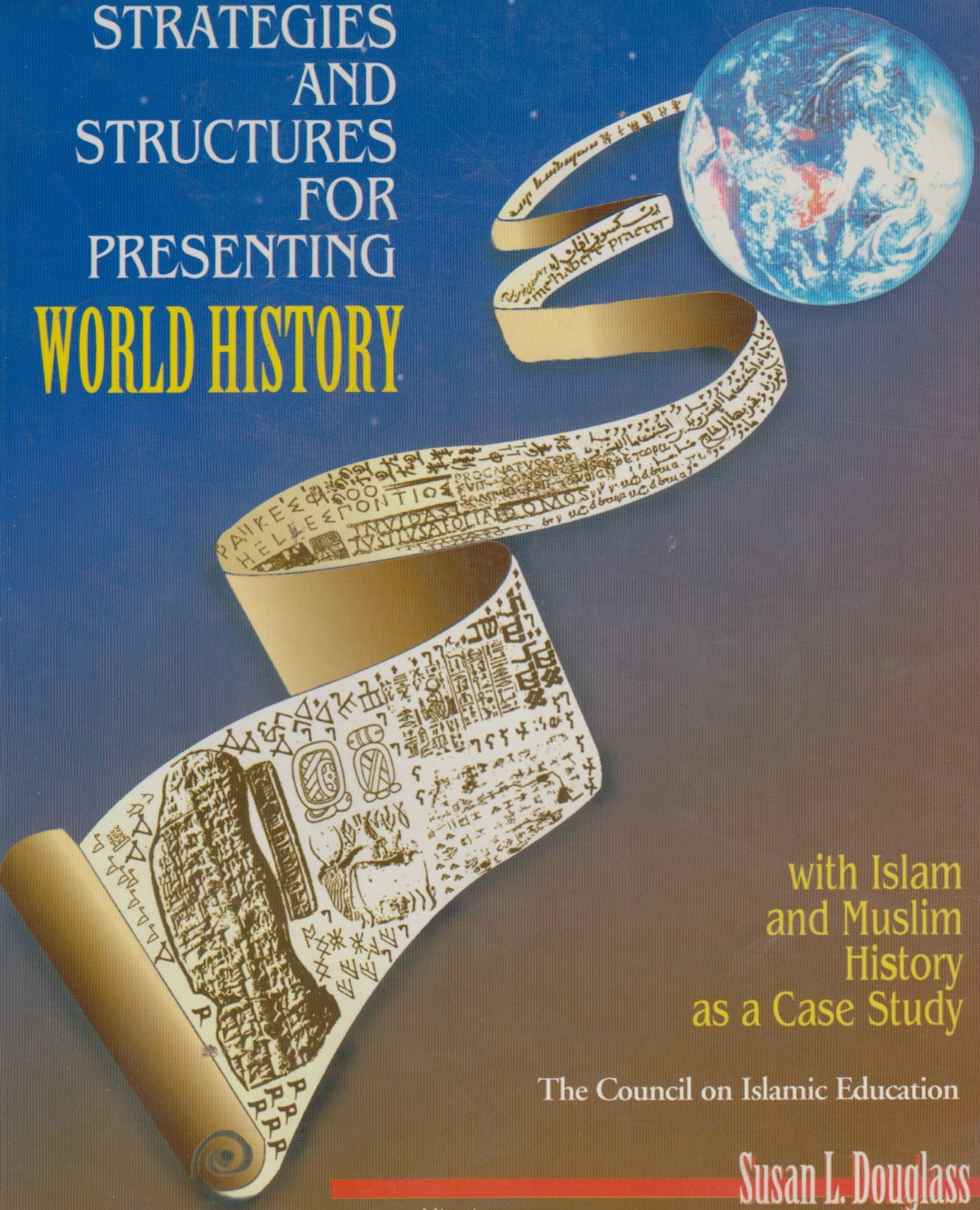
STRATEGIES AND STRUCTURES FOR PRESENTING WORLD HISTORY



with Islam and Muslim History as a Case Study

The Council on Islamic Education

Susan L. Douglass

amana publications

Strategies and Structures for Presenting World History

First Editon
1994 AC

Note: Muslims pronounce a blessing upon Prophet Muhammad whenever they mention him by name. The Arabic blessing ﷺ means "may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him." Although this formula is not printed within the text of this book, it is intended that it be inserted in any reading by a Muslim.

This document was first introduced at the World History Conference, convened by the Council of Islamic Education.
Buena Park, CA
October 2, 1994.

