Muslim Andalusia: New Insights into Linguistic and Literary Exchanges between the East and the West

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Abstract

This paper offers a new perspective on the cultural relations between Arab Muslims of the East and Christians of the West, in medieval Iberia (known as al-Andalus by the Muslims) from 711 to 1031 C.E, identifying the benefits that emerged from such relations. Evidence has been extracted from primary historical sources, including the travel writings of Ibn Hayyan and Ibn Jubayr, along with other Western sources and writings born out of the academic exchange of ideas and literature between Muslim Spain and the European states of the time. The discussion also draws upon manuscripts and studies that transcend the stereotypical images of the victors and the defeated. The main thesis of this study argues that universal values and mutual respect between Muslim and non-Muslim communities of medieval Spain were in fact the norm and not the exception. It endeavours to show that literature, in all its forms, had a significant impact on the development and maintenance of harmonious, peaceful relations between Muslims and non-Muslims (mainly Christians). The paper highlights the synthesis between the Arabic and Spanish languages, between Arabic and European poetry and between Arab and European tales and stories. The findings contest the idea of a clash of civilisations and instead demonstrate how in medieval Spain, people of various creeds and cultures communicated and interacted successfully in spite of their religious and cultural differences.

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Introduction

Modern times have seen great conflict and misunderstanding between the East and the West, particularly between Muslims and non-Muslims. A look at the cultural exchanges of the past between these two civilisations provides many lessons that could enhance our mutual understanding and improve our cooperation. It is therefore worth reflecting on these cultural exchanges in three important areas: a) Arabic and Spanish languages, b) Arabic poetry and European lyrical poetry and c) Arabic and European tales and stories.

Each of these areas has been explored by researchers, owing to the increased interest of Arab scholars regarding the influence of Arabic heritage on global literature. The novelty of this research is that it derives from the existing Arabic sources, offering a new and comprehensive overview of these areas. It is also probably fair to say that most related studies conducted by Western scholars consider the above cultural exchanges to be a part of the literary history of the West, a position which has contributed to the high degree of tolerance that frees the outcome of such studies from bias. This has prompted many to acknowledge the positive effects of Andalusian literature on the culture of the Iberian Peninsula in particular, and on Europe in general.

For the purpose of this study, the field notes of Ibn Jubair have been used to provide an insight into the early exchanges between Arabs (the East) and Iberians (the West), showing the multi-faceted nature of these exchanges.

Exchanges between Arabic and Spanish Languages

The lexical influence of Arabic on the Spanish language, also known as Castilian, reached its peak during the Christian Reconquista (1492). The endeavours of Martinez Francisco Marina to count the number of Spanish words with Arabic derivatives in 1805 was a pioneering work that clearly showed the effects of Arabic on Spanish and Portuguese. It was followed by the *Glossary of Spanish and Portuguese Words, Derived from Arabic* (*Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais, dérivés de l'arabe*), written by Reinhart Pieter, Anne Dozy and edited by W.H. Engelmanna (1861), and a work of Leopoldo Eguilaz from Granada entitled *Etymological Glossary of Spanish Words of Oriental Origin* (1886).

From these early writings, publications of similar types followed which examined the influences of Arabic on Spanish culture. In researching this phenomena, Ḥikmat al-Awsi (57) identified other studies that included references to Arabic terms in Spanish, Portuguese and other European languages.

An early study by the French Orientalist Évariste Lévi-Provençal (1894-1956) consisted of an inquiry into the impact of Arabic on Spanish language.

"Arab Civilisation in Spain" was a lecture delivered by Provençal at an Egyptian university in 1938. Lévi-Provençal, who was believed to be a Jew from North Africa, established that the Spanish language was obliged to borrow words from Arabic in order to expound new concepts in relation to public institutions and social and private life. Evidence of this "adoption" process is clear and abundant, including words that are still used in Spanish military organisations today, such as *Alferes* (referring to sergeant) and *Atalaya* (referring to the front and the rear of the army).

Arabic vocabulary related to military fortifications has been used in Spanish until the present day and retains much the same meaning as it did in the Islamic era. After listing many terms, Lévi-Provençal goes on to say, "The process of listing all words entering into daily language usage would be tedious, thus we shall confine ourselves to words with a semantic relationship" (Lévi-Provençal 117).

