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CHAPTER I

FROM ARABIA TO SPAIN

I. THE WEST-BOUND MARCH OF EASTERN CULTURE

The story of civilization starts with the East which, in the very beginning of man's awakening, became the cradle of his progress. In many respects it paved the way for the development of human civilization in various branches of knowledge and led to the efflorescence of art and culture. The Orient, indeed, played the prime role in the story of man's endeavour in laying the foundation of world civilization. Will Durant thus observes:

Our story begins with the Orient, not merely because Asia was the scene of the oldest civilization known to us, but because these civilizations formed the background and the basis of that Greece and Roman culture which Sir Henry Maine mistakenly supposed to be the whole source of modern mind. We shall be surprised to learn how much of our most indispensable inventions, our economic and political organisations, our science and our literature, our philosophy and our religion, goes back to Egypt and the Orient.

This thesis is an exploration of the influence of the oriental world in general and the Moslem world in particular on the Western world at one of the crucial and significant periods in the cultural history of mankind; it seeks to determine the contributions made by the East to European Renaissance.
With the Moslem conquest of Spain in the eighth century, the oriental civilization came in close contact with the Western culture. Spanish life and literature were influenced to a great extent by the Moors, the Arabs, and the Jews. Various eastern cultural elements which these people brought from the Middle-East penetrated into the cultural life of Spain and from there to other countries of Europe. The Oriental concept of love, the Eastern philosophy of Wisdom, the oriental zest for life, and the Eastern concept of art and literature, as developed by the enthusiastic Moslems, reached Spain as a result of which, the latter, with its great Universities of Cordova and Andulus, became the focal point of learning and knowledge in Europe, thus contributing to the advent of the European Renaissance. These universities and other centres of learning in Spain acted as feeder institutions to many of the institutions in other European countries. Such a contact, therefore, considerably coloured the European Renaissance and gave it an altogether new direction.

In their study of the development of Renaissance in Europe, scholars and historians have either neglected or missed the impact of the Eastern thoughts and elements on this great literary and cultural movement. These authors make a fundamental mistake when they assert that the term Renaissance, strictly speaking, puts emphasis on the revival of interest in the classical literature of the Greek and Latin worlds, for this phenomenon comprises much more than the mere revival of classical learning and knowledge. While focussing on two major directions leading to the advent of Renaissance, e.g., (1) a turning
away from the works of the medieval to those of the ancient; and (ii) a turning away from the authority of the ecclesiastical order to that of the ancient classics, especially Plato and Pythagoras, these scholars have overlooked a third and quite important phenomenon, e.g., the study of Renaissance under a renewed influence of Eastern thoughts and Arabic philosophy.

From the very beginning, the Hellenic city-states were in close contact with the Eastern Empire. The Persian invasions of Greece in the reigns of Darius I (521-496 B.C.) and Xerxes (485 B.C.) created further channels of contact between these two parts of the world. Finally the campaign of Alexander opened many more opportunities for the mutual cultural exchanges between Hellenistic and the Oriental worlds; his purpose behind this great political expedition was the desire to fuse into one the Hellenic and the Oriental spirit. "On the one hand," says De Burgh, "he adopted Persian states, Persian dress, Persian customs; he practised and encouraged intermarriage, recognized the religions of the conquered peoples, and became in all things an Eastern to the Easterns." As the outcome of this policy, which was followed by his successors, the life of the vast region from Aegean sea to the Indus, from the Caspian to Ethiopia, attained a new fusion of the Hellenic spirit with the Eastern culture.

Among the eminent protagonists of Greek culture who made an attempt to understand Eastern history and culture along with those of their own land may be mentioned Plutarch whom, according to Edward Ashcraft, "it is better to call a humanist." Convinced of the value of religion in the maintenance of social order, Plutarch set himself to show
how the polytheistic cults of Greece, Egypt, and the East were symbolic accommodation of a reasonable faith in God to the popular intelligence. He was representative of the temper of his age in his Platonism, his endeavour after a rapprochement between reason and faith, and his belief that philosophy can lead the soul to union in ecstasy with God, a view that was upheld in almost the same context during this time in India. His understanding of the Eastern characters as well as society, therefore, was as significant as his attempt to effect a compromise between religion and philosophy. Similarly, Plotinus (c. A.D. 205-262) who was the chief exponent of the Neo-platonic philosophy and who came from Alexandria, the historic meeting-place of the East and the West, was acquainted with a good deal of the knowledge of the oriental philosophies. Indeed, his mysticism was a synthesis of the Greek and the oriental views of life.

Constantinople, which once stood as the most outstanding centre of Graeco-Roman culture and the symbol of Byzantine art, served, for a long time, as the link between the Hellenic culture and the East. In course of time, here the Greek art of naturalistic representation gave place to an oriental art of symbolic decoration. "Edessa and Nisibis," says Durant, "were in this period flourishing centres of a Mesopotamian culture that mingled Iranian, Armenian, Cappadocian and Syrian elements, and transmitted them, through merchants, monks and artisans, to Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Constantinople, at last to Revena and Rome."
Hence much that is termed 'Greek' or 'Hellenic', is, in its real substance, Syrian, Egyptian, or Eastern. A good deal of the influence of Judaism, early Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, and later Christianity and Mohammadanism, may be seen in the Medieval thoughts and concepts, which were usually held earlier to have developed from Hellenistic thought and philosophy. What was commonly understood Neo-Platonic love, i.e., the union of soul with the Supreme Beauty, in the Renaissance thought system, was actually, in its ultimate analysis, a fine synthesis of the experiences of the many Christian and Moslem mystics — the faith in 'natural' as opposed to 'revealed' religion.

With a view to correcting such wrong notions regarding some of the fundamental concepts, the thesis seeks to make an objective study of the various concepts and thought systems of European Renaissance and thereby establish that the East has made as important contributions as the Greek and Latin worlds to the Renaissance philosophy, history, humanism, culture, art and literature. For instance, the Oriental concept of love, the idea of chaste womanhood as developed by the people of the Middle-East, the eastern idea of the creator as the supreme artist and the Islamic thoughts based on Sufism and dedication to love — all these infiltrated Renaissance literature and literary forms.

From the beginning of world history, the East has taken the initiative in the development of all aspects of human civilization. Organisation of human activities, the first element of civilization, developed in the East
in Egypt and Asia when we had the oldest known agricultural civilization and the oldest irrigation systems. Government or the idea of having organizations for the protection of life and society, the second element of civilization, appeared first in the Indian village communes and in the city state of Sumeria and Assyria. The development of moral code, the third element of civilization, could be seen first in the ancient courts of the Eastern countries like Egypt, India, Mesopotamia, and Persia.

The development of letters, language, and education took place originally in Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, China and the Far-East. Science, which is the search for truth, including the invention of simple numerals, arithmetic, geometry, and the knowledge of decimal system developed in India, the Near-East and Egypt. Philosophy, another important element of culture, appeared in India, the Near-East and the Middle-East before it came to Europe.

Finally, arts, the embellishment of life with their colors, rhythm and form, could be seen in the Egyptian, Sumerian and Indian civilizations. These important elements of civilization the East bequeathed to the West from the earliest times.

The annals of history have recorded how all the important religions were born in the East. We find here the first manifestations of that consciousness in man which was to raise his self above the primitive existence. The earliest ideas of man concerning God and the concept of creation first germinated in the soil of the East. In the soil of the Orient," concludes Durant, "grew the stories
of creation and Flood, the Fall and Redemption of man; and out of many mother goddesses came at last, the fairest flower of all poesy, as Heine called Mary, the mother of God."

In India, the ancient Vedas, the Bhagvat Geeta, and Buddhism contributed to the evolution of rich systems and philosophical views of life. Judaism was another important religion. It delivered the Israels from the tyranny of the Egyptian Pharaohs when, Moses, the Jewish Patriarch, led them out of Egypt after their long and painful captivity. Inspired by God on Mount Sinai to write down the Ten Commandments on tablets of stones, Moses became the law-giver and his commandments guided the people of this region for centuries.

Among many other religions that came to play at first an important role in the development of civilization was Zoroastrianism, a new religion founded on the old Aryan folk-religions. This had a great influence on Persia and the Mediterranean regions, and its faith spread westwards with the expansions of the Persian Empire; great rulers of this empire, known as the great oriental kings like Cyrus and Darius built up the most flourishing civilization of the ancient world. In course of time, however, this religion lost its grip on the people in general owing to various internal disputes.

The East gave birth to an altogether new philosophy and system of thought with the advent of Christianity, which emerged just in time to link the Near-East with the West when the older religions could no longer fulfil the task
entrusted to them. Although born in the Near-East, this religion spread fast to the West, and, after its adoption by the Roman Empire, it seized the mind and heart of the Western people as a result of which the whole of Europe was awakened to a new life with the message of love and tolerance as advocated by Christ. The fourth century became particularly a turning point in the history of Christianity as it witnessed the explicit acceptance of the Christian faith by the Roman Empire and thus brought Christianity into immediate contact with the civilization and thought of Greece and Italy.

