CHAPTER II

SPAIN -- THE MELTING-POT OF THE EAST-WEST CULTURES

I. The Channels of Transmission between the East and the West

II. The Cultural Impact of the Moslem East on the Christendom of the West

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I. THE CHANNELS OF TRANSMISSION BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST

The East-West contact was made possible from the early eighth century to the fifteenth century in various ways. Apart from the Moslem conquest of Spain and the Southern part of the Mediterranean and the Moslem occupation of Sicily, the Crusades and the links provided by the travellers, pilgrims, soldiers, merchants and traders also became the chief channels by which the West received new knowledge, concepts, and various literary influences from the East and vice versa. The enlightened Moslem rulers and intellectuals played a significant role in awakening Europe from the cloistered life-pattern of the Middle Ages.

Medieval Europe was divided into almost two halves: the Latin and the Greek, which were hostile to each other. There did not exist much communication between these two. The Latin heritage except that of law was forgotten in the Greek East; the Greek heritage, except in Sicily, was forgotten in the West. Part of the Greek heritage remained beyond the walls of Christendom -- in Moslem Jerusalem, Alexandria, Caire, Tunis, Sicily, and Spain. As for the vast distant world of India, China and Japan, its rich literature, philosophy, and art, Christianity, before the thirteenth century, knew almost nothing.
The event which opened up communication between the scholars of Moslem Spain and those of England and France was the capture of Toledo by which, with its extraordinarily mixed population of Moslems, Jews, Mozarabic Spanish Christians, immigrants from Castile and Leon and ecclesiastics from France, the city became in the next two centuries a school of translation from Arabic into Latin. The wandering scholar from Oxford, Paris, or Salamanca would need, on arrival at Toledo, the help of some learned and accommodating Jewish Savant, who would have known where to find an Arabic Manuscript of Aristotle or works of one of the medical or musical writers of antiquity which the foreign scholar was seeking. Having arranged to borrow it, the wandering scholar and the Jewish interpreter would sit down for many months in an attic, while the one would laboriously turn the Arabic into Latin and the other laboriously take it down.

Initially, the Jews thus performed the role of linking the diverse cultures by their works of translation. In Europe during this time Arabian ideas were propagated by wandering scholars, whose writings have not survived. As more and more Jews migrated from Moslem realms into Christendom, and lost the knowledge of Arabic, their scholars found it desirable to translate Arabic works into the only language generally understood by the savants of the scattered race, Hebrew. Hence many Jewish scholars like Joseph Kimchi (c. 1105-1170), his son Samuel (1150-1232), and Samuel's son Moses ibn Tibbon made significant
translations from Arabic works such as Euclid's Elements, and Avicenna's smaller cannun, al-Razi's Anti-dotary. Similarly many Hebrew translations from the Arabic were rendered into Latin, and a Hebrew version of Avenzoar's Taysir, or Aid to Health was turned into Latin at Padua.

Aristotle and all his works were not known to Europe until the Arabs made them available to the western scholars. Bacon records that Boethius was the first author to make the West acquainted with Aristotle. His translation of the Categories and the De Interpretation together with his own logical treatises and commentaries formed practically the sum of Aristotelian knowledge in Europe down to about 1150. The West really knew no more of Plato than they knew of Aristotle by direct contact. The earliest but incomplete version of Metaphysics to reach Paris came in c. 1200 from Byzantium; a few years later another incomplete version of it translated from Arabic was available.

But by the beginning of thirteenth century the intelligentsia of the West in general and the enlightened clergymen as well as the Christian rulers in particular had realized that they could make progress only through the study of Oriental thought and literature of the East. It was then decided by the enlightened rulers to make provision for Oriental studies in some of the Christian Universities in the beginning of thirteenth century. Records of this time show how Christian students and others were being urged to go to eastern countries to
learn Oriental languages. One such record reads as follows:

For we have written at the last chapter that brothers who have made the decision to leave their own nation and cross to Barbarous nations and to sweat at learning letters and foreign tongue to spread the name of our lord Jesus Christ and his Glory should make known their intention to us... Our brothers of great authority and men of marvellous virtues who now among the Georgian in remotest parts of the Orient for eighteen years and more have lived a life of greater hardship reproach our miserable inertia by their letters filled with the ardour of charity and marvellous examples. In Spanish parts the friars who now for many years have studied Arabic among the Saracens, not only progress laudably in that language, but what is more laudable, their residence makes for salvation to the very Saracens.¹

Raymond too speaks of the importance of the Arabic studies in the following words:

What of good will the Greeks and Arabs have in their volumes that will not be known to thee, when thou shall understand their tongues without an interpreter? Who will estimate how great praise, how great honour to God, how great compassion of Charity towards poor sinners and how great good would result in and from their place.²

The West, therefore, turned to the East in an organised way to receive new knowledge, thoughts and philosophy. There began an unwearied search for books written by the Arabic or Eastern scholars. In this process of search Europe discovered the treasure of books from the East in Spain. Scholar, descended upon Toledo, Cordova, and Seville, and a flood of new learning crossed the Pyrenees to revolutionise the
intellectual life of the adolescent West. As Haskins records, "About 1200 A.D. Daniel of Morley brought to England from Spain a precious multitude of books".

By 1280 Aristotle had been completely transmitted to the Western mind through the Latin translations of the Arabic versions. These and various other original works in Arabic as well as the Arabic translations had a tremendous effect on the Western mind and the Christian outlook. The whole of Europe was almost charged, and the society felt great need of change under the impact of new thoughts and new philosophy. One of the great historians of the medieval civilization has correctly analysed the effects of Arabic Culture and has pointed out the far reaching consequences of these developments, in an objective manner:

The effects of all these translations upon Latin Europe were revolutionary. The influence of texts from Islam and Greek profoundly stirred the reawakening world of scholarship, compelled new developments in Grammar and philology, enlarged the curriculum of the schools and shared in the astonishing growth of universities in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. It was merely an incident that, through the inability of the translations to find Latin equivalents many Arabic words were now introduced into the languages of Europe. It was more important that algebra, the Zero and the decimal system enter the Christian West through these versions, that the theory and practice of medicine were powerfully advanced by the translation of the Greek, Latin, Arabic and Jewish masters and that the importation of the Greek and Arabic astronomy compelled an expansion of theology, and a reconception of deity prefacing the greater change that would follow Copernicus. The frequent references of Roger Bacon to Averroes, Avicenna and Al-Farabi give one measure of the new influence and stimulation...... and we shall see that Thomas Aquinas was led to write
his Summas to halt the threatened liquidation of Christian theology by Arabic interpretation of Aristotle. Islam had now repaid to Europe the learning that it had borrowed through Syria from Greece. And all that learning had aroused the great age of Arabic Science and Philosophy so now it would excite the European mind to enquiry and speculation, would force it to build the intellectual cathedral of scholastic philosophy, and would crack stone after stone of that majestic edifice to bring the collapse of the medieval system in the fourteenth century and the beginnings of modern philosophy in the ardor of the Renaissance.

But it was more than mere borrowings from the Greek. The Greeks and their works were discovered by the Arabs for the western world and these works were transmitted to the people of the West with a number of commentaries and a splash of eastern colour as a result of which the East left an ineffaceable mark on these thoughts. Besides these, the original Arabic works and the eastern concepts and philosophy that the people of the Middle East had acquired during the period of expansion in these regions were also handed over to the West through different forms and channels.

Commenting on the impact of the Arab influence in general including the influence of the Eastern elements, Mr. Irving points out:

It was from Spanish Arabs and their pupils like Roger Bacon, Michael Scott, William Ockham and Peter Abelard, that Europe received the spirit which has enabled man to dominate world and oblige it to its own ends.

For although the Arabs were deeply indebted to Aristotle and Aristotelian view of the Universe, they were also impregnated with Neo-Platonism which they had picked up from the Nestorian Christians. At this moment not only Greek philosophy was being translated
into Arabic, but also much of Sanskrit tables and Hindu Philosophy. It was at this time that Ibn-al-Muquffa, rendered the enlarged Fanchatantra that passed into the Arab world as Kailiah-wa-Dimmah and into the West as Bidpai’s Tables.

These various works soon became current in Spain, and in the 12th and 13th centuries Bishop Reymond of Toledo and Alfonso the wise would patronize their translation into Castilion. Calila-e-Digne was in fact one of the first prose movements in that rising Romances Tongue.

Thus these Universities did a lot in spreading these branches of knowledge in the whole of Europe, Hispano-Arabic medicine and philosophy would pass through the Treni schools at Montpellier, Narbonne, and perpignam, as well as directly by way of those scholars who did their graduate work in Cordova and Toledo. These transmitters were not all Frenchmen or Spaniards— but were also German, Jews, Scots and Englishman as well....

The new Universities would thus break up the medieval world of Western Europe which had really maintained the European man’s mind in a dogmatic strait - jacket, and release his part of energies and longings for the rebirth of humanistic Culture.

The debt of the West to the Arabs for the complete recovery of the Greek philosophy has been further recorded by Alfred Guillaume:

Thus it may be said that the West owned the recovery of Aristotelian philosophy to the Arabs in as much as the interest of European scholars in the works of Aristotle was first kindled by acquaintance with Arabian thought. It can hardly be doubted that Europeans took up the study of Aristotle because their zeal for philosophy had been quickened by contact with Arabian thought. Indeed, if the first effective influence was not Arabian how are we to explain the fact that for generations Aristotle was confounded with the teaching ascribed to Averroes? Averroes himself knew no Greek, being content to rely on the translation of his predecessors. His system, which was extremely popular among the Jews, had penetrated Christian thought so deeply as to become a menace to the doctrines of the Church, and to St. Thomas especially belongs the merit of separating Aristotle from his
Thus a century of translation into Arabic at Baghdad was followed by an epoch full of notable thinkers, as a result of which the entire Hellenistic thought system was assimilated, many changes were made in it and thereafter these were transmitted down to Western Europe through translations of Arabic works, and the Arabic versions of Greek, Syriac writings into Latin. Mr. W. Durant gives a vivid account of such translations:

The main stream whereby the riches of Islamic thought were poured into the Christian West was by translation from Arabic into Latin. About 1060 Constantine the African translated into Latin al-Razi's Liber Experimenterorum, the Arabic works of Isaac Judaens, and Hunein's Arabic version of Hippocrates' Aphorisms and Galen's Commentary. At Toledo, soon after its conquest from the Moors, the enlightened and tolerant Archbishop Raymond (c. 1130) organized a corps of translators under Dominicus Gundisalvi and commissioned them to translate Arabic works of science and philosophy. Most of the translators were Jews who knew Arabic, Hebrew and Spanish, sometimes also Latin. The busiest member of the group was a converted Jew Johan of Spain (or 'of Seville'), whose Arabic patronymic ibn Daud, (son of David) was remodelled by the schoolmen into Avendeoth. John translated a veritable library of Arabic and Jewish works by Avicenna, al-Ghazali, al-Farabi... and at-Khwarizmi; through this last work he introduced the Hindu-Arabic numerals to the West. Almost as influential was his rendering of a pseudo-Aristotelian book of philosophy and Occultism, the Secretum Secretorum, whose wide circulation is indicated by the survival of 200 manuscripts. Some of these translations were made directly from Arabic into Latin; some were made into Castilian and then translated into Latin by Gundisalvi. In this way the two scholars transformed Ibn Gabirol's Mekor Hayim into that 'Pons Vitæ', or Fountain of Life', which made Avicebron into one of the most famous philosophers in the Scholastic Ken.
From this account it is clear that Spain and other medieval centres of learning and intellectual activities like Constantinople, Baghdad, Cordova, Seville, and Granada played a very important historic role in the transmission of knowledge from the East to the West. "The first contact of the Latins with the philosophy of the Muslim was in Spain, as might be expected," says Mr. O'Leary. "At that time, that is to say, during the Middle Ages, we can rightly describe the Western parts of Europe as 'Latin', since Latin was used not only in the services of the Church but as a means of teaching and as a means of intercourse between the educated... In Spain this Latin culture was in contact with the Arabic culture of the Muslims. The transmission of Arabic culture material to Latin is especially associated with Raymond, who was Archbishop of Toledo from 1130 to 1150 A.D."

Raymond founded a college of translators at Toledo which he put in charge of archdeacon Domini Gondisalvi; he entrusted it with the duty of preparing Latin translations of the most important Arabic works on philosophy and Sciences. Although definite information regarding the circulation of translation at Toledo is not available, it is certain that about thirty years afterwards the whole text of Aristotle's Logical Organon was in use in Paris, and this could not have been possible so long as the Latin translations were limited to those which had been transmitted by Boethius, John Scotus and the fragments of Plato derived through St. Augustine.
But this material already in the possession of the West was the foundation of scholasticism and was developed as far as it could go. Boethius transmitted a Latin version of Porphyry's *Isagoge* and of the *Categories* and *Hermeneutics* of Aristotle while John Scottus translated the pseudo-Deonysius. The further developments of Latin scholasticism came in three stages; first, the introduction of rest of the text of Aristotle, as well as the scientific work of the whole logical canon, by translation from Arabic, then came translation from the Greek following the capture of Constantinople in 1204; and thirdly the introduction of the Arabic commentators.