Examples of words with semantic relationships include Arabic place names that have existed to the present day; agricultural terms in the language of peasants which relate to measurement, scales, fishing and botany; and Arabic terms for expressions of luxury and prosperity, for example hair cutting, coiffure, clothing, footwear, ornate clothes worn by Christian women before the fall of Islamic Spain, and the best and most expensive Arabic designs from Iraq. A further example involves the names of *Algu bas* for a cloak, *adorras* for a cloak with buttons, and *allihafes*, *alrexi* and *altiraz*, which are names for different types of Arabic clothing.

Abū Al-Walīd Al-Shaqandi (d. 629 A.H.) enumerated the common characteristics of Murcia, saying: (Distinguished by its *tantaliyan* rugs that were dispatched to the East). The word *dental,* which is used in many languages to describe "embroidery," is a distortion of the word تنتالي, and *la dentelle* is a term still used in French.

With regard to the extensive linguistic influences that the Arabic language has exercised over areas such as navigation, the arts, agricultural products, minerals and material comforts, Scottish historian William Montgomery Watt (42) asserts that most western names for musical instruments originate from Arabic, such as العود *ʿoūd* (Lude), القيثارة *gūthar* (guitar), الربابة *al-Rabbābah* (rebec), and النقّارة *al-Naqqārah* (naker). This shows that these musical instruments entered Europe with the Arabs, a hypothesis further supported by Abdel Rahman El-Hadji in his study on Andalusian music (111).

It is worth noting that during the process of language exchange, some words taken from Arabic underwent minor modifications to comply with the norms of the local language, in this case Spanish, such as the subjunction of suffixes as with the word فندقير *fundalari* (hotel worker), and the word حاريله *harella* instead of حويرة *ḥowayrah,* a diminutive of حاريه *ḥariyah*. Similar examples include *alma*, *alba*, *asht* and *matar*, which entered into Andalusian to mean soul, dawn, this and mother respectively (Bahgat 42).

Luṭfi Abdel Badi's work also deals with this phenomenon. After presenting similar statistics about Arabic words in the Spanish language, Luṭfi states that a journey into the world of vocabulary clearly demonstrates the extent to which the Arabic language permeated life in the Iberian Peninsula (Abdel Badie 113). Despite this interchange between the Arabic, Spanish and Portuguese languages, and in spite of his acknowledgment of the sizable concurrence of vocabulary that would easily fill a good-sized glossary, Al-Aqqad (1889-1964) believes that the most significant exchanges between these civilisations were to be found not in their language, but rather in their social and psychological interchanges. After all, verbal usage is a reflection of the intellectual and psychological conditions of people (Al-Aqqad 68). Ḥikmat al-Awsi agrees with Al-Aqqad on this point and stresses that the influence of the Arabs is not only evident in the ruins of their monuments and piers, but is also visible in the character and customs of the Iberian people, and even in their physical appearances (Al-Aqqad 146). Al-Awsi states that in spite of the laws that prohibited the use of Arabic words in Spanish, more than seventeen percent of modern Spanish vocabulary is of Arabic origin, constituting more than 4,000 words.[4]

One clear distinction between the influence of Arabic on the Spanish language is the latter's usage of the two sounds خاء khā and ثاء thā. Arguably, Spanish is the only Latin language that uses these two phonemes. Furthermore, the exclusive use of the definite article ال the can be seen in many Spanish words, to the extent that some scholars assume that every Spanish word beginning with these two letters originates from Arabic (Al-Awsi 148). Ḥikmat al-Awsi, an Iraqi scholar who lived in Spain for an extended period of time (Al-Awsi 163) collected almost forty Spanish expressions and linguistic formulas that he initially claimed were translated and adopted from Arabic. On further analysis, he discovered that several of these expressions actually came from the Iraqi dialect. An example cited by al-Awsi is the case of Francisco Discalth, an elderly Spanish gentleman, whose lifestyle resembled that of an Arab. He used to celebrate events by singing Arabic songs and urging his neighbours to fast during Ramadan. It is reported that Francisco wandered from place to place playing his lute, accompanied by an aide. Together, they sang to the beat of a *daff* (Arabic tambourine). They sang songs that mentioned the name of Muhammad (pbuh) and were very fond of singing the following words in Arabic: "Dear people, do fast in this blessed month, as you get used to doing so, you will gain paradise" (Al-Awsi 163).