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WORLD HISTORY CONFERENCE

Council on Islamic Education

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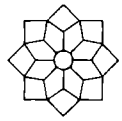
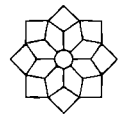


INTRODUCTION



The document in hand is the product of efforts in the field of education by a diverse group of workers. First, it embodies the experience of people, both scholars and "laypersons," who love and respect the study of history as a discipline, who are participants in the ongoing effort to learn about our human past. Second, it is informed by the experience of parents, teachers, consultants and scholars whose vocation is to impart knowledge of history in a variety of educational settings. Third, this document is based upon the extensive experience of the scholars and other professionals affiliated with the Council on Islamic Education, and its staff, in their work with publishers, education officials at the state and national levels, administrators, classroom teachers and students. Those individuals, listed on cover page 2, made contributions in the form of advice in the formative stages of the project, specific input from their fields of expertise and/or timely criticism of the drafts. Without their combined expertise, this document could not have been produced.

The Council's work in the education arena has made clear not only the increasing need for information about Islam and Muslim history, but also the need to address issues that go far beyond the history of one group to embrace the history of all humanity and how it is taught. These are issues of effective teaching and lifelong learning, of integration and equity, of the continuing development and maintinence of a civil society. These issues concern also efficiency, opportunity and economics, as well as the broadening international dimension of education. The production of curriculum and instructional materials concerns at once the highest moral and ethical ideals and the most practical political and economic realities. At the center of these considerations are the students and the teachers.

This book has been prepared to aid curriculum specialists, course designers, publishers and teachers in researching, writing and implementing instructional materials for World History and World Cultures, with content area emphasis on Islam and Muslim history. Material in Part Three might be useful to those in the journalism profession who educate audiences in the public arena about topics related to Islam. This book is also for education professionals who must use existing textbooks and curriculum guides to teach world history, but who wish to enhance the integration of cultures and improve coverage of Islam and Muslim history. Parts Three and Four contain specific

content that critiques and complements existing curriculum guides and textbooks. Strategies and structures for designing a survey of Muslim civilization are given in several different formats, each accompanied by explanation. The material may be used in a variety of ways:

- as criteria for achieving accuracy and balance, for selecting topics and accompanying visual images.
- as outlines for complete chapters or units.
- as themes for sequential inclusion in various chapters or units.
- as modules, or thematic longitudinal studies.
- as "snapshots," features or sidebars in a chapter.
- as classroom activities or student research projects.
- as a bibliographic reference for research, classroom activities or student reading.

The overarching goal of the project is to foster excellence in teaching, to encourage students to develop an interest in the common human past, and to facilitate open discussion of history based upon sound methods of inquiry and critical thinking that are informed by good research. The most important means to achieving this goal is to build firmer and broader bridges from the highest levels of scholarship to the classrooms where most citizens acquire the only history education they will ever get. Advances in scholarship at the highest levels can be made accessible to young students. The best way to integrate the wealth of new knowledge in the field and to raise the standard of social studies education is to globalize world history courses. These goals cannot be accomplished without forthright reform at every level—in state and school curricula, course descriptions, instructional media and teacher training. This book joins the chorus of arguments for globalization on many fronts, and gives a case study of how a highly diverse and multifacetted culture can be integrated into the total presentation. This document discusses approaches, presents critiques and insights, and offers criteria for accurate, fair and balanced presentation of religious issues.

For ease of access to this complex document, the following points summarize the major objectives in the sequence in which they are addressed. The objectives are to:

- ❖ Discuss world history as a discipline and ways to incorporate new knowledge into educational materials.
- ❖ Suggest alternatives to traditional ways of organizing world history courses that facilitate integration of cultures into a coherent narrative.
- ❖ Offer ideas for augmenting global presentation of history.

While general ideas and structural issues provide the foundation, much of the document is given to the case study itself—in other words, applying these models to teaching about Islam and Muslim history. Information is given on a wide variety of topics in order to:

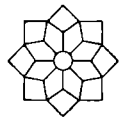
- ❖ Discuss issues related to research in English-language sources and translated works.
- ❖ Introduce the legacy of historiography in Muslim civilization and some of its approaches, methods, traditions and contributions.
- ❖ Highlight pertinent points from the national dialogue on teaching about religion and discuss the application of acknowledged ground rules to Islam as a religion and as a religiously-defined culture. Common errors and misconceptions are critiqued and offer solutions in the form of selection criteria, presentation structures and background information.
- ❖ Discuss creative approaches for implementing and enhancing curriculum guides to produce an engaging, multidisciplinary account, with pointers on methods, sources and debates behind the so-called "facts." A sampling of outlines, modules and snapshots illustrates treatments of specific historical content.
- ❖ Provide an introductory bibliography of time-tested and up-to-date sources utilized in research and courses by Council-affliated historians and other scholars.