Essentially a religion springing from the East and thereby belonging to the great chain of various religions of the Old Testament, Christianity was modified to a great extent in the West; and, in its turn, it also changed the habit and sensibility of the Western people considerably. While imparting the doctrine of love and sacrifice, it essentially refined the haughty and impetuous temperament of the Roman people. Christianity, therefore, became essentially a religion of the West and remained so for centuries creating an atmosphere of mutual tolerance and love of mankind based on the fundamental principle of universal brotherhood.

The advent of Islam in the seventh century once again brought prominence to the East in the history of world. Born in Arabia, in the age which has been recorded as the darkest period in its history and among people who clung to superstitions, Mohammad, the holy prophet, found that the tribal people of this region had not only lost
touch with the main religions of the land but also followed different individualistic faiths, which had no connection with the essential doctrine of God. Besides, owing to the absence of a common and binding force of religion, the Arabs, as a race, had lost all ideas of civilization and of an organized state.

Besides, during this time there was an Iranian dualistic monotheism which, in one form or another, had become the foundation of Eastern religions and philosophical thoughts. Running almost parallel to this, Islam made a quest for unity which had a far reaching effect in moulding the community life of Moslems. These principles of the Islamic law gave practical expression to this quest; indeed, these finally became the most significant gift of the East to the world in ancient history. Thus the triumph of Islam in the seventh century A.D. has been regarded as a judgement of history upon a people the roots of whose religion had been shaken and dried up.

Only ten years after the death of the holy prophet the Moslem warriors overran Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. The Byzantine army was smashed at the battle of Yarmuk in 634; in 635 Damascus was taken, in 636 Antioch, in 638 Jerusalem, and by 640 all Syria was in Moslem hands. The Persian kingdom, weakened by Heraclius's victories, fell an easy victim to their onset in 641. Asia Minor succumbed to the first invasion in 651, and Constantinople experienced its first siege from 674 to 677. The Moslems by now had developed their naval power, and fought the Persian Empire on both land and the sea. Within twenty years of the death of the prophet the whole of the Middle-East and the Near-East came
under the Moslem power. This was indeed, as observed by H.G. Wells, "the most amazing story of conquest in the whole history of our race."6

As a religion, Islam essentially dominated the whole of this area and thereafter made its expansion with greater success also towards further East. But from the very beginning the enthusiastic and ardent followers wanted to advance in the Western direction. For a number of geographical reasons the east coast of the Mediterranean, from Constantinople to Alexandria, had always attracted the attention of the people of the Middle-East. Here, whether by way of the Black sea, or Red Sea, or from Beyrount across the desert, Europe, touches Asia. Encouraged by their spectacular success in the Middle-East the Moslems overran the whole of North Africa, which came under their dominion by the end of the century. The weak powers of most of the western kingdoms in this part of Africa were forced to leave their places for the Moslem rulers. The Moslem rule in North Africa which the Arabs now referred as Al-Maghreb (the West) gave them a stronger foothold for their more ambitious
From Africa the conquerors crossed over to the Straits of Gibraltar and Spain in 710, and, having overthrown the Gothic kingdom, established the rule of the emirs at Cordova in 712. Pouring by the passes of the Pyrenees into Gaul in 720, they swept northwards over the fair lands of Languedoc and Aquitaine to the Valley of the Loire (France) in 732. Within a very short period these people, therefore, were able to bring most part of the Peninsula under Moslem rule. Soon after the conquest of Spain, the Moslems penetrated into other islands of the Mediterranean which also came under their power after some resistance. Earlier the Moslems had also captured Arles in 735 and had taken, in 737, Avignon where they ruled till 759. By 750 A.D. the Moslem Empire extended into Turkestan in the West and the Chinese Empire in the East; in the north it brought most part of the Mediterranean as well as the whole of Spanish Peninsula under its control.
After having captured Cyprus and Rhodes, these people occupied Corsica in 809, Sardina in 810, Crete in 823 and Malta in 870. Ultimately Palmer fell to Moslems in 831, Messina in 843, Syracuse in 878 and Taormina in 902. When the Fatimid Caliphs came to power, they pushed still further and inherited Sicily (909) as a part of their domain.

Despite the frequent struggles between the Christian people and the Moslem power, the latter kept themselves in full sway in many parts of Spain and regions of the Mediterranean till the fourteenth century, although by the twelfth century the onward march of Islam to the west had been successfully checked by the followers of Christendom.

The Moslem power held its sway in this part of Europe from the eighth to the twelfth centuries and, even after successive defeats inflicted by the combined Christian powers after this, Granada remained a Moslem power in Spain till its final fall in 1492. Here it may be noted that Islam as a religion had its roots chiefly in the Middle-East and as such it could never be accepted by the Christian world of the West. And yet, though hostile to the Moslem world in its early phase, the West could not shake off completely the impact that the Eastern world made on it chiefly through the Arab-conquest of the territories belonging to this part of the world.

The two cultures that came close to each other in this part of Europe had naturally a reciprocal effect on each other. On the one hand, the Christian world, with all its culture and civilization, modified the Islamic
civiliation in the West to a great extent. The Moslem conquerors, the majority of whom consisted of the Berbers and the Moors of North Africa, were less refined and had rather a narrower outlook on life. Under the impact of the new civilization, these people became more sophisticated and urbanised and developed thereafter tastes for art, literature and other refinements for life, which were seen to excel those of the Christians themselves. On the other, the impact of Islamic civilization on the Christian world had far-reaching effects that led to significant changes in almost all aspects of Western life.

Although it was essentially a political conquest which the Moslems made in the Spanish Peninsula and the Mediterranean regions, the Islamic civilization left a deep effect in the fields of art and culture. The influence of the East was carried to the Moslem-occupied Spain and the Mediterranean regions chiefly in two ways: (i) through the leaders of thoughts; and (ii) through the torch-bearers of art and culture. From Spain and the Mediterranean, the Moslems communicated their religious ideas, cultural elements and political and philosophical thoughts to the people of West through various channels. In the process of transmission, the Moslems also communicated many of the ideas and much of the philosophy which they had gathered from further East. These elements of Islamic culture swept the whole of Europe, in different forms.

Religious, cultural, political and philosophical elements, all emerging from the East, thus moved persistently westward. During this westbound march of Eastern culture and civilization, Spain, with its mixed population of
Christians, the Arabs, the Moors, the Berbers and the Jews, played a vital role as a centre of the East-West contact and a transmitting and catalytic agent between the two worlds. It is through this place that the Eastern world was able to convey all its philosophy, knowledge of medicine, divinity, metaphysics and its idea of the new mode of life, which had the far-reaching consequence of changing, to a considerable degree, the western outlook and the western concept of life.

During this process of the transmission of Eastern cultures and ideas, much of what is known as the revival of classical learning and knowledge was coloured by these thoughts. Besides, it is chiefly through the Arabic translations of the Greek texts that much of the Greek works reached Europe along with the commentaries and critical treatises written by such eminent Arabic philosophers as Avicenna and Averroes. Similarly a good deal of Greek thoughts and Hellenistic concepts underwent substantial modifications by the Oriental thoughts and Eastern concepts. All these changes, therefore, were the natural results of the influence of the East on the Western thoughts that took place during the period when the basic ideas were being crystallised to pave the way for the emergence of Renaissance in Europe.

During the medieval age, the Eastern civilization in general, and the Islamic culture in particular, permeated the socio-political life and religious and cultural environments of the Western people chiefly through three modes of contact: (i) through the Arab-conquest of Spain and the Moslem rule in the Peninsula extending from the eighth century to the end of the fifteenth century; (ii) through the Moslem penetration into and the conquest of Sicily; and
(iii) through the contact made between the people of the East and West during the various Crusades.

Each of these events had its permanent and lasting consequence in the history of the cultural evolution of the West. With a separate study of each one of these modes of contact, it has been attempted to discover these Eastern ideas and thoughts, Islamic concepts and cultural elements, and the innumerable Oriental themes and subjects, which, having permeated the Western civilization and culture, finally infiltrated into European Renaissance and coloured much of its thoughts and literary products. An illustrative study of the Elizabethan literature shows that these elements are not only present in Elizabethan literature, but they have also exerted a positive influence on and moulded to a great extent the literary works of the Elizabethans.
Many modern scholars and historians have accepted the fact that in the Middle Ages, while Europe for the most part was passing through what is known as the Dark Ages both materially and spiritually, the Spanish Moslems created a splendid civilization in Spain and organised a much better economic life than was found in any other part of the West. J.B. Trend observes:

Moslem Spain played a decisive part in the development of art, science, philosophy and poetry, and its influence reached even to the highest peaks of the Christian thought of the thirteenth century, to Thomas Aquinas and Dante. Then, if ever, Spain was the torch of Europe.