Abdel Raḥman El-Hadji, another researcher, highlights other Arabic influences on Andalusia. He describes some Islamic customs adopted by

[4] The claim that around 4000 Spanish words are of Arabic origin has been highlighted by Antonio Alatorre in his book *Los 1001 Años de La Lengua Española* (*The 1001 Years of the Spanish Language).* See, Maa al-Ainine Maa al-Ainine al-Atiq, ed. *The Arabic Language in Spain.* Riyadh: *King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz International Center for Arabic Language Service,* 2015. 41.

Spaniards, such as circumcision, abstention from eating pork, adoption of Arabic as a second language and taking on Islamic names (El-Hadji, *History of the Andalusian Music* 112). All this, according to El-Hadji, was due to the early spread of the Arabic language which, in spite of the existence of Latin, became the common language of literature (Bahgat 35, Gonzalez Palencia 486) as articulated by Juan de Alfaro the Córdoban.

Exchanges between Arabic and European Lyrical Poetry

Regarding the influence of Andalusian literature on European culture, in particular French and Spanish culture, one of the main factors identified by comparative studies is the cultural link between the Arabs and the Europeans. In contrast, when it comes to European literature on its own, it is more difficult to trace any Andalusian influence, perhaps because the cultural links are so broad (Centre for the Exchange of Cultural Values, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO] 24).

One of the oldest voices acknowledging the influence of Arab Andalusian culture on European literature was that of the sixteenth century Italian philologist, Maria Barbieri (Mohamed 189), as cited by the Spanish priest Juan Andrés. Maria Barbieri was a Spanish author who published a seven-volume book in Italian, titled *The Progress and Present State of all Literature* (1782-99) and re-published in Rome in eight volumes between the years 1808-17. The main thesis of Barbieri's book is that European advancements in the fields of science, industry, literature and art were due to the vision and legacy left by the Arabs. This was a stroke of genius (UNESCO 41). Andrés goes on to argue that "Spanish poetry came into being at first as an imitation of Arabic poetry. For him the interaction between Christians and Muslims inevitably prompted the former to mimic the latter" (Al Shobashi 32). Mohammed Mufid al-Shobashi stresses that the influence of Andalusian literature was not temporal so as to affect Europeans superficially. On the contrary, it inspired the poetry and art of the West, prompting a cultural renaissance that transformed both its form and its substance. The content of European literature had previously been influenced by Greece, and its language was Latin, thereby isolating it from the people. However, translating it into the language of the people connected literature to the masses, a shift that occurred as a result of the influence of Arabic literature on Spain. Such transformations could not have happened were it not for the revitalising winds of change brought about by the vibrancy of Arabic literature. Indeed, it provided Europeans with a much-needed literary model, broadening the scope of literature and providing new trends (Al-Shobashi 31). The result was an increase in the output of new literature emerging from Spain and Italy during the twelfth century, written in their own respective languages and engendering novel thoughts and fresh concepts.

Research has shown the influence of Arabic poetry on European lyrical poetry. Attempts to unlock the mysteries of the sudden and remarkable emergence of troubadour lyrical poetry in the early twelfth century reveal that there is in fact no known European origin. Denis Diderot says, "This poetry differs from other poetry and the speed of its growth makes it seem as though magic fairies suddenly appeared from beneath the seat of a magician" (38).[5] Reto Bezzola observes, "The French courtois and provencal literature of the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of twelfth century appeared from nowhere!" Claude Charles Fauriel was also bewildered by the appearance of this romantic lyrical poetry, unprecedented in the history of European literature.

Meanwhile, the Orientalist Briffault (1876-1948) opined that Europe is in every sense indebted to the Muslim world because of its literature, which introduced new themes, the *Alba*, and in particular the spring songs of Andalusian poetry to the European literary field. He then emphasised that there is no European poetry, vernacular or otherwise, which resembles even remotely the Provençal lyrical poetry that descends from Andalusian poetry. This claim was not well received by the contemporaries of Juan Andrés, who reacted vehemently. It was only in the mid-nineteenth century that Briffault's call began to receive a more positive response, namely, following the studies of the Austrian-born Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall and the German poet Adolf Friedrich von Schack, both who revisited the impact of Arabic lyrical poetry on European poetry.

