regio, Roma, 19-26 settembre 1974): 883-892.
- 598 Cf. A.J. Vanderjagt, Knowledge of God in Ghazali and Anselm, in *Sprache und Erkenntnis im Mittelalter* II, Berlin-New York 1981 (= *Miscellanea medievale*. 13/2): 852-861.
- 599 Cf. M. Asin Palacios, Los precedentes musulmanes del Pari de Pascal, in *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo* 11, 1920: 171-232 (also in id., *Huellas del Islam*, Madrid, 1941: 161-233).
- 600 S.M. Najm, The Place and Function of Doubt in the Philosophies of Descartes and al-Ghazali, in *Philosophy East and West* 16, 1966: 133-141; J. Teicher, Spunti cartesiani nella filosofia arabo-giudaica, in *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana* 16 (2, ser., vol. 2), 1935: 101-130; 235-249; Mustafa Abū-Sway, *Al-Ghazzāliyy. A Study in Islamic Epistemology*. Kuala Lumpur 1996, 142f.

In single cases scholars have pointed here at the possibility of an oral transmission or at the phenomenon of “convergence” because of “analogous preconditions”.⁶⁰¹

5.10.2. Ramon Llull

In the case of Raimund Martin we have seen that he could quote directly from Arabic sources and was not dependent on Latin translations.⁶⁰² This explains that he - as already before him Petrus Alfonsi in the 11th c. in his Dialogue against the Jews - could refer to Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī's *ash-Shukūk 'alā Djālīnūs*. - Likewise, Ramon Llull (1235-1316) could become acquainted with a lot of Arabic texts, which are not yet sufficiently identified.⁶⁰³

In a similar manner Ramon Llull/Raimundus Lullus (1235-1316) became acquainted with a lot of Arabic texts, which still wait for an identification. This identification will not be easy, as Raimundus Lullus did not reproduce his sources in a literal manner and reformulated them. Parallels in content might go back either directly to an Arabic or Arabic-Latin source, or to a Christian-Arabic tradition, which developed in the discussion with Islam. In his theology Raimundus Lullus dealt with Ibn Sīnā's metaphysics, which in his eyes was not compatible with the Christian trinity.⁶⁰⁴

601 Thus C. Baeumker in his review of Asin Palacios (s. n. 599) in *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 34, 1921 (180-182), p. 181.

602 S. n. 581 and 608.

603 Cf. Charles Burnett, Encounters with Rāzī the Philosopher: Constantine the African, Petrus Alfonsi and Ramon Marti, in *Pensamiento medieval hispano: Homenaje a Horacio, Santiago-Otero*. Ed. M. Soto Rábanos. Madrid 1998: 973-992.

604 Vgl. Daiber, Raimundus Lullus in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Islam. Eine philosophiegeschichtliche Analyse des ‚Liber disputationis Raimundi Christiani et Homeri Saraceni‘. *Juden, Christen und Muslime. Religionsdialoge im Mittelalter*. Hrsg.v. Matthias Lutz-Bachmann und Alexander Fidora. Darmstadt 2004, pp.136-172.

In studying Ghazzālī he acquired a rather thorough knowledge of Ibn Sīnā's philosophy. He composed an Arabic summary of logic, which follows Ghazzālī's *Maqāṣid*. It is preserved in a Latin version with the title *Compendium logicae Algazelis*, of which a shortened text is translated into Catalan.⁶⁰⁵

On the Islamic tradition compare (in chronological order) O. Keicher, *Raimundus Lullus und seine Stellung zur arabischen Philosophie*, Münster 1909 (= Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen. VII/4-5, out of date); A. Schimmel, *Raimundus Lullus und seine Auseinandersetzung mit dem Islam*, in *Eine Heilige Kirche*, Munich-Basel 1953/4 (64-76), p. 71; H. Riedlinger, *Ramon Lull und Averroes nach dem Liber reprobationis aliquorum errorum Averrois*, in *Scientia Augustiniana. Studien über Augustinus und den Augustinerorden. Festschrift Adolar Zukeller zum 60. Geburtstag*, hrsg. v. C.P. Mayer, W. Eckermann, Würzburg 1975: 184-199; B.M. Weischer, *Raimundus Lullus und die islamische Mystik*, in *Islam und Abendland. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, hrsg.v. A. Mercier, Bem and Frankfurt/M. 1976 (Universität Bem, Kulturhistorische Vorlesungen, 1974/75):131-157 (W.W. Artus, *El dinamismo divino y su obra máxima en el encuentro de Lull y la filosofía musulmana*, in *Estudios Lulianos* 22, 1978 (= Actas del II congreso internacional de Lulismo, Miramar, 18-24 octubre), Palma de Mallorca 1979: 155-197; J.N. Hillgarth, *The Attitudes of Ramon Lull and of Alfonso of Castile to Islam*, in *Actas del V congreso internacional de filosofía medieval*, I, Madrid 1979: 825-830; H. Daiber, *Der Missionar Raimundus Lullus und seine Kritik am Islam*, in *Estudios Lulianos* 25, 1981-3 (47-57), 48ff. (and references given there); S. Garcias Palou, *Ramon Lull y el Islam*, Palma de Mallorca 1981; C.H. Lohr, *Christianus arabicus cuius nomen Raimundus Lullus*, in *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie*

605 Cf. lateinischen Text und Analysis in C.H. Lohr, *Raimundus Lullus' Compendium Logica eAlgazelis*, Ph.D. Freiburg/Br. 1967. The Catalan text can be found in J. Rubio I Balaguer, *Ramon Lull i el Lullisme*, Montserrat, 1985, 144-166 (in ch. 6 on „La lógica del Gazzali, posada en rims per en Ramon Lull“, p. 111ff). This ch. 6 (pp. 111-166) is originally published in: *Institut d'Estudis Catalans (Barcelona)*. *Anuari* 5, 1913-14: 311-354 and now reprinted in *PlnHAIS.IP* 54, 1999: 283-326.

und *Theologie* 31, 1984: 57-88; revidierte und gekürzte Fassung: Arabische Einflüsse in der neuen Logik Lulls, in Raymond Lulle. *Les actes du colloque sur R. Lulle, Université de Fribourg, 1984*, Fribourg, Suisse 1986: 71-91 (Collection "interdisciplinaire", 12); M.D. Johnston, *The Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull*, Oxford 1987; Rudolf Brummer, Avempace and Ramon Llull - Bemerkungen zu mutawahhid und ermità, in *Festgabe für Hans-Rudolf Singer zum 65. Geburtstag*. Ed. by Martin Forstner. II. Frankfurt/M., Bern, New York, Paris 1991: 911-916 (on the differences between both); Margalida Font Roig, *El 'Ars Luliana en la historia de la logica*. [The 'Ars Luliana' in the History of Logic (Ramon Llull)]. Ph.D. Barcelona 1993. Róbert Simon, Remarks on Ramon Llull's Relation to Islam, in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*. 51, 1998: 21-29. - Additional literature s. Ch. Lohr and A. Bonner, *The Philosophy of Ramon Llull: A survey of recent literature*. *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales. Forschungen zur Theologie und Philosophie des Mittelalters*. Leuven. 68/1, 2001: 170-179.

5.11.1. The Latin Transmission of Ibn Rushd

Most important for the medieval scholastic philosophy were the Latin translations of numerous works by Ibn Rushd (Averroes; 1126-1198), especially of his commentaries on Aristotle. We find several translators:⁶⁰⁶ Michel Scot as translator of Averroes'

606 A list of the translations and printings of the 16th century can be found in H.A. Wolfson, "Plan for the Publication of a Corpus commentarium Averrois in Aristotelem", in id., *Studies in the History of Philosophy and Religion* I, ed. I. Tversky and G.H. Williams, Cambridge, Mass. 1973 (430-454), 437ff. On the Latin translation of Averroes' Great Commentary cf. now H. Schmiejka, *Drei Prologe im großen Physikkommentar des Averroes? In Aristotelisches Erbe im arabisch-lateinischen Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. A. Zimmermann. Für den Druck besorgt v. G. Vuillemin-Diem, Berlin-New York 1986 (= *Miscellanea mediaevalia*. 18): 175-189; id., *Secundum aliam translationem – ein Beitrag zur arabisch-lateinischen Übersetzung des Grossen Physikkomentars von Averroes (316-336)*, in *Averroes and the Aristotelian*

commentaries on the scientific and philosophical writings of Aristotle and Hermannus Alemannus as a translator of the “Middle Commentaries” on Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*; moreover, William de Luna as a translator of the “Middle Commentaries” on Porphyry’s *Isagoge* and on Aristotle’s *Categories*, *De Interpretatione*,⁶⁰⁷ *Analytica priora* and *Analytica posteriora*. Finally, in 1328 Calonymos Ben Calonymos Ben Meir from Arles translated Averroes’ *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, the already mentioned refutation of Ghazzālī’s *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*,⁶⁰⁸ from Arabic into Latin.⁶⁰⁹ As this Latin version was incomplete, the text was translated again in the 16th century by Calo Calonymos, also called Calonymos Ben David junior or Maestro Calo.⁶¹⁰

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- Tradition.* Sources, Constitution and Reception of the Philosophy of Ibn Rushd (1126-1198). Proceedings of the Fourth Symposium Averroicum (Cologne, 1996). Ed. by Gerhard Endress and Jan A. Aertsen, with the assistance of Klaus Braun. Leiden, Boston, Köln; 1999. (= Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science. XXX): 316-336; id., Urbanus Averroista und die mittelalterlichen Handschriften des Physikkommentars von Averroes, in *BPhM* 42, 2000 (2001): 133-153.
- 607 Cf. R. Hisette, Les éditions anciennes de la traduction par Guillaume de Luna du commentaire moyen d’Averroes au *De interpretatione*, in *Aristotelisches Erbe im arabisch-lateinischen Mittelalter* s. prec. n.): pp. 161-174.
- 608 Cf. above § 10. From Averroes’ refutation already Raimund Martin (1230-1286), who knew several more Islamic philosophers and texts by Averroes, had transmitted in his *Pugio fidei* from the year 1278 a long passage. Because of the rendering of Averroes’ name Renan, *Averroes* (s.n. 628) had assumed a Hebrew source, an assumption which Zedler in her edition of *Averroes’ Destructio destructionum* (s. n. 610) p. 21 mentions as a possibility. This requires a careful comparison. – On Raimund Martin’s knowledge of Islamic philosophers cf. Cortabarría, *La connaissance* (s. n. 562), 280ff.; id., *Los textos árabes de Averroes en el Pugio Fidei del Domínico Catalán Raimundo Martí*, in *Actas del XII congreso de la Union Européenne d’Arabisants et d’Islamisants (Malaga, 1984)*, Madrid 1986: 185-204; Charles Bunett, *Encounters with Rāzī the Philosopher: Constantine the African, Petrus Alfonsi and Ramón Martí. Pensamiento medieval hispano: Homenaje a Horacio, Santiago-Otero*. Ed. M. Soto Rabanos. Madrid; 1998: 973-992.
- 609 Printed in 1497 in Venice, with the commentary by Agostino Nifo (1473-1538); reprint Lyon, 1517, 1529, 1542.
- 610 Ed. on the basis of the print Venice 1550 (which was compared with

This translator used an Arabic-Hebrew translation made between 1318 and 1328 by Calonymos Ben David Ben Todros, also called Calonymos senior. We shall not enter in the contribution of Jewish scholars to the Arabic-Hebrew, Arabic-Latin and Hebrew-Latin translations of Averroes.⁶¹¹ And we shall not discuss a forgery with the title *Tractus de animae beatitudine*, which might have its origin in Jewish circles of Hillel Ben Samuel and is attributed to Averroes.⁶¹² On the translations of Jewish scholars in the Middle Ages we have the still not replaceable monumental work by Moritz Steinschneider, his *Die hebraeischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* from the year 1893.⁶¹³ On the Arabic-Latin translations of Averroes and on the translators, who not always can be identified with certainty, we do not have a comparable survey. For example, scholars for a long time had no clear answer on the question whether the Latin translation of Averroes' Great Commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* is done by Gerhard of Cremona or by Michel Scot.⁶¹⁴ But since Roland Guerin

prints 1527, 1560 and 1573) by B.H. Zedler, *Averroes' Destructio de structio-num philosophiae Algazelis in the Latin Version of Calo Calonymos*, Milwaukee 1961. On the history of the transmission of the *Tahāfut-Tahāfut* cf. Zedler 22f.; D'Alverny, Algazel (s. n. 575), 137ff.

- 611 Cf. Steinschneider (s. below n. 613) 330ff. and Zonta (s. n. 493); Paul Fenton, *Le rôle des juifs dans la transmission de l'héritage d'Averroès*, in *L'actualité d'Averroès. Le huitième centenaire de la naissance d'Averroès (1198-1998)*. (Ed. by) Mohammed Habib Samrakandi. Toulouse 1999 (= *Horizons Maghrebins*. 40): 33-42.
- 612 Cf. H.A. Davidson, *Averroes' Tractatus de animae beatitudine*, in *A Straight Path: Studies in Medieval Philosophy and Culture. Essays in Honor of Arthur Hyman*. Editor-in-chief: Ruth Link-Salinger, Washington 1988: 57-73.
- 613 Reprinted Graz 1956. – Additional material can be found in Zonta (s. n. 493).
- 614 On the autorship of the translation of Averroes' Latin Great Commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* s. G. Darms, *Averroes (Ibn Rušd) in Aristotelis Librum 11 (a) Metaphysicorum commentarius*, Freiburg/Schweiz 1966 (= *Thomistische Studien*. XI), 19ff. – On Michel Scot's method of translation in Averroes' Great commentary on the *Metaphysics* s. R. Hoffmann, *Übersetzungsbedingte Verständnisprobleme im großen Metaphysik-Kommentar des Averroes (zu Met. A 15, 1020b26 – 1021y26 – b3)*, in *Aristotelisches Erbe im arabisch-lateinischen Mittelalter* (s. above n. 606): 141-160.

de Vaux's fundamental article on *La première entrée d'Averroes chez les Latins* from the year 1933⁶¹⁵ we know that Gerhard of Cremona who died in 1187, cannot be the translator of Averroes' works because of chronological reasons. De Vaux concluded from the oldest traceable quotations that the Latin West did not become acquainted with Averroes's writings in Latin translation before 1230. De Vaux's results were confirmed and expanded with additional details by Dominique Salman (1937),⁶¹⁶ Francesca Lucchetta (1979),⁶¹⁷ Fernand van Steenberghen (1979)⁶¹⁸ and Miguel Cruz Hernández (1986).⁶¹⁹ However, in an article published in 1982⁶²⁰ R. A. Gauthier could give more details. In an anonymous treatise from the year 1225 with the title *De anima et de potenciis eius*⁶²¹ he found quotations from Aristotle's Arabic-Latin *Metaphysics* (based on Averroes' Commentary) and from Averroes' commentary on *De anima*.⁶²² This justifies a more precise dating of the oldest Arabic-Latin translation of Averroes' works. According to Gauthier it is quite sure, that Michel Scot started to translate Averroes' works between 1220 and 1224, namely Averroes Great Commentary on Aristotle's *De anima* and *Metaphysics*; these are followed

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- 615 In *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 22, 1933: 193-243 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 71, 1999: 1-53). De Vaux's explanations were essentially taken over and in details corroborated by F. van Steenberghen (s. n. 568).
- 616 Note sur la première influence d'Averroes, in *Revue néoscholastique de philosophie (Revue philosophique de Louvain)* 40, 1937: 203-212 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 71, 1999: 211-220).
- 617 La prima presenza di Averroes in ambito Veneto, in *Studia Islamica* 46, 1977: 133-146.
- 618 Le problème de l'intrée d'Averroes en occident, in *L'Averroïsme in Italia (Roma, 18-20 aprile 1977)*, Roma 1979 (= *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Atti dei Lincei*. 40): 81-89.
- 619 *Abū-l-Walīd Ibn Rušd (Averroes): Vida, obra, pensamiento, influencia*. (Cordoba 1986), 251ff.; esp. 253ff. = id., La primera recepción del pensamiento de Ibn Rušd (Averroés), in *Azaféa* 1, 1985 (11-32), pp. 14ff., esp. 16ff.
- 620 Notes sur les débuts (1225-1240) du premier "Averroïsme", in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 66, 1982: 321-373.
- 621 In *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 66, 1982: 3-55: Le traité de anima et de potenciis eius d'un maître es arts (vers 1225).
- 622 Cf. Gauthier, *Le traité*, (s.prec.n.), p. 7f, 14ff.

between 1224 and 1230 by translations of the commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics* (without the prologue, which later was translated by Theodor of Antiochia) and *De Caelo*, finally of Avicenna's *De animalibus*, a part of his encyclopaedia *Kitāb ash-Shifā*.⁶²³

The edition of Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle's works and their Latin and Hebrew translations in an international project under the auspices of the Union Académique Internationale goes back to an initiative of Harry Austryn Wolfson in 1931.⁶²⁴ Since 1978 the project is being coordinated by the Thomas-Institute of the University in Cologne, which is concentrating on the Latin section.⁶²⁵ Until now a considerable number of editions, including English translations, could be realized⁶²⁶ and replaces the first prints of the 15th and 16th century.⁶²⁷

623 Cf. Gauthier, Notes (s. n. 620).

624 Cf. Wolfson, Plan (s. n. 606).

625 Cf. R. Hoffmann, Protokoll der Tagung über das Corpus Averroicum vom 16. bis 17.3.1978 in Köln, in *BPhM* 20, 1978: 58-64.