The fact that Raymond Lull contributed a good deal to the process of transmission from the Arabic writers to European scholars cannot be easily brushed aside, for great was the influence of Arabic language and literature on him, which has been emphatically expressed by Guillaume:

Any one who considers that Lull was the founder of a School of Oriental studies; that he wrote and spoke Arabic; that the great aim of his life was to command the Christian faith to the Saracens on intellectual grounds; and that he is said to have met a martyr's death presenting to the Arabs of Tunis, will probably feel that to exclude direct Arabian influence from his life is to narrow unduly the range of his overflowing sympathies. He lived in an age (1235 - 1315) when the West was going back to the real source of its philosophy, and the extent to which he relied on the Muslims philosophers can only be determined by close study of none too decisive data. Certainly in the theological or rather devotional, sections of his writings he borrowed a great deal from Arabs. His treatise on the Hundred Names of God speaks for itself; while in Blanquerna he writes with manifest approval of the marabout or dervish system of exciting devotional and ecstatic states by rhythmical recitation of certain words.
That he felt the mood of the European scholars and quenched the thirst of the hungry scholars of Europe with the help of the translators of Arabic writings has been accepted by all. Actually the Christians who lived during the Arabian Renaissance felt no shame in learning from the Arabs, nor, to do them justice, did the Arabs display more than a legitimate pride in their intellectual pre-eminence.

Another great scholar produced by the School of Oriental Studies in Europe was Raymond Martin, a contemporary of St. Thomas, whose knowledge of Arabic authors has probably not been equalled in Europe until modern times. Not only was he familiar with the Quran and the collection of apostolic tradition in Islam, but he also quotes the principal theologians and philosophers of Islam from al-Farabi down to Averroes, with critical observations on the points of difference between them. It was Martin, who perceived the value of Algazel's *Tahafut al-falasifa*, or *Innocence of the Philosophers* which is a polemic against the philosophers and scholastic of Islam and incorporated a great deal of it into his *Pugio-Fidei*. Henceforward Algazel's arguments in favour of the Crato exnihilo, his proof that God's knowledge comprises particulars, and the dogma of the resurrection of the dead, were employed by Christians in many scholastic treatises. Raymond translated the treatise of Algazel's attack on the philosophers Ruina Sen *Principium Philosophorum*.
Algazel's mental and religious attitude appealed to Christian scholars from the moment his writings could be read, and they still repay careful study. Martin's Pugio is remarkable for the ease with which it moves in the world of Oriental letters. Algazel, Rasi (Al-Razi), and Averroes he cites in Latin, always giving the title of the book from which his quotation is drawn; they were very probably the 'commentaries' referred to in the Paris Decree of 1209, but we do not know who was responsible for their rendering into Latin, save that they almost certainly proceeded from the college of Toledo. One of the significant translators of the period was a German, Hermann, who was in Toledo in about 1256, after Frederick's death. He translated the abridgement of the Rhetoric made by Al-Farabi, Ibn Rushd's abridgement of the poetics, and other less known works of Aristotle.

Among other noted translators of the period was Adelard of Bath, who, having learnt Arabic in Antioch, Tarsus, and Toledo, made from an Arabic version the first Latin rendering of the work of Euclid, and introduced Moslem trigonometry to the West by translating the astronomical tables of Al-Khwarism. In 1141, Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, translated the Koran into Latin with the aid of three Christian scholars and an Arab. Moslem alchemy and chemistry entered the Latin world through a translation of the Arabic text by Robert of Chester in 1144. The greatest of translators among these was Gerard of Cremona, known as the father of Arabian in Europe. Arriving in Toledo about 1165,
he was impressed by the wealth of Arabic literature in science and philosophy and, having resolved to translate the best of it into Latin, he spent the remaining years of his life in this task. He rendered no less than seventy-one translations, and the West owed to him Latin versions of Arabic versions of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, *On the Heavens and the Earth*, and *On Generation and Corruption*, as well as the translations of the works of Alexander of Aphrodisias, Euclid, Apollonius of Perga and Galein — all through the Arabic versions. He also translated four volumes of Greco-Arabic *Physics*; eleven books of Arabic medicine; al-Farabi's *Work on the Syllogism*; three works by al-Kindi; and two by Isaac Israeli; fourteen works of Arabic mathematics and astronomy; three sets of astronomical table, and seven Arabic works on geomancy and astrology. Indeed no other man ever in history has done so much to enrich one culture with the help of another.

By the middle of the thirteenth century all the philosophical works of Ibn Rushd were translated into Latin except the commentary on the *Organon*, which came a little later, and the *Destruction of the Destruction*, which was not rendered into Latin until the Jew Galonymos did so in 1328. The first evidence of the general circulation of ideas taken from Averroes is associated with William of Auvergna, who was Bishop of Paris. In 1240 William published censors against certain opinions which he states to have been derived from the Arabic philosophers, but mentions Averroes as an orthodox
defender of truth; he further condemns the doctrine of the
unity of intellects, which most incorrectly he attributes
to Aristotle and also refers to Al-Farabi as maintaining
this heresy and throughout he cites Averroes as a founder
teacher who tends to correct these ideas.

When the friars began to take their places in the
Universities, we find them following a more liberal policy
towards the Arabic commentaries and works. The leader in
these new studies was the Franciscan Alexander Hales (d. 1245),
who was the first to make free use of Aristotle outside the
logical Organon. From this time onward the Franciscans began
to use the Arabic commentators. But the more accurate study
of Aristotle in medieval scholasticism begins with Albertus
Magnus (1206), the Dominican friar, who was really the first
person to perceive the importance of careful and critical
versions of the texts; he then introduced a strictly scientific
method. His studies were followed and developed by his pupil,
St. Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) who arranged his works on the lines
already indicated in Albertus' commentary on Aristotle's Poetics.

St. Thomas received his education before joining the
Dominican order in the University of Naples, which had been
founded by Frederick-II and was a centre of interest of Arabic
philosophy. This probably goes far to account for his more
accurate appreciation of their teaching. Incidentally, St. Thomas
was the first thinker to make free use of all the Arabic
commentators and shows that he is fully aware of their defects.
Undoubtedly, he regarded Averroes as the best exponent of Aristotelian text and the supreme master in logic, but heretical in his metaphysics and psychology. Of course, John Bacontorp (d.1346) the provincial friar of the English Carmalites and 'doctor' of the Carmalite order, tends to palliate the heretical tendencies of Averroes' teaching; he was called by his contemporaries "the prince of Averrosity", a title, which was apparently regarded as a compliment.

The absorption of Arab-Hellenic learning that had started in Spain in the eleventh century continued down to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in various parts of Europe in different forms and in different fields. In the thirteenth century more works of Avicenna were translated whereas in the fourteenth century the tide turned against Avicenna, and more and more works of Averroes were rendered into Latin under the spell of Averroism, which prevailed all over north-east Italy.

Meanwhile, European scholars developed a new interest in Islamic theology as they wanted to know this religion and the real values it held for the people. Many Christians came forward to translate the gospels of this religion with all its complex and complicated theological implications. The chief person who made pioneering work in this line was John of Segovia, who devoted himself to the study of Islamic Unity and achieved two important objectives in the course of five years only. He made a new translation of Koran and tried to make his friends
interested in his plans of solving the whole problem. After
John it was Nicholas of Cusa, who carried on his work. In
1460, he wrote one of his most typical productions, the
Cribratio Alchoran. In this analysis of the Koran, he carried
out in detail that plan of systematic literary, historical and
philological examination, which John of Segovia had desired.
Interest in the Islamic theology and the translation of Koran
into European languages paved the way for an easy assimilation
and transmission of Eastern culture and ideas into European
life and literature. As the Rev. G. Margoliouth has pointed out,
"Research has shown what European philosophers knew of Greek
philosophy; of mathematics, astronomy, and like sciences, for
several centuries before the Renaissance, was, roughly speaking,
all derived from Latin treatises ultimately based upon Arabic
originals, and it was the Koran which, though indirectly, gave
the first impetus to these studies among the Arab, and their
allies. Linguistic investigations, poetry and other branches
of literature, also made their appearance soon after or
simultaneously with the publication of the Koran; and the
literary move thus initiated has resulted in some of the finest
products of genius and learning."

The line of transmission in and after the fifteenth
century continued, although by the close of fifteenth century
the work of translations had virtually come to a logical
exhaustion. Mr. Grunebaum has very aptly summarised what the
Arabs have done for the West and what important contribution
has been made to the Western civilization through the various translations during this period:

Arabic Scholarship as transmitter of ancient thought has been a powerful inspiration for the West... In the fourteenth century the University of Paris admitted Aristotle only as explained in Averroes' Commentary. There is hardly an area of human experience where Islam has not enriched the Western tradition, foods and drinks, drugs and medicaments, armor and heraldry, industrial, commercial and maritime techniques, and again artistic tastes and motions... the very existence of Muslim world has done much to mould European history and European civilization... The greatest theologians and the poets of the Middle Ages are deeply indebted to Islam for inspiration as well as for materials.
II. THE CULTURAL IMPACT OF THE MOSLEM EAST ON THE CHRISTENDOM OF THE WEST

Commenting on the cultural importance of different civilizations, Prof. Bargh, in his book, *The Legacy of the Ancient World*, has made the following observation regarding the Islamic culture:

Its role throughout medieval and modern times has been that of an alien culture, which has influenced western society only indirectly by provoking combination of European peoples to resist its aggression.

Nothing can be further from truth and historical fact. As for modern times, history has yet to pronounce its judgement on the cultural impact of different civilizations, but as regards medieval times, Mr. Bargh expresses an extremely narrow view and has only one of the multiple episodes in the drama of the contact between Islamic civilization with that of the Christian world in mind, i.e., the Crusades. For none of the civilizations of the world has contributed to the development of the culture of a nation or people as Islam did for Europe in the medieval times. Of course, Islam too received a good deal of Western philosophical thoughts and concepts, western ideas of arts and letters that coloured much of its own civilization and culture.

No historian of the medieval world can deny the cultural impact the Islamic civilization had on Spain and Sicily and through Spain and Sicily on the whole of Europe in the Middle Ages. Recalling the distance that lay between Europe and these
regions in the Peninsula that developed a new culture during this time, Mr. Heer observes:

The waters between here and Acre are broad and deep. On the other side of the water, under burning Syrian Sun, the small Frankish crusading had achieved a remarkable co-existence with the Islamic World which endured for two centuries. The importance of this for the course of Europe's internal development has often been overlooked as has also the eight centuries' long existence of Moslem Jews and Christians in medieval Spain.

It is chiefly in Spain and Sicily that there sprang up, through the tolerant spirit of Islamic civilization, a new culture of courtly tradition. This was, however, not the sole outcome of Islamic influences; on the contrary, it was a synthesis of many elements in which Islam played a major role. "The tapestry of courtly civilization," further adds Heer, "was created from the interweaving of many different strands, Celtic, Moorish, Spanish and Oriental, together with material of magical archaic pre-Christian and anti-Christian origin." 14

Islamic culture has a universal character and this is what makes it acceptable to most of the people it comes in contact with. The most peculiar thing about Islamic culture is that while contributing to other civilizations it has at the same time absorbed into itself all that has been found suitable and beneficial to its own civilization. Hence, although bound together by a single faith, the Islamic civilization has a multiple character, which demands the most catholic outlook and universal attitude from Moslems in regard
to culture. This was recognised in Islam as early as the second half of the ninth century; one of the leading thinkers of the eclectic philosophical society, Ikhwan al-Safa, describes a perfect Moslem as follows: "The ideal and morally perfect man should be of East persian derivation, Arabic in faith, of Iraq education, a Hebrew in astuteness, a disciple of Christ in conduct, as pious as a Syrian monk, a Greek in the individual sciences, an Indian in the interpretation of all mysteries, but lastly and especially a Sufi in his whole spiritual life."15

This presents not only the universal character of Islamic civilization but also the synthetic and multiple nature of its art and culture. It is in this context that the Islamic culture of the medieval oriental world and the Muslim West became an integral part of the medieval world and finally came to a new re-awakening with Renaissance. H.S. Taylor too has correctly pointed out the contribution of the oriental civilization to the philosophical theological, metaphysical, and various other aspects of the medieval West leading to its re-awakening.16