According to Maḥmud Ali Makki (1929-2013), a student of these literary "reactions" (UNESCO 41-44), the year 1912 was significant because of the unveiling of a new Hispano-Arab thesis by the Spanish scholar Julián Ribera,[6] who claimed that lyrical poetry written in colloquial Latin was already in existence in Islamic Andalusia. This incendiary statement provoked an uproar in the literary world, but eventually led to a revolution of ideas about the origins and formation of European lyrical poetry. Makki holds that the Provençal and troubadour poets did nothing more than imitate the Arab *washshaḥ*[7] īn *zajjālīn*,[8] who preceded them by at least two centuries. In 1933, the Orientalist A.R. Nykl, who had spent time

[5] See pp 41-46, Markaz Tabaadul al-qiyam al-Thaqaafiyah in Cooperation with the UNESCO, *Athar al-Arab wa al-Islam Fi al-Nahdha al-Urubiyah* (The Impact of Arabs and Islam on European Renaissance), Al-Haya al-Misriyah al-'Ammah Li al-Ta'lif wa al-Nashr, 1970

[6] Julián Ribera y Tarragó (1858-1934) was a Spanish Arabist and academic.

[7] *Washshāḥ* is the poet or singer who recites *muwashshaḥ,* a strophic (*matla'*) poem written in classical Arabic which concludes with an exit (*kharja*).

[8] *Zajjāl* is the poet or singer who recites *zajal,* a poem that imitates the basic structure of *muwashshaḥ* with certain differences, but is written in the colloquial, spoken Arabic of al-Andalus.

studying lyrical poetry on both sides of the Pyrenees,[9] gave a boost to Ribera's theory by publishing his *dewān Ibn Quzmān*.

Maḥmud Ali Makki continued to trace the names of the proponents of the "Arabic theory," including a Spanish Orientalist by the name of Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869-1968), who published a work in 1938 entitled *Arab Poetry and European Poetry*. This was followed by the work of an English Orientalist called Stern (1920-69), who published *Spanish Kharja*[10] *in Hebrew Poetry*. These efforts culminated in the writings of Emilio Garcia Gómez (1905-95), who took the debate to new heights when he published a valuable manuscript called *Kitāb ʿuddat al-Jalīs* (1952) by Ibn al-Bishrī, a series of *kharjas* containing 24 romantic *kharjas* in Arabic, along with a Spanish translation and commentary.

Originally, historians of European literature agreed that the poems of the troubadour, like those of Guillaume IX, Duke of Aquitaine (also known as Guilhem de Poitou, 1071-1127), and of Cercamon, Marcabru and Jaufre Rudel,[11] represented the oldest lyrical poetry known to Europe. However, the discovery of the *kharjas*, of the Andalusian *muwashshaḥāt*, revealed close ties between Arabic poetry and European lyrical poetry. Guillaume IX became a vital link between the Andalusian *muwashshaḥāt* and European lyrical poetry, a link that was to be strengthened further by later poets (UNESCO 53).

Rabaḥ Saoud notes that early cultural discourse can be found in *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, which was written as early as 1252 and includes 415 poems with religious musical notation, characterised by the mention of the Virgin Mary in every song, while every tenth song is a religious hymn; 335 of the poems show evidence of being directly influenced by *zajal*.

It is only recently that Arab researchers have started to explore European studies dealing with this subject, for example, Abbasa Mohamed, an Algerian researcher who examined the development and characteristics of *muwashshaḥāt* and *zajal* and their relationship to the troubadour, courtois, elegiac, Alba, pastorela, romantic and religious poetic forms. An analysis of these works reveals many influential features of Andalusian poetry in European literature. Abbasa cites more than eighty non-Arabic documents that successfully illustrate Andalusian poetry's influence on the form and content of troubadour poems.

The late Professor Abdelillah Missoum, another Algerian researcher, whose book *Impact of the Muwashshaḥāt in the Troubadour* preceded the efforts of his

[9] The Pyrenees is a range of mountains in southwest Europe that forms a natural border between France and Spain. It separates the Iberian Peninsula from the rest of Europe.