626 Cf. the list in Ph.W. Rosemann, *Averroes: a catalogue of editions and scholarly writings from 1821 onwards*, in *BPhM* 30, 1988 (153-211), 158ff. – In 1996 appeared the Latin translation of Ibn Rushd's *Talkhīs Kitāb al-'ibāra: Commentum Medium super libro Peri Hermeneias Aristotelis*. Translatio Wilhelmo De Luna attributa. Ed. Roland Hissette. Lovanii; 1996. (Union Académique Internationale. Corpus philosophorum medii aevi. Academicarum consociatarum auspiciis et consilio editum. Averrois opera. Series B: Averroes Latinus. XI). – The editor had already in previous publications questions of transformations and early editions discussed (s. following note).

627 Rosemann (s. prec. n.) 155-158 listed the Latin texts of Averroes on the basis of the print Venice 1562 (reprint Frankfurt/M. 1962). – On additional prints of Averroes' works during the Renaissance cf. P. Butler, *Fifteenth Century Editions of Arabic Authors in Latin Translation*, in *The MacDonalld Presentation Volume*, Princeton 1933 (63-71), 66f.; C. Göllner, *Un coup d'oeil sur les éditions vénitienes du XVe siècle des oeuvres d'Ibn Rušd Abul-Valid Muhammed (Averroes)*, in *Studia et acta orientalia* 5-6, 1967: 361-364; F.E. Cranz, *Editions of the Latin Aristotle accompanied by the commentaries of Averroes*, in *Philosophy and Humanism, essays for P. Kristeller*, ed. E.P. Mahoney, New York 1976: 116-128; Ch.B. Schmitt, *Renaissance Averroism Studies through the Venetian Editions of Aristotle – Averroes (with Particular Reference to the Giunta Edition of 1550-2)*, in *L'Averroismo in Italia* (Roma 18-20 aprile 1977), Roma 1979): 121-142; =

5.11.2. “Averroism”

With the available editions we have good conditions for solving still existing problems of the authorship of translations and their Arabic originals and we have, moreover, a solid basis for the research in the echo of Averroes’ philosophy in medieval scholastic philosophy through a careful comparison of the texts. We have many publications which discuss the influence of Averroes upon medieval scholastic thought. A classic at the beginning is Ernest Renan, *Averroès et l’Averroïsme*; the book appeared in 1853 in Paris and in a third edition, a revised and expanded version, in 1866.⁶²⁸ Since that time many scholars continued the inquiry into the influence of Averroes upon medieval philosophers, especially Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus, and thus supplemented, revised and corrected the picture of the so-called “Averroïsm” among scholastic philosophers.

On the “Averroïsm” of **Thomas Aquinas** compare, besides those mentioned in § 11.1, the following publications: Miguel Asín Palacios, *El averroísmo teológico de Santo Tomás de Aquino*, in *Homenaje à D. Francisco Codera en su jubilación del profesorado. Estudios de erudición oriental*. Ed. Eduardo Saavedra. Zaragoza 1904:

id., *The Aristotelian Tradition and Renaissance Universities*, London 1984 (= Variorum Reprints), nr. VIII.

On the relation of the old Averroes-editions to each other (dependance of Venice 1489 upon Venice 1483) s. R. Hissette, *Des remaniements dans une édition incunable des commentaires moyens d’Averroès sur la Logica Vetus*, in *Studia Mediewistyczne* 34-35, 1999-2000: 93-99. – The author has, moreover, in numerous articles discussed the relation of old editions to the mss. and editorial problems: s. his list of publications in Daiber, *Bibliography* (above, n *).

- 628 Reprinted Frankfurt/M. 1985. Reviews and Spanish and Arabic translations are listed in Ph.W. Rosemann, *Averroes* (s. n. 626), Nr. 498. In addition to the critical reviews cf. also P. Semenenko, *Studio critico sull’Averroè di Er. Renan e sul valore dell’Averroismo*, Roma 1861 (38pp); A. Corallnik, Ernest Renan, in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 37, 1926: 121-201; Steven Harvey, *On the Nature and Extent of Jewish Averroism: Renan’s Averroès et l’averroïsme Revisited*. *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 7, Tübingen 2000: 100-119.

271-331 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 69, 1999: 225-285); B.C. Bazán, Intellectum speculativum: Averroes, Thomas Aquinas, and Siger of Brabant on the Intelligible Object, in *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 19, 1981: 425-446; K. Bormann, Wahrheitsbegriff und NOUS-Lehre bei Aristoteles und einigen seiner Kommentatoren, in *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geistesgeschichte und ihren Quellen*, hrsg. v. A. Zimmermann. Zum Druck besorgt v. G. Vuillemin-Diem, Berlin-New York 1982 (= *Miscellanea mediaevalia*. 15): 1-24; Maurice Bouyges, Attention à "Averroïsta", in *Revue du moyen âge latin* 4, 1948: 173-176 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 72, 1999: 273-276); Mariano Brasa Díez, Averroes y Santo Tomás leen a Aristóteles, in *Averroes y los averroïsmos*. Actas del III Congreso Nacional de Filosofía Medieval. Zaragoza 1999: 183-204; B. Bürke, *Das neunte Buch (Y) des lateinischen grossen Metaphysik-Kommentars von Averroes*. Text, Edition und Vergleich mit Albert dem Grossen und Thomas von Aquin. (PhD thesis Freiburg/Schweiz), Bem 1969. M. Chossat, L'Averroïsme de Saint Thomas. Notes sur la distinction d'essence et d'existence à la fin du XIII sicle, in *Archives de philosophie* 9, 1932: 129-177 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 70, 1999: 173-221); J.C. Doig, Toward Understanding Aquinas' Com. in De anima. A comparative study of Aquinas and Averroes on the Definition of Soul (De anima 1-2), in *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica* 66, 1974: 436-474; J.G. Flynn, S. Thomas and Averroes on the Nature and Attributes of God, in *Abr Nahrain* 15, 1974-5: 39-49; Eudaldo Forment Giralt, La ciencia divina en Averroes y en Santo Tomás, in *Averroes y los averroïsmos*. Actas del III Congreso Nacional de Filosofía Medieval. Zaragoza. 1999: 301-316; A. García Marques, Averroes, una fuente tomista de la noción metafísica de dios, in *Sapientia* 37, 1982: 87-106; id., La individuación de las sustancias materiales en Averroés y Santo Tomás, in *Sapientia* 35, 1980: 601-613; id., *Necesidad y substancia*. (Averroes y su proyeccion en Tomas de Aquino.). Pamplona 1989; id., La polemica sobre el ser en el Avicena y Averroes Latinos, in *Anuario filosófico*. Pamplona XX, 1987: 73-103; L.G.A. Getino, *La Summa contra gentes y el pugio fidei*, Vergara 1905; O. Hamelin, *La théorie de l'intellect d'après Aristote et ses commentateurs*, Paris 1953 (repr. 1981), pp. 73ff.; G.G. Hana, Comment Saint Thomas et Averroës ont-ils lu la définition

de l'âme d'Aristote, in *Actas del V congreso Internacional de filosofía medieval*, I, Madrid 1979: 817-824; R. Laubenthal, *Das Verhältnis des Heiligen Thomas von Aquin zu den Arabern in seinem Physikkommentar* (PhD thesis. Würzburg), Kallmünz 1934; F. Lucchetta, Sulla critica tomistica alla noetica di Averroes, in *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica* 73, 1981: 596-602; Edward Michael Macierowski, *Thomas Aquinas's Earliest Treatment of the Divine Essence.: Scriptum super libros Sententiarum, Book I, Distinction 8*. With a Foreword by Joseph Owens. Binghamton, NY; 1998. [Contains Latin text from Pierre Mandonnet's edition [1929] of Thomas's commentary on Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*, book I, Distinction 8, with index of the sources, including Arabic sources, as Averroes, Avicenna, *Liber de causis*]; A. Mager, Der nous pathetikos bei Aristoteles und Thomas von Aquin, in *Revue néoscholastique de philosophie* 36, 1934: 263-274; E.P. Mahoney, Saint Thomas and the School of Padua at the End of the Fifteenth Century, in *Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association* 48, 1974: 277-285; Amato Masnovo, I primi contatti di San Tommaso d'Aquino con l'averroismo latino. - In: *Atti del V congresso internazionale di filosofia* (Napoli 5-9 Maggio 1924). Napoli (etc.). 1925: 1007-1017 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 69, 1999: 357-367); O.N. Mohammed, *Averroes' Doctrine of Immortality*, Waterloo, Ont. 1984; H.-A. Montagne, Les rapports entre la foi et la raison chez Averroes et Saint Thomas, in *Revue thomiste* 19, 1911: 358-360 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 69, 1999: 357-367); M. Nedoncelle, Remarques sur la réfutation des Averroïstes par Saint Thomas, in *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica* 66, 1974: 284-292, F. Picavet, *L'Averroïsme et les Averroïstes du XIIIe siècle, d'après le de unitate intellectus contra Averroïstes de saint Thomas*, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*. 45, Paris 1902: 56-69 (reprinted in *PinHAIS.IP* 69, 1999: 210-223); Elisabeth Reinhardt, La última discusión de Tomás de Aquino sobre el monopsiquismo: el Compendium theologiae, in *Averroes y los averroïsmos*. Actas del III Congreso Nacional de Filosofía Medieval. Zaragoza 1999: 349-358; Richard Taylor, Averroes' Epistemology and Its Critique by Aquinas. *Thomistic Papers. VII: Medieval Masters*. Essays in memory of Msgr. S. A. Synan. Ed. by R.E. Houser. Houston 1999: 147-177; Jörg Alejandro Tellkamp, Averroes y el concepto de ser espirit-

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The Spanish orientalist Miguel Cruz Hernández wrote, after a preliminary study on *El Averroismo en el occidente medieval*, published in 1971,⁶²⁹ more detailed on the afterlife of Averroistic philosophy in the Latin West in his monograph on Averroes published in 1986.⁶³⁰ He added a bibliography, which however, can be supplemented. Besides the already mentioned medieval philosophers Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas the following medieval thinkers became subject of “averroistic” research: Agostino Nifo (1473-1538 or 1545); Angelo d’Arezzo (about 1325); Biagio Pelacana (ca. 1347-1416); Godfrey of Fontaines (ca. 1250-1306/9); Henry of Gent (about 1217-1293), John Baconthorpe (ca. 1290-1348); John of Jandun (ca. 1280/5-1328); John Wenceslaus

629 In *Oriente e Occidente nel medioevo* (s. n. 566): 17-62.

630 *Abū-l-Walīd Ibn Rušd (Averroè)*. Vida, Obra, pensamiento, influencia. Córdoba, 1986, chp. XVII, pp. 249-307; bibliography, pp. 407-417.s

of Prag (died after 1387); Marsilius of Padua (ca. 1275/80-1342/3); Meister Eckhart (died 1328); Paul of Venice (ca. 1369-1429); Petrus Aureoli (ca. 1280-1322); Richard Fishacre (ca. 1200-1248); Roger Bacon (ca. 1219-1292/4); Siger of Brabant (ca. 1240-1284); Taddeo da Parma (ca. 1320); Theodor of Erfurt (14th c.); Walter Burley (ca. 1275-1344/5); William of Alnwick (ca. 1270-1333).

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5.11.3. Critique of "Averroism" and Trends of Research

The reader of those publications written about "Averroism" among scholastic philosophers is more and more confronted with the difficulty to get a uniform picture. The "Averroistic" trends visible in philosophical "discussions" appear to be divergent and contradictory; the gap between Averroes and what is classified as "Averroism" became greater and greater and finally

caused the question: Was Ibn Rushd an Averroist?⁶³¹ - In the first place we can speak of “Averroists” in those cases, in which philosophers explicitly declare to be an adherent of Averroes.⁶³² This is the case with John of Jandun who taught around 1310 at the University of Paris and already before him with Ferrandus de Hispania from the 13th century.⁶³³ The use of the term “Averroism”, however, more and more became criticized.⁶³⁴ This criticism finally resulted in the observation by Paul Oskar Kristeller in 1960,⁶³⁵ that even two traditionally central complex of themes of “Averroism”, as the doctrine of the unity of the intellect and

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- 631 Jorge M. Ayala Martínez, Fue Averroes un averroísta? In *Averroes y los averroísmos*. Actas del III Congreso Nacional de Filosofía Medieval. Zaragoza 1999: 257-266.
- 632 Hoedl speaks of “averroistischer Wende” even in those cases, where Averroistic doctrines are defended “im Ganzen eines ‘aristotélisme heterodoxe’” [van Steenberghe]: s. L. Hoedl, Über die averroistische Wende der lateinischen Philosophie des Mittelalters im 13. Jahrhundert, in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 39, 1972 (171-204), pp. 177ff.; cf. W. Kluxen, art Averroismus im lateinischen Mittelalter, in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* V, Berlin-New York 1980 (57-61), 59f.
- 633 Cf. A. Zimmermann, Ein Averroist des späten 13. Jahrhunderts. Ferrandus de Hispania, in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 50, 1968: 145-164; id., Ferrandus de Hispania – ein spanischer Averroist um 1300, in *Actas del V congreso internacional de filosofía medieval*/I, Madrid 1979: 1393-1399; id., Aristote et Averroes dans le commentaire de Ferrandus de Hispania sur la métaphysique d’Aristote, in *Diotima* 8, 1980: 159-163.
- 634 Cf. e.g. W.F. Edwards, The Averroism of Iacopo Zabarella (1533-1589) in *Atti del XII congresso internazionale di filosofia (Venezia, 12-18 settembre 1958)*, 9, Firenze 1960: 91-107; N.G. Siraisi, *Arts and Sciences at Padua*, Toronto 1973 (= *Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. Studies and Texts*. 25), pp. 136f.; A. Maier, Eine italienische Averroisten schule aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts, in id., *Studien zur Naturphilosophie der Spätscholastik*, I (Die Vorläufer Galileis im 14. Jahrhundert); Roma, 1966 (251-278) [reprinted in *PinHAIS*.IP 72, 1999: 175-202], pp. 251f.; G. Piaia, “Averroisme politique”: anatomie d’un mythe historiographique, in *Orientalische Kultur und europäisches Mittelalter* (s. above n. 606): 288-300.
- 635 Paduan Averroism and Alexandrinism in the Light of Recent Studies, in *Aristotelismo Padovano e filosofia Aristotelica. Atti del XII congresso internazionale di filosofia*, 9, Florenz, 1960: 147-155; German version in id., *Humanismus und Renaissance*, II, Munich 1975 (= *Uni-Taschenbücher*, 195) (124-148), pp. 125ff.

of the “double truth”,⁶³⁶ were not held by “Averroists” in a uniform manner. “Therefore we are forced”, writes Kristeller,⁶³⁷ “to give up the term Averroism either completely, or to confine it to those few thinkers, who accept the doctrine of the unity of the intellect, or finally to apply it in an arbitrary manner to that larger group which were occupied with Aristotelian philosophy separate from theology and which we describe better as worldly Aristotelians”.

A similarly critical attitude showed Fernand van Steenberghen in his standard work on “The Philosophy in the 13th Century”, which appeared in 1966 and which we have already mentioned.⁶³⁸ Van Steenberghen uses the terminology “heterodox” or “radical” Aristotelism, which takes over “Averroistic interpretations of Aristotle”,⁶³⁹ according to him an Averroistic “school” as maintained by Ernest Renan, never existed.

The criticism of Kristeller and van Steenberghen was not accepted unanimously.⁶⁴⁰ A cautious conclusion from the discussion might be the recommendation to use the terms “Averroism” and “Averroists” with much care. They became naturalized, comparable to the terms “Aristotelians” or “Platonists”, and before we apply them, we should investigate, whether we have real literary influences or a loose assimilation of typical thoughts

636 On this cf. the extensive collection of material in H. Dethier, *Summa Averroistica (1). Het averroïstisch-nominalistisch front en de leer van de dubbele waarheid*, Brussel 1977 (= *Vrijdenkers lexica Studiereeks*. 4).