These torch-bearers were not exclusively the Arabs, though it was formerly the custom to call them the 'Moors' or 'Arabs'. The leader of the first successful expedition into Spain, Tariq, was not an Arab but a Berber, and such were a large number of his followers. The term 'Berber' is defined as follows:

The name of the various branches of the indigenous Libyan peoples of North Africa. These had been chiefly affected by the Arab invaders, but the two races with a common religion, often a common government and the same tribal groupings, failed to amalgate to any extent. The Berber is straightforward, honest, by no means averse to money-making and trustworthy. The Berber is monogamous. Among the Khybes, the adulterer is put to death, as are those women who have illegitimate children, the latter suffering with their mothers.

The name of the first conqueror is embedded in the rock at whose foot his forces landed. The Arabs called it Gebel-al-Tariq, and this was latter compressed by Europeans.
as Gibraltar. In 712 Musa ibn Nussyr, the Arab Governor of North Africa, who had sent Tariq to Spain, crossed with 10,000 Arabs and 8000 Moors, besieged Seville and Merida and captured them. At the recall of Musa by Caliph Walid, Tariq resumed his conquests and thus the Moslems, having established their position in the Peninsula, scaled the Pyrenees and entered Gaul intent upon making Europe a province of Damascus, but the advancing troops of the Moslems were defeated and checked by the united force of Eudes. The Moslems, however, captured Arles in 735 and in 737 they took Avignon and ruled there till 759.

From 712 till 756 Spain was governed from Quirwan. Then in 755 Abd-er-Rahman, the grandson of Caliph Hissan, the only survivor of the Omayyad family, landed in Spain and established a dynasty that was to rival in glory and wealth that of the Caliphs of Baghdad. This dynasty with its successive rulers such as, Abel-er-Rahaman I, Rahman II, Rahman III, and Hakam II, established its empire chiefly in the South of the Peninsula from the ninth century to the eleventh, as a result of which the entire region blossomed into an efflorescence of riches, poetry, and art.

Moslem rule in Spain continued to play a vital role though it was reduced in its extent and limited to the South of the Peninsula after the eleventh century. Owing to the various divisions that were but natural to appear due to the distance of this Empire from the Moslem empire in the East, there sprang several new states in Spain leading to their separate existence for about seven centuries, i.e., from 712 to 1492. The Moslem Spain experienced many
ups and downs and passed through a series of interruptions, conquests and reconquests partly owing to the continued resistance that it had to face from surrounding Christian states and partly owing to the conflicts and intrigues resorted to by the different members of Moslem dynasty for capturing power. Towards the end of the fourteenth century Moslem rule was reduced to Granada, which finally capitulated to the united powers of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492, thus bringing about the end of the story of reconquests.

The rule of the Moslems in Spain for about seven hundred years, though with interruptions, in spite of the resistance of the Christian West, is in no way to be regarded as insignificant and inglorious, for it was during this period and through this Peninsula that the East made the most historical and far-reaching impact on the West.

The study of ancient records and modern place names (particularly in the kingdom of Valencia) makes it possible to arrive at an approximate idea of the tribal distribution of Arabs in Spain. After the invasions of the latter the invaders brought besides their tribal names, their tribal quarrels which were fought out in Spain with as much bitterness as in the land of their origin. Many families of Christians living in Spain were converted to Islam, and some of the more important families which remained Christian gave up their names and added the Arabic prefix—Banu or Bani i.e. 'sons of' to their names (as for example, Banu-Teresa, Banu-Arista, Bani-Angavand Bani-Paertun).
Historians, who have been amazed at the mutual tolerance of the diverse faiths of the Languedoc people, have suggested that it was perhaps due to the presence of the Moslem rule in this region and also owing to the Moslem influence that one can notice its colourful gaiety and its flair for signs of natural love.

There were also many intermarriages between the Moslems and the Christians. The Moslems of succeeding generations preferred the mothers of their children to be these fair-complexioned slaves captured in the north of Spain, rather than, or in addition to, their own women-folk. These marriages between Christians and Moslems common among the ruling families in both countries, were also common among individuals in Andalusian society. Many Moslems also found brides in Christian Spain. The occurrence of these marriages was not confined to Andalusia, but also involved Moslems from Andalusia and Christian women from the states of northern Spain, Leon, Castile and Navarre.

Among the prominent cases of such inter-racial marriages may be included such names as (1) the Governor of Andalusia, Abdul-Aziz b. (Musa b. Nusayer) who married Ayluk (Egileno) or Umm Asim, widow of Roderigo, the last Gothic king of Spain; (2) Al-Hakaum II (al-Mustansir) fd.366/976, married a Navarrese woman called Subha (dawn); (3) Al-Mansi himself married Teresa, daughter of Bermedo, king of Leon; (4) and , the most striking instance of such marriage is that of Toda, Queen-Regent of Navarre, who was the paternal aunt of Abdur-Rahman an-Hasir through his grandmother. She was called Durr (Pearl) whose Spanish name was Iniga,
It is wrong, therefore, to assume that all Moslems in Spain were Arabs and all Christians, Romans or Goths, and that all the Christians fled to the north for refuge at the time of the conquest. There was a war lasting for eight centuries between the Goths in the north and the Andalusian Arabs in the South. From the third or the fourth generation after the conquest,most Spanish Moslems, whether of Arab descent or of Spanish Christian origin, were bilingual. Besides, Arabic, which was the official language, they used Roman Patois, which was also spoken by the Mozarbes (Mutarib, Arabized or would be Arabs), the Christians still living under Moslem rule. Al-Khusami (Aljoxani), in his history of the Quadi of Cordova, brings out clearly how general the use of this Romance dialect was. It seems to have been used in Cordova by all classes, even in courts of law and in the royal place. There were, in fact, four languages in use in Moslem Spain (a) Classic Arabic, the language of the man of letters, (b) Colloquial Arabic, the language of administration and government, (c) Ecclesiastical Latin, a ritual language associated with a particular form of worship, and (e) a Roman dialect, mainly derived from low Latin, but destined to become (under the name of Romance Castillane or Spanish) one of the great international languages of the world, by the side of English or Arabic.
Great was the influence of the Arabic language on the native Romance dialect. Indeed, nothing in Spain gives a clearer evidence of the debt of the West to Islam than the Spanish language. By the time of Moslem invasion of 711, a Romance dialect was already in the process of formation from low Latin, which had once been spoken in the Peninsula, and it is known to have been used (as already stated above) by the Christian and Moslem rulers and in course of time by a large number of Moslems themselves. Soon afterwards a considerable number of Arabic words made their way into this Roman dialect, and the reason is to be found not so much in the direct borrowing of Arabic words as in the fact that the Spanish dialects themselves were modified to a considerable extent because of the Arabic influence.

The borrowed Arabic words are in most cases nouns and they are the kinds of objects and ideas which had (and in many cases still have) Arabic names in modern Spanish, e.g.: -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fonda</td>
<td>funduq</td>
<td>hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabona</td>
<td>tabuna</td>
<td>mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarifa</td>
<td>tarif</td>
<td>notice or definition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a rule, however, the Arabic word was taken over into Spanish with the Arabic definite article joined to it and then the Spanish article was added in front of that, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la alhaja</td>
<td>al-haja</td>
<td>the jewel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>el arroz</td>
<td>al-ruzz</td>
<td>the rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la acequia</td>
<td>al-saquiya</td>
<td>the canal, dyke.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During this time a kind of colloquial Arabic language was spoken in the South of Spain, and most of the words were taken into Spanish from this language:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a dar</td>
<td>the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a xems</td>
<td>the sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a sultan</td>
<td>the sultan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Naturally many Spanish words borrowed from the Arabic include some of the commonest objects of daily life:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zaguan</td>
<td>ustuwan</td>
<td>passage into a house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azotea</td>
<td>al-sataiha-falat</td>
<td>roof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alcoba</td>
<td>al gubba (dome)</td>
<td>bed room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarima</td>
<td>tarima</td>
<td>stand, dais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al filer</td>
<td>al-khilal</td>
<td>pin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batta (dressing gown)</td>
<td>batta</td>
<td>a coarse garment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al quitan</td>
<td>al gatran</td>
<td>tar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alcalde</td>
<td>alquadi</td>
<td>mayor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fulano</td>
<td>fulan</td>
<td>what is his name?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasta</td>
<td>hatta</td>
<td>until</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azucar</td>
<td>al sukhar (persian shakar)</td>
<td>(persian shakar) sugar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jarabe (syrup)</td>
<td>sharab</td>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to note that the cultured population of Spain still take pleasure in the use of words of mixed Spanish Arabic origin. The wandering minstrels, who recited the "Poem of my Cid" and the older Spanish ballads, the 'Poems of Ganzalode Berceo' and of the Archpriest of Hita, the Prose of Alfonso, the sage and Don Juan Manuel, drew upon "a well of castilian undefiled", which had its origin in low Latin and
Arabic borrowings, they came to form a professional group which was typically Spanish.