[10] A stanza generally written in colloquial Arabic or in a language other than Arabic.

[11] Jaufre Rudel was the Prince of Blaye and a troubadour who flourished in the early to mid-12th century. He probably died in or after 1147.

colleagues by a few years, highlights the emergence of poetry in Andalusian culture and its influence on the *Provençal* troubadour poetry of southern France.

Indeed, the beauty of the *muwashshaḥāt*, a Cordoban wonder, left a permanent mark on the music of the world. The Spanish music of South America and Mexico is an imitation of the *almowashshaḥah*, a tone that lives on in its Cordoban guise but which originated from the Arabic Gulf and travelled all the way to the Atlantic Ocean (Al-Attar 34).

Returning to the influence of Andalusian poetry on troubadour, Catalan, Portuguese, Italian and Spanish poetry, existence of this influence was well established by the famous Orientalist Candido Ángel Gonzalez Palencia, who examined the texts of several Arabic poets including Wallāda bint al-Mustakfī (1001-80), Ibn Ammār (1031-86), Ibn Khafāja 1058-1138), Abū Baḥr al-Tajībī (1166-1202) and Ibn al-Farāj al-Jayyānī (d.975), among others.

As for the contention that the French troubadour preceded the Spanish troubadour poetic form, Saad Ismail Shalabi attributes this to the influence of Guillaume de Poitiers, the oldest French troubadour (Shalabi 118). Lévi-Provençal (1965), like many other researchers, is cautious in his position about the impact of Arabic Andalusian poetry on European poetry (Lévi-Provençal, *Islam in Maghreb and Andalusia* 302). In his study, he cites the arguments of opponents to his opinion, but the evidence is inconclusive. Nevertheless, more recent studies have refuted these arguments, proving that the impact of Arabic Andalusian poetry on European poetry is profound and undeniable.

One of the main arguments against the theory of the influence of Arabic poetry on troubadour poetry was presented by Mohammed al-Fasi, a Moroccan scholar who claimed that the troubadours were unfamiliar with Arabic and therefore could not have been influenced by Arabic poetry. Furthermore, he argued, the themes of Ibn Quzmān's poetry are a far cry from the Platonic love themes found in the poetry of the troubadours.

Some studies focused on the linguistic roots of the word *troubadour* itself, claiming it to be a combination of two words, *troupe* which means a musical band and *tadour*, an Arabic word meaning to circulate. This suggests that the troubadours were a band of lyrical poets who went around the countryside chanting their poetry (Al Shobashi 104). Others argue that the origin of the name *troubadour* is the word *dour ṭarab* دور طرب, which became *ṭarab dour* طرب دور. This is commensurate with the grammar of European languages like French which place the adjective before the noun, hence reversing the word order to produce the term *troubadour* (El Hadji 132).

One Arab researcher came up with a completely different finding regarding the association between Andalusian poetry and the troubadour. He claimed that the latter was unaffected by the concept of love, often depicted in the Arabic *muwashshaḥāt* and *zajal*, despite the apparent resemblance between the two. Yet,

in Ibn Hazm's book طوق الحمامة *The Dove's Necklace*, the influence of Andalusian poetry on the troubadour is difficult to deny, a fact that has motivated many researchers to study this phenomenon very carefully, including Américo Castro (1885-1972), Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy (1820-83), Asín Palacios (1871-1944), José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955), Adolf Friedrich von Schack (1815-94) and others.

Exchanges between Arab and European Tales and Stories

The influence of Andalusian literature is nowhere more evident than in the effects of Arabic stories on European stories. Both Arabic stories and poetry contributed greatly to the advancement of European art and literature in the second part of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Orientalist Ernest Renan[12] is among those who acknowledge this influence, saying, "It is generally recognized that Europe imported from the Muslim world, its narratives, novels, wisdoms and idioms" (qtd. in Al-Shobashi 125). He also quoted Gaston Paris (1839-1903), who said, "A number of narratives were translated from Arabic into French, German, Italian, English and other European languages, and from these original texts they generated a large series of novels containing a whole range of stories, originally in Arabic, which moved to Europe, thanks to Boccaccio (1313-75) and other Italian writers" (qtd. in Al-Shobashi 127).