Thus during the five centuries following the death of the Holy Prophet, his followers evolved a civilization much superior to anything which existed in Europe at that time. For this they were undoubtedly grateful to the civilization of Greece and Persia, and perhaps India as well, but they added something of their own to what they received from these sources. The Caliphs in their wisdom employed skilled officials, architects, and scholars of the Byzantine Empire. They were great patrons
of learning rather than creative genuses. They had well-ordered systems of government and good schemes of taxation. They restored the old Roman Roads and constructed many new ones so that their empire should be closely knit. An effective postal system was in operation among them; they made canals and aqueducts, and they developed a beautiful style of architecture characterised by the round arch, the dome, graceful minarets, and rich ornamentation. They founded great universities which excelled those of Christian Europe for several centuries. In philosophy, history, mathematics, science, poetry and, above all, in medicine the world owes an immense depth to the Arabs. "At a time," says Mr. J. S. Hoyland, "when Europe was lying in the darkness of barbarism forgetful of her ancient culture and civilization, the influence and teaching of the Arabs was of the greatest importance in maintaining liberal studies and finally in bringing about the revival of European learning. There were great Arab universities at Basra, Kufa, Baghdad, Carita and Cordova (Spain)." 17

Spain and Sicily, therefore, were the countries which became Islamic centres from where all kinds of knowledge were transmitted to the whole of Europe in the medieval world. Commenting on the conquests of these places by the Arabs, Alfred Guillaume observes:

The history of Sicily under the Normans who held the island from the end of the eleventh to the end of the twelfth century shows an extraordinary inter-mingling of Moslem and Christian culture. Spain was conquered save for the extreme north, and held by the Moslem from the eighth to fifteenth century by which time their territory had been reduced to a mere fragment of the country. They have left an indelible mark on the language and literature of the Peninsula. Here, as in the old Byzantine empire, the Arabs were at first welcomed as deliverers from the intolerable yoke of Churth
and State and thousands of the inhabitants accepted Islam. Such a hold had Arabic civilization gained that it was found necessary to translate the Bible and Liturgy into Arabic for the use of the Christian community. Scholars from the West visited Spain to learn philosophy, Mathematics, astronomy and medicine. The oldest European Universities owe an enormous debt to those scholars who returned from Spain bringing with them the knowledge they had gained at the Arab Universities of that country. 18

Moreover during this time Muslim culture was fast spreading as the Arabs had introduced in Spain the use of paper and books were more quickly and cheaply produced in Arabic than in Latin.

One of the most important aspects of the impact of Arab culture on the west was that of the Arabic language, which played a civilising role for converted Muslims comparable to that of Latin among the occidental Christians and to that of Greek among the Christians of the Orient, an even more extensive role — since it was their instructor not only in spiritual but in temporal matters.

Louis Massignon makes a correct assessment of the effective role of the Arabic language when he observes:

Through its grammar, its metric, its rhetoric, its stylistic principles, its philosophy of language, the Arabic language has exercised a dominating influence upon the native language of Islamic countries, whose characteristic mentality has little by little come to be expressed within the frame-work and the specific manner of the presentation of Arabic and therein lies perhaps the most pressing motive for the study of Arabic as an instrument of expression and comprehension of the mentality of the whole Muslim world, in terms of time and of space, a study not only of its literary accomplishments in terms of genres, disciplines, and authors but also of its methods of artistic realization. 19
The Spanish language came under the influence of the Arabic language from the beginning of the eighth century. In the early stages of Muslim rule Romance dialect was already in the process of formation from the Low Latin, which was once the spoken language of the Peninsula and was used by the Christian under Muslim rule, and in course of time by members of Muslims themselves. A considerable number of Arabic words made their way into the Romance dialect not so much through direct borrowing but on account of the fact that the Spanish dialects themselves were in an uncertain and fluid state while there were Arabic speaking people in the Peninsula. The borrowed Arabic words cover almost all aspects of life, although most of these are nouns, and they are names of objects and ideas which are useful in one's daily life. These words will run into a long list and are now a part of the modern Spanish language. Besides the pure Arabic words, there are also a large number of words of mixed Spanish Arabic origin, which still offer great delight to the really cultivated Spaniards. Above all, Arabic place names in Spain and Portugal are still numerous and reveal the extent to which the language affected the native Spanish language. Soon after the capture of Toledo these borrowed words as well as fresh Arabic words spread to the rest of Europe as a result of which many of these words were taken into other European languages according to the need and convenience of the native languages.

To enumerate a few instances of such borrowings mention may be made of words pertaining to the field of trade and commerce as bazar, dinar, tariff, and zechin, sea-faring, such as
Besides the language, the Arabic script with its artistic form exercised a dominating influence on art and craft of different peoples and countries. This was chiefly because the Arabic calligraphy maintained identical character throughout all the places where it found scope to spread. Commenting on the universal influence of its calligraphy, Massignon further observes:

There exists for the whole Muslim world common procedures of artistic figuration bearing witness, like the literature itself to these diverse orientations. The Arabic alphabet has conquered all of the Muslim countries, the Persians, the Hindus, the Malaya, the Turks, the Balken peoples, the Suahili, universalising a calligraphy which is nevertheless symptomatic of collective temperaments (races), a graphology which nevertheless reveals personal characters (individual) and both are based on the twenty eight Arabic letters. Arabic writing gives us common morphological and psychological base of appreciation for the whole range of Muslim nations.

With its new art of calligraphy the cultural heritage of Islam also influenced the Western art and craft. The European craftsman gradually became familiar with the semblance of Arabic script even if he could not read it. Early evidence of this knowledge and ignorance is offered by a gold coin struck by Offa, king of Mercia (757-96) now preserved in the British Museum. This coin shows the close imitation of the Arabic calligraphy done by the western people as early as the ninth century. The coin also illustrates the wide influence and
distribution of Muslim coins. From this time onward scraps of Arabic letterings often so crudely rendered as to be illegible, scribbles, and ornamental details derived from Muslim sources, became increasingly numerous in handicraft wrought in Christian Europe.

Although Islam as a religion was opposed to luxury and did not favour in the beginning luxurious living, it must not be forgotten that this religion originated chiefly in an urban society, and the Arabs had perfect ideas about good buildings, decorated walls, fine cities, and other aspects of an urban culture, which was permeated with elements introduced through commercial channels from neighbouring and distant lands. As the Arabs moved to the East and the North-West with the urban sense of culture they tried to create an artistic and majestic atmosphere in places where they settled down and became the rulers, such as in Byzantium. They also imitated the culture of these places.

One of the remarkable and unique features of Muslim architecture is the individuality of character it has retained in all places and all ages. This is because its inspiration comes primarily from the faith of Islam; it is in mosques, and religious buildings that we have the earliest expression of the main features of Arab architecture. The Mosque at Cordova in Spain, which started in 786, gives a fine idea of the early Moslem architecture. Its area was more than doubled in the tenth century. Its original Muslim design may still be seen by a careful study of its existing structure. It was a
congregational mosque with a very deep sanctuary containing eleven aisles separated by arcades, each with twenty columns.

Besides, the summer palace of Madinatul-Zahra, situated about three miles to the West of Cordova, was, as the poet al-Maqqari records, more like a dream palace of the thousand and one nights than a group of buildings. Modern excavators can find little evidence of the palace except the drains since the wonder palace was destroyed within fifty years of its completion. With new mosques, palaces, buildings and public gardens, the Arabs began to transform the old places of Spain like Cordova, Seville, and Toledo into most attractive cities of the mediterranean region.

Cordova in the tenth century was the most civilized city in Europe, the wonder and admiration of the world; its beauty charmed the travellers who found it containing 70 libraries and 900 public baths and other modern facilities. Most of the Christian rulers of Leon, Navarre or Barcelona turned to the Modern city for a surgeon or an architect, a dress maker or a singer. To Lane-poole, the great historian of Spanish Islam, "the city of Cordova was the bride of Andalusia, the city which under Abur Rehman III became the splendour of Europe and the seat of culture. There were great philosophers in the city; Averroes, the most significant among them, formed the chief link in the chain which connects the philosophy of the ancient Greece with that of medieval Europe."
From tenth century onwards the Muslim city states of Spain attracted the attention of the whole of Europe, and by the thirteenth century Spain had become the most developed land in Europe possessing such prominent buildings as Aleazar and Alhambra, noteworthy for their profuse but graceful decoration. In Granada the palace was known as "Alhambra", a place befitting paradise. The Moors behind the fertile plain tried to rival the heaven described in Koran and so established a grand city here. On a hill called Sabika Muslim artists and artisans created the splendour of the Alhambra, a marvel of marble columns, lace work arches, and stucco tracery. The well-known Islamic poet Ibn Zamrak gives an account of this place thus "Sabika is the crown on Granada's brow and the Alhambra is the central ruby of its crown."

As the Moslems gradually began to lose their hold on the Mediterranean, these states became more open to the Christians of the North, but their cultural influence spread as their political power declined. The expansion of Muslim culture to the north was still further encouraged by the emigration of the Mozarabes (would-be-Arabs) during the persecution which took place under the Berber dynasties of Almoravides and Almohades especially between 1090 and 1146. A mass emigration was followed by the declaration of Abd Al-Mumin calling for the expulsion of all Christians and Jews who refused to turn Muslims. These deported Mozarabes carried with them certain ways of building and style of dress, certain Muslim customs and expressions.
But the actual transmission of Muslim civilization as it existed in Spain took place all over the country by the Christian Conquests and by Jewish intermediary in the first half of the thirteenth century which brought a large number of Muslim workers, skilled men and craftsmen under Christian rule. These Muslim craftsmen who lived and worked for the new Christian rulers were known as Mudejar. Moreover the way to Muslim learning was thrown open to the whole of Europe by the capture of Toledo (1085); and with the fall of Cordova (1236) and Seville (1248), it spread rapidly.

All these various architectural forms and designs that developed in Cordova were carried to Toledo and Saragossa where they were beautifully exhibited in brick-work. The designs in the inside wall of the exquisite, Cristo dela luz at Toledo, with its blank arcading and rows of dummy arches leading nowhere are supposed to be the first features of Moslem architecture in the building. The next appearance of this design is to be seen in the Cathedrals of Durham (1093) and Norwich (1119). Decorative intersecting arcading became a favourite device with the Muslim workmen after they had submitted to the Christians.

The Mudejars, therefore, were the actual creators of the Spanish national style, perhaps the most characteristically Spanish contribution to the art of Europe, and their work is to be seen all over Spain. But this is chiefly to be seen in Toledo. "Later on" says J.B.Trend, "Mudejar workers were employed all over Spain for the decoration of churches and private houses, e.g., the fantastic courtyards of the Infantado place, at Guadalajara. They were particularly in request for the canopies of tombs and also
The Moorish minor arts and handicrafts as developed in the Islamic Spain were also carried to Europe by the Mudejars who excelled in such crafts as wood work, pottery and textiles. The Spanish coffered ceilings have no parallel in Europe. The various kinds of coloured tiles (azulejos), which are so familiar today in Spain and Portugal, are a legacy from Muslims, as the name implies, and in Seville and other places they are used for all purposes. Similarly, the highest level of Mudejar workmanship was reached in Hispano-Moresque lustre pottery, which, in the eyes of collectors, ranks only below Chinese porcelain. These were made chiefly in places like Toledo and Calatayud. It is significant to note that the Hispano-Moresque pottery was manufactured for Popes and Cardinals, and the greatest families of Spain and Portugal, Italy and France. Explaining the great demand for the artistic products of these Muslims, Cardinal Ximenz made an interesting remark, 'They lack our faith, but we lack their works'.

Among other Spanish-Moorish products are the eastern silks which were in great demand throughout the Christian west including the churches. At Canterbury Cathedral several of the little silk bags which held the seals of documents, dating from 1261 to 1366, were found to be made of pieces of ancient Spanish
silk, the patterns being unmistakable and unequalled for their intricacy and finesse of workmanship. The best surviving pieces probably date from the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries. With the fourteenth century new designs appeared with still more interlacings. These outlasted the Moslem dominion in Spain and are one more manifestation of the Mudejar art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Industrial arts of Spanish Moslems developed to such an extent in the medieval time that they captured the whole of European market from the very beginning. Cordova was so famous for its leather that it was known as 'Cordovan' or 'Cordowain' so that the 'Cordwainers Company', or at least the name, might be considered part of the legacy of the Arabs. In later years fine and characteristic work was done by Mudejar book binders. The Muslim Spanish goldsmith also achieved renown, and the workers in other metals took no less pains with such things as enamelled and inscribed sword-hilts, as with such everyday objects as iron keys, the designs of which often take the form of interlacing letters and words in the square Kufic script to which their shapes are admirably adapted.

Arabian music, which was influenced by Persian and Byzantine practice, also played an important role in the development of western music in the Middle Ages. From the works of Ibn' Abd Rabbihi al-Isfahami and al-Nuwain, it becomes clear that music accompanied the Arab from the cradle to the grave, from the lullaby to the elegy. Almost every Arab of substance in those days had his singing girl.
Right from the eighth century we had writers like al-Khalik (d. 791), Ibn Firnas (d. 888) and Ishaq al-Mausili (d. 850), who contributed to the theory of music and also systematised Arabian music. During this time many of the treatises of Greece on the theory of music and science of sound were translated into Arabic and at the same time important original works were written in Arabic by al-Kindi, al-Farabi, Avempace, Avicenna and others.