637 *Humanismus* (s. n. 635) II 128f.

638 S. n. 568. Van Steenberghen’s book found much echo in an Arabic book on “The Influence of Ibn Rushd in the Philosophy of the Middle Ages” (*Āthār Ibn Rushd fī falsafat al-‘uṣūr al-wuṣṭā*) by Zaynab Maḥmūd al-Khuḍayrī, Beirut (2nd ed. 1985).

639 Cf. van Steenberghen 335ff., 370ff.; id., L’Averroisme latin au XIII^e siècle, in *Multiple Averroes*, Paris 1978: 283-286; id., in *Histoire de l’église depuis les origines jusqu’à nos jours*, 13: Le mouvement doctrinal du XI^e au XIV^e siècle, Paris 1951, 270ff.; id., *The Philosophical Movement in the Thirteenth Century*. Lectures given under the auspices of the Department of Scholastic Philosophy, The Queen’s University, Belfast, Edinburgh (etc.) 1955.

640 Cf. F. Lucchetta, *Recenti studi sull’ averroismo padovano*, in *L’Averroismo in Italia* (Roma, 18-20 aprile 1977), Roma 1971) (91-120), pp. 92f.

of Averroes or a secondary attribution to Averroes e.g. of the intellectus-agens-theory in the 13th century.⁶⁴¹ In the first two mentioned cases we can take into account the possibility that “Averroistic” or preferably Averroes’ formulations and thoughts were used for the terminological and ideological shaping of the own philosophy - or these formulations and thoughts bring new elements into play. As in the case of the so-called “Avicennism”, which we already discussed, we can consider the possibility of convergent parallelisms and on the other side undeniable literary influences which in each case are different. For this reason it should remain our concern to start from those texts, which scholastic philosophers might have used, the Latin translations of Islamic philosophical texts. Their edition and comparison with the Arabic original is the precondition for the discussion of themes from the history of ideas, which often neglected questions of literary history.

An indispensable tool is an index of the Latin manuscripts and their Arabic sources.⁶⁴² Such an index we have so far only with regard to Aristotle and Avicenna. The index should contain all informations not only about the afterlife in scholastic philosophers, but also about translators, their technique of translation and their knowledge of Arabic.

Remarks about translators and their technique we find in the following publications: M. Alonso Alonso, *Coincidencias verbales típicas en las obras y traducciones de Gundisalvo*, in *al-Andalus* 20, 1955: 129-152; 345-379 (also in id., *Temas filosóficos medievales*,

641 On this secondary attribution of the doctrine of the intellectus agens to Averroes in the 13th century cf. B. Carlos Bazán, Was There Ever a “First Averroism”? *Geistesleben im 13. Jahrhundert*. Hrsg.v. Jan A. Aersten und Andreas Speer. Für Druck besorget von Frank Hentschel und Andreas Speer. Berlin, New York 2000 (= *Miscellanea mediaevalia* 27): 31-53.

642 Comparable with F.J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation*, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1956. First beginnings we find in R.P.G. Thery, *Tolède. Grande ville de la renaissance médiévale*, Oran 1944, pp. 13ff.; H. Schipperges, Zur Rezeption und Assimilation arabischer Medizin frühen Toledo, in *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und Naturwissenschaften* 39, 1955 (261-283) pp. 268ff.

Comillas, Santander 1959: 247-329); *id.*, Las fuentes literarias de Dom'nico Gundisalvo: El "De processione mundi" de Gundisalvo, y el "K. al-'aqīda al-rāfi'a" de Ibrahim ibn Dāwūd, in *al-Andalus* 11, 1946: 159-173; *id.*, Ḥunain traducido al latín por Ibn Dāwūd y Domingo Gundisalvo, in *al-Andalus* 16, 1951: 37-47; *id.*, Influencia de Severino Boecio en las obras y traducciones de Gundisalvo, in *id.*, *Temas filosóficos medievales (Ibn Dāwūd y Gundisalvo)*, Comillas, Santander 1959: 369-396; *id.*, Juan Sevillano. Sus obras propias y sus traducciones, in *al-Andalus* 18, 1953: 17-49; *id.*, Notas sobre los traductores Toledanos Domingo Gundisalvo y Juan Hispano, in *al-Andalus* 8, 1943: 155-158, überarbeitet in *id.*, *Temas filosóficos medievales*, Comillas, Santander 1959: 17-60; *id.*, Las traducciones de Juan González de Burgos y Salomón, in *al-Andalus* 14, 1949: 291-319 (reprinted in *PlnHAIS.IP* 48, 1999: 57-85); *id.*, Traducciones del árabe al latín por Juan Hispano, in *al-Andalus* 17, 1952: 129-151; *id.*, Traducciones del Arcediano Domingo Gundisalvo, in *al-Andalus* 12, 1947: 295-338; *id.*, El Traductor y prologuista del "Sextus Naturalium", in *al-Andalus* 26, 1961: 1-35; M.-Th. D'Alverny, Anniyya - anitas, in: *Mélanges offerts à Etienne Gilson. Toronto-Paris. 1959*: 59-91. (Also in d'Alverny, *Avicenne en occident. Recueil d'articles de Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny réunis en hommage à l'auteur. Avant-propos de Danielle Jacquart. Paris; 1993. (=Études de philosophie médiévale. LXX), no. X*): includes a passage from Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla ad-hawiyya* and its Latin version by Andrea Alpago (Avicenna, De Almahad); *ead.*: Avendauth?, in *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa, I*, Barcelona 1954: 19-43 (also in d'Alverny, *Avicenne en occident. [s. above]*, nr. VIII); *ead.*: Les traductions a deux interpètes, d'arabe en langue vernaculaire et de langue vernaculaire en latin, in: *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen âge. Actes du colloque international du CNRS organisé à Paris, Institute de recherche et d'histoire des textes, les 26-28 mai 1986. Textes réunies par Geneviève Contamine. Paris. 1989*: 193-206 (reprinted in d'Alverny, *La transmission des textes philosophiques et scientifiques au Moyen âge. Ed. by Charles Burnett. Aldershot, Hants.; 1994. (Variorum. Collected Studies Series; v. CS 463)*; M. Brasa Díez, Las traducciones toledanas como encuentro de culturas, in *Actas del V congreso internacional de filosofia medieval, I*, Madrid 1979: 589-596; C.S.F. Burnett, The Institutional Context

of Arabic-Latin Translations of the Middle Ages: A Reassessment of the “School of Toledo”. *CIVICIMA. Études sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du moyen âge*. Brepols VIII, 1995 (= *Vocabulary of Teaching and Research Between Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Proceedings of the Colloquium London, Warburg Institute, 11-12 March 1994. Ed. by Olga Weijers): 214-235; *id.*, Literal Translation and Intelligent Adaptation amongst the Arabic-Latin Translators of the First Half of the Twelfth Century, in *La diffusione delle scienze islamiche nel medio evo europeo*, Roma 1987 (= *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Fondazione Leone Caetani*): 9-28; *id.*, Magister Iohannes Hispanus: Towards the Identity of a Toledan Translator. *Comprendre et maîtriser la nature au moyen âge. Mélanges d’histoire des sciences offerts à Guy Beaujouan*. Genève; 1994 (= *École Pratique des Hautes Études - IVe section. Sciences historiques et philologiques. V: Hautes Études Médiévales et Modernes. 73*): 425-436; *id.*, Some Comments on the Translating of Works from Arabic into Latin in the Mid-Twelfth Century, in *Orientalische Kultur und Europäisches Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. A. Zimmermann, Berlin-New York 1985 (= *Miscellanea Mediaevalia 17*) (161-171), 165ff.; *id.*, Translating from Arabic into Latin in the Middle Ages: Theory, practice, and Criticism. *Éditer, traduire, interpréter: essais de méthodologie philosophique* par P. W. Rosemann, C. Rutten [etc.]. Sous la direction de Steve G. Lofts et Philipp W. Rosemann. Louvain-Paris 1997 (= *Philosophes médiévaux. XXXVI*): 55-78; K.H. Dannefeldt, The Renaissance Humanists and the Knowledge of Arabic, in *Studies in the Renaissance 2*, 1955: 96-177; J.S. Gil, *La escuela de traductores de Toledo y sus colaboradores judios*, Toledo 1985, L.P. Harvey, The Alfonsine School of Translators: Translations from Arabic into Castilian Produced under the Patronage of Alfonso the Wise of Castile (1221-1252-1284), in *JRAS* 1977: 109-117; Haskins, *Studies* (s. n. 417); A. Löwenthal, *Pseudo-Aristoteles über die Seele. Eine psychologische Schrift des 11. Jahrhunderts und ihre Beziehungen zu Salomo ibn Gabirol (Avicbron)*, Berlin 1891; pp. 1-35 appeared as thesis with the title “Dominicus Gundisalvi und sein psychologisches Compendium”, Berlin, 1890, (pp. 5ff. discusses the school of Toledo); J.M. Millás-Vallícrossa, El literalismo de los traductores de la corte de Alfonso el Sabio, in *al-Andalus 1*, 1933, 155-187; I. Opelt, Zur Übersetzungstechnik des Gerhard von Cre-

mona, in *Glotta* 38, 1960: 135-170; J.F. Rivera, Nuevos datos sobre los traductores Gundisalvo y Juan Hispano, in *al-Andalus* 31, 1966: 267-280; H. Schipperges, Die frühen Übersetzer der arabischen Medizin in chronologischer Sicht, in *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* 39, 1955: 53-93; id., Die Schulen von Toledo in ihrer Bedeutung für die abendländische Wissenschaft, in *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der gesamten Naturwissenschaften zu Marburg* 82/3, 1960: 3-18; id., Zur Rezeption und Assimilation arabischer Medizin im frühen Toledo, in *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* 39, 1955: 261-283; P. Schoonheim, *Aristotle's Meteorology* (s. 437), introduction (on the method of Arabic-Latin translation); G. Thery, Notes indicatrices pour s'orienter dans l'étude des traductions médiévales, in *Mélanges Joseph Maréchal*, II, Louvain 1950: 297-315; id., Tolède (s. n. 642), ch. 1: Les traductions arabico-latines d'ouvrages philosophiques à Tolède au XIIe siècle; ch. 2: Méthode de traduction des polyglottes tolédans; L. Thorndike, John of Seville, in *Speculum* 34, 1959: 20-38.

On Michel Scot's method of translating cf. A. van Oppenraaij, introduction to *Aristotle: De Animalibus. Michael Scot's Arabic-Latin translation. Part 2: Books XI-XIV: Parts of Animals* (s. n. 438); ead., Michael Scot's Arabic-Latin Translation of Aristotle's Book on Animals. Some remarks concerning the relation between the translation and its Arabic and Greek sources. *Aristotle's Animals in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Ed. by Carlos Steel, Guy Guldentops, Pieter Beullens. Leuven 1999: 31-43; on Michael Scot, besides the references in van Oppenraaij, also Ch. Lohr, Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries, in *Traditio* 27, 1971: 347-349; Ch.H. Haskins, Michael Scot in Spain, in *Estudios eruditos in memoriam Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín*, II, Madrid 1930: 129-134; P. Morpurgo, *Fonti di Michele Scoto*, in *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Ser. VIII, vol. XXXVIII, fasc. 1-2, 1983, pp. 59ff.; id., Le traduzioni di Michele Scoto e la circolazione di manoscritti scientifici in Italia meridionale: la dipendenza della Scuola Medica Salernitana da quella Parigina di Petit Pont, in *La diffusione delle scienze islamiche* (s.n. 521): 167-192; G.M. Edwards, Two Redactions of Michel Scot's Liber introductorius, in

Traditio 41, 1985: 329-340; cf. also the surveys listed above in § 1, beginning and J.D. Latham, Arabic into Medieval Latin, in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 17, 1972: 30-67.

Another useful tool would be a comprehensive Arabic-Latin and Latin-Arabic lexicon, comparable to the Greek-Arabic Lexicon edited by G. Endress and D. Gutas.⁶⁴³ Preparatory work can be found in the projects *Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus*,⁶⁴⁴ *Avicenna Latinus*⁶⁴⁵ and *Corpus commentariorum Averrois in Aristotelem*,⁶⁴⁶ as well as in single research and in single surveys.⁶⁴⁷

Already in 1924 Louis Massignon had demanded indices of Latin manuscripts and technical terms as a tool for the construction of - as he formulates - “une sorte de grammaire philosophique” des systemes contenant les termes techniques précités” on the basis of Latin text editions.⁶⁴⁸ The way to this aim is still very long and we must ask ourselves, whether it will ever be possible to reach more than observations of details and registration of individual tendencies of single scholastic philosophers. The comparison with Arabic-Latin translations and with the Arabic originals will at any case enable us to a better understanding of scholastic philosophers.⁶⁴⁹ It appears that the common interest of Islamic

643 S. ch. 3, bibliography.

644 S. A. van Oppenraaij, index of her editions of the Latin *Aristotle: De Animalibus* (s. n. 438).

645 S. above § 9.1.

646 S. above §11.1 end.

647 Cf. e.g. E. Behler, *Die Ewigkeit der Welt. Problemgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Kontroversen um Weltanfang und Weltunendlichkeit im Mittelalter*, I: Die Problemstellung in der arabischen und jüdischen Philosophie des Mittelalters, Munich-Paderborn-Wien 1965 (on Arabic-Latin terminological comparisons); J. Jolivet, *The Arabic Inheritance* (s. § 1), pp. 113-148.

648 Massignon, *Les sources arabes utilisées par les scolastiques latins*, reprinted in id., *Opera minora* II, Paris 1969: 487-495.

649 Cf. E. Gilson, *L'étude des philosophes arabes et son rôle dans l'interprétation de la scolastique*, in *Proceedings of the 6th Congress of Philosophy*, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.-New York 1927: 592-596. An example of research concentrating on a central philosophical concept and comparing Latin texts and Arabic originals is Antonio Pérez Estévaz, *La materia, de Avicena a la escuela franciscana*. (Avicena, Aver-

philosophers and of their medieval Jewish and Latin translators in logic and ontology, in epistemology and psychology, in metaphysics and natural philosophy⁶⁵⁰ and finally in encyclopaedic knowledge, which is reflected in medieval encyclopaedias,⁶⁵¹ stimulated the process of translating Islamic philosophers and thus contributed to the shaping of the terminology and the philosophical tradition; the common thought prevails in the case of the

roes, Tomas de Aquino, Buenventura, Pecham, Marston, Olivo, Mediavilla, Duns Escoto). Maracaibo – Venezuela 1998.

- 650 Cf. J. Jolivet, L'influence de la philosophie islamique sur la philosophie latine du moyen âge, in *Revue algérienne des Lettres et des sciences humaines*, I. 1969: 17-27 and esp. id., The Arabic Inheritance (§ 1) pp. 129ff. It is remarkable that Arabic literature on politics did not find the interest of translators; cf. D.E. Luscombe, G.R. Evans, The Twelfth-Century Renaissance, in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c. 350 - c. 1450*, ed. by J.H. Burns, Cambridge 1988, pp. 306-338, esp. 329ff.

We should mention here the possibility, that the Latin Middle Ages could become acquainted very early with political ideas of Fārābī through the early Latin translation of Maimonides' *More Nevukim* (s. n. 591) in the year 1233; cf. on the reception of Fārābī in Maimonides the introduction to the English translation of Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed* (s. n. 590); the articles by M. Jevolella, Songe et prophétie chez Maimonide dans la tradition philosophique qui l'inspira, in *Maimonides and Philosophy* (s. n. 591): 173-184 and J. Macy, Prophecy in al-Farabi and Maimonides: The Imagination and Rational Faculties, in *Maimonides and Philosophy* (s. n. 591): 185-201; id., The Rule of Law and the Rule of Wisdom in Plato, al-Farabi, and Maimonides, in *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions. Papers presented at the Institute for Islamic-Judaic Studies*, ed. by W.M. Brinner and S.D. Ricks, Atlanta 1986: 205-232.

It cannot be proven that this Maimonidean link is relevant for the contrasting of Fārābī and Machiavelli with regard to universal religion, natural law and the prudence of founders: on that comparison cf. Christopher Colmo, Alfarabi on the Prudence of Founders, in *Review of politics*. Notre Dame, Ind. 60, 1998: 719-741.