Following this statement, Paris then alluded to the series of famous French stories that flowed directly from Arabic, including *Floire et Blancheflor* (Floris and Blancheflour), *Aucassin et Nicolette* (Aucassin and Nicolette) and *Le Vilain Mire* (The Peasant Doctor), from which Molière derived his comic opera *Le Médecin malgré lui* (The Doctor Despite Himself) (Gaston Paris, French Medieval Literature, 233, qtd. in al-Shobashi 127). The literature spread so widely that, in the words of Saad Ismail Shalabi (113), studying it would necessitate a whole new investigation (Gaston Paris, *French Medieval Literature* 233, qtd. in al-Shobashi 126).

The acknowledgment by scholars of the Eastern origin of the Arabic stories that had migrated to Europe was an important landmark; though the role played by Andalusia was no less significant. Studies into the origin of European stories, especially folklore and popular tales, cannot ignore the role of Arabic popular stories and literature. Moreover, any fair-minded critic would recognise that the revolutionary shift in Europe's literary culture, which had previously been limited to fairy tales and legends, must surely be indebted to the migration of Arabic literature. The expansion of Andalusian civilisation into Europe caught the attention of the nobles and princes of southern France, who, aware of their own stagnation, were fascinated by its charms. As such, they pounced upon Arabic culture, absorbing it and imitating it in every shape and form (Al-Shobashi 126). Researchers too imbibed the Arabic literature that fuelled the literary renaissance

[12] Joseph Ernest Renan (1823-92) was a French philosopher and writer.

in Europe, which would otherwise have become lost and forgotten, like the former ancient Greek stories in Latin.

The first known collection of European stories, composed in Latin at the beginning of the twelfth century and published in 1824 by Petrus Alphonsi,[13] was entitled *Disciplina Clericalis* (UNESCO 70). It comprised thirty Oriental stories about moral character translated from Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. *The Disciplina* is a story that begins and ends with advice on fearing God. Another story tells of an Arab man who is about to die and calls his sons around him to advise them, giving the story a unique Arabic flavour (Abdel Badie 125).

Studies on the origins of European literature and the impact of foreign art assert that there are three major historical sources of European stories. The first source is novels of Oriental origin that were transferred after being translated from Arabic. A famous example of such a story is the Indian masterpiece that has its origins in the tale of *Kalila wa Dimna*, known in Europe as *The Fables of Bidpai*, *al-Sindibād al-Baḥrī*,[14] and *Siddhartha Gautama*.[15] In addition, Jean de La Fontaine (1621-95), the celebrated French fabulist, adapted his famous stories *The Fables of Bidpai,* published in 1679, from classical Oriental tales. He was preceded by two Italian authors, Agnolo Firenzuola (1493-1545) and Anton Francesco Doni (1513-74), who wrote *Discorsi degli animali* and *Moral filosophia* respectively.

The famous story of Sinbad the Sailor was translated from the Arabic into Castilian in 1253 under the title *Asaymyiientos de las Mugeres*, or the *Deceits and Tricks of Women*. This story is one of several from the renowned book *One Thousand and One Nights*. Arguably the most significant Arabic contribution made to European literature is the story collection known variously as *Decameron, The Ten Nights* (Abdel Badi 79) or *The Ten Mornings* (Al-Aqqad 62), by the Italian Giovanni Boccaccio. This mystical book, well known throughout Europe but especially in Spain, became the basis for the stories of Ramon Llull (1232-1315), author of *Libre del gentil e los tres savis* (*The Gentile and the Three Wise Men*), and the collection of Don Juan Manuel (1282-1348), titled *Libro de los estados* (*The Book of States*), to name but a few.

The second source of influence from Arabic literature is the *maqāmāt*, a genre consisting of fictional, rhyming, narrative prose. The *maqāmāt* had a formative effect on the picaresque style, a type of European fictional prose that originated in sixteenth-century Iberia and which spread throughout Europe a century later.

[13] Petrus Alphonsi (also known as Peter Alfonsi; born Moses Sephardi) was a Jewish Spanish physician, writer, astronomer and polemicist. Born on an unknown date in the 11th century in Huesca, he embraced Christianity in 1106 and took the name of Petrus Alfonsi (Alfonso's Peter).