The two encyclopaedias on music by al-Farabi (d. 950) were translated into Latin by Johannes Hispalensis and Gerar of Cremona (d. 1187) as De Scientia and D Ortu Scientiarum. Avicenna was also known in Latin by his compendium of Aristotle's De anima, which was also translated by Johannes Hispalensis. Of special significance was the great commentary on Aristotle De anima by Averroes, which was translated into Latin by Michel Scott (d. 1232).

Extensive borrowings from Arab music were made by the European scholars at this time. The first instance of the transmission of Arab music may be found in Constantine the African (d. 1087), who introduced the theories on the influences of the planets and the curative effects of music in his De humana nature and De morborum cognition. Gundisalvas (1113-50) has given a section of music in his De Divisione philosophiae, much of which is verbal reproduction from al-Farabi's De Scientia and De Ortu Scientiarum. Roger Bacon (d. 1280) quotes al-Farabi in the section on music in the Opus tertium and also draws on Ibn Sina on the question of the therapeutic value of music.
Commenting on the influence of Eastern music on the West, Farmer observes:

The superior culture enjoyed by the Arabs was bound to be reflected in Western Europe. We know that the Spaniards were imitating Arabian models in rhyme and metre in the ninth century, and in the tenth century even the Jews were influenced. Obviously the music that accompanied the verse was also borrowed since the two were inseparable. We see both the Arabs and the Jews among the juglares of Christian Spain and in the twelfth century, when the courts of Barcelona became the rulers of Provence, the troubadour and his jongleur re-acted the parts of the Arab Amir and his mughanni.

There were numerous Muslim musicians at the courts of the medieval Kings of Castille and Aragon. Even in the present days a distinct likeness in the various rhythms and musical notes of the modern Morocco and Spain may be discerned. Many of the musical instruments were brought to Spain and thereafter to the whole of Europe by the Moslems; then names of these indicate their place of Origin: the lute, Arabic al-ud; guitar, Arabic gitara; and rebeck or ribble, Arabic, rabab. There were many other instruments which also indicate their Moslem origin as seen below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instruments</th>
<th>Spanish names</th>
<th>Arabic names</th>
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<tr>
<td>Tambowrine</td>
<td>Pandero</td>
<td>bandair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jingles</td>
<td>Sonajas</td>
<td>Sunaj, Pars, Sunj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bag-pipes</td>
<td>Jaita</td>
<td>al-ghaita</td>
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Anpbi (Spanish instrument) albogue al-bug.

Even the common literary word troubadour is derived from trobar, which is of Moslem origin based on the Arabic word tarraba (to sing or make music).

Most often the Spanish people are found expressing their appreciation of music when they are excited by the performance.
or the theme of the songs. At such moments they exclaim expressions which were actually made by the Spanish Arab as 'Ole!' 'Ole!' (Arabic Wallahi, by God) and 'Leli!' 'Leli!' which would be nothing else than a memory of the Moslem expression, 'my night!' 'my night!' Thus the legacy of Islam to eastern Europe in musical instruments and in instrumental music was of no less importance.

One of the important aspects of the cultural influence of the East on the West may be seen in the game of Chess, which is the direct descendant of an ancient Indian game, adopted by the Persians, handed on by them to the Muslim world, and finally borrowed from Islam by Christian Europe. The first European reference to this is found in the treatise written by Alphonso the wise in 1283, in which the miniature drawn by him depicts the Arabs playing this game. Firdaussi in his Shahnama says that this game Shatranj (from Sanskrit Chaturanja - four segments of an army) was introduced into Persian in the reign of Khura-I Anoshirwan and was brought together with Chessboard and men by Indian ambassadors. In most European languages the game is named after the King (Persian Shah; medieval Latin Scace, chessman); but the Spanish word ajedrez (formerly exedrez or acedrex) and the Portuguese Kadres are derived from the Arabic name for the game itself al-shatranj, borrowed from Persian and ultimately from Sanskrit; several of the terms still used in Chess are Persian, 'Checkmate' for instance (Shah mat), which does not necessarily signify that the king is dead, but that he is dishonoured or defeated. The castle or Rook is the Spanish rogue, and the Persian rukh, the dreaded, 'roc' encountered by Sindbad the Sailor. It has been, however, noted that this was in use among the Muslims, in Spain
for a Chariot and the idea of Chariot seems to explain at once the power of the Rook in modern Chess. The Bishop, again, is known as Elalfil (Arab al-fil, the elephant), the French fou, (when it refers to chess), being a corruption of the same word and in no way connected with the moves or powers of a dignitary of the church.

No wonder, Spain provides the earliest references to Chess in Europe. There are bequests of Chessman in the wills of two members of the family of the counts of Barcelona, dating from 1008 (or 1010) and 1017. This game, therefore, with all its eastern background and Islamic terms remains as one of the strongest evidences of the cultural impact of the East on the West.

Cultural exchange between the East and the West became all the more frequent and easy after the Muslim towns were reconquered by the Catholic powers, for the Muslim inhabitants who were dispossessed of their property quickly adjusted themselves to the new situation and also served the new Christian rulers in various fields. Maqqari has left a vivid description of this transfer of ownership:

The Christian occupying the part of the house where its late Muslim proprietor usually sat, reclining on his very couch, and clothed in his most valuable robes... his female slaves, with their hair tied, all standing by his bed-side, were ready to obey his will. 24

This seems to indicate the unique ability of the Spaniard to adapt himself to the Oriental way of life.

In this way while Spain was one clearing-house of Oriental
art and culture, Sicily became another, though in a more limited way. The Norman conquerors of Muslim Sicily were particularly amenable to the seduction of Oriental art and manner of living as a result of which almost all the Muslim skilled-workers were employed by the new Christian rulers; ample traces of this may be seen in Christian churches, palaces, monasteries in Burgos, Savagossa, Seville, Toledo and many other places.

For more than a thousand years Europe has looked upon Islamic art as a thing of wonder. Many of its rich products owe their preservation to medieval piety; quite a few have rested secure for ages in churches, where a casket that had served as a Caliph's jewel-case became the repository of sacred relics perhaps from Holy-lands wrapped in a scrap of splendid silk made out of a Muslim robe of honour. The awe with which such things were regarded can be seen on the strange figures and mysterious writings upon them, which were thought sometimes to be Talisman and characters in the tradition of Solemon. Such was the attitude with which the Christians of the West accepted and adopted the Oriental art and culture.

To sum up, the intercourse between Christians and Muslims began in times long prior to the Crusades. In Spain, Islam was firmly established upon the very frontiers of western Europe, and from the beginning exercised a profound influence upon the Christian culture. In Sicily the two religions occupied common grounds, while North Africa was wholly ruled by the Muslims, whose ships swept the Mediterranean from one end to the other. With the Crusades a new era opened, and the people of the west came personally in contact
with the magnificence ascribed to the saracens. After the fall of Muslim rule in the West, part of which remained under Muslim rule till the end of fifteenth century, the little tension or hostility which was there between the Christians and the Muslims immediately ceased, and the former were glad to accept the rich Oriental culture with all its art and workmanship. This impact became all the more conspicuous after the Italian merchants established direct traffic with Syrian ports, and the oriental trade was regularly organised for the European markets. In short, the accumulated artistic, architectural, and cultural debt of the oriental world to the West has not only been substantial but has also had a significant impact on both the cultural and literary aspects of the Western Renaissance.
III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY AND SPECULATIVE DOCTRINES AND THEIR CORRESPONDING EFFECT ON EUROPEAN THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY AND SPECULATIONS

Any study of the exchange of cultural ideas and elements between the East and the West would be incomprehensive without a thorough account of the impact of the former on the intellectual awakening of the latter. It is true that the people of the East in general and the Moslems in particular had a narrow and most orthodox form of theology; yet these people gave complete freedom to their speculative rationalistic thinkers in the field of philosophy. Not only did the Eastern people of the medieval age tolerate all schools of philosophical thoughts, but they also gave encouragement to the intellectual, and free-thinkers of their time. As such, the Moslem philosophers found much scope to discover all the classical and Greek philosophical thoughts as well as add to their own speculations and built up what is usually known as Moslem philosophy which they passed on to their European Moslem brothers through different channels.

At the outset the Moslems assimilated a good deal of philosophical and scientific elements from the Hellenistic civilization and having mastered these, they handed on these to Europe with their own commentaries, additions, and innovations. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the West was very receptive to the currents from the East, which took a new vigour, because of the greatly increased intercourse between the West and the Moslem East with mutual assimilation of views and habits at the borders where the Moslems and the Christian populations met and influenced each other.
The contribution of the East, therefore, to the intellectual awakening of the West cannot be denied. "It seems somewhat unfair to deny", suggests Alfred Guillaume, "to that civilization (Moslem) a right to the peculiar synthesis of philosophic thought which its doctors adopted as their own, and it would be a positive injustice to belittle the zeal and enthusiasm for learning for the sake of learning which animated large numbers of men throughout the vast Mohammadan Empire". Had the Arabs been barbarians like the Mongols, who stamped out the fire of learning in the East, perhaps there would not have been the proper development of new thoughts in Europe, and, as rightly suggested by Guillaume, "the Renaissance in Europe might well have been delayed more than one century."  

There was no definite direction in the intellectual movements in Europe in the early medieval age as has been correctly assessed by Guillaume:

The origin of the intellectual movements in the eleventh century is extremely obscure, and in the present state of our knowledge it would be safer to point out the vast importance of the role of Moslem savants in Spain in educating individuals rather than to the direct influence of their system of education on the Christian Universities of Europe. The latter are of course junior to the Oriental Universities, and the testimony of scholars in the Middle Ages abundantly justifies the thesis that Islamic learning provided them with much material for their studies.

In fact, intellectual movement in the Middle Ages began with a vigour and enthusiasm, hitherto unknown to Europe, only after it had come under the impact of the newly established universities in the East and new thought systems, that had been fully developed by this time. Until then scholastic thought had developed in the most narrow channel and was extremely limited in its general scope as
has been correctly pointed out by David Knowles:

Until the end of the twelfth century western thoughts had developed by natural stages and in a single direction. It had become active in the revival of the eleventh century by examining and debating the problems of logic that had long been potentially stimulated in its text books and the addition to its intellectual capital in the twelfth century had been, almost without exception, the logical treatise of Aristotle which amplified and clarified what had already been known and discussed. Save for isolated attempts, particularly at Chartes, to construct a metaphysic and a cosmology on Platonic lines, almost all princely philosophical thought had remained within the confines of logic, and the scattered translations from the Greek that had appeared in Sicily had had very little effects in changing the currents of thought...

What the sequel would have been had no external influence made itself felt cannot be known. In fact the whole course of medieval intellectual life was changed and enriched by the arrival of the whole Aristotelian corpus, accompanied by other works and lengthy commentaries which introduced the West to a whole world of Arabian Jewish thought that hitherto had remained almost entirely unknown.

Thus the Arab philosophers, thinkers and translators began to enrich the West with the thoughts and ideas which they received from the Greeks and other eastern people and which they developed with the help of cultural and intellectual doctrines of their own civilization. Knowles further says:

Besides acting as agents in the long process of translating Aristotelian thought from Syria and Persia through Egypt to Spain, the Arabian thinkers handed over a legacy of their own to the Latins. It has often been repeated that the Arabs were not creative thinkers, and it is true that they did not originate a totally new system of thought. It might nevertheless be claimed that the system of Aristotle underwent in their hands a change, similar, if not as thorough, to that experienced by Plato's system at the hands of the Neoplatonists or Aristotle himself in the thirteenth century in the hands of Thomas Aquinas. Certainly two or three of their most celebrated thinkers interpreted and extended the doctrine of
Aristotle to a significant degree, besides adding from other sources elements that were to prove hard to distangle. 29

A brief account of the source of the major Arabic philosophers and significant thinkers would reveal very well the achievements of these people during this period in this field. The earliest name of significance in the field is that of al-Kindi, who lived in Persia and died in Baghdad in 873. He treated at length the process of cognition described by Aristotle in his de Anima, a work which did not reach the West till the thirteenth century. Aristotle's most celebrated commentator in the Greek world, the Platonist Alexandar of Aphrodisins, had understood Active Intelligence to be a spiritual being distinct from the human soul and acting upon it. Al-Kindi took the idea a stage further and made of this active intelligence, a single, superhuman intelligence, which acting upon individual passive intelligences, gave birth to human thought. Thus an idea thrown out by a Greek, in the climate that too fostered the Platonian system, was taken up in Persia to become an abiding element in Arabian thought. Al-Kindi was almost an encyclopaedist, as he wrote as many as 263 works. It was he, not Descartes, who first held that the mathematical method was essential for philosophical enquiry. His principal work on optics was widely read both in the West and the East. Both Roger and Cardairus held him in high esteem, the latter for his assertion of the unity and universality of the world. According to him knowledge is conveyed either by the sense or by reason or by imagination which last is a meditating faculty that lies between the two.
The next name of note perhaps the most original mind of the Arabic race, was Al-Farabi, who lived and died (950) at Baghdad. He is notable as having made the epoch-making metaphysical between essence and existence, thereby providing a metaphysical basis for the distinction between a necessary and contingent being, and for the concept of universe created by, and not merely emanating from God, and thus causally depending on him. He made a fusion of Aristotle and Neo-Platonic philosophy very similar to that effected by Augustine and thus in his use of Aristotelian logic and his blend of Aristotelian and Neoplatonic metaphysics he showed the way to all those who came after him. In the Moslem world he is held as the second teacher of philosophy, the first being Aristotle. He was also the first to hold against Aristotle that the body contained in itself the principle of movement, an idea which brought him very close to the position of modern science. He emphasized the distinction between sense and existence, which played an important role in later eastern and western philosophy. Existence of a thing to him is nothing but the thing itself. "His treatises on The Soul and the Faculties of the Soul and on the Intelligence were well known to the Latins. Al-Kindi and al-Farabi handed on to their successors the problems of the intellectus agens." Moreover, al-Farabi was an enthusiastic exponent of the theory that the world had no beginning, a doctrine which was an offence to Islam and Christianity. His definition of time as the movement which holds things together deserves mention.