- 651 Cf. Eva Albrecht, The Organization of Vincent of Beavius' *Speculum maius* and of some other Latin Encyclopedias, in *The Medieval Hebrew Encyclopedias of Science and Philosophy*. Proceedings of the Bar-Ilan University Conference. Ed. by Steven harvey. Dordrecht/Boston/London; 2000 (= *Amsterdam Studies in Jewish Thought*. 7): 46-74 (contains on pp. 58-70 an excursus on "Aristotle and Other Greek and Arabic Scientific Sources in Thirteenth-Century latin Encyclopedias").

so-called “Augustinism” and “Avicennism”. Only the encounter with the so-called “Averroism” created oppositions, which ended in the formation of what van Steenberghe called “heterodox Aristotelianism”. Here, the Arabic-Platonic heritage is confined to the Neoplatonic doctrines of emanation and illumination. Here, as in the case of the medieval Aristotelianism, we should take into account the possibility of convergences and we should not overestimate the Arabic influence.⁶⁵²

652 This is stressed by Jolivet in his profound contribution “The Arabic Inheritance” (s. § 1), p. 123.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AHDL* Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge. Paris.
- BPhM* Bulletin de philosophie médiévale. Louvain-la-Neuve.
- JRAS* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. London.
- MIDEO* Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'études orientales du Caire.
- PInHAIS.IP* Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science. Islamic Philosophy. Ed. by Fuat Sezgin in collaboration with M. Amawi, C. Ehrig-Eggert, E. Neubauer. Frankfurt/M. 1999-2000.
- ZDMG* Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Wiesbaden.

6. Assimilation of Islamic Philosophical Thought and Dissociation in the Latin Middle Ages*

6.1. The Arabic-Latin translations as mediator of the cultural heritage of Islam

Islamic philosophy spread in medieval Europe partly in the tow-rope of scientific works of the Arabs, of Latin translations of astronomical, mathematical and medical books by the Arabs.⁶⁵³

An important role played the Andalusian town Toledo. During the 12th century it became a centre for Latin translations⁶⁵⁴ of Greek-Arabic versions and redactions of works by Aristotle, his commentator Alexander of Aphrodisias and the Neoplatonic philosopher Proclus.⁶⁵⁵ Besides these translations of Greek authors, who because of the lack of Greek manuscripts became available in Latin translations of Arabic versions, scholars in Andalus concentrated on the translation of Arabic books and treatises composed by Muslim philosophers and dealing with actual problems discussed by scholastics, mainly the problem of the unity of the intellect, the eternity of the world and the so-called “double truth”.

In their study of *philosophia*, called by Dominic Gundissalinus in his treatise *De divisione philosophiae* from about 1150 also *humana scientia* and distinguished from the *divina scientia*, the science of revelation as contained in the Holy Scriptures,⁶⁵⁶ the scholars in Toledo, Paris, Naples and Oxford, have selected and taken over from the Islamic heritage, what appeared to be use-

* Revised version of a contribution to *Storia della filosofia. 2: Il medioevo*. A cura di Pietro Rossi, Carlo A. Viano. Roma, Bari: Editori Laterza 1994 (= Enciclopedia del sapere), pp. 180-195.

653 Cf. the survey of Millas-Vallicrosa, *Translations of Oriental Scientific Works*; d'Alverny, *Translations*; Jolivet, *Arabic Inheritance*.

654 Cf. above ch. 5. 2ff.

655 Cf. above ch. 5. 4 and 5.

656 Cf. van Steenberghen, *The Philosophical Movement*, pp. 29f.

ful for the rational interpretation of Revelation, but also for the development of contemporary philosophy and its specific topics. Philosophy, especially dialectics, was a tool for the study of the superior Christian revealed truth, for theology. The study of philosophy and thus also theology was, in a varying manner, dominated mainly by Aristotle. The selection of the translated texts and their interpretation sometimes betrays the one-sided view of scholastics on Islamic philosophy. In the following we shall try to sketch the picture or at least to give some main features of the picture, which scholastics possessed from Islamic philosophy. It differs from the complex picture we can today gain from the whole range of Islamic philosophical texts.

6.2. A Pioneer of Alexandrian Exegesis of Aristotle: al-Kindī, the “philosopher of the Arabs”

A decisive influence on the development of medieval philosophy was carried out by the writings of Ibn Sīnā (Latin “Avicenna”) and Ibn Rushd (Latin “Averroes”). Before we discuss these two authors we should introduce those Arabic philosophical texts, which through their Latin translation have modified the picture of the mentioned philosophers.

We mention here the first Islamic philosopher, al-Kindī (Kindīus), called “philosopher of the Arabs” (*faylasūf al-‘arab*), who died in 866 AD. Like later Islamic philosophers he was in addition intensively engaged in the study of natural sciences. In his opinion the knowledge of the created universe requires the knowledge of its cause: because the knowledge of the cause, the “first truth” is better than knowledge of its effect,⁶⁵⁷ philosophy - on the basis of scientific progress of past generations - aims at the perception of the First Divine Cause. In accordance with the Neoplatonic doctrine of Proclus and Plotin this Divine Cause is an absolute

657 Cf. ed. Abū Rīda I, 101,1/English translation Ivry 56.

unity, from which through emanations arises the multiplicity of individual existing beings. The accidental multiplicity requires an essential unity - in the same manner as the universe, bodies, movement, time and beginning require each other and do not exist without the other. They have a beginning in the time, caused by an external divine cause, the absolute unity. Kindī concluded from this in accordance with Koranic theology the creation from nothing. Likewise, the divine cause creates afresh - in accordance with Sura 36,78ff. - what passed away and “dissolved”.⁶⁵⁸ Here, Kindī alludes to the individual immortality, which later was discussed many times.

At the same time, Kindī developed in the tradition of Alexandrian exegesis of Aristotle his theory of perception,⁶⁵⁹ which on the basis of Aristotle’s *Book on the Soul* (part III) combines Koranic theology of revelation with the Neoplatonic doctrine of emanations: Through emanations from the divine First Cause metaphysical things can be perceived; the human soul can get an image from them, whereas the universals only exist in the mind.⁶⁶⁰ Simultaneously the soul, the potential intellect and the universal First Intellect face each other. Kindī presupposes here an essentially Neoplatonic hermetic concept of the soul,⁶⁶¹ which through increasing purification and liberation from the matter can ascend to the heaven and return to its divine origin.

Splinters of these ideas found their way into the Middle Ages through their apperception by later Islamic philosophers, by Fārābī and by Ibn Sīnā.⁶⁶² They were confirmed by Greek sources used by Kindī and translated from Arabic into Latin: Most influential was here the “Book on the Causes”, the *Liber de causis*, which - as will be shown later - is heavily indebted to Proclus.⁶⁶³ In ad-

658 Cf. al-Kindī ed. Abū Rīda I, 373, 12ff.

659 Cf. Jolivet, *L’Intellect*; Endress, *ZDMG* 130, 1980, 422-435, esp. 428.

660 Cf. ed. Abū Rīda I, 107f./transl. Ivry, *Al-Kindī’s Metaphysics* 61ff.; above ch. 4, n. 343.

661 Cf. Genequand, *Platonism*.

662 This shows the article by P. Zanbelli, *L’immaginazionale e il suo potere*. Cf. also Jolivet, *Arabic Inheritance* 121f.

663 Cf. the following §.

dition, the writings of Plotin, of Alexander of Aphrodisias and of John Philoponus. Finally, Kindī's doctrine of the intellect became known to the scholastics through two translations, by Gerhard of Cremona and perhaps by Johannes Hispalensis, of Kindī's treatise *On the Intellect*.⁶⁶⁴

6.3. An Interlude: The Peripatetic Fārābī

Among the philosophical doctrines of Islam undoubtedly the theory of the intellect was extremely impressive on the scholastics of the Middle Ages. Here, the treatment by the second great Islamic philosopher, by Fārābī who died 950 A.D., became equally important. His treatise *On the Intellect*⁶⁶⁵ was translated into Latin in the 12th century by an unknown translator.⁶⁶⁶ Through this translation and, in addition, through translations of Ibn Sinā's adaption of Fārābī's doctrines (s. below) or through Ibn Rushd's commentary on Aristotle's *Book On the Soul* the doctrine of the intellect was echoed in the writings of Dominicus Gundissalinus (died after 1181), and in the 13th century in those of e.g. Roger Bacon, Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas.⁶⁶⁷

Fārābī extends Kindī's doctrine of the soul by inserting the concept of the divine "agent intellect" as shaped by Aristotle in

664 Ed. by Nagy, *Die philosophischen Abhandlungen*, pp. 1-11. The text is followed (ed. Nagy pp. 12-27) by Kindī's *Liber de somno et visione* (Arabic in *Rasā'il al-Kindī* ed. Abū Rīda I, 293-311) by his *Liber de quinque essentiis* (ed. Nagy pp. 28-40; the Arabic original is lost). On this and on the *Liber introductorius in artem logicae demonstrationis* (ed. Nagy pp. 28-40), which is ascribed to a student of Kindī called Mahometh and in fact appears to be a fragment from the encyclopaedia *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā'*, s. the reference given above cf. 5. 7.

665 *Risāla fī l-'aql* ed. M. Bouyges; translated and commented by F. Lucchetta, *Epistola sull'intelletto*.

666 Ed. by E. Gilson, *Les sources gréco-arabes*, 115-126.

667 Cf. Lucchetta, *Fārābī: Epistola* 17; Bach, *Albertus Magnus* 85ff.; They, *Au-tour* 37ff.

his *Book on the Soul* (book III) and by his commentator Alexander of Aphrodisias. The “agent intellect” is identified by Fārābī with Kindī’s “first intellect” and appears as the “tenth intellect”; it is an emanation of the “ninth intellect”, which rules the sphere of the moon, and it is connected with the transcendent divine One through the emanations of the eight celestial spheres.⁶⁶⁸ Within the frame of the Neoplatonic scheme with the sequence God - intellect - universe of matter the “agent intellect” has the task, to lead the human intellect from his potentiality to actuality, to his realization: he becomes the form of the human “acquired intellect”, be imparting himself in an emanation, in the divine revelation, to the philosopher-king. This connection of the acquired intellect with the divine transcendent intellect in the sense of approaching Him as much as possible⁶⁶⁹ liberates the human intellect from the body and the lower parts of the soul, paves for him the way to immortality and happiness. This happiness increases through the alliance of the good souls, the rational souls, in a life full of spiritual contemplation and in an ideal community, without losing their individuality.⁶⁷⁰

We do not know, why medieval philosophers in the discussion of these doctrines did not recur to Fārābī’s main writings on political philosophy,⁶⁷¹ although these are connected with Fārābī’s metaphysics and epistemology. Scholastic philosophers might have used, as in the case of Kindī, additional sources, which already might have been available to Fārābī; here we should mention above all an Arabic adaptation of Proclus’ *Institutio theologica* under the title *Kitāb al-Khayr al-maḥḍ*, which was translated into

668 On Fārābī’s doctrine of the intellects and its echo in Ibn Sīnā, Ghazzālī and Kirmānī cf. Walzer, *Al-Farabi on the Perfect State* 362ff.; Peterson, *Cosmogony* 299ff., 353ff. and 533ff. – On their common source, Alexander of Aphrodisias’ lost treatise “On the Principle of the Universe” s. Charles Genequand, *Alexander of Aphrodisias on the Cosmos*, introduction.

669 Cf. Davidson, *Alfarabi and Avicenna* 142.

670 On the details cf. Davidson, *Alfarabi and Avicenna* 134ff.; Daiber, *Prophetie und Ethik* 737ff. and the references given there; Marmura, *Islamische Philosophie*, 348ff.

671 Cf. Marmura, *Islamische Philosophie*, 346ff.; Daiber, *Ruler*.

Latin in the 12th century by Gerhard of Cremona, whose version entitled *Liber de causis* was revised by Dominicus Gundisalpinus with the help of the Jew Avendauth. This work was the main source for the transmission of Arabic Neoplatonism in the Middle Ages; it was often quoted⁶⁷² and commented upon, in the 13th century among others by Thomas Aquinas⁶⁷³ and Aegidius Romanus.⁶⁷⁴ Albertus Magnus, the teacher of Thomas Aquinas, considered it the culmination of Aristotelian metaphysics.⁶⁷⁵

The Neoplatonic heritage of the *Liber de causis* shaped the commentators of Aristotle, above all in their commentaries on and supplements to Aristotle's treatise *On the Soul*. Here, as well as in other cases, Aristotle remained the starting-point and determined the selection of texts, which were translated, commented upon and studied by scholars in the Middle Ages.⁶⁷⁶ They translated among others⁶⁷⁷ Fārābī's commentaries on Aristotle's logic, on Aristotle's book on *Hermeneutics* and *Rhetorics*; moreover, two treatises on sciences and their division, entitled *On the Origin of Sciences* and *On the Sciences*.⁶⁷⁸

This interest in logic, in the art of definition and in the division of sciences arose of an practical interest in the art of disputation and argumentation, which included philosophy and natural sciences in an equal manner. It corresponds to an increasing interest in rational-scientific thinking since the 11th century, which more and more prefers reason to theological authority.⁶⁷⁹ This continues in fact - through the mediation of Arabic models - the

672 Cf. Federici Vescovini, *Studi* 19ff.; Fidora/Niederberg, *Von Baghdad nach Toledo*, 205-247. – On Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquin cf. the literature mentioned above ch. 5, § 4.

673 Cf. W. Beierwaltes, *Kommentar*, the Italian translation with commentary by C. D'Ancona Costa (Milano 1986) and the English translation with notes by Guagliardo/Hess/Taylor, *Commentary*.

674 *Opus super authorem de causis Alfarabium*. Venetiis 1550. On this cf. Trape, *Il neoplatonismo*.

675 S. Flasch (2000) 372.

676 Cf. here A. Maieru, *Influenze arabe e discussioni*, esp. pp. 251ff.

677 Cf. the survey by D. Salman, *Medieval Latin Translations*; above ch. 5. 8.

678 Cf. above ch. 5. 8.

679 Cf. Verbeke, *Avicenna*, str. 4; Flasch, *Aufklärung im Mittelalter?*

late hellenistic-alexandrian tradition of the introductory writings to Aristotle's philosophy.⁶⁸⁰ Moreover, it motivated an encyclopaedic interest in all branches of sciences; therefore, Fārābī had a predilection for physics: he wrote a commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*, which is lost in its Arabic original, but which is preserved in quotations in Arabic and Latin works.⁶⁸¹

6.4. The Consolidation of Philosophical Doctrines about God, Soul and Intellect: the contribution of Ibn Sīnā

Fārābī's encyclopaedic interest was taken over by Ibn Sīnā, who died in 1037. He was called by the scholastics Avicenna and was, besides Ibn Rushd, perhaps the most important philosopher. His borrowings from Fārābī and from Aristotle he often gave a spiritual-mystical orientation.

Ibn Sīnā became known in the Middle Ages mainly through Latin translations of his encyclopaedia called *The Healing* (*ash-Shifā'*) and of his *Canon of medicine*.⁶⁸² As Ibn Sīnā's encyclopaedia *The Healing* pretends to be an adaptation of Aristotelian sciences, it was often quoted by scholastics of the 13th century in Oxford and Paris as an explanation of Aristotle.⁶⁸³ As these quotations reveal, Ibn Sīnā became known to the scholastics in the shape of paraphrases or compilations, in which Christian-Neoplatonic doctrines are combined with those by Ibn Sīnā. Therefore, historians of philosophy have called this tendency "Avicennizing Augustinism"⁶⁸⁴ or "Latin Avicennism".⁶⁸⁵

680 Cf. Hein, *Definition*.

681 Cf. above ch. 5. 8, nr. 5.

682 Cf. Verbeke, *Transmission*; art. Avicenna, Nr. XII (S. van Riet) u. XIII (U. Weisser) in *EnIr* III (1985); above ch. 5. 9.

683 Cf. van Steenberghe, *Philosophie*, p. 175ff. ("Der lateinische Aristotilismus um 1250").

684 Gilson, *Sources* 103.

685 De Vaux, *Notes*, 63f. – However, on this terminology cf. van Steenberghe,

Such catchwords underestimate the new accentuation, which Ibn Sīnā imposed on the Aristotelian material by integrating Fārābī's doctrine of prophecy and by adding a mystical component. Consequently, we detect in Ibn Sīnā an essentially changed epistemology and cosmology.⁶⁸⁶

Contrary to Aristotle's psychology man is not any more a being composed of body and soul; the soul does not require any more the body for her activity, her thinking, and therefore also exists after the death of the body. According to this essentially Neoplatonic view of Ibn Sīnā the soul is something spiritual, which can perceive itself, without requiring an instrument, the body. For this reason the act of thinking in man, his rational cognition does not require, contrary to Aristotle, the sense-perception. Accordingly, not the body is the essence of man, but the ego of man, which becomes "the centre of the human individuality".⁶⁸⁷ This new accentuation in Ibn Sīnā is echoed in Albertus Magnus' doctrine of the soul as shaping principle of the body - a doctrine, which his pupil Thomas Aquinas has modified.⁶⁸⁸

The mentioned new accentuation became meaningful for the problem of immortality, which often was discussed in the Middle Ages.⁶⁸⁹ Because the activity of the soul according to Ibn Sīnā is not primarily dependent upon the body, the soul continues to exist after the death. This standpoint of Ibn Sīnā, which modifies the Aristotelian psychology, was taken over in the Middle Ages.