[14] Although the name Sinbad (or Sindbad) hints at a Persian origin, the oldest texts of this tale are written in Arabic.

[15] "Barlaam and Josaphat" is a Christianised version of the story of Siddhartha Gautama, who became the Buddha.

One researcher summarises the characteristics of this sub-genre of literary prose into six points, indicating a close tie with the Arab *maqāmah* (UNESCO 93).

The third influential source of European stories is the novel *Ḥayy ibn Yaqḍān*, an Arabic masterpiece of philosophy and allegory, written by Ibn Ṭufail.[16] It was written in the early twelfth century and was translated into Latin in 1861, then later into other European languages. The influence of this work is clearly evident in Daniel Defoe's (d. 1731) well-known novel *Robinson Crusoe* (Abdel Badi 139). An Egyptian scholar, Muhammed Rajab Al-Bayoumi (1923-2011), studied the effects of this story on European literature. In a chapter titled "Andalusia: The Corridor of the Story to Europe," he lauds this interaction, stating, "It is natural for authors to debate the role of the story and produce research that measures its ideas and determines the extent of its innovation and achievements" (Al-Bayoumi 146).

Conclusion

To conclude this fascinating journey through the pages of cross-cultural intercommunication between the East and the West, the research makes the following recommendations:

1. There is a pressing need to revisit both Western and Islamic historical sources, since the advances of modern technology will facilitate the collection of more reliable data which, it is hoped, will improve research methods concerning cross-cultural exchanges between the East and the West.
2. There is a need to question unsubstantiated historical sources such as the alleged letter from George II, King of England, to the Muslim Andalusian Khalifah, Hishām III, the translation of which is attributed to an Englishman by the name of John Davenport in the book *Arabs Sovereign Factor in the Middle Ages*. No trace of Davenport's existence has been verified to date.

Similar care is required when reading the fictional or semi-fictional story written by Muḥyiddīn Ibn ʿArabī, entitled *Muḥāḍarāt al-Abrār wa Musāmarāt al-Akhyār* and written about Abdel Raḥman El-Hadji, who supposedly makes reference to a Frank embassy visiting the lands of the Caliph al-Nāṣir.

3. There is a need for further cooperation and collaboration between Muslim and Western scholars to provide greater understanding between the East and the West. Both camps should reject intolerance and the rhetoric of the conqueror and the conquered, the strong versus the weak.

[16] Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭufail al-Qaisī al-Andalusī (1105-85) was an Andalusian Muslim scholar, writer, physician and court official.

Instead, Eastern and Western scholars should adhere to the principles of scientific objectivity, neutrality and upholding of the truth.

4. The spirit of agreement and harmony between academicians and politicians should be nurtured with the aim of providing better guidance and authority for politicians and better resources and relevancy for scholars.

5. The list of Western intellectuals who can be considered knowledgeable about the characteristics and merits of Islamic civilisation is as follows: Michele Amari, Robert Briffault, Reto Bezzola, Maria Barbieri, Gaston Paris, Juan Andrés, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Denis Diderot*, Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy, Rauger Garaudy, Gustave Le Bon, Ernest Renan, Samuel Stern, Emilio Garcia Gómez, Francisco, Marina, Francisco Codera, William Montgomery Watts, Lévi-Provençal, and Nykl.

6. There is a need to promote tolerance and mutual respect between the East and the West in order to build scholarly excellence and encourage human development. Gustave Le Bon alludes to this in his discussion about the exchange of values between Islam and Christianity. As regards the denial of some Western scholars about the cultural intercommunication of the past, relegating it to mere "Arab influence," Le Bon considers this an imbalance of Western intellectual freedom. Man in the West, Le Bon argues, possesses a dual personality; the first is modern, nurtured by excellent education and an ethical environment. The second is archaic, insensitive, petrified and rooted in a compendium of historical legacies from the "forefathers of old." Unfortunately, says Le Bon, it is the latter intolerant persona that appears to dominate many Western people, dictating an adherence to outdated traditional beliefs (Le Bon 577).

7. There is a pressing need to study and investigate the literary dialogue that took place between the East and the West, including the influence of Arabic language on the European literature and art of the Middle Ages, as has been presented in this paper.

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