Al-Farabi was followed by the most celebrated of all the Arabians, ibn Sina known in the West as Avicenna (980-1037). He was indeed the most authoritative writer on the theory and practice
of medicine between the age of Galen and the Italian Renaissance; it was he who gave universal currency to the notion of a close connection between natural dispositions (the later humors) on the one hand, and the mingling of the four elements (earth, air, fire and water) on the other, with its consequence for health and medical treatment. In the history of thought his is one of the supreme names; in his influence on his successors, he was at least an epoch-making thinker who determined the course of much European thought. Not only was he the vehicle of transmission that conveyed the thought of Aristotle to the medieval world, but in several matters of logic and metaphysics he drew out the suggestion and implication of the philosopher in the sense that became classic among all later Aristotelians including St.Thomas. His universal mind covered the whole field of thought even more comprehensively than had that of Aristotle, from logic and philosophy to metaphysics and mysticism. He distinguished the three modes of existence of the universal or genera and also gave technical expression to the two Aristotlian perceptions of reality: the "first intention" (intentioprima), by which we perceive the individual thing as it exists outside our mind in return natura, and the "second imitation" by which we break the individual down in our minds into essence, accidents, existence, etc., and thus make it the object of scientific knowledge. Finally, it was Avicenna who noted that the essence of a thing could be regarded in three ways in themselves; as the proper object of metaphysics in our minds; as the proper object of logic; and in the individual things as the object of Science.

As a psychologist, Avicenna forestalled the early twentieth century hypothesis of brain localization and as an ethicist in
opposition to Aristotle he gave a higher place to moral than to intellectual virtues. This was based, not as in the case of Darwin, on the principle of struggle for existence leading to the survival of the fittest by adaptation to the environment, but on the principle of struggle for self-development with reference to an ideal. Everything in the world is imperfect and being imperfect it strives for its completion, for its perfection. This willing and striving for perfection is the secret of growth and is named Love. The perfection it aims at is called Beauty, the most perfect and the best. Matter serves the purpose of love and in its service of love, it takes different forms in an ascending scale; stones, plants, animals and man. At still higher stages of development it will take even more perfect forms of which we know nothing. If we ignore his terminology, this theory of Avicenna is an anticipation of a recent theory of emergent evolution with strong idealistic flavour, but in its close content this theory had a more direct impact on the European Renaissance thought, particularly on the literary products of some of the major English Renaissance writers.

His reputation as a philosopher and writer of medicine lasted in the West for many centuries, and most of his works were translated into Hebrew and Latin before the close of the twelfth century. Roger Bacon, the most important intellectual of Europe of the thirteenth century, gives a good account of the state of philosophical knowledge in his day and the contribution made by Avicenna during this period:

The greater part of Aristotle's philosophy failed to have any effect (in the West) either because manuscripts were hidden away and extremely rare, or because the subject matter was difficult or distasteful or because of the wars in the East, until after the time of Mohahmet when Avicenna and Averroes and the rest brought back Aristotle's philosophy into the light of comprehensive exposition. Although some logical and other works had been translated from the Greek by
Boethus, yet only from the time of Michael the Scot, who translated certain parts of Aristotle's books on Nature and Metaphysics with his own expositions, has the philosophy of Aristotle been highly prized by the Latins. Of the thousand books which contain his great and comprehensive wisdom only a mere modicum has been translated into Latin up to the present and less still is in general use among expositor, who completed philosophy as far as he could, composed a work on philosophy in three volumes. 31

Thus Roger Bacon, as this account reveals, was a great admirer of Avicenna and was well acquainted with his treatise 'Oriental philosophy' now lost. His classification of philosophical sciences was widely accepted in Europe in the Middle Ages and was preferred by the Scholastics of the thirteenth century to any other. The Jewish philosopher, Maimondes, was a great follower of Avicenna, and Albert the great, who was a contemporary of St.Thomas, and his disciple Ulrich of Strawbury were also influenced by him. St.Thomas himself followed Avicenna's views with regard to the nature of the Universal. "In about 1200 Alfred of Sareshel, an English man, translated a part of the section of Shifa and paraphrased it into Latin directly from Arabic and entitled it De Mineralibus." 32 Such was his influence on Christian Scholasticism in the West that Dante placed him between Hippocrates and Galen, and Scaliger held him to be Galen's equal in medicine and much his superior in philosophy. Spinoza's view that in God, the intellect, the intelligible and the intelligible are identical, and so are essence and existence, while in created beings, existence is an accident superadded to essence, has been traced by many to Avicenna through Maimonides.

Another man of the East who made a significant contribution to the realm of philosophy and theology, was Abd Allah ibn Masawa, a native of Cordova, who developed right from his childhood a love of
speculative theology and ascetic life and who became an enthusiastic student of Mutazilite doctrine. Ibn Masawa was the first to introduce into the West an intentionally ambiguous and obscure use of common words, and his example has been followed by most of the subsequent esoteric writers. It seems that Ibn Masawa was an enthusiastic advocate of the philosophy which was fathered on Empedocles; the latter was regarded among Moslems as the first of the seven great philosophers of Greece. The ideas which Ibn Masawa seems to have been the first to propagate in the West exercised an enormous influence in the succeeding centuries. The famous Jews Aviceborn (Ibn Gabirol) of Malega, Judah ha-Levi of Toledo, Moses Ibn Ezra of Granada, Joseph Ibn Saddiq of Cordoba, Samuel Ibn Tibbon, Shem Tob Ibn Falagira, all adopt the salient doctrines of the pseudo-Empedocles. It may be noted here that the Mu'tazila especially exercised a profound influence on Jewish thinkers. From Sa' adia ben Joseph al-Fagyumi (892-942) down to Joseph Albo (1380-1414), Jewish Philosophy concerned itself with the problems and arguments it inherited from the Arabs.

Abu Hamid Ibn Muhammad Al-Tusi Al-Ghazali (1058-1109), chiefly known as Algazel, was another philosopher whose work had a great influence in the West. He was a philosopher and a traditionalist scholar, and mystic too. He earned a name in Islam somewhat comparable to that of St. Thomas Aquinas in Christianity. He had to struggle a lot in order to come to discover and realize the truth. Finally, regaining the power of ordered thought, he set himself to study afresh the four 'ways' which claimed to lead to truth: (1) Scholastic theology (2) the Tai' limits (3) the Aristotelian philosophers and (4) the sufis or mystics who held that God could be mystically apprehended in ecstasy. He went
carefully through all these systems and finally emerged a mystic. Actually, Algazel set himself to study afresh the several systems of philosophy and theology and embodied his results in works which were translated into Latin. His books on logic, physics, and metaphysics became known through the translators of Toledo in the twelfth century and were firmly established among the Latins until Averroes and St. Thomas drove it into a backwater. Among Algazel's works was a treatise on the place of reason as applied to revolution and the theological dogmas. This work presents many parallels in its arguments and conclusions with the *Summa* of St. Thomas. Some of the important questions on which St. Thomas and Algazel agree are the value of human reason in explaining or demonstrating the truth about the divine things; the ideas of contingency and necessity as demonstrating the existence of God; the unity of God implied in this perfection; the possibility of the beatific vision; the divine knowledge and the divine simplicity; the names of God; miracles as a testimony to the truth of the prophet's utterances and the dogma of the resurrection from the dead.

Besides Algazel, there were some other Oriental philosophers and writers who made a considerable contribution to the system of Western theological and philosophical thoughts. Ibn Haythan, a great ophthalmologist, was the first to discover the psychological law that momentary impressions in succession give a continuous impression — a law the discovery of which in our own time has brought the Cinema into existence. Ibn Boggah, chiefly known in the Latin West as Avempace, made an open revolt against mysticism and held that man could reach the highest peaks of knowledge by the natural advance from sense-experience to thought. He believed in a spirit of humanity, a pan-psyche and regarded personal immortality...
possible in the case of some souls. His philosophy was well-known to the Latin Schoolman, especially to Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas.

Another equally important philosopher of the Moslem world, Abu Bekr Ibn Tofail (1107-1185), born at Madi Ash, the modern Gundix, about fifty miles from North-East of Granada, continued the ideas of Avempace and made a name as a scientist, poet, physician and philosopher. He is known today in the West for his masterpiece, Hayy Ibn Yaqzan (Alive, son of Vigilant), the most remarkable philosophical romance in medieval literature. In this work he shows that without the help of tradition and revelation man can attain to the knowledge of nature and through that to the knowledge of God. A well-constructed romance with a subtle allegory running all along the book, it offers a concise survey of Arabic philosophy and of its conflict or compromise with the demands of the Mohammadan theology. This allegorical work of Ibn Tufail, unique of its kind, had a great influence on some of the western philosophers and impressed the great Orientalist Edward Pocock Junior, who rendered the Arabic text into Latin, under the title Philosophers Antrodidoctus, at Oxford in 1671, and this later on had a lasting influence on some of the literary figures of the seventeenth century, chief of them being Defoe.

Finally, there appeared, in the sophisticated and highly civilized Moslem society in the south of Spain (Cordova) another great thinker and philosopher to rivall the fame of Avicenna, Abul Walid Ibn Rushd (1126-1198) generally known as Averroes. He became an eminent writer chiefly for his critical powers. These are shown in his great commentaries on Aristotle, which earned for him Dante's praise in The Divine Comedy. He is notable for his devotion to a
single, significant purpose, that of presenting Aristotle whole and pure to the world. The aim of Averroes was purifying Aristotle from Neoplatonism even at the cost of losing the religious elements in his system as currently presented.

Though he always wished to be regarded as an orthodox Muslim, he never attempted to subordinate reason to revelation or philosophy to faith, nor to attempt a reconciliation of their conflicting demands, but to state, if necessary recognize, these differences. He himself distinguished three classes of believers, the ordinary man who is satisfied by authoritative argument; the moderately educated man who is satisfied by persuasive arguments, and the rare and highly intellectual man, the philosopher, who needs absolute demonstration. This doctrine of Averroes, destined to find an echo at more than one subsequent moment of history has been variously explained and defended. It has been called by some as the doctrine of "the double truth." The thing that chiefly distinguishes Averroes from other philosophers is that "whereas in most Moslem and Christian philosophers Aristotle's doctrines were retailed to meet the needs of theology, in Averroes Mohammadan dogmas were reduced to a minimum in order to reconcile them with Aristotle's views. Hence Averroes had more influence in Christendom than in Islam."33 In fact, he has been correctly regarded as belonging to Europe and European thought rather than to East. In Italy his influence lived on into the Sixteenth century and gave rise to the famous disputes of Chilense and Pomponazzi. Averroism continued to be a living factor in European thought until the birth of modern experimental science. Latin has preserved more than one of Ibn Rushd's works which Arabic has lost. In the West at one time Averroism could claim the attention of the
What makes Averroes so great in the realm of Western thought is the way he assimilated, digested, and co-ordinated the various doctrines of the ancient and finally presented them to the people, particularly to the people of the West in the most acceptable form. In his concluding remarks on the importance of Averroes as a philosopher in the West, Mr. D. Knowles has observed that "all this great body of Ancient thought, Aristotelian, Neoplatonic, Arabian and Jewish, was to be decanted into western Europe and particularly into Paris and Oxford between 1190 and 1260. In the past the whole movement has too often been labelled 'the introduction of Aristotle.' The whole of Aristotle had indeed arrived, and this was in the long run the significant fact, but the manner of its arrival, and the vehicle by which it was conveyed, had a great share in determining the quality and the extent of its influence." 35

What made Averroes a great attractive thinker in the West is the fact that for centuries he stood as the representative of the thesis that philosophy is true and revealed religion is false and it is for this reason that Averroism became rapidly the ruling mode of thought in the whole of the West. Professor Hitti, one of the historians of Moslem philosophers, has made a significant observation on the transmission of knowledge from the East to the West and the role Averroes played in this transmission:

Though using in most instances a Latin translation of Hebrew rendition of an Arabic commentary upon an Arabic translation of a Syriac translation of a Greek original, the minds of the Christian schoolmen and scholars of medieval Europe were agitated by Ibn Roshd's Aristotle as by no other author. From the end of the twelfth to the end of the sixteenth century, Averroism remained the dominant school of
thought, and that, in spite of the Orthodox reaction it created first among Muslims in Spain, then among the Thalmaidists and finally among the Christian Clergy... His writings... after being purged of objectional matter by ecclesiastic authorities, became prescribed studies in the university of Paris and other institutions of higher learning. 