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- 686 *Philosophie*, 179ff.; 339ff.; van Riet in: *EnlR* III 1985, 105; above ch. 5. 9. On the following cf. Verbeke, *Avicenna im Westen*; id., *Transmission*, 62ff. and Marmura, *Islamische Philosophie*, 357ff. (with references).
- 687 *Avicenna im Westen*, 6.
- 688 Cf. Flasch (2000) 374.
- 689 Cf. Wolfson, *Problem*; Verbeke, *L'immortalité* (both with references to the Latin Middle Ages and to the Neoplatonic background of Ibn Sīnā's doctrine). - Cf. here also the analysis of an anonymous Latin eschatological text (3236A, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), which refers to Liber de causis, Avicenna, Algazel, Ibn Gabirol (*Fons Vitae*), by M.-Th. D'Alverny, *Les pérégrinations de l'ame dans l'autre monde d'après un anonyme de la fin du XIIe siècle*. *AHDL* 1940-1942 (Paris 1942): 239-279. On the comparison with Thomas Aquinas s. Rousseau, *Avicenna*.

Ibn Sīnā had developed here the principle of individuation through matter, which often was discussed in the Middle Ages⁶⁹⁰ and which excluded any possibility of the transmigration of the soul. Ibn Sīnā presupposed the individualisation of the soul, which arises in the course of its creation together with the body and which remains after its separation from the body.

The immortality of the soul, implied in this doctrine, as well as her classification as substance, as individual being, results from an argument, which was well-known in the Middle Ages and which presupposes Ibn Sīnā's distinction between essence and existence:⁶⁹¹ Even someone, who is born completely developed, but who is not conscious of his body, already has knowledge, some kind of a first intuition of his individual being. This individual being, the essence "being man", does not require as a condition the existence, which is merely something accidental. Therefore, the quiddity - comparable to the universals of Ockham, who is influenced here by Ibn Sīnā⁶⁹² - can exist either as something visible or as general concept in the imagination or finally as something, whose existence is possible, without being bound to the concrete reality or to the imagination.⁶⁹³ Thomas Aquinas, in his *De ente et essentia*, spoke of fundamental definitions of things, e.g. as "being" *ens*, because they have "being" and not because they are "being". Only God is the pure being, in which things "participate".⁶⁹⁴ This is in a critical manner further developed and modified by Meister

690 Cf. Assenmacher, *Die Geschichte des Individuations-Prinzips der Scholastik* (enthält auf den Seiten 27-29 ein kurzes Kapitel über "Die Individuationsauffassung im aristotelischen Arabismus bei Alfarabi, Avicenna und Averroes"); Goichon, *Philosophy* 101ff.

691 On this cf. Goichon, *Distinction*, ead. *Philosophy*, 11f.; Cruz Hernandez, *Distinción*; Giacon, *I Primi concetti*, 209.; id., *Distinzione*; Marmura, *Islamische Philosophie*, 358ff.

692 Cf. Abū Shanab, *Avicenna*.

693 Cf. Marmura, *Islamische Philosophie*, 357f.; on Ibn Sīnā's argumentation, which through the example of the "flying man" was known to the Middle Ages (Gilson, *Sources* 38ff.) s. Marmura, *Avicenna's "Flying Man" in Context*.

694 Cf. Flasch (2000) 379ff.

Eckhart (died 1328) and Raimundus Lullus (died 1316).⁶⁹⁵

Ibn Sīnā's classification of the soul as an intellectual principle, which has some kind of an intuitive self-knowledge, presupposes his doctrine of perception as emanation: Ibn Sīnā introduced the active intellect, which is common to the whole humankind, a transcendent intellect, which through emanations of the intelligibles determines the thinking of every individual, of the human soul. This intellect is, conform to Ibn Sīnā's model Fārābī, identified with the 10th intellect, the lowest among the transcendent intellects. From this 10th intellect derive the essential forms of the perceivable. It is the active intellect, an "actual intellect" (*al-'aql bi-l-fi'l*), which has received the secondary intelligibles and which takes the rational soul of man out of the phase of potentiality and actualizes her.

Herewith the role of the perceiving man is reduced to the reception of intelligibles which originate in the transcendent intellect and which ultimately, via a chain of ten intellects, have their origin in the divine cause. The aim of the perceiving man, of his rational soul, is in accordance with Islamic sufism the liberation of the soul from the body, from the animal and the return to the divine origin, which promises happiness in the eternal vision of the celestial beings and of God. In conformity with Fārābī Ibn Sīnā assumes, that the prophet has reached this aim of nearness to God. The prophet is a true sufi.

In the context of his epistemology and within his proof of God's existence from the contingency of the beings Ibn Sīnā developed his doctrine of creation, which found much echo in the Middle Ages, especially in Thomas Aquinas, but was also criticized very much.⁶⁹⁶ The divine cause is the only necessary being by itself;⁶⁹⁷ what is created receives its being from this necessary being by itself, therefore it is composed from essence and existence and therefore is by itself only something potential.

695 Cf. Flasch (2000) 464ff.

696 Cf. e.g. Colish, *Avicenna's Theory*.

697 Cf. Flynn, *St. Thomas and Avicenna on the Nature of God*.

As the cause is necessary by itself, this subordination of the creation under the necessary being and creating cause does not mean a dependence of the creator upon the created. On the contrary, the divine cause is in its goodness the eternal creating unchangeable creator, which can be seen in eternity in the created being. As the creative activity of the simple, necessary being does not include the multiplicity of the created being, the first created being is something immaterial, the pure intellect (*intelligentia*⁶⁹⁸). As in Fārābī this intellect produces another intellect, which become the cause of the third intellect, until the 10th intellect comes into being. Because of the increasing distance from perfection each intellect considers itself as something possible due to its own nature and as something necessary due to the preceding creative cause. It becomes the cause of the soul of the celestial body, of its shape, by thinking itself as something emerging necessarily from the first substance; moreover, it creates the material principle, the potentiality, by thinking itself as something potential.

Ibn Sīnā's doctrine of the eternity and necessity of the creative activity of the divine One and his doctrine of the solely indirect creation through creative intellects result in the assumption, that God does not create the individuals and does not know their acts. This has been discussed and criticized very much in the Middle Ages,⁶⁹⁹ especially by Thomas Aquinas, who denied Ibn Sīnā's Neoplatonic system of emanations⁷⁰⁰ and blames him for his doctrine, that God does not know the particulars, but only their general structures.⁷⁰¹ At the same time the scholastic philosophers received from Ibn Sīnā's epistemology, from his distinction

698 On the non-uniform rendering of 'aql by *intelligentia* or *intellectus* s. Jolivet, *Arabic Inheritance* 129f.; id., *Intellect et intelligence*.

699 Cf. Dales, *Medieval Discussions* (on Avicenna, Averroes, Ghazzālī and Maimonides pp. 43ff.).

700 *In 1 sententiarum d. 35qu.1a1*; *Summa theol. I 45/5*, referred to by Flasch, *Das philosophische Denken*, 354.

701 *In 1 sententiarum d. 3qu.2a.3*, referred to by Flasch, *Das philosophische Denken im Mittelalter*, 334.

between essence and existence and from his doctrine of the soul and its individuation decisive stimulations.⁷⁰²

6.5. The Islamic Criticism of Philosophy: the Example of Ghazzālī

Ibn Sīnā's thoughts and his adaptation of Fārābī's doctrines became known to the Middle Ages not only through Ibn Sīnā's main work *Kitāb ash-Shifā'*. Here, we must mention a critic of Ibn Sīnā's philosophy, al-Ghazzālī, Latin Algazel, who died 1111 A.D.⁷⁰³ Scholastics often classified him as a pupil of Ibn Sīnā. As preparatory work to his work *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* ("Incoherence of the Philosophers")⁷⁰⁴ he had written a description of Ibn Sīnā's philosophy (including Fārābī's ideas), the *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* ("The Intentions of the Philosophers").⁷⁰⁵ This book was translated into Latin at the end of the 12th century in Toledo by "magister Johannes", together with "Dominicus archidiaconus" (apparently Gundissalinus), under the title *Summa theoricæ philosophiæ*.⁷⁰⁶ Ghazzālī's own ideas became known to the Middle Ages not before the 14th century, namely through the Latin translation of

702 Cf. the survey on Ibn Sīnā's influence in the Middle Ages in Goichon, *Philosophy*, ch. III and the literature mentioned above ch. 5. 9 and Janssens 239-258.

703 On him cf. W.M. Watt, art. Al-Ghazālī, in *EP* II; on the Latin transmission of Ghazzālī s. above c. 5. 10 and the references given there.

704 Ed. by M. Bouyges (Beirut 1927); English translation by S.A. Kamali.

705 Ed. by S. Dunyā (Cairo 2. ed. 1379/1960). Spanish translation by M. Alonso Alonso (Barcelona 1963).

706 The translation appeared in print as *Logica et philosophia Algazelis arabis* (ed. P. Liechtenstein) for the first time in 1506 in Venice (2.ed. 1536; reprint Frankfurt 1968 and Hildesheim 2001). The part on logic (*Logica Algazelis*) is edited in 1965 by Charles Lohr (in: *Traditio* 21, 1965, 223-290), the following parts on physics and metaphysics by J.J. Muckle (*Algazel's Metaphysics*. Toronto 1933).

Ibn Rushd's *Tahāfut at-Tahāfut* "The Incoherence of the Incoherence", a critique of Ghazzālī's *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*.⁷⁰⁷

Mainly the doctrines of Ghazzālī's "Incoherence of the Philosophers"⁷⁰⁸ caused the scholastics of the Middle Ages, to explain Ibn Sīnā in a different manner or to criticize him. Ghazzālī considers the doctrines of Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā inconsistent and in opposition to religion. Moreover, their truth is not proven rationally and they contradict the literal or metaphorically explainable religious statements of the Koran. Therefore, Ghazzālī refutes above all the following doctrines as unbelief: the eternity of the world without beginning; God's knowledge of the particulars in an universal manner and individual immortality of the soul without resurrection of the body.⁷⁰⁹

Ghazzālī refers to the so-called Ash'arite theology,⁷¹⁰ according to which everything is created by God from nothing; the substances and the accidents inhering in them are not connected and combined to bodies by some inhering causality, by lifeless causes, but through God's will, whose power can abolish the causality, according to Ghazzālī the coexistence of the phenomena, and by this can create miracles. It is, therefore, due to God's power, that he does not in every single case necessarily cause something.⁷¹¹

With this doctrine in the tow-rope of Ash'arite theology Ghazzālī could annul a premise of the philosophical doctrine of the eternal world, namely the premise of God's acting by the necessity of nature. Similarly, it is according to Ghazzālī wrong, to assume with the philosophers the eternity of God's creation and herewith also of His acting; this would amount to the denial of God's will. Besides this the assumption is not refuted, that God's eternal will has created the world in one single moment. On the other side, the assumption of the eternity of the world leads to

707 On this cf. below § 6.

708 Cf. on them Abū Rīda, *Al-Ghazzālī*; Marmura, *Islamische Philosophie*, 366ff.; Flasch, *Einführung*, 101ff.

709 Cf. Marmura, *Islamische Philosophie*, 368, n. 9.

710 Cf. Fakhry, *Islamic Occasionalism* 56ff.

711 Cf. Marmura, *Islamische Philosophie*, 370f.

the contradiction that the moment of the present time must have been preceded by endless times and movements. According to Ghazzālī time is created together with the world; its creation requires God, although not in a temporal sense. The creation of the world by God implies the possibility of its eternal continuance through God, if He wants this.

Besides the doctrine of the eternity of the world Ghazzālī also rejected Ibn Sīnā Neoplatonic scheme of the emanations of the intellects. In accordance with the Ash'arite doctrine of the direct acting and willing of God, who with his endless power can even suspend causality, Ghazzālī refused Ibn Sīnā's doctrine of God's knowledge of particulars only in a universal manner; Ghazzālī puts forward the argument, that this would mean a restriction of God's almightiness, here of his omniscience.

Equally unacceptable is in the eyes of Ghazzālī Ibn Sīnā's doctrine of the immaterial human soul and its individual immortality. It contradicts the Islamic doctrine⁷¹² of the resurrection of the body.⁷¹³ Here, the Christian dogma of the resurrection of the dead could recur in the Middle Ages not only to the New Testament (1. Cor. 15), but also to arguments forwarded by Ghazzālī in his critique of Ibn Sīnā.

Above all, Ghazzālī's theories of causality caused in the Middle Ages many discussions. Ghazzālī's *Incoherence of the Philosophers* was apparently already known before the appearance of the Latin translation of Ibn Rushd's critique, his *Incoherence of the Incoherence*: scholars in Spain could recur directly to Arabic sources. Quite a lot of Arabic texts seem to have been known to the famous Raimundus Lullus in Mallorca (ca. 1235-1316), a critic of Averroes;⁷¹⁴ he composed an Arabic compendium of logic, which is orientated at Ghazzālī's *Aims of the Philosophers*; it is preserved only in a Latin translation (*Compendium logicae Algazelis*) and in a Catalan translation based on it⁷¹⁵. Such a direct contact and access

712 Cf. art. *Kiyāma* in *EI* ² V.

713 Cf. Belo, *Medieval Islamic Controversy*, 127ff.

714 Cf. the references given above in ch. 5. 10.

715 The Latin text is edited with an analysis by C.H. Lohr (*Raimundus Lullus*'

to the Arabic tradition - eventually also in an oral exchange of ideas - was, of course, rather an exception.

6.6. Ibn Rushd's return to the "pure Aristotle"

Most important for the transmission of Islamic philosophical traditions to the Latin Middle Ages became Ibn Rushd, in Latin Averroes. He was born in 1126 in Cordova/Spain and died in 1198 in Marrakesh in Morocco. This philosopher and jurist⁷¹⁶ became known in medieval scholastic thought above all as commentator of Aristotle.⁷¹⁷ A primary role in the dissemination of Ibn Rushd's doctrine in the Middle Ages played the Latin translation of his already mentioned refutation of Ghazzālī's "Incoherence of the Philosophers" the *Destructio destructionum*, written around 1180/81.⁷¹⁸ This Latin translation by Calonymus Ben Calonymus Ben Meir from Arles was finished in 1328. Besides Ibn Rushd's Great Commentary on Aristotle's *Book on the Soul*⁷¹⁹ and on Aristo-

Compendium Logicae Algazelis); the Catalan text can be found in J. Rubio I Balaguer, *Ramon Llull*, 144-166.

716 Cf. on him R. Arnaldez, art. Ibn Rushd in *EI* 2 III 909-920 and the monographs Cruz Hernandez, *Abū-l-Walīd Ibn Rušd (Averroes)*; Leaman, *Averroes and Urvoy, Ibn Rushd*.

717 Cf. Grabmann, *Aristoteles im Werturteil des Mittelalters*, 83ff. On Averroes' view of Aristotle cf. Gätje, *Averroes als Aristoteleskommentator*. – The commentaries on Aristotle are being edited in the project *Corpus commentariorum Averrois in Aristotelem* (= CCAA) which was started in 1931 by H.A. Wolfson and is continued in Cologne (Latintradition), Cairo (Arabic tradition) and Jerusalem (Hebrew tradition). A survey of the so far (until 1990) published texts can be found in Rosemann 155ff. and Gätje, *Zu neuen Ausgaben*.

On Averroes' reception and role in the Middle Ages cf. also the good readable survey by H. Wilderotter, "Der hat den Grossen Kommentar gemacht".

718 The Arabic text (*Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*) is edited by M. Bouyges (Beyrouth 1930). An English translation with commentary published S. van den Bergh. – On the printed editions of the Latin translations s. above ch. 5, § 11.1. A new edition was published by Zedler, *Averroes' Destructio*.

719 From the Arabic original only fragments are preserved (Ben Chehida,

tle's *Metaphysics*⁷²⁰ it became one of the most important sources of Averroism in the Middle Ages. Based on these writings we shall introduce now the main ideas of Ibn Rushd in their relevance for the scholasticism.⁷²¹

In the beginning Ibn Rushd kept to Ibn Sīnā's doctrine of God and creation. Later he abandoned the Neoplatonic doctrine of emanations, which Ibn Sīnā had combined with that⁷²² and became a severe critic of Ibn Sīnā's philosophy and its model Fārābī. His own model is Aristotle, whose teaching he tried to explain through commentaries.