Similarly, the names of places and mountains mentioned in the geographical map of Spain and Portugal offer a study of extraordinary interest to a student of Arabic language. Mountains and hills, caves and islands, sand-banks, rivers, lakes, and hot springs; plains, fields, woods, gardens, trees, and flowers, caves, mines, and towers, all these, derived from the Arabic, have become geographical names. Thus Jabal (mountain) appears in mounte Jabalcoz, Al-Kudya (the hill) appears in nine or ten places known as Alcudia.

Indeed, there are hundred of words expressing various aspects of life and day-to-day things, which have been taken from the Arabic language during the Moslem rule in Spain. The influence of the Arabic people on the political, social, economic and administrative life of the Moslem civilization in Spain was also great and these later on permeated into the European life, society, and administrative institutions through various sources. "Never was" says Lane-Pole, a great Christian Orientalist, "Andalusia so mildly, justly and wisely governed as by her Arab conquerors." Although some of the Moslem rulers acted rather in whimsical ways and anticipated the Machiavellian principles of rule, most of the Umayyad rulers of Spain set such perfect examples that their Governments were regarded almost as models of Governments in the whole of Europe. Al-Maqrizi, one of the most important historians of Moslem rule, has quoted a hundred examples of justice, liberality, and refinement of the Umayyad rulers of Spain. They formed Governments which were certainly a great improvement upon the illegal Visigothic regime that had preceded them. Commenting on the
Their management of public affairs was the most competent in the Western world of that age. Laws were rational and humane and were administered by a well-organized judiciary. For the most part the conquered, in their internal affairs, were governed by their own laws and their own officials. Towns were well-preserved; markets, weights and measures were effectively supervised. A regular census recorded population and property. Taxation was reasonable compared with the imposts of Rome or Byzantium. The revenues of the Cordovian caliphate under Abd-er-Rahman III reached 12,045,000 gold dinars (57,213,750) probably more than the united governmental revenues of Latin Christendom; but these receipts were due not so much to high taxes as to well-governed and progressive agriculture, industry, and trade. The Arab conquest was a transient boon to the native peasantry. The overgrown states of the Visigothic nobles were broken up and the serfs became proprietors.11

Commenting on the resources mobilisation by the Arabs, Durant further says:

The mines of Spain enriched the Moors with gold, silver, tin, copper, iron, lead, alum, sulphur, mercury. Coral was gathered along Andalusia’s shores; pearls were fished along the Catalanian coasts; rubies were mined at Seville and Malaga. Metallurgy was well developed; Murcia was famous for its iron and brass works; Toledo for its swords Cordova for shields.12

According to al-Maqqari, Ibn Firnas of Cordova, in the ninth century, "invented spectacles, complex chronometers and a flying machine. A merchant fleet of over a thousand ships carried the products of Spain to Africa and Asia; and vessels from a hundred ports crowded the harbours of Barcelone, Almeria, Cartagena, Valencia, Malaya, Cadiz, and Seville. A regular postal service was maintained for the Government."13

Durant in his study of the social and cultural life of the Arabs in Spain points out that there was perfect
Understanding and interchange of thoughts and views between the Moslems and the Christians:

Christians and Moslems intermarried freely, now and then they joined in celebrating a Christian or Moslem holiday, or used the same building as Church and Mosque. Some Christians, conforming to the customs of the country, established harems or practised pederasty. Clerics and laymen from Christian Europe came in safety and freedom to Cordova, Toledo or Seville as students, visitors or travellers. 14

Such was the effect of the cultural interaction that often a Christian from the more orthodox region of Christendom marvelled at the complete easternization of the Christians in the Moslem Spain. As such one Christian complained of the result of the cultural interaction in the following terms:

My fellow Christians delight in the poems and Romances of the Arabs, they study the works of Mohammedan theologians and philosophers, not to refute them, but to acquire a correct and elegant Arabic style. Alas! the young Christians who are most conspicuous for their talent have no knowledge of any literature or language save the Arabic, they read and study with avidity Arabic books; they amass whole libraries of them at great cost; they everywhere sing the praises of Arabic lore. 15

The amalgamation of the Christian and the Moslem races drawn from different walks and fields of life created altogether a new society and novel kind of art, and literature in Spain in the Middle Ages. Men of literature as well as ordinary workers contributed to the creation of this heterogeneous kind of society. Most of the artisans were either Jews or Mudejares-Moslems in Christian Spain. While the Jews prospered in Aragon and Castile, the Mudejares were allowed freedom of worship and considerable self-government. They included many rich merchants, and
a few found entry to the royal courts also. Their craftsmanship strongly influenced Spanish architecture, wood work and metal work and the Mudejares style was added to the use of the themes in Christian art. It is significant to note that Alfonse VI, in a catholic spirit called himself Emperador de los cultos, Emperer of the two faiths.16

As has been stated earlier, the relationship between the Spanish Moslems and the Spanish Christian in particular and the European Christian in general was all the more cemented by marriage ties between the two different races. Just as diplomatic relations between the Moslem and Christian governments and the exchange of embassies furthered cultural connection and common interest provided for co-operative action against a common enemy, so also ties of marriage and kinship linked the two. A few cases of such marriages were for political ends too. As for instance, the widow of Musa ibn Fartun-ibn-Quasi married Ingo Anista, a Navarre princess, and the same Musa gave the daughters of his brother Lope to the sons of Inigo Sanchez in marriage. From these instances of inter-racial marriages one may see how friendly and filial relationship was established at every level between Andalusia and northern Spain, leading to the creation of a culture and civilization which bore marks of eastern and western people equally.

On various occasions the Moslems of Southern States of Spain came close in their relationship with the Christians of Northern States. An analysis and critical investigation of the relationship between the Moslem Andalusian rebels and Christian Spain during the Ummayad period reveals how the Moslem rebels who revolted during the time found adequate
and prompt aid from the Christian Spanish rulers. This was chiefly owing to political motives. The Spanish and the Franks volunteered aid to rebels as soon as they noticed the outbreak of revolution. Often it so happened that in a Christian Spanish state the rebel was granted asylum in the hope that he would prove useful at times of necessity, especially during wars when he might furnish them with useful information or fight by their side against the Moslem. It is in such a manner and on such occasions that the Moslems and Christians came close to each other and had a reciprocal cultural effect on their different civilizations.

This finally led to the complete amalgamation of the two cultures as a result of which new manners and tastes stirred the mental life of Spain. The entire phenomenon has been very well summed up by Durant who focuses on the synthetic fusion of the two cultures and the complex mode of this country in these words:

The mixture of European and Afro-Semitic blood, of Occidental and Oriental culture, of Syrian and Persian motives with Gothic Art, of Roman hardness with Eastern Sentiment, generated the Spanish character and made Spanish civilization, in the thirteenth century, a unique and colourful element in the European scene.

The effects of the intellectual and literary aspects of the Moslem civilization on Spain were as great as those of the social, political and economic aspects. Cordova in the tenth century was the focus and summit of Spanish intellectual life though Toledo, Granada, and Seville were no less important in this respect. The Moslem historians have pictured the Moorish cities as beehives of poets, scholars, jurists, physicians, and scientists. As such the great Moslem
historian al-Maqqari has devoted about sixty pages to the account of an academic institution of Moslem Spain. Primary schools were numerous, but charged tuition; Hakam II added twenty seven schools for the free instruction of the poor. Girls as well as boys went to school and several Moorish ladies became prominent in art and literature.

Higher education was provided by independent lectures in the mosques; their courses constituted the loosely organised university of Cordova, which in the tenth and eleventh centuries was second in renown only to similar institutions in Cairo and Baghdad. Colleges were established also at Granada, Toledo, Seville, Murcia, Almeria, Valencia and Cadiz. The technique of paper-making was brought from Baghdad and books increased and multiplied in number.

Moslem Spain had about seventy libraries; rich men displayed their Moroccan bindings, and bibliophiles collected rare beautifully illuminated books. Historians have recorded how the great scholar al-Hadram attending an auction in Cordova himself, failed to procure a book he desired as the price offered far exceeded the value of the volume.