Thus by the sixteenth century Averroes's philosophy became, in the words of Renan, "almost the official philosophy of Italy in general." 

Over four centuries this remarkable man held sway over the intellect of Europe and laid the foundation of the Italian Renaissance. "Coulton compares his influence with that of Darwin in the modern time; but for the comparison to be true Darwinism has yet to live for three more centuries." The study of Averroes as a philosopher and the impact of Averroism particularly on the Western World present altogether a new chapter in the history and development of medieval thoughts leading to the ideas and values which finally paved the way for the advent of the Renaissance in Europe.

Meanwhile a significant, though limited, influence of mysticism on Islamic thought and philosophy and its subsequent impact on Western mysticism almost on the same line may be noted here. "Moslem mysticism had many roots; the asceticism of Hindu fakirs, the Gnosticism of Egypt and Syria, the Neoplatonist speculations of the later Greeks, and the present examples of ascetic Christian monks." It was, however, in the twelfth century that we had the beginnings of a vast organization of Muslim religious life, corresponding to the monastic orders in medieval Christendom. It was Ghazali, who devoted himself to the development of the study
of the 'consciousness of the beyond' and made an attempt to define or lay down his own experiences of Sufism. His study of philosophy and scholastic theology convinced him that no light was to be found there. Then he turned his attention to the mystic way revealed in the writings of Harith al-Muhasibi and the old master of the third century A.H., and as he read this, truth dawned upon him:

I saw plainly that what is most peculiar to them (the Sufis) cannot be learned from books, but can only be reached by immediate experience and ecstasy and inward transformation. 40

It was Ghazali's personal experience of this truth that inspired the great religious revival which his example and also his work *Ihya* brought about. The Sufis were definitely within the fold of Islam, for, according to Ghazali and the majority of Muslims after him, the revelations bestowed on the saints supplement those of the prophets as the source and basis of all real knowledge. Alghazali thus added strength and unity to a movement which had remained, hitherto, rather personal and mainly represented an intimate personal relation between God and the soul as opposed to that of a formal worship based on authority and tradition.

There also took place a very significant development in the field of Mathematics, Astronomy, Geography, Medicine, and various other subjects in science. It is generally held that the Arabs simply borrowed the knowledge of science and medicine and passed it on to the western world. This only presents a partial truth, for the Arabs contributed as much or perhaps more than what they received from the Greek philosophers of science. Besides, the knowledge found in Greek and Latin was in a state of total confusion and full of misleading and equivocal terms. The Arabs took the materials,
sifted them, put them under their respective categories, explained their nature and function, added various commentaries and thus presented these important branches of knowledge in developed forms. Although in the beginning they started with translations of Greek works in the fields of science; later on some of them became as great as the Greek masters on account of the original contributions they made to the science of medicine, astronomy, geography, and such other subjects. A fuller account of the achievements of the Arabs in these subjects will run into volumes. As it is not possible to record all these in a work of this nature, a few examples of some of these outstanding Arabs and their achievements will give an idea of their contributions to the world of Science in the medieval time.

Among the prominent scientists of the Muslim world who made original contributions is al-Kindi (d.c.873), the most frequently named scholar in physics. No less than 265 works are ascribed to him who was the first Arab Philosopher. Of these at least fifteen are on meteorology, several are on specific weight, on tides, optics, and notably on the reflection of light, and eight are on music. Unfortunately, the bulk of al-Kindi's scientific works is lost. His optics, preserved in a Latin translation, influenced Roger Bacon and other western men of science.

In the field of medicine the greatest writer is al-Razi, known to the Latin West as Rhazes (0-865-925), a Persian Muslim born at Rogy near modern Teheran. Rhazes was undoubtedly the greatest physician of the Islamic world and one of the great physicians of all time. His erudition was all-embracing, and his scientific output remarkable, amounting to more than 200 works, half of which are
medical. Among his various works, a few treat such separate diseases as stone in the bladder and the Kidneys, and other common diseases of the East. We have also his separate disease treatises on anatomy. The most celebrated of all the works of Rhazes is on Small-Pox and measles. It was at first translated into Latin and later into various languages including English, being printed some forty times between 1498 and 1866. It gave the first clear account of these two diseases that the West came to know of. The greatest medical work of Rhazes and perhaps the most extensive ever written by a medical man is his al-Hawiie, a 'comprehensive book' which includes all kinds of medical knowledge in their entirety. This work was translated into Latin under the auspices of Charles I of Anjou by the Seifion Jewish Physician Farag Tbn Salim of Girgenti, who completed the enormous task in 1279 and it was repeatedly printed from 1486 onwards.

Another prominent man of science from the East was Issac Judacus (855-955), whose works were among the first to be translated into Latin, the task being accomplished by Constantine the African about 1080. These exercised much influence on western medieval medicine and were still used in practice in the seventeenth century. Issac's most distinguished disciple was Tbn-al-Jazzar (d.1009), a Muslim, whose chief work, Provision for the Traveller, was early translated into Latin as the Viatium. Another important man is Jabir, who is regarded as the father of Arabic alchemy. The word alchemy is said to be derived from Arabic al-Kimiya from Egyptian Kam-it, the black. The chemical writings of Jabir were soon translated into Latin. The first such version The Book of The Composition of Alchemy was made by the Englishman Robert of Chester
The translation of The Book of the Seventy into Latin was one of the achievements of the famous Gerard of Cremona (d.1187). A work entitled the Sun of Perfection is ascribed to Jabir by the English-translator Richard Russelt (1678), who describes him as 'Geber, the Most Famous Arabian prince and Philosopher.

While the eastern Islamic world was gradually acquiring supremacy in medicine, Western Islam also developed this science. In Spain, during the glorious reigns of the Caliph Abd-al-Rahman III and al-Haqqam II of Cordova, Hasday Ben Shaprut (d.c.990), a Jew, was once a minister, court physician and patron of science. In his younger years he translated into Arabic, with the help of the Monk Nicholas, the splendid manuscript of the Materia Medica of Dioscurides, which had been sent as a diplomatic present from the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII. Later Ibn-Julyal, court physician and medical historian, corrected this version and wrote a commentary on it.

The Moslem known to the Latin world as Abucasis (d.c.A.D.1013) was likewise a court physician in Cordova. His name is associated with a great Medical Vademecum (Al-Tashrif) in thirty sections, the last of which deals with surgery, an art which had till then been neglected by Islamic authors. The surgical treatise of Abulcasis is based largely on the Sixth Book of Paul of Aegina, but has numerous additions. His works contained illustrations of instruments, which influenced other Arabic authors and especially helped to lay the foundation of Surgery in Europe.

Averroes also wrote some sixteen medical works one of which is well-known in its Latin translation. This is the General Rules
of Medicines (Kulli-yyat-Fit-Tibb) translated in 1255 by the Paduan Jew Bonacosa under the title of Colliget. It was several times printed in conjunction with Avenzoar's Theisir.

The great plague of the fourteenth century, the Black Death, furnished an occasion for Muslim physicians in Spain to free themselves from theological prejudice, which regarded plague as a divine punishment and to consider the epidemic as a contagion. The celebrated Arab Statesman, historian, and physician, Ibn-al-Khatib of Granada (1330-1374), described it in a famous treatise, on Plague. In this he describes it in detail and mentions it as a contagious disease. This was a very bold statement in those days of superstitions. This was followed by a book 'Plague' written by the Moorish Physician Ibn-Khatima (d.1369), who studied the disease as it ravaged Almiria in Spain in 1348-49. This treatise is far superior to all the numerous plague-tracts edited in Europe between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries.

Many scholars and men interested in these subjects came to Spain in order to learn the subjects and take them to Europe. The first man of science who came to Toledo was Adelard of Bath, an English mathematician and philosopher. On the other hand, a Spanish Jew converted to Christianity, Patrus Alfhonsi, went to England where he became physician to Henry I and spread the science of the Muslims there for the first time. Both scholars translated Arabic astronomical and mathematical works into Latin during the first half of the twelfth century. Many others followed their example. Gerard born in Cremona in Italy in 1114 came to Toledo to find Ptolemy's Almagest. He translated it into Latin in 1175. He soon became the most prominent and prolific of all the translators from Arabic,
being helped in his task by native Christian and a Jew. In the two decades before his death in 1187 he inspired nearly eighty translators. Some of them are of the greatest importance. By opening wide the doors of the treasure-house of Greek and Arabic learning he gave to his many followers the impulse to imitate his example. He is the real father of Arabism in Europe.

The process of translations went on well into the sixteenth century. Thus Andrea Alpago of Balluno in Italy (520) must be mentioned as a prominent translator of Avicenna's Canon, *Aphon*′*smi*, *De Anima* and minor works of Averroes and Johannes Sarapion, and Ibn-al-Qifti's *Biographical Lexicon*.

Commenting on the total effect of these Arabic works Max Meyerhof says:

In this way hundreds of translators from the Graeco-Arabic literature descended on the barren scientific soil of Europe. The effect was that of a fertilizing rain. In Salerno, under the influence of Constantine's versions, arose a generations of the prominent medieval teachers. Anatomy showed signs of revival. Better text books of surgery were produced. Gynaecology and obstetrics, hitherto the monopoly of midwives, became the subject of scientific study. Ophthalmology passed from the hands of wandering cataract-**c **a **t **e **r **s** to those of learned physicians.

The Arabs also made many inventions in the field of mathematics and astronomy and thus helped the development of these subjects to a great extent in the medieval time. Mr. Davies sums up the achievements as follows:

The scientific world owes a great deal to the Mohammadans. They probably invented the so-called Arabic numerals; Algebra is practically their creation; they developed trigonometry, optics and astronomy, they
invented the pendulum; and in medicine they made very remarkable progress. They studied physiology, and Hygiene, they performed some of the most difficult operations known; they knew how to use anaesthetics; and some of their methods of treating patients are still in use to-day. At a time when in Europe the practice of medicine was practically forbidden by the Church, when religious rites such as exercising imaginary devils were regarded as cures for diseases, and when quacks and charlatans abounded, the Mohammadans had a real science for medicine. 42

It is difficult to record here a full account of the Arabs as the transmitters of Greek knowledge and the inventors of the many important subjects in science. They actually discovered the light of hidden subjects of the Greek philosophers and scientists in the medieval age in Europe. They also added immensely to these subjects by their originality and inventions of new thoughts and scientific devices, which Meyerhof has expressed in a poetic manner:

Looking back we may say that Islamic medicine and science reflected the light of the Hellenic sun, when its day had fled, and that they shone like a moon, illuminating the darkest night of the European Middle Age; that some bright stars lent their own light; and the moon and stars alike faded at the dawn of a new day - the Renaissance. Since they had their share in the direction and introduction of that great movement, it may reasonably be claimed that they are with us yet. 43

The systems of thought and knowledge that the people of the East developed in fields of subjects like philosophy, theology, and the science of medicine had their corresponding effect on Europe during the medieval times.
IV. THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF MOORISH POETRY
700 - 1500 A.D.

Of all forms of literature, poetry was most popular among the Arab people. With the advent of Islam this form became all the more attractive and important as other forms like drama and fictional prose received little encouragement from religion. The Arabs by temperament are persons of strong feelings and their language demands the use of rhyme by the similarity of its inflectional endings. Indeed, most of their literary prose may be seen as a form of poetry. As the Moslems spread out to other parts of the world in early Middle Ages, poetry became a distinguishing feature of their culture. Will Durant correctly points out the importance of poetry among the Moslems:

To most Moslems literature was a recited poem or a narrative. Poems were written to be read aloud or sung; and everyone in Islam, from peasant to Caliph, heard them gladly. Nearly everyone, as in Samurai Japan, composed verse; in the educated classes it was a popular game for one person forming extempore lyrics or poetic epigrams. Poets rivalled one another in fashioning complex patterns of metre and rhyme; many rhymed the middle as well as the end of a line; a riot of rhyme scurried through Arab verse, and influenced the rise of rhyme in European poetry. 44

Poetry, therefore, as a distinct form of literature, and a fine medium for the expression of strong as well as tender feelings of the eastern people, developed rapidly and became an outstanding feature of oriental culture. Very soon the Arab poets came out of the limited range of religion and mystical poetry and began to compose chiefly secular poems on subjects like love, war, and beauty. With their fresh attitude towards love and women, the
poets now depicted the charms and sensuous aspects of beauty.