Nevertheless, Ibn Rushd remains obliged to Fārābī's and Ibn Sīnā's concept of religion as mirror image of philosophical truth.⁷²³ Following an inspiration of his older friend Ibn Ṭufayl (died 1185 or 1186)⁷²⁴ he appraises philosophy as deeper meaning of religion. In *Faṣl al-maqāl* ("The Decisive Treatise")⁷²⁵ he presents a juridical defence of philosophy,⁷²⁶ which is expanded with theological arguments in his *al-Kashf 'an manāhidj al-adilla fi 'aqā'id al-milla* ("The

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- Iktišāf* contains a fragment of the commentary on Aristotle, *De anima* 402a1-433b27). The Latin translation by Michael Scotus is edited by Crawford (Cambridge, Mass. 1953).
- 720 The Arabic text (*Tafsīr mā ba'd at-ṭabī'a*) is edited by M. Bouyges (Beyrouth 1938-1952). Averroes' commentary on Aristotle, *Metaph.* book Lambda is translated into English by Genequand and into French by Martin. The Latin translation, apparently done by Michael Scotus, is completely available only in the version published in 1562 in Venice (reprinted in 1962 in Frankfurt under the title *Aristotelis opera cum Averrois commentaris* (in vol. VIII). On editions of parts s. Rosemann 167f.
- 721 Cf. the surveys by Marmura, *Islamische Philosophie*, 379ff.; Flasch, *Einführung* 108ff.; 120ff.; 129ff.; Hayoun/de Libera 19ff. and on the reception in the Jewish and Latin scholastic philosophy ib. p. 43ff., 75ff.
- 722 S. Kogan, *Averroes and the theory of Emanation*; Bland, *Epistle*, introd.; Davidson, *Averroes on the Active Intellect*.
- 723 Cf. above ch. 4.
- 724 Cf. above ch. 4.
- 725 Ed. by G.F. Hourani (Leiden 1959). The text is also published several times in the Middle East. German translation by M.J. Müller, *Philosophie*; French translation by L. Gauthier, *Ibn Rochd, Religion et philosophie*; English translation by G.F. Hourani, *Averroes on the Harmony*.
- 726 Cf. Marmura, *Islamische Philosophie*, 381f.

exposition of the methods of proofs in the beliefs of religion”).⁷²⁷

According to this juridical defence philosophy is an obligation and prescribed; the investigation into God’s creation with the aim of God’s vision, and even the logical argumentation is ordered by the Koran (e.g. Sura 3,191 or 59,2). Of course, not everybody is able to this in an equal manner, and therefore Ibn Rushd distinguishes - under the influence of Fārābī - three groups: 1) the philosophical elite, which uses the proof, the apodeictic syllogism; 2) the theologians, the *mutakallimūn*, who do not surpass dialectical argumentation; 3) the *massa* which is satisfied with rhetorical persuasions.

Here, for Ibn Rushd as for Fārābī, revelation, religion is a symbolic rendering of philosophical truth in the shape of pictures.⁷²⁸ Consequently there is strictly speaking no conflict between philosophy and religion. This arises only, if texts are not interpreted literally. If the texts are interpreted literally the *massa* can be satisfied with rhetorical persuasions, the theologians restrict themselves to dialectical methods and the philosophers recur to proofs. In the case of difficult texts the demonstrative method of philosophers is required or we must assume, that these texts do not indicate, whether they should be explained literally or allegorically, with the method of *ta’wīl*.⁷²⁹

Errors arising from uncertainty about the required method of interpretation do not mean according to Ibn Rushd “unbelief” (*kufṛ*). Herewith Ibn Rushd rejects Ghazzālī’s condemnation of the philosophers, that means of Ibn Sīnā and his model Fārābī. In this context Ibn Rushd mentions the following three doctrines, with regard to which Ghazzālī had criticized Ibn Sīnā:

727 The complete Arabic text is edited and translated into German by Müller, *Philosophie* and published several times in the Middle East (s. Daiber, *Bibliography*, Index s. author and title); extracts in English translation can be found in Hourani, *Averroes*, 76-81.

728 On the details of Fārābī’s doctrine s. Daiber, *Ruler*.

729 Cf. Marmura, *Islamische Philosophie*, 382ff.; Bello, *Medieval Islamic Controversy* S. 66ff.

- 1) The doctrine of the eternity of the world: according to Ibn Rushd this does not differ so much from Ghazzālī's position, which follows the Ash'arite school; therefore it is not justified to accuse the philosophers of unbelief, as Ghazzālī did. However, Ghazzālī's thesis of creation from nothing cannot be deduced from the Koran. God created from pre-existent material. The mistake of Ash'arites and of Ghazzālī, but also of the "philosophers" (including Ibn Sīnā) results from the failure, to follow the principle of the literal interpretation (s. Fakhry, 1958, 83ff.; Marmura, *Conflict*).
- 2) God's knowledge of particulars: according to Ibn Rushd Ghazzālī's critique of its denial by the "philosophers" is not justified, because Ghazzālī misunderstood the peripatetic philosophers. According to the peripatetic philosophers God knows the particulars, but not in the same manner as man. The knowledge of man is caused by particulars, and at the same time God's knowledge is the cause of the particulars. Ibn Rushd considers God's thinking as *actus purus*,⁷³⁰ and therefore things are through God and as object of His knowledge identical with His knowledge of Himself. The divine providence is therefore directed towards particulars, not towards their species.⁷³¹
- 3) The doctrine of the resurrection: As an example of the above-mentioned third category of texts, which do not indicate, whether they require literal or allegorical interpretation by the philosophers, Ibn Rushd mentions the statements of the Koran (Sura 39,42) about resurrection.⁷³² Here too it is not justified to speak of "unbelief". Accordingly, Ibn Rushd's answers to the question of the individual immortality are different; for Ibn Rushd a literal interpreta-

730 On this and on the Aristotelian starting-point cf. Baffioni, *Per un'interpretazione*.

731 Cf. Manser, *Die göttliche Erkenntnis der Einzeldinge*; Bello, *Medieval Islamic Controversy* S. 111ff.; Flynn, *St. Thomas and Averroes on the Knowledge*; id., *St. Thomas and Averroes on the Nature*.

732 Cf. Bello, *Medieval Islamic Controversy* 133ff.

tion of the Koranic statements leads to an individual immortality either as resurrection of the body or as survival of the soul. Accordingly the philosophers recommend, as Ibn Rushd informs us in his *Tahāfut at-tahāfut*, the doctrine of the resurrection of the body as a sufficient tool for ruling the massa. A philosophical argumentation without literal interpretation of the Koran leads to the refutation of Ibn Sīnā's doctrine of the immortality of the soul and of Ghazzālī's doctrine of the resurrection of the body.

In his philosophical argumentation against the individual immortality of the soul Ibn Rushd⁷³³ argues as follows: the individual immortality of souls leads to an endless number of souls and herewith to something actually endless, which cannot be proven. This infinity is also attained, if one keeps to Ibn Sīnā's thesis of the eternity of the world and at the same time to the continuous process of coming into being and passing away.

Because there is no actual infinity of individual souls (and bodies), an individual immortality of the soul does not exist. Moreover, such a thesis contradicts the (Aristotelian)⁷³⁴ doctrine of matter as principle of individuation. Ibn Rushd argues that after the death of the body and after the separation of the soul from the body the individuality ceases to exist.

The main argument for the denial of the individual immortality Ibn Rushd offers in his doctrine of the intellect.⁷³⁵ Ibn Rushd constructs an ascending sequence beginning with the sense perception, continuing with the shaping of images through the practical reason and ending with the abstracting of shapes of single images through the theoretical reason. This shape of single images becomes, through the process of abstracting, a universal concept and herewith the form of the soul, which is the seat of the practical and theoretical reason.

733 Cf. Marmura, *Avicenna and the Problem of the Infinite Number of Souls*.

734 Cf. Happ, *Hyle* 435ff.

735 On this doctrine cf. Hyman, *Aristotle's Theory*; Marmura, *Islamische Philosophie*, 385ff.; Bland, *Epistle S. 1ff.*; above ch. 4.

This form of the soul is called by Ibn Rushd hyle-intellect, “material” intellect (*intellectus materialis/possibilis*).⁷³⁶ Comparable with the principle of the Aristotelian form-matter-connection, this “material” intellect for its part is “shaped” by the active eternal intellect.⁷³⁷ Herewith, the form of the soul, the hyle-intellect becomes the eternal potentiality: this “material” intellect owns the disposition (*isti’dād*), to receive the intelligibles through the imagination and influenced by the active intellect and to “connect” the acquired knowledge with the active intellect. This connection (*ittiṣāl, ittiḥād*) becomes the most complete form of human recognition; the speculative intellect of man can attain this most complete recognition through constant occupation with the sciences. But the price, to be paid for this connection of the soul with the eternal form of the active intellect on the one side and with the perishable imaginary forms of the material intellect on the other side, was the individual immortality of the soul. For the eternal potentiality of the material intellect, the form of the soul, is something universal and common to the whole humankind; it is void of any individuality. Not the individualized form, the soul in the body is immortal, but the eternal potentiality of the material intellect, the universal form of the soul, which strives after the connection with the active intellect and which is common to all human beings.⁷³⁸

Apart from the complex philosophy-religion and apart from the doctrine of the intellects and, in connection with, it the denial of the individual immortality of the soul, the Middle Ages paid much attention to Ibn Rushd’s refutation of Ghazzālī’s criticism of causality, as they found it in Ibn Rushd’s *Destructio destructionis*. Ibn Rushd⁷³⁹ rejects Ghazzālī’s Ash’arite starting-point, the doc-

736 Cf. Davidson, *Averroes on the Material Intellect*.

737 Cf. zu ihm Davidson, *Averroes on the Active Intellect*.

738 Cf. also the treatise by Ibn Rushd’s son Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Rushd “On Whether the Active Intellect Unites with the Material Intellect whilst it is Clothed with the Body”, edition of the Latin version in Charles Burnett, *The “Sons of Averroes with the Emperor Frederick”*, 287-299.

739 Cf. Ivry, *Averroes on Causation*; Kogan, *Averroes*, bes. 71ff., 203ff.; Marmura,

trine of God's will and causality dependent upon it. He argues: If someone assumes with Ghazzālī, that contrary to the thesis of the eternity of the creation God's will has created the world at any moment, he reaches the absurd conclusion, that the effect of a cause can be delayed even in case there does not exist a plausible hindrance. Against Ghazzālī and in conformity with the philosophers a cause is necessarily followed by an effect, if there is no hindrance.

Ibn Rushd does not follow Ibn Sīnā's doctrine of causality in all details. Contrary to Ibn Sīnā's Neoplatonic explanation of the world as result of divine emanations Ibn Rushd keeps to Aristotle's doctrine of the divine first mover, who causes the eternal movement of the heavens and the eternal process of coming into being and passing away and who herewith is the cause of a multitude of necessary effects.⁷⁴⁰

From this point of view the causal effect appears to be a necessary attribute of God as the first acting cause. The activity of the "active intellect", the *intellectus agens*, is - as the last member of a series of incorporeal intellects - restricted to the actualization of the potential intellect of man; it is, in fact not any more the cause of worldly existence. Here, the actualization of a universal potential human intellect encouraged unintentionally the Neoplatonic interpretation of Aristotle⁷⁴¹ and reduced the individuality of man to some kind of a universal passive being.

Different from Ghazzālī the coexistence of two phenomena which are related to each other is not by chance; it is based on the causal connection of cause and effect. - An additional confirmation of the existence of causality Ibn Rushd detects in the diversity of the things; their different natures causes different effects. And these different effects determine the respective character of single things and their definition. Shortly said: the essence of

Islamische Philosophie, 388ff.

740 Cf. Wolfson, *Averroes' Lost Treatise on the Prime Mover*. On God as *actus purus* cf. above § 6, n. 731.

741 On the details cf. Davidson, *Averroes on the Active Intellect*, esp. pp. 225f. which with good reason points at the Neoplatonic view of Ibn Rushd.

every thing is based on its specific activity because of its inherent nature; this unchangeable essence of a thing proves the necessity of an effect caused by the nature of things.

Ibn Rushd argues here as follows: If one denies with Ghazzālī and his Ash‘arite model the causes of nature, than the existence of God cannot be proven any more with the argument, which also is defended by Ash‘arites, that every event must have a cause.

In the opinion of Ibn Rushd causality is the same as the proving science; who denies the one, rejects the other. In this case one comes to the conclusion that every recognition is not necessary - even Ghazzālī’s recognition of the non-necessity of recognition!

These are the main arguments of Ibn Rushd’s *Tahāfut at-Tahāfut*, his critique of Ghazzālī’s book *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* against the philosophers, primarily against Ibn Sīnā.

6.7. Latin “Averroism”?

Ibn Rushd’s manner of arguing is often rather complicated and not always plausible. In view of the complexity of Ibn Rushd’s manner of thinking and in view of the diversity of other Islamic philosophers, who were accessible in Latin translations, it is not amazing that medieval philosophers since the 13th century took up Ibn Rushd’s thoughts in different ways. This observation renders the classification of scholastic philosophers as “Averroists” more difficult. It is, therefore, problematical to confine the concept of “Averroism” to those scholastics, who follow Ibn Rushd’s doctrine of the intellect, precisely of the unity of the material intellect, the *intellectus materialis* or *possibilis*.

“Averroism” in a broader sense can already be found among authors, who since 1225 composed treatises on the soul.⁷⁴² Among those, who declared themselves as adherents of Ibn Rushd, we find John of Jandun, who taught about 1310 at the university of

742 Cf. R.A. Gauthier, *Traité De anima*; and Bazan, On “First Averroism”.

Paris; or before him in the 13th century Ferrandus de Hispania;⁷⁴³ other scholars in the 13th century, like Thomas Aquinas, his teacher Albertus Magnus or Siger of Brabant, refer to Ibn Rushd mainly as commentator of Aristotle, without devoting themselves completely to the philosophy of Ibn Rushd.⁷⁴⁴ Moreover, the development of a uniform “Averroism” is retarded under the impression of the condemnation of “Averroistic” doctrines by the bishop Stephan Tempier in 1270 and 1277 in Paris.⁷⁴⁵ Tempier had condemned those thoughts of a “radical Aristotelianism” (van Steenberghe),⁷⁴⁶ mainly by Siger of Brabant, which were considered to be incompatible with the Christian revelation and faith and which included “Averroistic” interpretations. Here, a uniform “Averroism” cannot be found.⁷⁴⁷

Finally, even central themes of the so-called “Averroist”, for example the doctrine of the intellects, which often is called “monopsychism” and which in the footsteps of Dietrich of Freiberg (died after 1310) and of Avicennás neoplatonic doctrine of creation and soul had an impact on Meister Eckharts (died 1328) “mysticism”,⁷⁴⁸ and the thesis of the double truth - which in fact cannot be detected in Ibn Rushd’s doctrine of the identity of

743 Cf. A. Zimmermann, *Averroist*; id., *Ferrandus de Hispania*; id., *Aristote et Averroes*;

744 Thus the view of van Steenberghe, *Philosophie*, 368f. On Thomas cf. now Elders, *Averroès et Thomas d’Aquin*.

745 Cf. Grabmann, *Der lateinische Averroismus*; van Steenberghe, *Philosophie* 442ff.; Wippel, *Condemnations*; Flasch, *Das philosophische Denken im Mittelalter*, 426ff. and id., *Aufklärung im Mittelalter?*

746 *The Philosophical Movement*, pp. 96 and cf. van Steenberghe proposed the term “neo-Augustinianism” for this “counter-attack to radical Aristotelianism and Thomism” (p. 102).