In spite of the variety of issues addressed in this *Strategies and Structures* document, it should not be viewed as definitive or as a substitute for research in other sources. It should, rather, be viewed as a discussion of approaches with illustrative examples, an introduction to fruitful areas of research, an exploratory effort at finding answers to some very difficult conceptual, structural and concrete historical issues. This document is a beginning rather than an end in itself, an invitation to cooperate with the Council's scholars and other professionals in finding solutions to the problems addressed here that are tailored to various educational needs. The Council on Islamic education offers its considerable resources in the service of developing excellent educational materials.

It is hoped that this document will stimulate curriculum specialists, publishers, teachers and other educators in the broadest sense of the word, to take a renewed look at their coverage of Islam, Muslims and the larger context of world history. These professionals are invited to reconsider the sources they use, the approaches and assumptions upon which the presentation is based, the framework around which it is built, and the content it includes.

Finally, this *Strategies and Structures* document joins and hopes to further the dialogue on important issues concerning the teaching of world history in the schools. The Council on Islamic Education will not argue with the assertion that this document addresses these issues from a unique perspective among the many represented on the American educational spectrum. At the same time, we suggest that most of the issues addressed in this case study are relevant to presenting the history of all cultures, including that of the West.❖

PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS



pages 18, 20	Graphs by Hassan Siddiqi.
page 25	Charts by Khalid Yahya Blankinship from "Islam and World History: Towards a New Periodization," *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, 8:3 (1991).
page 38	Map from *The Cultural Atlas of Islam*, I. and L. al-Faruqi, by permission of Macmillan Publishing Co.
pages 48 and 54	Cartoons by Eldon Doty from *Aramco World Magazine*, 40:4 (1989), by permission of the illustrator.
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STRATEGIES AND STRUCTURES FOR PRESENTING WORLD HISTORY

with Islam and Muslim History as a Case Study

PART ONE

General Concerns in Teaching World History

A. *What is World History?*

B. *Implementing a Global Approach in Our Schools*

C. *Integrating New Knowledge — Demands and Opportunities*

D. *Structuring A World History Text*

E. *Modifying Content for a Global Approach*

General Concerns in Teaching World History

Before embarking upon a discussion of how to improve the content and delivery of world history material to students, it is worthwhile to consider the state of the historical disciplines from which instructional materials for young people are derived. This section will consider ways to reconceive world history curricula, textbooks and teaching in order to find means to incorporate new knowledge into instructional materials and increase the flow of information from higher academic levels into the schools.

A. *What is World History?*

World history is a new discipline, coming into its own in this century. Many past cultures have tried to write universal histories. They have reached back to the creation, filling in areas where direct evidence was lacking with religious content, speculation or myth. Most world cultures can display prodigious amounts of material, textual and oral documentation of their history, including folklore, burial artifacts, monuments and vast libraries of formal and informal historical documents.

A major goal of history-writing was defining and elucidating the position of each self-conscious culture relative to the world as a whole, and neighboring cultures in particular. Thus, for example, a body of historical literature supported the self-understanding of China as the Middle Kingdom. Muslim historians from the early expansion of Islam took stock of the world in whose center they stood and defined their role and mission toward cultures around their periphery. Songs, dramas, epics, and texts attest to the universality of this attempt. These histories were often written when a culture had attained prominence. An example is a short excerpt from the Orhon

inscriptions of the Altay Turks of 731 C.E. — long before their Islamization. The passage was deciphered by Danish scholar Vilhelm Thomsen:

> Above the sons of men stood our ancestors, the khagans Bumin and Ishtemi. Having become masters of the Turkic people they established and ruled its empire and fixed the law of the country. Many were its enemies in the four corners of the world, but, leading campaigns against them, they subjugated and pacified many nations. These were wise khagans, these were valiant khagans; all their officers were wise and valiant, the nobles, all of them, the entire people, were just. This was the reason why they were able to rule an empire so great, why governing the empire, they could uphold the law.[1]

Some universal histories include self-criticism, but the dominant element is the sense of purpose. The culture explains how attainment of these heights was an inevitable progression of history. Though they are called "universal" histories, they do not embrace the study of the world much beyond their borders. These documents are self-conscious assessments, often reflecting a sense of superiority vis-à-vis surrounding cultures, a sense of holding the torch of civilization due to specific attributes and virtues. One detects universal human values in that they reflect the human predicament on an individual and social scale. But universal histories seldom display a sense of shared purpose among the peoples of the world. On the contrary, most convey a strong sense of "us" and "them," the civilized peoples versus the barbarians, the progressive society versus the enemy of progress, the forces of integration versus those of disintegration.