Mr. Durant aptly observes on the aspect of the Islamic poetry that seized the imagination of the European poets:

The poets of Islam thrilled with autointoxication in describing the charms of woman—her fragrant hair, jewel eyes, berry lips, and silver limbs. In the deserts and holy cities of Arabia the troubadour motifs took forms; poets and philosophers spoke of adab as, in one phase, the ethic and etiquette of love; this tradition would pass through Egypt and Africa to Sicily and Spain, and thence to Italy and Provence and hearts would break in rhyme and rhythm and many tongues. 45

Soon after the establishment of Moslem sovereignty in Spain and other parts of the Mediterranean area, the enlightened rulers set out to work for the diffusion of knowledge. In different cities of Spain about seventy libraries were open to the public; but Cordova, Granada, Seville, and Tolledo were prominent among the cities of the Peninsula for the magnificence of their libraries, colleges, academies, and schools. During this period, extending from the eighth century to the end of fifteenth century Islamic literature flourished and several schools in belle lettres and poetry emerged in various parts of the Peninsula.

The earliest instance of the various literary movements started by the Eastern people in Spain may be noticed in Moorish poetry. In the medieval Islamic countries the West (Spain and North Africa) was usually known by the term Maghrib, and the people of this part had always a feeling of inferiority to Eastern Islam. Even in the tenth century when Cordova was an excellent centre of learning and culture, Baghdad was considered as the symbol of Islamic elegance. As such the Moors in Spain always cherished the East as their ideal, for it lent constant incentive to their own artistic efforts. Hence, their achievements in the fields of art...
and literature at least equalled those of East Islam during the period, and among their major achievements was their poetry. Not only did they cultivate a keen sensibility, but they also added perfection to some of the Eastern poetic forms that they introduced to the West. James Kritzeck, one of the modern editors, correctly observes on this aspect:

The poetic forms were brought to perfection in the West, the muwashshah and the Zajal. Both forms were based on a refrain for chorus and so were undoubtedly meant to be sung. It is more than likely that these forms influenced Romance vernacular lyrics. 46

The earlier authors of the Moorish Romances, songs, and ballads are unknown. These were written probably after the Peninsula was conquered by the Muslims and the Moors. It was from this date (755 A.D.) that the Spanish Moors began to assume the Spanish character in language, manner, and chivalric enthusiasm which is represented in their ballads; the spirit of Christian Knighthood was seen blended with Arabian passion, impetuosity, and impulsiveness, and the Spanish language supplanted, even among Mohammedan poets, the Oriental idiom.

The pure Moors were all berbers under different local names; and although they belonged to one religion, they were not so highly civilized and cultured as their co-religionists, who came from Arabia and who peopled the coast of the Mediterranean. The earliest Moorish songs or ballads known as Romanceros Moriscos are simple and have a dramatic power in them of the most remarkable type. In these ballads the heroic Moor is set before us in most vivid colours. He is as brave as Mars and as comely as Adonis. He is almost always in love with some lady who is unkind and cold, and for his lady he wanders at times in dark array, expressing
his sombre mood in the device and motto which he paints upon his shield. Some of the ballads picture love in the most charming manner, and the dark tortures of jealousy are powerfully described in others. Simple expressions of love with sincerity of faith may be seen in some of the following Moorish Ballads rendered into English by E. Wilson:

i). Zarifa spoke to Fatima, "How has love marred thy face:
Once roses bloomed in either cheek, now lilies take their place;
And you, who would talk of love, now still and silent stay." 47

ii). 'O' love Zaida, he began and gazed into her face,
"If my presence at thy window is a burden to thy peace,
One pledge bestow upon me, one pledge of love, I pray,
And let me kiss thy lily hand before I sail away."
(Fatima's Love')

iii). 'O' darling Zaida, blest is he, midst thousands who can say
That on that bosom, in those arms he for one moment lay!"
('Admiral's Farewell')

Come, darling to thy Zaida's side, and yield to him thy love;
Thou knowest him, brave and good and kind, all other knight above."
('Zaida's Love')

One may notice the simple felicity and the pure oriental colour which dominate these early ballads. There are also the expressions of strong passions and heart-felt emotions that add a kind of freshness and originality to these songs. Some of the ancient ballads in Spain were chiefly noted for their musical qualities. Lockhart in his introduction to these ballads is of the opinion that these were "composed originally by a Moor or a Spaniard" (it is very difficult to determine by which of the two). They were sung in the village greens of Andalusia in either
language, but to the same tunes and listened to with equal pleasure by men, women and children — Mussalman and Christian. In these strains whatever other merits and demerits they possess, we are at least presented with a lively picture of the life of the Arab Spaniard. We see him as he was in reality:

Furte qual acero entre armas,
Y qual cora entre las damas

(like steel among weapons,
like Wax among women)

Some of these ballads may be found in The Cancionero de Romances, published at Antwerp in 1555, and afterwards often reprinted under the name of Romancero, which is regarded as the earliest collection that admitted nothing but ballads. The Romancero Historiado of Lucas Rodriguez appeared at Alcala in 1579, and the collection of Lorenzo de Sepulvade, at Antwerp in 1566. The ballads of Cid were published in a collected form in 1615 by Escobar. The first Cancionero, that of Ferdinand de Castillo, was published as early as 1510.

The following are some of the ancient Spanish ballads which present the Moorish elements and Moorish attitude towards life. The following Stanza, quoted from a ballad entitled Juliana, seems to present the frenzy of a Spanish knight who has gone mad in consequence of his mistress having been carried off in the course of a Moorish foray:

Fair Juliana heard his voice where by the Moor she lay
Even in the Moor's encircling arms she heard what he did say;
The lady listened and she wept within that guarded place,
While her Moor-Lord beside her slept, the tears fell on his face.

Another ballad entitled Serenade expresses in an artistic
way the simple feeling of love for his mistress; but the third stanza of the song particularly brings out the soft and sweet thoughts of the lover for his lady:

All the stars are glowing
In the gorgeous sky,

In the stream scarce flowing
Mimic lustres lie -

Blow, gentle, gentle breeze,
But bring no cloud to hide

Their dear resplendencys
Nor chase from Zara's side

Dreams bright and pure as these.

Besides these ancient songs written during the early period of the reign of Moslems in Spain, there were many popular songs of writers, who recited in the streets at castles, counters, and at marriages and festivals to make the people and the king happy. They also used to re-cite war songs to spur on the soldiers and generals.

Very soon literature in general and poetry in particular came to flourish in the whole country. This was chiefly because the Spanish royalty always liked to cultivate the muse. As such there emerged great poets like Muatammod Ibn Abbad, Sultan of Seville, Ali Ibn Abd Algany of Cordova, who was patronized by Muatammod, and Valada or Valadata, the daughter of Almuastakfi, the Khalif of Spain, who is considered as the Arabian Sappho. Endowed with equal beauty and genius, she devoted herself entirely to the study of rhetoric and poetry and cultivated the friendship of the most eminent poets of her time in whose conversation she took great delight. Her poetic compositions are characterized by wit and ingenuity as will appear from the
following verses, addressed by her, impromptu, to some young men who had pretended a passion for her and her companions:

"When you told us our glances, soft, timid and mild,
Could occasion such wounds in the heart
Can ye wonder that years, so ungoverned and wild,
Some wounds to our cheeks should impart?

The wounds on our cheeks are but transient,
With blues they appear and decay:
But those on the heart, fickle youths, ye have shown
To be even more transient than they." 51

Another well-known literary figure of this period was Aysha, the daughter of Prince Ahmad of Cordova, who was pre-eminently distinguished for her genius, learning, and poetic talents. Her orations and poems were very frequently read in the Royal Academy at Cordova to the accompaniment of great applause. She died in 977 A.D. Another woman of literary importance was Labanas also a native of Cordova. She had much merit as a poetess and was also well-versed in philosophy and arithmetic and held an office not often enjoyed by women, that of private secretary to the Caliph Alhakam. Sofia was another poetess of Seville who in addition to distinguished oratical and poetical talents excelled all others in calligraphic art, her penmanship was the subject of admiration. Indeed, she set an example to be copied by the most skilful scribes. Among many other women artists were Algasaina of Seville, who was singularly gifted with poetical and oratorical powers, and Maria, the daughter of Abu Yakub Al Farsuli, who, for her outstanding poetic talent, has been called the Arabian Corinna.

The number of poets and poetesses was so great that Abul Abbas, son of the Khalifa Mastassin, wrote an abridgement of their lives in which he mentioned one hundred and thirty one
poets and gave specimens of their productions. Casiri has further recorded the fragment of work, entitled "The Theatre of the Poets" which originally consisted of twentyfour volumes. "In the library of the Escurial", says an important author of the Mohammadan Empire in Spain, "there are numerous collections of poems, termed as Sivans or Academical prolusions, from the circumstances of their having been honoured with a recital in the colleges and academics; they consist of idylls, elegies, epigrams, odes, satires, and almost every other genre of poetry, which we have received from the Greeks and the Romans." 52

A good account of Moorish or Arabic poetry written during the Moslem rule in Spain may be had from The Penants, an anthology compiled in 1243 by a Spanish Moslem. The author of this anthology, the full Arabic title of which means "The Penants of the Champions and the Standard of the Distinguished" was a certain Ibn Said al-Andalusia, a native of Alcala ' la Real in Southern Spain, today a town of some 30,000 inhabitants lying in mountainous country to the north-west of Granada, almost midway between that city and Jaen. He was educated at Seville and later travelled widely in the Middle-East countries and died at Damascus in 1274. He wrote a considerable number of books, the most celebrated being a history of Western Islam. This anthology was edited with an introduction by Professor Emilic Garcia Gamez of Madrid in 1942. This has also been translated into English by A.J. Arberry.

In this anthology, planned geographically and also according to the positions and ranks of the poets, the author has drawn for us a singularly intimate picture of what a cultured
Moor of the thirteenth century considered to be good poetry. Featured in this picture are some of the most famous writers in Arabic literature as well as many quite obscure poets. It seems doubtful whether more than a small handful of poems have been cited in their entirety; most of the quotations are brief extracts, in some instances single stanza, from what were originally long compositions.

In these poems one may note that besides refining and revitalising familiar and well-known images, the poets of this period also tried to prove their originality and wit by describing scenes and sensations which had never been treated before. This was not a new impulse of the Arab genius, for the old desert poets too had been pleased to observe and record whatever took their fancy in witty style. A poem like "Inverted Eyelids" by Ibn Haiyum, a twelfth century poet, may be examined in this context:

Is a welling fountain hid
In your eye's inverted lid,
That your tears overflowing it
Run cascading through the slit?

It is curved (think I) as if
On the billows rode a skiff
And the breeze has made it heel
Over almost to the keel.

And the man, its mariner
(so to the pupil, we refer)
Fearing he may drown, no doubt,
Bales the brackish waters out.

It may be noted here that tears were often compared to the hackneyed image of flooding ocean. The poet uses this and also uses the familiar convention of calling the 'Pupil' 'the man' of the eye. Looking at a man suffering from this affliction, he suddenly notices that the exposed membranes of the eye are shaped like a curved skiff. The poet almost
makes a discovery, and to establish it, constructs this little poem of most curious and exquisit charm. One may note too the delight with which the poet has added one arresting image to another, to paint a novel, humorous, and at the same time, a strangely beautiful picture. The poet achieves a blending of the serious and the ironical, the emotion and the wit and thereby adds a style, a mode, that is characteristic of the eastern poet's style.

This had a far-reaching influence on the entire western poetic style. Further, this kind of subtle poetic style and the characteristic blending of passion and intellect infiltrated into the more important group of the troubadour poets and finally reached the metaphysical poets of English through various channels and mediums. This has been dealt with in detail in Chapter IX, III.

"These," says the author in his translation of these poets, "were the songs the Arabs sang, in their gorgeous palaces adorning the western provinces of their empire in times, when Europe brooded in the important silence of the Dark ages." Although the anthology which Ibn Said has compiled gives only a minute fraction of the enormous output of those Arabs in Spain and North Africa, it does give an idea of the general taste and culture of the Eastern civilization in Spain.

Another well-known poet of the period was al-Mu-tamid, who was the King of Seville from 1091 and was thus an exact contemporary of William the conqueror. A man devoted to culture and poetry, al-Mu-tamid wrote poems which showed the features of the Arabic poetry of the Eastern countries. His amazing life is told by Dozy, according to whom Seville became a city noted for
music, poetry, and festivals in which it seems the whole population took part. His best poems were written in his prison at Agmat, near Marrakesh, where loaded with fetters, he spent the last years of his life. The calamities of his life gave him the necessary incentive for writing poetry with sincerity and strong feelings.