Scholars, writers, poets, indeed, all persons having intellectual attainments, and theologians too, were held in great awe and respect. People in general had great faith in learning and wisdom. There were theologians and grammarians by hundreds, and an unlimited number of rhetoricians, philologists, lexicographers, anthologists, historians, and biographers. Ibn Hazam in his famous Book of Religions and Sects made one of the world's earliest studies in comparative religions.
The Moslem Spain also produced men of extraordinary talents, who made significant achievement in the fields of science, philosophy, medicine, survey, astronomy, and Chemistry. Abul Quasim al-Zabran, a physician to Abū-Ṭār-Rahaman III, was known throughout the Christian Europe as Abulcasis. In those days he was the best of Moslem surgeons, and his medical encyclopaedia al-Tasnif, consisting of three books on surgery, was translated into Latin; this became the standard text of surgery for many centuries.

The greatest contribution of the Moslem rule to Spain in particular and to the whole of Europe in general was the works of the poets, artists and men of letters of the period. Just as England in the sixteenth century was known as a nest of singing birds so also Andalus, Granada and Cordova were known as the places that resounded with the music of the minstrels and the love songs of hundreds of poets. "We forbear", says al-Maqqari, "to mention the poets who flourished under Hishan II and al-Mansur, for they were as numerous as the sands of the ocean." 18

Foremost among these was princess Wallada (d.1087), whose house at Cordova was a veritable salon of the same kind as that of French Enlightenment; scholars and poets gathered round her; and she made love to scores of them and wrote about her amours with a freedom that would shock anyone even of the modern times. Her friend Mugha outdid her in beauty of person and licentiousness of verse. Almost everyone in Andalusia was a poet in those days and exchanged improvised rhymes on the slightest provocation. The caliphs joined in the sports, and there was seldom a Moorish prince who did not have in his court a poet not only honoured but
paid. The theme was love, carnal or Platonic; in Spain as in the East, the Moslem singers anticipated the methods, mood, and philosophy of the troubadours.

Thus Spain, which became the most viable centre of learning and culture for the whole of Europe in the Middle Age, made great achievements in the field of art, architecture, poetry, literature, and political administration and established a splendid tradition. But very soon the victorious Almoravids rapidly learnt the luxurious ways of the Cordovan and Sevillian princes, whom they had replaced. The discipline of war gave way to the blandishments of peace; courage yielded to money. Almohad Spain broke into small and independent states which were conquered by the Christians one by one — Cordova was taken in 1236, Valencia in 1238, and Seville in 1248. Finally, the defeated Moors retired to Granada, where the Sierra Nevada or snowy ridge provided some defence, and a succession of prudent rulers retained Granada and its dependencies — Xeres Jaen, Almeria and Malaga against repeated Christian assaults. Here commerce and industry were revived, art flourished, and the people gained renown for their gay dress and excellent behaviour and also their fine integrity as a result of which the little kingdom survived till 1492 as the last European foot-hold of a culture that had made Andalusia for many an honour to mankind.
III. THE MOSLEM CONQUEST OF SICILY AND THE RESULTS OF THE EAST-WEST CONTACT

With the rise of the Arabs, the world witnessed the most spectacular scenes of Moslem conquests during the seventh and eighth centuries. The story of their conquests was full of fast moving events that shook many of the western powers during this period. Although the rise of this power was meteoric in character, the Moslems posed great threats to the Christian countries in the early period of their advance.

"In 732," records Wells, "the Arab advance had reached the centre of France," and for the moment it appeared that the Arabs would have swept the whole of Europe had not they been stopped at the battle of Poitiers and thrust back as far as the Pyrenees again.

Having conquered the north West of Africa, the Moslem leaders felt that they must bring the Mediterranean islands under their subjugation. They also felt that they could not hold the coast without a fleet; when they came to possess a fleet after the fall of Egypt, the conquerors seized Cyprus and Rhodes and thereafter moved to the Mediterranean areas. Very soon the Moslem men of war occupied Corsica in 809, Sardinia in 810, Crete in 823, and Malta in 870. In 827 the old struggle between Greece and Carthage for Sicily was resumed; the Aghlabid Caliphs of Qairwan sent expedition after expedition and the conquest of the island became very easy. Palmero fell to the hands of the Moslem in 831, Messina in 843, Syracuse in 878, and Taormina in 902.

As the Fatimid Caliphs succeeded to the Aghlabid power (909), they inherited Sicily as a part of their domain and when they moved
their seat to Cairo, their Governor of Sicily, Hussain al-Kalbi, made himself emir with nearly sovereign authority and established the Kalbite dynasty under which Moslem civilization in Sicily reached its height. 21

Sicily thus became one of the earliest centres of Moslem civilization through which the Moslem world made its social, economic, and cultural contact with the western world. This place actually provided a good contact between the East and the West and much of the cultural exchanges was effected between the two worlds through this Mediterranean island; for it is here that the Europeans noticed a perfect blending of men of different races and religions living together and making a common contribution to the development of an eastern culture, which was fast catching the imagination of western people. Commenting on the cultural achievements of the Moslems in Sicily, Durant aptly points out:

Meanwhile the polyglot culture of Sicily, yielding with the grace of habit to new conquerors, took on a Moslem veneer. Sicilians, Greeks, Lombards, Jews, Berbers, and Arabs mingled in the streets of the Moslem capital—ancient Panormon, Arabic Palermo, Italian Palermo; all hating one another religiously but living together with no more than a Sicilian average of passion, poetry and crime. Here Ibn Hawqual, about 970, found some three hundred mosques, and 300 school teachers. . . . . . . . . . Palermo became a port of exchange between Christian Europe and Moslem Africa; soon it was one of the richest cities in Islam. The Moslem flair for fine dress, brilliant jewellery, and the arts of decoration made for a life of etsicm cum dignitate—leisure without vulgarity. 22

This place gave birth to hundreds of poets, both Moslems and Christians, and inspired the youth to sing of love and passion. One of the Sicilian poets Ibn Hamdis,
(6-1055-1132) describes the vivacious hours of Balmeritan youth: the mid-night revels, the jolly raid on a convent to buy wine from a surprised but genial nun, the gay mingling of men and women in festival "when the king of the revels outlawed care," and "singing girls tease the lute with slender fingers and dance like the resplendent moons on the stems of willowy trees." 23

As recorded by historians there were innumerable poets in the island, for the Moors loved wit and rhyme, and in the Sicilian love offered rich themes. There were scholars, since Palermo boasted of a University, and great physicians, since Sicilian Moslem medicine influenced the medieval school at Salerno. Thus in the 12th and 13th centuries this island achieved a culture that was unparallelled in the whole of Europe, and half the brilliance of Norman Sicily was an Arab echo, an oriental legacy of crafts and craftsmen to a young culture willing to learn, from any race or creed. Although the Norman conquest of Sicily effaced out the vestiges of Islam in the island to a great extent, the Moslem style left its mark on the palace of Léz Ziza, and on the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina; in this chapel of the palace of the Norman king's Moorish ornament serves the shrine of Christ." 24

Even after the Norman conquest of Sicily, the Moslem culture was not effaced out; the catholicity of the kings who followed Roger Ceiscard and their sceptic attitude towards the papal world created an atmosphere of secularism and freedom under which men of all religions and creed found it quite convenient to thrive with all their cultural legacy.
The two successive rulers after Roger Guiscard patronised the Arab poets, philosophers, historians and architects.

Roger II (1101-54), an ambitious and courageous king, was a man of secular beliefs and a lover of Arabic art and artist; he appointed Idrissi, a Moslem biographer (who said of him that he accomplished more asleep than other men awake). He made use of intelligent Saracens, Greeks, and Jews of Sicily to organise a better civil service and administrative bureaucracy than any other nation in Europe had at that time. He allowed religious freedom and cultural autonomy to Moslems, Jews, and Greek Catholics, opened career to all talent, "himself wore Moslem garbs, liked Moslem morals, and lived as a Latin king in an Oriental Court." Hence it has been correctly ascertained that his kingdom was for a generation the richest and most civilized state in Europe, and he was the "most enlightened ruler of his age." 26

Palermo was one of the most magnificent cities in Europe, but it had the singular privilege of having a variety of languages spoken by different people, and the entire place became unique in its peaceful mingling of races and faiths, the neighbourly confusion of churches, synagogues and mosques, the elegantly dressed citizens, busy streets, quiet gardens and the comfortable homes.