747 Here, I follow Zimmermann, *Albertus Magnus und der lateinische Averroismus*.

748 Cf. Kluxen, art. *Averroismus*, 58,40ff. – The term describes the claim to the existence of a soul or an intellect, which is common to all man (and this excludes the individual immortality). - On Meister Eckhart cf. Kurt Flasch, *Meister Eckhart. Die Geburt der “Deutschen Mystik” aus dem Geist der arabischen Philosophie*, Munich 2006.

philosophy and religion⁷⁴⁹- reveal varying tendencies and interpretations, which do not harmonize with the intentions of Ibn Rushd.⁷⁵⁰

6.8. The Role of Islamic Philosophizing in the Middle Ages

A look at the whole range of Islamic thoughts, which entered scholastic philosophy in the Middle Ages and which was criticized, gives an idea of the Islamic contribution to medieval thought: Islamic philosophers stimulated the development of scientific argumentation and the formation of scientific terminology in theological doctrines of the Middle Ages. Through Latin translations of Arabic adaptations by Fārābī⁷⁵¹, Ibn Sīnā⁷⁵², Ghazzālī⁷⁵³ and Ibn Rushd⁷⁵⁴ of logical and scientific works by Aristotle scholastics became acquainted with the art of argumentation and definition, but also with encyclopaedic knowledge of a multitude of considerations in the field of physics and metaphysics. These considerations are concentrated upon 1) the concept of God; 2) the eternity of the world; 3) the causality and 4) the doctrine of the intellect and the soul and its immortality. As a by-product and because of a misunderstanding of Ibn Rushd the theory of the double truth

749 On the scholastic discussions cf. de Vogel, *Averroes als verklaarder*, 231ff.; H. Dethier, *Summa Averroistica* (I); L. Hödl, art. *Doppelte Wahrheit*; Fortin, *Dissidence* 165ff. – On the very varying starting-point of Islamic philosophers cf. Irvy, *Averroes and the West* S. 147ff. and Lucchetta, *La cosiddetta “teoria della doppia verità”*.

750 On the reception of the doctrine of the intellect in scholastic thought cf. the extensive survey of Davidson, *Averroes on the Material Intellect*, 124ff.; add Ph. Merlan, *Aristoteles*; Bayerschmidt, *Stellungnahme*. Some references to the varying reception of Averroes in the Latin Middle Ages can also be found in Wolfson, *The Twice-Revealed Averroes* (= id., *Studies* I 371–401) and Horowitz, *Averroism*.

751 Cf. above ch. 5. 8, nr. 3.

752 Cf. above ch. 5. 9, .

753 Cf. above § 5.

754 Cf. above ch. 5. 11.1.

was dicussed and the scientific character of theology and its relation to philosophy.

Christian theology of creation and Islamic reflexion on God's almightiness formed the starting-point of a discussion, which tried to clarify the relation between God, universe and man. The answer offered a hierarchic principle of order in the universe in which the individuality of man did not receive much free play. As an intellectual being he is subordinated to the divine active intellect, which according to Ibn Rushd actualizes what man shares with the whole humankind. As creature of the nature he is subject to the principle of causality and herewith ultimately dependent upon the divine first mover. Ibn Rushd and Ibn Sīnā do not follow Ghazzālī's orientation, which considers the principle of causality incompatible with God's almightiness. Ibn Sīnā follows here more Neoplatonic doctrines of emanations, whereas Ibn Rushd mainly is shaped by Aristotle, without completely being free from Neoplatonic influence. This becomes evident from Ibn Rushd's doctrine of the active intellect and of the so-called monopsychism.

This restriction of individuality was of great consequence for one field of Islamic philosophy, which scarcely received attention among scholastics, Islamic political philosophy. Fārābī's political writings⁷⁵⁵ were not translated into Latin; Ibn Rushd's commentary on Plato's *Republic*, which was written because of the lack of an Arabic version of Aristotle's *Politics*,⁷⁵⁶ was translated into Latin very late, namely in the 15th century, by Elias of Crete and half a century later by Jacob Mantinus; both translators used an Arabic-Hebrew version.⁷⁵⁷ The Arabic original of this Hebrew ver-

755 A selection in translation can be found in *Medieval Political Philosophy* 58-94. Cf. Daiber, *Ruler*.

756 The existence of an Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Politics* is not known; perhaps such a translation never existed. According to S. Pines (*Studies* II 146ff.) the allusions which can be found in Arabic, are based on a paraphrase or shortening of a part of the *Politics*, which already existed in Hellenistic times.

757 Cf. E.I.J. Rosental, *Averroes' Commentary*, 7. – The Hebrew version translated by Elias of Creta was apparently better than the known version

sion from the 14th century is lost. This shows in an exemplary manner the importance of the medieval-Hebrew transmission for our knowledge of Islamic philosophy and for the spread of Islamic political theories in the Middle Ages.

We might finish now our survey with an outlook onto today. In our time Islamic philosophy is receiving a new rank. It is estimated as a continuation of Greek philosophy only insofar, as it appears as a continuation of that seeking after truth and wisdom, which had its origin in old Greece.

Here, the comparison of sources, of Greek, Arabic, Latin and Hebrew sources as well as research into the history of the influences of ideas, appear as a hermeneutic way to the finding of truth. We should stress the importance of medieval Jewish and scholastic thought in the Middle Ages for the interpretation of Islamic philosophy. Greek-Syriac-Arabic translations and adaptations of philosophical texts as well as Latin and Hebrew versions and adaptations, based on the Arabic, become indispensable tools for the reconstruction and for the “understanding” of Islamic thought and its diversity.

Islamic philosophy turns out to be a historical example of an occupation with problems and recognitions of human thinking. Islamic philosophy as part of the universal history of ideas, its mediating role between antiquity and Middle Ages, hints at the coherence of philosophy and sciences, of philosophy and metaphysics or Islamic theology.

The history of Islamic philosophy is not only part of a description of errors of human thought in its way to increasing knowledge. Just as little the occupation with Islamic philosophy can be motivated with romantic enthusiasm for “Eastern wisdom”, as we find it in the German romanticism of the 18./19th century and as it might motivated orientalists until the 20th century. Islamic philosophy requires and trains the reflexion upon contents and methods, as they appear to be exemplified in history. To reflect

(edited by Rosenthal); M. Zonta's review of Coviello/Fornaciari (eds.), *Averroè: Parafrasi* (1992), in *Henoah* 14, 1992, 354-361; cf. Fornaciari, *Le chiose alla traduzione*. (1994).

them again is a constant challenge to the capacities of the human mind, its creativity and phantasy. The problem of originality and independence of Islamic thought, which is discussed by Muslim and non-Muslim scholars, is thrust into the background. Here, medieval philosophy in its interest for Islamic philosophy, as well as Islamic philosophy in its interest for Greek thought, might become an example for imitation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AAH Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest
- Abr-n. Abr-nahrain. Department of Semitic Studies. University of Melbourne. Leiden.
- AGPh Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie (und Soziologie). Berlin
- AHDL Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge. Paris.
- BPhM Bulletin de philosophie médiévale. Louvain
- BEO Bulletin d'études orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas. Beyrouth.
- BFPUL Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège.
- BGPhMA Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie (und Theologie) des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen. Münster.
- BiblThom Bibliothèque thomiste. Paris.
- DoC Doctor Communis
- EHS Europäische Hochschulschriften. Frankfurt/M. [etc.].
- EI 2 Encyclopaedia of Islam. 2nd edition. Leiden (etc.).
- EnIr Encyclopaedia Iranica.
- IOS Israel oriental studies. Tel-Aviv.
- ISPT Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Sciences. Ed. H. Daiber and D. Pingree. Leiden, New York, Kobenhavn, Köln.
- JPhST Jahrbuch für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie. Paderborn [etc.].
- MM Miscellanea mediaevalia. Berlin.
- MNAW.L Mededelingen der K. Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeling Letterkunde. Amsterdam.
- MS Mediaeval studies. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. Toronto.
- NSchol New scholasticism. Washington, D.C.
- Pens. Pensamiento. Revista de investigación e información filosófica. Madrid.

- PhMed Philosophes médiévaux. Louvain.
- PhR Philosophische Rundschau. Tübingen.
- PPJ Pakistan philosophical journal. Lahore
- RSPhTh Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques. Paris.
- RThPh Revue de théologie et de philosophie. Lausanne.
- SBAW.PH Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in München - Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. München
- SPHP Studies in philosophy and the history of philosophy. Washington, D.C.
- Tr. Traditio. Studies in ancient and medieval history, thought and religion. New York.
- WSAMA.P Walberberger Studien der Albertus-Magnus-Akademie. - Philosophische Reihe. Mainz
- ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
- ZGAIW Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften. Frankfurt/M.

EPILOGUE

to Hans Daiber's trilingual work:

Islamic Thought in the Dialogue of Cultures. Innovation and mediation between antiquity and Middle Ages / Islamisches Denken im Dialog der Kulturen. Innovation und Vermittlung zwischen Antike und Mittelalter

(Islamska misao u dijalogu kultura: Inoviranje i posredovanje izmedju antike i Srednjeg vijeka)

By Nevad Kahteran, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo

COMPARATIVE CONSIDERATIONS AS A NEW PARADIGM: THE IDEA OF CROSS-CULTURAL OR MULTICULTURAL PHILOSOPHY

*Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow
domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary
desert sand of
 dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by these into ever-widening thought
and action
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.⁷⁵⁸*

Given its historical fate, Bosnia and Herzegovina is predestined, philosophically speaking, to comparative considerations of this kind, to comparative thought or a cross-cultural or multicultural philosophy. Nor is this only within the Judaeo-Christian-Is-

758 Rabindranath Tagore, from *Gitanjali* (Offerings of Songs), originally published in Bengali with the title «Prayer» and published in Tagore's own English translation in 1910.

lamic comparative philosophical and theological tradition; it is a genuinely new paradigm of multiculturalism, a new world order, a paradigm that is increasingly being referred to as *world philosophy*. Although this comparative thought, this cross-cultural or multicultural philosophy has yet to attain the same significance as the prevalent integrative factors in this world (for example, the five globalization processes, as seen by Robert A. McDermott: the ecosystem, the global economy, modern communications and transport technology, music reproduced on CDs and DVDs,⁷⁵⁹ and democratic systems of the rule of law and values), there is no doubt that it will become embedded in multiculturalism and the comparative philosophical tradition in other words, the philosophical multiculturalism here in question.⁷⁶⁰

True, there are many impediments in the way of adopting this new paradigm in this part of the world. Our predominant emphasis on the ethnic, or more accurately the folly of the ethnic, is one of the most serious obstacles on this path, along with all the foreign intrusions and the provincial spirit prevalent in the way we currently reflect on philosophical issues, the intellectual myopia in regard to matters we do not understand or that encroach on our own distinctive outlook and mindset, towards which *eo ipso* we entertain no suspicions. It is thus unnecessary to dwell excessively on this when taking into account the conflicts between the various ethnic groups that have afflicted this region in the past fifteen years or so.⁷⁶¹

759 *From Africa to Zen: An Invitation to World Philosophy*, eds. Robert C. Solomon & Kathleen M. Higgins, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003. pp. 292-293.

760 See, e.g.: *Critical Multiculturalism: Rethinking multicultural and antiracist education*, ed. Stephen May/Routledge/Farmer, 1999; Nathan Glazer, *We are all multiculturalists now*, Harvard University Press, 1997; and *From Modernism to Postmodernism: An Anthology*, ed. Lawrence Cahoon, Blackwell Publishing, 2003.

761 For more on borders and the ethnic model of inclusion, and the shift from ethnic exclusivity to ethnic diversity in the move towards multiculturalism, see *Ethnicity and Group Rights*, ed. Ian Shapiro and Will Kymlicka, New York University Press, 1997. (esp. part VI, pp. 421-572).

And yet, comparative studies should focus on the rich heritage of non-western philosophies, with particular emphasis on the fundamental aspects of eastern teachings, and in constant endeavour, at the same time, to draw parallels with the western philosophical tradition in a productive amalgamation of contested issues and heightened understanding of the different standpoints and questions involved. In this interactive research process, scholars will study and critically evaluate the basic features and contribution of the eastern philosophies, while also addressing the influence of a certain number of modern western philosophies, based on the works suggested in the list with which this paper concludes and, ultimately, overrule the scholars themselves with the proviso that the list of works is in no way a limiting factor in consulting writings in languages other than English, while works already translated in the region are taken for granted as being included. The programme advocated covers the study of the various forms of eastern philosophical traditions, as well as the comparative eastern and western elements of these traditions.

The basic purpose of studying this discipline is to introduce scholars with an interest in the subject to the principal traditions of non-western philosophies, elaborating possible parallels with western philosophies and reflecting on the metaphysical, ethical, ontological, epistemological and logical issues of the traditions concerned through the lens of the central concepts and key links in their historical and cultural context.

An introduction to comparative philosophy

The inevitable question is, what is the purpose of this special comparative philosophy project, this parallel study of philosophical systems or of the teachings within two or more different civilizations western, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Islamic and so on rather than merely parallel studies within any single philosophy, although the term itself is also applicable to this kind of consid-

eration? In the third millennium, it is vital that philosophy transcend its own boundaries and stop short-changing itself; that it abandon its intellectual myopia, its parochial attitude to philosophy and its blinkered prejudices. To achieve this, the first thing that philosophy must relinquish is provincialism. The problems of philosophy are none other than the problems of life itself, the problems that human beings face in various parts of the world, and in various ways. As a result, the problems of and potential solutions offered by philosophy are of concern to anyone who cares for people's well-being. The distinction posited between East and West is a purely superficial one, for human nature is the same everywhere.

The aim of comparative philosophy, then, is to bring this truth to light, in contrast to the inveterate view that the philosophical models in question are not commensurate with one another: that the fundamental model of the West's philosophical systems was to construct conceptual matrices and systems to describe or speculate on Reality, whereas the underlying aim within the eastern philosophical traditions was to attain direct insight into Reality the insight described in Indian philosophy as intuition, or direct cognition (*anubhava*, *aparoksha jnana*), for instance.

Furthermore, it is doing this at a time when there is considerable outcry against the efforts of the comparativists, based on the assumption that comparative philosophy could lead to flawed interpretations of the fundamental philosophical teachings of both East and West (the claim of anti-pluralists that it threatens to subvert «our» intellectual tradition, «our» cultural heritage, our classics of philosophy to suit the purposes of multiculturalism and political recognition). Comparisons should be drawn, however, between these two systems, and not only between their individual concepts. When understood in this way, comparative philosophy as a philosophical discipline should be regarded as the most significant philosophical activity at the start of the third millennium; a means of attempting to grasp the philosophical traditions of East and West through what they hold in common, rather than *a priori* through the lens of exclusivity.

After all, people are the same everywhere. Every philosophical

tradition is an attempt to explain human nature and the position of humankind in the universe. As historical beings, we express ourselves differently in our diverse races and cultures. Comparative philosophy must therefore study these various human expressions while also possessing its own very broad framework. By this very fact, this global philosophy belongs not to any single community, but to humanity as a whole. In fact, the task of this world philosophy is to provide a rationale for harmonious cross-cultural relations in this age of globalization, an age in which the world order is indeed being globally constituted. Any comparative philosopher, therefore, who is sincerely bent on such comparative considerations must transcend these shortcomings if a world philosophy is to be evolved in the interests of creating closer bonds between humankind as a whole. This, though, inevitably raises questions such as, for instance, how can one compare Indian philosophy, which often uses the term *darshana* for the perception of the supreme reality, with western philosophy, meaning the love of wisdom? The answer is that this is rather a case of a flawed etymological use of the terms.

The final aim of a comparative study of different philosophical traditions is to create a synthesis between the philosophical traditions of East and West, but not in the sense of mere eclecticism. For true wisdom is neither of the east nor of the west: it is one and universal. Of course, this does not eliminate the differences present between the various wisdom traditions, since it accords them merely a secondary meaning, whereas that which they hold in common will become far greater. The need to understand the Other *hic et nunc* is no longer a question of mere intellectual curiosity, but one of sheer survival.

It is relevant to note at this point that there is a truly compelling need for a more emphatic presence of eastern philosophies in the philosophical curricula in these ground-breaking comparative studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The differing categorical structures of eastern thought and experience of the world give rise to an initial sense of resistance and to the premature conclusion that they are of no value to us. This negative western standpoint, and the kind of education predominant in the west,

or rather the Eurocentric curriculum to which the late Čedomil Veljačić of blessed memory⁷⁶² was among the first in this part of the world to draw attention, is generated merely by the different categorial postulates of two structures of thought. Indeed, until that vast gap is bridged, or at least as long as any sense is lacking of the very real problem it represents, there is little to be said about the deeper postulates of the cultural and historical common ground of even the Judaeo-Christian-Islamic tradition, let alone of the world philosophy adumbrated here.