Al-Mu'tamid's poetry also went a long way in influencing the Spanish poetry and literature. In some of his poems he has used images which are striking for their novelty as well as exquisite beauty. The following poem is particularly to be noted for its exquisite design and striking images:

**NIGHT BY THE RIVER**

Sweet night of joyous merriment
Beside the swerving stream I spent,
Beside the maid about whose wrist,
So sweetly swerved her bracelet's twist:

She loosed her robe, that I might see
Her body, lissom as a tree:
The calyx opened in that hour
And oh, the beauty of my flower!

In this poem he takes as his theme a beautiful mistress whose attraction he depicts through an image; she is compared with the bough of a tree, a species of *merinja* of which the lexicographer remarks that it "grows tall, in a straight or erect manner, its wood having no hardness." On account of the straightness of its growth and of the growth of its branches, the poet likens it to the tender girl of tall and beautiful stature. The poet develops the image and gives it a new charm by picturing the concubine's naked charms as a flower on the tree, now first revealed and enjoyed with the opening of its calyx, which symbolises her soft clinging gown as it is loosened for him.
The scene is enacted on the banks of a winding river. Al-Mu-tamid observes that his mistress is wearing a twisting bracelet and he further refines the stock image by showing both elements of the comparison together, the river itself and the gleaming wrist adorned with the bracelet. Besides the use of striking images, one may also note the real, vivid oriental love set against the realistic background of nature. It actually reveals the Moorish love of real, robust living without any tinge of idealisation.

Similarly, there was another popular poet known as Habib, who was the vizier of Seville in the early part of the eleventh century and was regarded as the most important writer of Moslem Spain. He wrote a significant book "On the Excellence of Spring Time", which has survived the ravages of time and has been published by Professor Henry Peres in 1940. Habib adds a new charm to the use of old conventional images in his poetry as may be noticed in the following poem entitled "The Wine-Bearer."

And when you passed, for all to seek
The wine-cup of your blushing cheek
Assuredly I was not slow
To quaff that wine aglow

The tender grape is pressed below
Man's feet, to loose its precious flow;
The wine that in your soft cheek lies
Is quickened by men's eyes.

In this poem we have a familiar comparison of the wine glowing red and saki's blushing cheeks. Habib gives the image freshness with a pleasing turn of wit; he observes that the shy, young saki blushes before the admiring gaze of the amorous drinkers and logically concludes that it is their eyes which have provoked her to blush turning her cheeks wine red, whereas the wine in
her flask is the product of man's feet pressing the grapes.
Once more one may note here the blending of wit and emotion,
a characteristic feature of Eastern Arabic poetry.

In Abul Hassan of Seville, another poet of the eleventh century, we note a clever comparison of the wine and the saki in such lines as:

Golden glow
See, his slender fingers shine
In the sun-light of the wine,
As the wild narcissus tips
With its gold the oxen's lips.

Here the poet pictures the reflection of golden wine on the saki's fingers as resembling the saffron of wild narcissus, which colours the lips of the browsing cattle. The images drawn from the world of nature and animal lend beauty as well as freshness to the poem.

The image of eye has played a very important and significant role in the poetry of the East. The 'eye' has been not only a messenger between the poet and his love, but also the index of the character, mood, and the feelings of love. Almost all the eastern poets have used this image in different ways in their poetry. The image has acquired all the more significance in Spanish poetry, which has, as will be seen later on in a separate chapter, influenced most of the European poets. Ibn Iyod, a reputed poet born in Cordova in the twelfth century, has dwelt on the eye image:

The Glance
Her glance denied to me
It acted vengefully:
Was ever bright sword seen
Without its edge keen?

And so when I descried
How she contrived to hide
And strict seclusion kept
Behind the tears I wept,
I flouted to my love
My river and my dove -
The first, my weeping eyes,
The second, my sad sighs.

The eye, which serves as a messenger conveying the refusal of love, has been compared to the bright edge of the sword - a characteristic feature of Spanish poetry that reminds one of its connection with the eastern poetry of the Arabs in the past and its impact on the Western poetry in the future to come.

Another outstanding characteristic of the poetry of the East is a blend of the serious and the ironical, the fusion of the profane and the religious. This feature has also been successfully inherited by the Spanish poets of the Middle Ages as may be noticed in a poem entitled "Unexpected Fortune", composed by Abul Qasim, a poet born in Silves in the twelfth century:

I met thee once I loved
(By she my sickness proved)
And ventured to exclaim
A greeting in her name.

She who so scornfully
Till then had turned from me
Most generously now
Rained Kisses on my brow.

So Moses in his days
Beheld a bush ablaze,
He heard the voice of God.

Obviously, the poet here uses the story of Moses going for fire and finding God at Mount Sinai; but he uses this in a different context as a result of which he achieves a striking blending of the serious and the profane with a touch of irony.

These and many other poems give a good account of the poets of the Moslem Spain, which made a significant achievement
in the field of literature as in many other fields.

The period up to the end of the Umayyad dynasty may be regarded as the golden age of Andalusian poetry. This period of literary activities, particularly in the realm of poetry, was extended further; for the decay of the Umayyad dynasty (C. 1020) and disintegration of Moslem Spain into a number of petty kingdoms seemed only to increase the literary and poetic activities of the age with their establishment of a dozen courts instead of one. Of the many poets of the eleventh century the two best known are al-Mu-tamid (1040-95), the last native ruler of Seville, and Ibn Zaidun of Cordova (1037-71), who ranks generally as the greatest of the Spanish poets, both in his early love songs and in the poetical epistles of his later life. He was also known as the great lover of the Umayyad princess Wallada, who was herself a well-known poetess. The following poem of Zaidun known as "Two Fragments" gives an idea of his beautiful imagery and felicity of expression:

The world is strange
For lack of you;
Times change their common hue-
The day is black, but very night
With you was shining white.

II

Two secrets in the heart of night
We were until the light
Of busy-body day
Gave both of us away.

Although the poem deals with a common and conventional theme, it creates a subtle art of poetic expression, which adds a kind of freshness and originality to his poetry. To Brenan, Ibn Zaidun was "a Poet of classical tendencies, especially famous for love affairs with Princess Wallada. This lady was
a daughter of the last Omayyad Caliph, who on the death of her father had left the palace harem and set up a salon for poets. She seems to have been an exacting character, and the stormy life of her lover after she had quarreled with him and the plaintive verses he continued to send her recall the biographies of the Provencal Troubadours. His "qasida en nun", addressed to her from prison, is the most famous of Spanish Arab poems." 54

The most significant poet of the golden age of Spanish literature was Ibn Hazm (994-1063). He led an agitated life throughout, for his youth was given to love and politics, and his middle age to religious controversies. His most interesting book is a treatise on love, interspersed with poems, which shows a psychological curiosity into the working of the heart that recalls Standhal's *Del' Amour*. Among the various aspects it discusses are the different ways of falling in love all on through the means of a book, a description, or a dream; the predicament of those who are caught by exterior beauty only to find that there is nothing in the mind to match it; the curious penchant some people have for falling in love with deformities, the timidity produced by love -- how, for example, some men have been known to kill themselves because they did not dare to declare their passion and other "martyrs of love;" and such general matters as jealousy, correspondence by letters, glances and signals and the various means of procuring secrecy. The resemblance of all this to the provencal cult of love in the following century is obvious.

This book on love had a far-reaching influence on the
Provencal poets in particular and on the shaping and development of love poetry in Europe in general. (A detailed analysis in the subsequent chapter will bring out the importance of this treatise on love). Besides this, in the middle of his life, Ibn Hazm wrote a comparative history of religion, showing much erudition in his chapters on the Bible and considerable skill in textual criticism. There is thus a good deal of the modern intellectual about him. Particularly, his interest in science and his anti-clericalism heralded the rationalistic movement of the twelfth century. His treatise on love known as Tawq-ul-Hamama, The Dove's Necklace has double values; apart from its being a perfect example of highly developed Arabic belle-lettres, it is considered important for its frank love poetry. He has also been regarded as a historian and geographer. Although his 'Chronicle' has been only partly preserved, his compilation of an anthology (already mentioned) has been described by his Spanish translator as "the last testament of Arbo-Andalusian poetry."  

The overthrow of the Almohid dynasty in the thirteenth century and the reconquest of Andalusia by the Christians, except for a narrow strip running from Gibraltar to Granada, was an event full of consequence for Spanish-Arabic literature. In a small remnant of its territories the Moorish civilization continued to exist for nearly three centuries with a splendour symbolised by the superb palace of the royal dynasty at Granada. Much of the literary work has been lost after the conquest of Ferdinand and Isabella, but one writer stands out above his contemporaries for sheer mastery of the craft of the letters. He is Ibn Khahatib (1313-7, and of his works that are extant in published texts or manuscripts,
several collections of poems, letters and documents, numerous historical works, monographs and essays are regarded as the greatest in Spanish literature. He had a taste for ornamental prose, which in his hands regains something of its naturalness and elegance; he is the last notable Andalusian poet and writer of Muwashshah.

Of a very different order is the work entitled, The Ornament of Chevaliers and Banner of Gallants, written at the Sultan's command by Ibn Hušbail of Granada in about 1400, with the aim of encouraging the people of the province to take part in the holy War against the Christians. The horse as usual plays an important role in his poetry.

It is also necessary to trace an account of the literary activities in Sicily during the short period of Muslim rule there and also after the end of Moorish domination. For over two centuries, from the middle of the ninth till the later part of the eleventh, Sicily, under the troublesome rule of the Arab Christians, formed a part of the Moslem world and produced a number of Arabic philologists and poets. Of the latter whose verse bears evident traces of Spanish influence, the most famous is Ibn Hamidis (c.1055-1132). Like many of his fellow countrymen, he fled the island at the Norman Conquest and took refuge with Mu' tamid at Seville, where much of his best poetry was written. He has written excellent poems on nature, and it is this sincere love displayed in his work that has gained for him the name of 'The Arabic Wordsworth' as may be seen in the following poem:
The Andulusian Fountains
And lions people this official wood
encompass the pools with thunder
and profuse over aureate-banded
bodies their skulls gush glass
Lions like stillness stirred
questing mobility there
or trophies of carnivores
proper those deployed haunches
Sun is tinder to the stirred
colours, is light to long tongues,
is a hand to unsheathe the lunging
blades that shiver out in a splash
By a zephyr damp and thread
are woven and corsleted

The Norman Kingdom of Sicily, whose traditions were continued more especially by the European Ferederick II helped in transmitting many of the Eastern elements to the West. Although the modern historians of Sicily are hesitant to accept the importance of Arabic poetry, they cannot deny the fact that this poetry was cultivated with much vigour and enthusiasm at the court of Norman Kings. Prof. Gibb has observed on the significance of the Arabic School of Poetry that arose under Frederick and its subsequent effect on the native poetry:

Yet it is a significant fact that the metric of the early popular poetry of Italy, as represented by the articles of Jacopone di Jodi and the carnival songs, and with more elaboration in the ballata, is identical with that of the popular poetry of Andalusia.

It now remains to be examined in detail as to how much Arabic poetry influenced the native Spanish and Italian poets and make a systematic investigation into the much controversial question of the Eastern origin of the troubadour poetry with all its characteristics and typical forms.
NOTES

2 Thorndike Lynn, University Records and Life in the Middle Ages, p. 63
5 T. Ballerccine Irving, Falcon of Spain, Orientiana, Lahore, p. 53.
7 Will Durant, The Age of Faith, p. 910
14 Ibid., p. 173.
15 See the essay on 'Art,' Mehmet Aga-Oglu, Mid-East; World Centre, ed. R.N. Anshen, New York, p. 253.
19 Louis Massignon, Essay on 'Language,' Mid-East; World Centre, p. p. 244-45.
20 Ibid., p. 249.
21 Stanely Lane-Poole, Story of the Moors in Spain, New York, 1889, p. 7.
26 Ibid., p.241.
27 Ibid., p.243.
29 Ibid., p.197.
30 Alfred Guillaume, "Philosophy and Theology," The Legacy of Islam, p.255.
31 Roger Bacon, Philosophiae, XIII, p.42.
33 W. Durant, The Age of Faith, p.337.
34 Alfred Guillaume, "Philosophy and Theology," The Legacy of Islam, p.275.
38 M.M. Sharif, Muslim Thoughts; Its Origin and Achievements, p.17.
40 Algazel, See 'Mysticism,' by R.A. Nicholsen in The Legacy of Islam, p.221.
44 W. Durant, The Age of Faith, p.263.
47 Wilson Epiphanis, ed. Moorish Literature, p.43.
48 J.G. Lockhart, ed. The Ancient Spanish Ballads, p.56.
See Romancero General, "Serenade," Stanza III, 1604


Herbert Howarth and Ibrahim Shakrallah, Anthology of Islamic Literature, p. 156.