It was in these palaces and gardens that the arts of the East served the conquerors from the West. Eastern mosaicists covered floors, walls and ceilings with Oriental themes. Saracen and Greek architects and artisans raised churches, as a result of which the Norman style gathered up a thousand years of Byzantine or Arabic influence.
Even to-day one could notice in the Martorana, a convent built in 1143, a typical Arabic inscription from a Greek Christian hymn running all round the inner dome. During the reign of Roger II and even long after his death, Palermo in particular and the whole of Sicily in general absorbed the Arabic culture, language, literature and the Moslem art and artifice, and the influence spread over the whole of Europe with them. It was perhaps the rich variety of the city of Palermo that made a Moslem visitor Ibn Jabair (1184) exclaim: "A Stupendous City, the palaces of the king encircle it as a necklace clasps the throat of a maiden with well-filled bosom." 27

Another ruler who accorded much importance to the Arabs in his kingdom and recognised the importance of the Eastern culture was Emperor Fredarick II. He was crowned king of Sicily in 1198 when he was but a child of four years. Sicily in those days had been recently conquered by the Normans and "the court was half Orient and full of highly educated Arabs and some of these were associated with the education of the young king." 28 No doubt the young king was trained and brought up right from his very childhood in an atmosphere and environment that was full of Oriental outlook and Arabic culture and philosophy. Commenting on his religious outlook, Wells observes, "He got a Moslem view of Christianity as well as a Christian view of Islam, and the unhappy result of this double system of instruction was a view, exceptional in that age of faith, that all religions were impostures. He talked freely on the subject, his heresies and blasphemies are on record." 29
Having secured his position firmly, Frederick II stayed in Sicily which he greatly preferred to Germany as a residence and thought how he could use the Arabs, Greeks and other heterogeneous elements against the Pope whom he was determined to defy. Out of the polyglot passions of Sicily he forged an order and prosperity recalling the brilliance of Roger II's reign. Here the Arabs and the Moors played an important role by working as the most loyal subjects of Frederick II and also by fighting for him against the rule of the Pope. First of all, he won over the rebellious Saracens of the hills who were transported to Italy, trained as mercenaries and they became the most reliable soldiers in his army. One could very well imagine the wrath of the Pope at the sight of the Moslem warriors led by a Christian Emperor against Papal troops.

Reared and trained in oriental ideas, Frederick maintained a court that had all the elements of eastern atmosphere and colour. He maintained a harem like the Arab rulers in the eastern court and like these he too loved hunting, hawking, collecting strange birds, and such other hobbies. Next to hunting he took delight in educated and graceful conversation. He spoke nine languages and wrote seven. He corresponded in Arabic with al-Kamila, whom he called his dearest friend after his own sons. Thus he and his friends, chiefly the intellectuals drawn from Greece, Italy, and Arab world, keenly felt and emulated the classical spirit and almost anticipated the humanists of the Renaissance. Frederick himself was a poet whose Italian poetry won Dante's praise:

The love poetry of Provence and Islam entered his court, and was taken up by the young nobles who served there and the
Emperor like some Baghdad. Potentate, loved to relax after a day of hunting, administration or war with pretty women around him and poets to sing his glory and their charms. 30

In his elder days Frederick was fascinated by the Moslem heritage of Sicily and turned more and more to the acquisition of science and philosophy. He read many Arabic masterpieces himself, brought Moslem, Jewish scientists and philosophers to his court, and paid scholars to translate into Latin chiefly the scientific classics of Islam. He was so fond of Mathematics that he persuaded the Sultan of Egypt to send him a famous mathematician, al-Hanifi. His curiosity to know the secrets of Islamic knowledge was very great. He sent questions in science and philosophy to scholars at his court and as far abroad as Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Iraq.

Owing to his close association with Moslem philosophers and scientists he was often regarded by western people as an atheist. In fact, intimate intercourse with Moslem leaders and thinkers seems to have ended his Christian faith. He was attracted by Moslem learning, and considered it far superior to the Christian thought and knowledge of his day. At the Diet of German princes in Friuli (1232), he cordially received a Moslem deputation, and later, in the sight of Bishops and princes, joined these Saracens in a banquet celebrating a Mohammedan religious feast. Matthew Paris reports that the Emperor agreed and believed in the law of Mohammad more than that of Jesus Christ and was "more a friend to the Saracens than to Christians." 31 He was in fact a free thinker, and, as he gave freedom of worship to the diverse faith, in his kingdom Mohammedans, Greeks, Catholics and Jews were allowed to
practise their religions unmolested.

Such was his weakness for the Moslem world and its impact on his character that Frederick could not successfully keep up his vow for a Crusade and his promise to join the beseigers at Damietta. In 1228, he received no help from the good Christians there, who shunned an outlaw from the Church. Disgusted with his own people he sent emissaries to al-Kamil, who was now leading the Saracen's army at Nablus. The latter replied courteously, and the Sultan's ambassador, Fakhruddin, was impressed by Frederick's knowledge of the Arabic language, literature, science, and philosophy. Very soon the two rulers entered into a friendly exchange of compliments and ideas; and to the astonishment of both Christendom and Islam they signed a treaty (1229) by which Al-Kamil ceded many territories to Frederick for the chief purpose of establishing friendship between the two worlds and maintaining peace for ten years and ten months. Thus the ex-communicated Emperor had succeeded where for a century Christendom had failed; the two cultures, brought together for a moment in mutual understanding and respect, had found it possible to be friends.

Although a man of the Middle Ages, "he belonged at the same time to the Modern period." His Kingdom was regarded as the first modern state in Europe. Nevertheless, the most significant fact during his reign in Sicily was that this place became the most important centre of the east-west contact. It is from this place that much of the Arabic culture, Arabic language, Arabic literature, particularly Arabic poetry, infiltrated into the whole of Europe. The emperor Frederick
was almost free from all kinds of religious bigotry and had a court that was almost half Arab and half Christian. The Christians of the whole of Europe received all that was worth having from the Moslems of the East, and as such Sicily remained till the end of fourteenth century a fertile land that germinated all the Arab-ideas, science and knowledge and left deep impressions strong enough to change and colour the outlook and attitude of the European people who were opening their eyes with the emergence of Renaissance.

Although the Moslems ruled in Sicily for a short period, they left a deep impression of their art and culture in this small Western Kingdom. These elements of Islamic civilization were kept alive by such broad-minded rulers like Frederick II who had great fascination for the Oriental world. The history of Sicily under the Normans who held the island from the end of eleventh to the end of the twelfth century shows an extra-ordinary intermingling of the Moslem and Christian culture. Moslem art and craft flourished and many of the literary works produced here during the Middle Ages were all steeped in Oriental spirit. All these elements contributed to the European Renaissance when the men of this age turned to the wonders of the East. For instance, the Italian designers of the textile silk industry of the Renaissance gained the technical knowledge and models for new and the rich Oriental designs from the royal palace at Palermo, where the Moslem invaders had established a famous weaving house which continued to flourish, even long after the Moslem rule, under the Patronage of the Christian rulers. In this and various other fields of art and culture Sicily as a centre of the East-West cultures contributed to the many aspects of Renaissance in Europe.
IV. THE CRUSADES AND THE EAST-WEST CONTACT

The Crusades are known as a 'holy war', a war which was primarily organised to unite the Christian commonwealth in common hostilities against the Moslem states and Moslem faith, the arch-enemy of Christianity. But the Crusades were also aimed at the redemption of Jerusalem, the Holy-land, a projection of the Christian West into the Moslem East and the foundation of Christian state, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem on the shores of Levant. However, the Crusades had another important effect, for, although originally conceived as spiritual movement, they ultimately turned out to be fertile grounds for the cultural exchange between the East and the West. Moreover, these also afforded new channels for commerce and trade between the two worlds.

By the end of the eleventh century the Christian States of the West organised themselves to overthrow the Moslem power from Spain and other places in the Mediterranea. In fact, Toledo fell to Alfonso VI of Castile in 1085, and Sargessa was captured by Agagon in 1118. Encouraged by their early success the Christian powers consolidated themselves more vigorously in their own land against the Moslem power in the West.

It was during this time that the first call to the Crusades came from the East. From the hands of the mild Fatimid Caliphs of Cairo, Jerusalem was captured by the more aggressive Seljuk Turks in 1070 and the following year the final defeat of the Byzantine forces took place at Manzikart. The Christian world suddenly realised the great
necessity of saving Jerusalem and the Byzantium. The first Crusade extending from the year 1096-99 was thus organised as an answer to that double call. This call for the Crusades implied an armed pilgrimage for the sake of clearing the routes and liberating the destination for the future pilgrimages. Although the first phase of the Crusades did not attain much success, it served the great purpose of achieving internal peace and closed the ranks of the many Christian kingdoms for the cause of the holy war against the enemies of Christianity.