From the philosophical point of view, it is obvious that European philosophical thought began to take an interest in the entire ebb and flow of objective documentation, of the categorial structure of worlds distant in both space and time, only when it underwent the «Copernican revolution» of its own a priori postulates.⁷⁶³ However, it should be reiterated that this can no longer be merely the expression of intellectual curiosity, as it was when an awareness of the new potential of comparative philosophy evolved during the age of romanticism. This romantic concept of the transcendental, idealistic foundations of universal philosophy acquired its fullest expression initially with Schopenhauer, followed by such like-minded thinkers as Kant, Hegel, and Wilhelm von Humboldt, who remained within the same metaphysical mindset until the late 19th century, when P. Deussen first enquired more deeply into the history of Indian philosophy from this perspective.⁷⁶⁴ Ever since then, crucial and wholly justifiable questions concerning the potential, limitations and general validity of such comparisons have been raised. Hence the urgent need to introduce the comparative methods and studies referred to above, as here proposed and advocated, necessarily entails a revision of the comparative possibilities of our expanding our objective knowledge of the sources not only of the Indian philo-

762 Čedomil Veljačić, *Razmeđa azijskih filozofija*, University Press Liber, Zagreb, 1978; and *Studies in Comparative Philosophy* (Lake House, Colombo)

763 Ibidem.

764 P. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie* (V ed), Leipzig 1922.

sophical tradition, as Professor Čedomil Veljačić,⁷⁶⁵ that fervent pioneer in this field, worked on so faithfully and dedicatedly a professor, indeed, of every type of genuine wisdom tradition in the world (whether the Maori philosophical tradition of New Zealand, the African philosophical traditions, or those of Latin America, the Australian Aborigines, the Koreans, or the American Indians, say). The history of the world's philosophies cannot ignore this contribution. And yet, as Bhikkhu Nānājīvako (Prof. Veljačić's Buddhist name) himself observed, the treatment of this contribution remains to this day confined to a small niche in such studies.⁷⁶⁶

Genuine ignorance of these philosophical traditions, however, is visibly giving way under the influences spread through cultural links and the aspiration towards cultural and historical universalism the integrative factors referred to at the start of this paper, which are now defining people's mindset and outlook. Of late (see bibliography), the absence of a genuine and conscious attitude towards those who are ignorant of such contributions is becoming ever clearer to western philosophers, though this is not the place to seek the initial general guidelines for the operation of this awareness of the universalism of philosophical thought in its eastern and western components. Along the lines of Henry Corbin, all that remains is to hope that this plea for the introduction of the noble discipline of comparative philosophy into the curricula of our philosophical seminars will at least suffice to provide a modest contribution to the development of a «metahistorical dialogue» between the representatives of different philosophical traditions from both East and West; indeed, to use his own words, it seems that there is an urgent need for a particular type of philosophical dialogue.⁷⁶⁷

765 See Č. Veljačić's unpublished doctoral dissertation: *Komparativno proučavanje indijske i evropske filozofije* (A Comparative Study of Indian and European Philosophy) Zagreb University, 1962.

766 See *SUDESİKA: Festschrift Bhikkhu Nānājīvako (Čedomil Veljačić)*, ed/ Sinisa Djokic, Antibarbarus, Zagreb, 1997.

767 Toshihiko Izutzu, *Sufism and Taoism: A Comparative Study of the Key Philo-*

Our prevailing desire to open up a new perspective in the field of comparative philosophy, then, prompted by the conviction that what Henry Corbin calls a «dialogue in metahistory» is much needed if we are to surmount the present unhappy state of the world, and not only in this region a situation that threatens to mark the end, the disintegration of human civilization as a whole and all the great achievements of the human race to date. There is a growing awareness that never in the entire history of the human race has there been a time when the need for understanding between the peoples and nations of the world has been so great as now.⁷⁶⁸

«Mutual understanding» can be achieved, or at least understood, at many different levels in our lives. Philosophy is one of the most significant of these levels, and it is typical of its mode of understanding that, unlike other levels of human interest, which are more or less intimately associated with specific situations and the current state of the world, philosophy provides an appropriate *locus* in which *mutual understanding*, the subject of this passage, can be reached in the form of metahistorical dialogue. And in our view, metahistorical dialogues, with the concomitant methodology, will probably crystallize in perennial philosophy in the fullest sense of the term.⁷⁶⁹ After all, the philosophical bent of the human mind, regardless of age, place, nation or other such

sophical Concepts in Sufism and Taoism, Tokyo, 1966. pp 5-6.

768 See, in particular: *Philosophy East/Philosophy West: A Critical Comparison of Indian, Chinese, Islamic, and European Philosophy*, ed. Ben-Ami Scharfstein, Oxford University Press, 1978. The work goes straight to the heart of the ignorance and cultural myopia that has led many to believe that philosophy as we know it is now restricted only to the West. In fact, the work is a unique undertaking in the field of comparative philosophical reflections. The various contributors emphasize in particular the cultural context, following which they take specific examples as the basis of critical and analytical comparisons.

769 Reza Davari Ardakani, «The shared quest between Islamic philosophy and modern phenomenology» u: *The Passions of the Soul in the Metamorphosis of Becoming (Islamic Philosophy and Occidental Phenomenology in Dialogue)*, ed. Anna-Teresa Tymieniecka, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003, p. 245.

features, is fundamentally one and the same.

*The study of comparative philosophy at university level
and philosophy curricula:*

philosophical pluralism vs. the blinkered Western attitude to
non-western philosophies

By the mid twentieth century, comparative philosophy incorporating cross-cultural comparisons had won the status of a respected discipline within philosophy, although it was still somewhat too often regarded as an insufficiently philosophical discipline, or as one that did not encroach on the history of thought of various philosophical models. However, particularly in the past decade or two, the problems addressed by comparative philosophy in university curricula have become an inevitable component in those parts of the world where multicultural societies are the norm; and Bosnia and Herzegovina's society, regardless of the recent distortions of its millennium-long tradition of unity in diversity, is just such a model. Although wholly specific in terms of their context, the conclusions of comparativists bear implications for a world that is rapidly globalizing, creating greater opportunities and even the need for cross-cultural interaction.

The world is becoming smaller by the day, and we are living in an age of levelling down. This does not mean, of course, that the levelling process will eliminate diversity, but in a world where globalization is effectively shrinking planet Earth, different cultures are becoming ever more aware of the need to understand one another. The Internet and global communications are becoming cheaper and more accessible as means of communication. This is just one illustration among many of the globalizing trend, while economic globalization is taking place regardless of whether we accept it or not. I am personally convinced that our philosophical considerations in this part of the world should exploit the advantages of this trend, and that we ourselves should play an active role in comparative studies of the world's tradi-

tions, particularly of the eastern mode of thought. Unfortunately, apart from two semesters of the History of Eastern Philosophies in the Department of Philosophy and Sociology of the Faculty of the Humanities in Sarajevo, as far as I know these ideas have not penetrated so far as to form part of any of our current philosophical seminars, whether at undergraduate or graduate level. For if philosophy concentrates on the evolution of human thought, it must also constitute a critical approach to itself at a time of quest for ever greater wisdom and understanding. By its very nature, philosophy is in a state of incessant self-scrutiny by permitting philosophers to introduce the widest possible range of viewpoints into the debate. If we understand rightly what P. T. Raju says («The need to understand is no longer a matter of mere intellectual curiosity but of survival»),⁷⁷⁰ then we should investigate every viewpoint, and eastern philosophy is one that is of immeasurable value.

Gathering all this information is a daunting prospect, however; but this need not discourage us. There is no doubt that great ability and high levels of cooperation are needed to conduct these comparisons, and this suggests that philosophy is more than just a system of thought, but that it has the ability to open our minds and prompt us to re-examine our own world views. There is another question that must be asked, however, and that is, what is the alternative to such a project, other than to regurgitate the same old philosophical content that has already long since been chewed to shreds and from which the soulless have squeezed the last drop of vital juices? In fact, comparative philosophy in a country of infinite inspiration such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, predestined as it is to comparative considerations, must be seen as a tremendous team effort. Nowadays the Internet and global communications enable us to collaborate more easily, cheaply and quickly, indeed almost instantaneously, with people and subject-matter throughout the world, and I am quite convinced that we shall not have to wait long before video-links with prestige

770 See P.T. Raju, *Introduction to Comparative Philosophy*, Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1962, p. v.

university centres world-wide are established. This has additional implications: a professor is a good professor and lecturer only inasmuch as he brings to light as much of this type of material as possible, rather than withholding it from his younger colleagues. The emphasis must thus be on the student, the researcher, and not vice versa, in the higher education reforms demanded by the Bologna Process. Then, too, the only good professor is one who causes as many as possible of his younger colleagues to be better than he, or at least as good as he, not one who puts obstacles in the way of the advancement of their scholarship and their careers.

Furthermore, the belief that eastern philosophies are outmoded, pointless and secondary is one that could result from the fact that the same belief is held in regard to religion in general. However, I cannot agree that this is sufficient grounds for having reservations about a single model of eastern thought, for ignoring eastern philosophy can no longer be justified in the fact of the overwhelming need for a greater emphasis on philosophical pluralism in the curricula of our departments of philosophy. There will be a place for comparative considerations for any newcomer who is willing to taste the sweet fruits of this type of comparative considerations, while also contributing to the spiritual feast that is being thus laid before us for the first time. It could be of advantage to take a look at the current contribution of the University of Hawaii and its journal (*Philosophy East and West: A Quarterly of Comparative Philosophy*).⁷⁷¹ For more than half a century this has been publishing specialist studies and papers on the Asian philosophical traditions and their attitude towards western thought. The editor is Professor Roger T. Ames of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Hawaii, and it is with the greatest of pleasure that we have established contacts with this prestige university centre, perhaps the most highly regarded in the world today. The same university also has a highly success-

771 See the web-site of the University of Hawai'i Press: <http://www.uhpress.hawaii.edu/journal/pew/index.html/>.

ful programme of postgraduate and doctoral studies focusing on comparative and eastern philosophy, with a team of some twenty eminent professors and at least fifty doctoral students.⁷⁷²

Finally, as long ago as 1962, if not before, philosophers such as P. T. Raju began to observe the changes taking place in the modern world – changes leading to globalization and familiarity with a diversity of cultural models. True, this provided a unique opportunity for actively pursuing a comparative philosophy curriculum, but there are still obstacles to be overcome, including linguistic barriers and complex cross-cultural ideas. Linguistic barriers are being broken down, however, by the Internet, that new-found continent, and although there are some who might complain that English, which is increasingly becoming the common language, is neo-colonial in spirit, or raise other objections, they might care to ask themselves what would happen if instead the language in use were Latin, Arabic, Sanskrit or one of the world's many other languages. The fact is that English is the language most widely used throughout the world, and has been for well over a century; we can no longer close our eyes to this fact, and above all we must not attempt to engage our younger colleagues in a squabble over our own common language (Bosnian-Serbian-Croatian), whatever we may legitimately choose to call it. By all means let them bicker over differences that are minor compared with those between, say, American and British English, but in any event, let them write and speak more fluently in English. One can only expect the opposite from those who speak no foreign language of any kind and who would be only too happy to pass on this handicap of theirs to every new student, feeling threatened as they do; but it is only they who feel this, not the culture or even the people or nation to whom they claim allegiance.

And yet, what is referred to in this paper as *world philosophy* is neither a separate discipline nor a mode of thought. There is no «nucleus» or «mainstream» of thought. These are not

772 See the web-site of the University of Hawaii, and in particular the background of the Department of Philosophy.

variations on individual series of topics expressed and reflected upon in, for instance, an African, Latin, Arabic, Persian, or Anglo-American manner. How then is one to understand such a strategy? How can one put oneself in another's shoes; how can one escape from the vicious circle of what most of us believe to be an understandable but no longer justifiable ethnocentricity; how can one cross over from one philosophy or culture to another? It is easy to say, try to identify similarities while respecting differences, but no easy matter to achieve it without concocting imaginary similarities and sweeping differences under the carpet.

In the attempt to introduce comparative philosophy, it is of the greatest importance not to appear condescending, not to look down upon others from the interplanetary perspective of the different teachers of western and eastern philosophy. One cannot, for example, expect oral African and native American traditions to undergo the same transformations as the more than three thousand year old traditions of China and India.⁷⁷³ To be sure, nor is globalization a process in which we become global in our way or your way; it is above all a process to which we all bring the finest of our heritage: our philosophical, theological, cultural and civilizational achievements, and as such it belongs to all of the traditions it embraces. Most important of all, however, is that one must never forget that while we are observing one of these many world traditions we cannot permit ourselves to exclude from our outlook any other perspective, any other mode of thought.

Concluding remarks

Maybe all this will be seen as part of the post-colonial globalization of thought. In the long term, a global perspective of this nature could diminish diversity and lead to the homogenization of cultures. More attentive readers may observe from the bibliography alone that works of western provenance predominate,

773 *From Africa to Zen: An Invitation to World Philosophy*, str. XI.

as do the philosophical associations to which we refer. This, however, is yet another reason for the pressing need to introduce this collegium, not as one of the disciplines to be pursued in post-graduate philosophy studies, but as a reminder to all of us of the plurality of the rich heritage of the human race. What is more, the plural world of intellectual diversity itself is always prone to revert to rigid orthodoxies (all the more so in situations such as today's, with its cross-cultural encounters). As a result, the very notion of philosophy in the singular, which broadly speaking suggests a method, will invariably remain without prejudice, and plural.

In conclusion, as evidence of this we are all part of the process of the global economy, of geopolitics, and of the planet's environment. Henceforth, we have no choice but to think globally in the broadest, cross-cultural manner, which goes far beyond what is properly regarded, technically speaking, as philosophy by modern professional philosophers.

At last but not least, let me emphasize in short the very importance of Daiber's book („**Islamska misao u dijalogu kultura. Inoviranje i posredovanje između antike i Srednjeg vijeka**”, Bosnian; **”Islamic Thought in the Dialogue of Cultures. Innovation and mediation between antiquity and Middle Ages**”, English; and **“Islamisches Denken im Dialog der Kulturen. Innovation und Vermittlung zwischen Antike und Mittelalter**”, German version) for the international study of Islamic philosophy, and hence the potential significance of a Bosnian translation of this book.

As many distinguished scholars who have already visited Bosnia and Herzegovina pointed out - the cultivation of a new spirit of philosophy that cuts across the classical borders and opens its understanding of “universality” to a multitude of cultural and intellectual histories, is very much needed in Bosnia and Herzegovi-

na. One of them, who is eager to come soon, suggested to me that simple opposition to “Western culture” is a poor foundation for a vernacular philosophy, which I can personally sign with both my hands. On the contrary, thinkers who have straddled cultures by turning their gaze beyond local political agenda in search of truth wherever it is to be found, are an important part of the historical reconstruction now in progress. Important not only for healing the scars of fragmentation that have left a generation of people longing for a restoration of so much of their heritage lost along the way, but also for the human community as a whole, who looks to this part of the world for inspiration and guidance in achieving a multireligious and multicultural peace, and within that peace, writing a new chapter in the history of the world’s philosophy.

Finally, as a translator of this volume and previous one (also published by KULT B in 2004: *The Struggle for Knowledge in Islam: Some Historical Aspects*), which would significantly help promote the study of Islamic philosophy not only in Bosnia, but worldwide, I would like personally to express my thankfulness to professor Hans Daiber for this volume, which bringing more than his considerable linguistic skills to the task. His wide-reaching interests in a medieval philosophy inclusive of Islamic, Christian and Jewish thought as well as traditional Greek and Latin philosophy are reflected in his numerous scholarly publications. These contributions are reflected further in our efforts to draw attention to that a bit forgotten third link between Europa and medieval Islamic world: the relationships between the Balkans and Southern Italy and Sicily, and above all to redesign the curriculum in Sarajevo University’s Department of Philosophy in order further to stimulate intercultural thinking among the next generation of students. It is they, as he knows only too well, who will bring about any lasting revolution in the role of philosophy in the contemporary world. That our project on Islamic philosophy should find a place in such an adventure is an unexpected grace.

It only remains for me to express my gratitude to Professor Daiber for the enthusiasm and scholarly skill he has brought to this volume. It is a privilege and an honor to have had the chance

to work with him.

Nevad Kahteran

Mojmilo, 8th october 2007

Ramadan 26/27, 1428 AH

Note about Author & Translator

Hans Daiber (born 1942) is since 1995 holder of the chair of oriental languages at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt/M.; he taught at the Free University of Amsterdam (1977-1995), at the University of Tokyo (1992) and at the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, Kuala Lumpur/Malaysia (2001). His main fields are Arabic and Islam, including Islamic philosophy, theology, history sciences and the field of Greek-Syriac-Arabic-Latin translations. He is an expert in analyzing and describing Arabic manuscripts. Since 1981 he is ordinary member of the Royal Dutch Academy of Arts and Sciences. His PhD-thesis from the year 1967 was evaluated as the best thesis of the year at the University of Saarbrücken and appeared in print in 1980 under the title „Aetius Arabus“. In 1973 he got his qualification for teaching Arabic and Islam with his monograph on „Das theologisch-philosophische System des Mu‘ammar Ibn ‘Abbād as-Sulamī (gest. 830 n. Chr.), which appeared in print in 1975. From 1973-1975 he was a research fellow of the German Oriental Institute in Beirut/Lebanon. He wrote 15 monographs and 86 articles and is editor of the scientific series „Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Sciences“ (sofar 74 volumes were published) and „Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus“ (sofar 19 volumes were published).

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