The Second phase of the Crusades began in 1100, when the dissensions in Syria among the Moslems enabled Baldwin I and Baldwin II to establish and consolidate the kingdom of Jerusalem between 1100 and 1131. During the second Crusades the Christian pressure produced a strong reaction among the Moslems, who felt the need of organising themselves against the unified attacks of the Christians. The Crusades of the Christendom, therefore, evoked the call among Moslems for Jihad or holy war for the cause of Islam. A notable king Atabeg Zangi emerged about 1127, and, extending his powers over his rivals, captured in 1144 Edessa from the Latins. His successor Nur-al-Din organised a better Jihad; and during his reign his Lieutenants Kurd Shirkuh and the latter's nephew Saladin gave another setback to the Crusaders by defeating the Latins of the Kingdom. In July, 1187, they were again defeated at Hittin, and soon after in October Jerusalem succumbed to the Moslems. Saladin, who had now grown into great power, became the champion of faith and attained the goal of his desire by setting free the mosque of Aqsa. The second Crusades thus closed with successive setbacks for the Christian world.
The third Crusades began in the thirteenth century, which witnessed a series of Crusades. These wars were waged everywhere except in Palestine. By this time the Christians had become uncertain of their goal; they wandered from place to place, from Constantinople (1202-4) to Egypt (1218-21, 1249-50) and even to Tunis (1270) with little success. Only one Crusade of this period was successful in capturing the city of Constantinople and dividing the Byzantine Empire, for a time (1204-61), between the French and the Venetians. For a brief period it appeared that the Christians could hold themselves against the more aggressive attacks of the Moslems and as such for the time being Antioch and Tripole, and the few possessions left to the Latins on the coast of the old kingdom of Jerusalem, were spared.

But very soon a new and militant Mohammadanism arose with the Mameluke Sultans of Egypt, who seized the throne of Cairo in 1250. The greatest of these rulers, Baibars, defeated all his rivals and finally established himself in Damascus in 1260. He crushed and annexed the principality of Antioch in 1268, and his successor Kalaun conquered and annexed Tripole in 1286. His son and successor Khalil captured Acre, the last stronghold of the Latins on the Syrian coast in 1291. By the end of the thirteenth century Latin Christianity was entirely expelled from the main land of Asia and thus the dream of the Crusaders remained unfulfilled.

A few Christian kingdoms, however, survived in the islands of the Mediterranean. Cyprus, captured from the Greeks by Richard I, came under the Lusignar Kings, the
refuge of the Latin people of Palestine. Later, the knights Hospitallers occupied Rhodes in 1309 and retained it till 1523. While the feudal nobility established itself in Cyprus and Rhodes, the Venetians held Crete and a number of islands to the north, as the spoils of the Fourth Crusades. In this way Latin Christianity kept a hold in the eastern Mediterranean till the close of the Middle Ages and from these scattered bases it continued to wage wars against Islam. The Crusades, however, as a series of holy war against the Moslem power, were finally abandoned with the victory of the Ottoman Turks, who established the Moslem power with great supremacy in these regions.

Although the Crusades marked no permanent military success, these expeditions produced good results in many other ways. According to Henne-am-Rhyn, the whole development of the Middle Ages might be ascribed to the Crusades. Apart from opening channels of trade and commerce between the East and the West, these Crusades had also significant effects on the western world in the field of art, science, philosophy, and literature.

In his study of the effects of the Crusades on the Western culture Hans Prutz holds the view that these wars contributed considerably to the major factors leading to the development of Europe during the two centuries between 1100 to 1300 and provided causes which helped to produce the new Europe that emerged in the age of Renaissance, the age of discovery and the age of Reformation.

In the field of arts and letters, the influence of the Crusades was perhaps deeper and more pervasive. The West was initiated at once into a study of Oriental languages.
A renowned Catalan father, Raymon Lullus, first attempted to promote the development of Oriental studies as the instrument of pacific Crusades, in which the arms should be entirely spiritual. As such in 1276 he founded a college of friars for the study of Arabic at Maniar and in 1511, the Council of Vienna resolved on the creation of chairs of Oriental languages i.e. in Arabic and Tartar at Paris, Leuven and Salamanca.

Similarly, in the field of literature the Crusades provided a number of themes and subjects for the various western poets. William of Tyre not only wrote of daring deeds of the Latins, he also compiled a History of the Mohammedan Princes. and, though the work is now lost, the traces of this work still survive in William of Tripole's Tractatus de Statve Saracenerum (1273), a work that essentially shows the extent of the western author's understanding of the Arab world and attests to his insight into the genius and character of Islam.

Many of the episodes and events of the Crusades rapidly turned in the West into various legends and thereby became the sources of such works as Song of Roland, Chansondes Chelifs (1130), and the Chanson d'Antiocha (1180). The story of the Crusades, therefore, provided rich materials to ambitious writers for the composition of songs and romances. Tasso, who had a great desire to write a poem with a religious spirit, finally used the Saga of the Crusades in his Gerusalemme Liberata.

Thus the various themes and motive derived from the Crusades became a part of the romantic tradition of the Middle Ages. There was the theme of the knight imprisoned in Saracen land and his rescue by the Saracen princes whose
love he had won; there was the motif of the wife, who after long mourning has abandoned all hopes of her Crusader's return and is about to marry when he reappears alone or with a Saracen lady. These and various other romantic embroideries filled the imagination of the Middle Ages.

These Crusades also provided a good meeting ground for the exchange of the cultural elements between the East and the West, the latter chiefly derived various themes and legends which added to the Romance of the Medieval Europe. In fact, the very idea of Romance and the romantic fiction was a legacy of the East that the West came to learn through the Crusades. The war lords of Crusades who went to the various eastern lands on the cause of holy war brought something more than material goods. They discovered love as an art and also found various erotic refinements in the East. All these they introduced into the Western culture and thereby gave a new direction to the development of romances in the West.

A new tradition of the Romances started in the West chiefly under the impact of the Crusades, for during the two centuries of the Crusades "Oriental romances flowed into Europe, and found new dress in the nascent vernaculars." First of all, the Crusades fed the two great poetic themes for the Middle Ages, the 'matter' of Charlemagne and the Round Table. Charlemagne was made a Crusader, and sent on voyages to Constantinople and even Jerusalem; the poets of the Arthurian cycle learned to put something of a Crusading complexion on their story and as such the Morte -d-Arthur could not have been what it actually was
if the Crusades had not filled the Middle Ages. Apart from the various legends associated with Saladdin, and his followers; the themes of eastern knights, the oriental magic and the *Talisman*, and the story of the enchanted gardens of Armida, the niece of the wizard king of Damascus, fed richly the literary products of the poets and historians of this time. A great deal of history that the Crusades produced became attractive themes for many western poets. All these themes, stories, and legends filled with all kinds of oriental elements not only became the real materials of western romance but also continued to fill the western literature of the Renaissance as well as that of the following periods.

Prutz has further suggested that many of the Eastern tales including the Indian cycle of romances known as *Calila and Dimna* might have been carried by the Crusaders to Western Europe. With these fables and apalogues arriving from the East, the western *trouvères* incorporated oriental elements into their lays. These are later found in developed forms in the work of Boccaccio and other Italian novelists. All these elements finally added to the rich and complex tapestry of Renaissance Romances without which perhaps Renaissance would have lacked in something very vital and important. Commenting on the influence of the Crusades, Thatcher observes:

> The European, whose experiences had been very limited indeed, entered into a new world when he set out on a Crusade. The influence of the Crusades in this sphere can hardly be over-estimated. Without them the Renaissance could not have been what it was. 36

In many other respects the Crusades affected the two cultures of the East and the West. An investigation
into the development of languages during this times reveals, evidence of the many borrowed elements that added to the Arabic as well as western languages. Many are the words which flowed from the west to Arabic like Kastal (Castellum), burg (bungus) and shirs (grossus). But the borrowed Arabic words in Western language are far more abundant. Such words as caravan and Dragoman, Jar, and Syrup were derived from the Arabic during the Crusades. Besides these there are scores of Arabic words chiefly pertaining to the field of the war that the European languages like Spanish, French, and English derived from the East during this period. It is owing to the all pervasive effects of the Crusades on Europe that Professor Becker in his book, Cambridge Medieval History, has remarked:

The blessings of Culture which were given to the West by its temporary Islamic elements, are at least as important as the influence of the East during the time of the Crusades. 37

The Crusades also affected the Christian commonwealth of western Europe in many other aspects too. Not only did Europe find in the Crusades a new form of internal unity and a new influence on its own inner life, it also gained a new and vastly extended view of the world. This widening of the view, through exploration and through the growth of geographical knowledge by which it was accompanied, is one of the most significant results of the Crusades. The entire period became for the Europeans, an age of the discovery of Asia and the rich elements of the culture of the East and as such the most significant result of the Crusades was that they brought the West close to the East and opened various channels for an effective connection between the two worlds.

Another significant result of the Crusades was the
tremendous increase of trade; and commerce between the two worlds as a result of which all the new and rich materials and goods from the Orient were made available to enrich the European culture and add to the refinements of the life of the western people. Although the knights lost Palestine, the Italian merchants' fleet regained control of the Mediterranean not only from the Moslems but from the Byzantines as well. Ship owners became rich, the vaults of the bankers began to overflow, and thus the blueprint was drawn for the contemporary occidental civilization with luxurious goods, fresh ideas and new elements imported from the East.

In his comprehensive study of the various effects of the East on the West through Crusades, Will Durant thus summarizes:

New markets in the East developed Italian and Flemish industry, and promoted the growth of towns and middle classes. Better techniques of Banking were introduced from Byzantium and Islam, new forms of instruments and credits appeared, more money circulated, more ideas, more men. The Crusades began with an agricultural feudalism inspired by German barbarism crossed with religious sentiment; they ended with the rise of industry, and the expression of commerce in an economic revolution that heralded and financed the Renaissance.
V. TRADE AND COMMERCE BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST THROUGH SPAIN, SICILY AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

Among the many factors that served to bring the people of the distant places of the East and West closer to each other may certainly be included trade and commerce which played a vital role right from the very beginning in this respect. Even in the ancient time the people of Greece, Rome, and Byzantium could know of Chinese people and their art and crafts, of Indian metaphysics and astronomy, of Persian and Egyptian science of agriculture and organisation of labour through the people who carried on trade and commerce between the two parts of the world. With the increase of knowledge in the fields of geography, navigation and topography, trade and commerce were carried on more conveniently between several parts of the world, as a result of which these became important agents for the transmission of art and culture between different peoples and races of the world. For about eight hundred years, from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries, trade and commerce played a most significant role in the process of the cultural exchanges that took place between the Islamic civilization and Oriental culture on the one hand and the Western world and Occidental civilization on the other.

Islamic navigation had already reached a high standard by this time. First, it showed its supremacy in the Indian ocean which was at first for them the only field of great enterprise. About the middle of the tenth century, Mohammedan ships had already reached the Chinese town of Khanfu, now Canton. There was then a considerable Islamic Colony in that
town, which had become an emporium of the trade with China. Turning to the Maghrib, they sailed the Eastern coast of Africa and reached in the beginning of tenth century, the country of Sufala, known for its gold.

The idea of piercing the Isthmus of Suez is ascribed to some of the earlier Abbasid Caliphs although it was never realized. Islamic navigation in the Mediterranean had always been isolated from that of the Eastern Waters. As such trade in the Mediterranean was restricted to Mohammadan ports. But very soon Tunis became the new centre of the considerable traffic between north Africa and Spanish ports and all this while Moslem supremacy in the field of navigation remained unchallenged. One of the important navigators of the Moslem world of this time, Ibn Majid, was supposed to have made or discovered the use of the compass. Added to this the exact description of the African coast as mentioned in the works of Al-Idrisi and his predecessors Ibn Hawqal and Al-Barri made a rich contribution to the composition of those prototypes of modern cartography, the oldest portolano.

By the big waterways of Mesopotamia, the Persian Gulf was linked to Baghdad, the centre of the Islamic Empire. By this means the navigation of the ocean became the instrument of world trade. The great merchants of Baghdad obtained in this way the silk from China and the spices and aromatics from India, different kinds of wood, coconuts, muscat-nuts, and the tin of Kala. All these wares found their way from Islamic countries into Europe, which did not have any direct traffic with those countries. A part of this sea-trade did not enter the Persian Gulf, but brought the product to
Aden, and the Red-sea ports of Jedda and al-Qulzum, and from here the occidental part of the Islamic world was supplied with the necessary commodities that the people needed. By the same way came also the African products, such as ivory; these were shipped from Ethiopian sea port of Zaila, opposite Aden.

Besides navigation, Islam had also the great advantage of carrying out trade and traffic overland with the help of the ship of the desert. In the centuries when the Islamic Empire flourished, caravan traffic was the most common means of travelling and trading between the different Islamic countries, especially the pilgrim caravans to Mecca. The African overland trade was divided into an eastern and a western area, on both sides the chief import was gold. The Mohammadan merchants from Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia undertook several months' journey to the South and passed generally through Awdahesht, an oasis situated at fourteen days' journey to the north of Ghana.

The trade between the Islamic countries and Christian Europe was restricted and for some time the Jews almost exclusively carried goods and exchanged things between the two worlds. Although there was a state of mutual commercial isolation between the Christian and Mohammadan world, since the eighth century Moslem travellers and traders were to be found in Italian towns and Constantinople, and these early relations produced the germ of the lively commercial intercourse that began to develop in the eleventh century, to be interrupted only for a short while in the first period of the Crusades. After the barrier of former ages had broken down, trade itself subsequently became one of the strongest
factors in promoting the transmission of cultural values to the European peoples, who, aided by their rulers like Roger of Sicily were eagerly seeking to benefit by them.

Many were the ways by which commercial relations led to the establishment of a close co-operation between Moslems and Christians. Commenting on the transmission of cultural values and social elements from the East to the West through trade and commerce Kramers thus records:

The great riches of material culture which the Islamic world had gathered for nearly five centuries were poured down upon Europe. These riches consisted not only of Chinese, Indian, and African products, which the enterprising spirit of Islam had fetched from far distant lands, they were in the first place represented by what the Mahammadan countries themselves yielded of natural and industrial products.39

The general Islamic prosperity at this time led to the development of industrial skill, which raised the artistic value of the products to an unequalled height.

The names of the products of textile industry, now commonly in use, show which textiles were originally imported from Islamic countries; Muslin (from Mosal), damask (from Demascus), beldachin (from Baghdad), and other woven stuff which bear Arabic or Persian names, like gamza, cotton, satin, and others. All kinds of ornamental rugs were also imported from the eastern countries for the western people during the entire period of Middle Ages. "It is curious to note," says Kramers, "that the state robes of the medieval German Emperor bore Arabic inscriptions; they were ordered and executed probably in Sicily, where Islamic art and Industry continued for a long time after the Christian reconquest. Natural products, which, by their names reveal their original import
from Mohammadan countries are fruits like orange, lemon, and apricot, vegetables, such as spinach and artichokes, further, saffron and the now so important aniline." 40

As regards a very important material like paper it can be said that the fabrication of this Europe learnt from the Moslems in the twelfth century.

An analysis of the commercial vocabulary of the west would provide some tangible proofs of the fact that there was a time when Islamic trade and customs exercised a deep influence on the commercial development in Christian countries. The word 'traffic' itself probably was derived from the Arabic tafrique, which means distribution and such well known word as 'tariff' is from the Arabic word tarrif meaning announcement. Similarly, words like 'risk' 'tare', and 'calibre' may be traced to the same Arabic source. The every-day common word 'magazine' is still the common word for shop. Ibn Hauqal, one of the important geographers (C. 975) reports that he saw in Awdaghosht an I.O.U. (the Arabic word is sakh from which the modern word 'cheque' has been derived) for an amount addressed to a merchant in town of Sigilmasa in Southern Morocco. 41 The cheque system was thus introduced by the Arab traders, and the German and the Dutch words for the same thing, e.g. 'Wechsel' and 'Wissel' are equally Arabic. Finally a largely used word like 'douane' (from Arabic diwan) reminds us of the time when regular commercial intercourse had developed in different parts of the Mediterranean.

It is an established fact that this intercourse left a deep influence on the commercial organisation of the western nations. The treaties which they concluded
with Mohammadan ruler and the institution of consular representatives in eastern ports have been important stages in the development of rules that now-a-days govern international trade. Durant sums up, the influence the Islamic countries had on the western people in the field of trade and commerce as follows:

The influence of Islam upon Christendom was varied and immense. From Islam Christian Europe received foods, drinks, drugs medicaments, armor, heraldry, art motives and tastes, industrial and commercial articles and techniques, maritime codes and ways and often the words for these things -- orange, lemon, sugar, syrup, sherbet, julep, elixir, jar, azure, arabesque, matress, sofa, muslin, satin, fustian, bazar, caravan, check, tariff, traffic, douane, magazine, risk, sloop, barge, cable, admiral. The game of chess came to Europe from India via Islam, and picked up Persian terms on the way, 'Checkmate' is from the Persian 'Shah mat' -- the king is dead. Some of our musical instruments bear in their names evidence of their Semitic origin -- lute, rebeck, guitar, tambourine.

There are many reasons which led to the enhancement of trade and commerce between the East and West. But, whatever may be the reason, it is through trade and commerce that people, belonging to strange countries and remote lands, came to know each other. As such, people engaged in trade during the Middle Ages between the East and the West also became the agents who carried on a veritable exchange in the field of art, craft, and culture between these parts of the world.
NOTES


5. Ibid., p. 935.


12. Ibid., p. 298.


22 Ibid., pp.290-291.
25 Ibid., p.704.
29 Ibid., p.201.
32 Thatcher & Schwill, History of Europe, p.151.
34 Hans Frutz, Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge, Book v, Berlin, 1883, p.231.
35 W. Durant, The Age of Faith, p.611.
36 Thatcher and Schwill, Europe in the Middle Ages, p.161.
38 W. Durant, The Age of Faith, p.613.
40 Ibid., p.104.
41 Ibid., p.102.