The young Western tradition of universal history arose to take its place in posterity during the 19th and 20th centuries. Its models were classical and religious. As Western civilization rose to a prominence and power that seemed almost limitless, Western historians picked up their pens to explain how they had gotten here from there. How had destiny called upon this people of the European peninsula to develop a society and technology that in the course of time extended its reach around the globe and aspired to apply its cultural forms as universal truths all over the world? The West expanded the scope of universal history's embrace, but retained many of its traditional characteristics.

THE WESTERN SCIENTIFIC ENTERPRISE TO COMPREHEND WORLD HISTORY

Hand in hand with political, economic and technological expansion, Western scientific enterprise sent representatives out to scour the world for evidence of its history. These were not the first humans curious about others' culture and history. Egyptian, Chinese, Indian, Greek, Roman and Muslim civilizations are only a few whose literature includes accounts of voyages, embassies and discussions of other peoples within the range of their travels.

New in the Western enterprise was that this civilization achieved a truly global reach for the first time since the world began. Western political and economic power enabled its adventurers to dig up and plunder cultural artifacts in an unprecedented manner. Archaeologists and historians, both amateur and professional, were motivated by intense and genuine curiosity about the foreign worlds that they now glimpsed. Western diplomats, colonial officers and commercial attaches used their leisure time far from home to become archaeologists and antiquarians. Looters rode on the coattails of colonial expansion. Some philanthropists were motivated to preserve what Western progress threatened to destroy. These people immersed themselves in archaic and obscure foreign languages, endured privation, heat, cold and danger in remote locations. Evaluating the data back home in Western Europe and the United States, scholars developed the various social science disciplines with specialized discourses and approaches, enriching the range of perspectives on history and culture. Their work amounted to a new world history initiative.

The first attempts to compile Western universal history were little different in manifestation from the attempts of earlier, non-Western cultures. When data from all over the (colonized) world was gathered for analysis back in the study, other cultures were understood in terms of Western society. The attempt to understand other people's history was couched in terms of why "they" are different from "us," and why "we" were destined to carry human progress to such unprecedented heights, while "they" were doomed to decline and submission. The questions asked were Western questions. Why did "they" fail to develop the political, social and economic forms that resulted in Western industrial capitalism and representative constitutional government? Why do their cultural and artistic expressions fall short of the sublime? The answers supported a Western sense of historical purpose and civilizing mission, its self-conscious mastery of knowledge and technique, its self-perception as the very navel of the world.

In the early to mid-twentieth century, numerous writers penned universal histories based on their reading of the traditional knowledge base. Spengler, Arnold Toynbee and some others proposed to comprehend the development of civilization and incorporate major non-Western civilizations into their work. Spengler's commitment to decentering Western history is less firm than Toynbee's, and he views civilizations more as discrete entities. Toynbee, who sought an understanding of uneven human progress alternative to the racial explanation current in imperial Britain, created a model incorporating interactional development among civilizations. In any event, the range of societies and civilizations was the widest ever presented in a universal history. In the later 20th century, less ambitious attempts at world history have seemed more

appropriate to scholars. Fernand Braudel's *The Structures of Everyday Life* is among the most ambitious of these, concentrating upon a single significant aspect of several civilizations. Paul Kennedy's *The Decline of Great Civilizations* also concentrates on synthesizing single aspects of world history, particularly with a view to comprehending the dominant position of the West as the "victor" among several "contenders." These works of scholarship, while contributing to the fund of knowledge, have much in common with the traditional musings of a dominant civilization upon its own greatness. They contain universal elements, but they are not global history in the broadest sense.

EMERGENCE AND ACCEPTANCE OF NON-WESTERN SCHOLARSHIP

In the course of the century, non-Western scholars have arisen to join the dialogue. Even while they accepted the terms of Western discussion and academic training, these scholars challenged the assumptions and conclusions of Western historians and social scientists. They, too, were motivated by a range of concerns. They wanted to acquaint Western colleagues with information inaccessible to them because of language, culture or religious adherence, bringing an insider's view of their culture. Others were animated by curiosity or pride in their own heritage. Some historical efforts aimed to locate the national past to stimulate an ethos among citizens of a new country. Many non-Western historians wanted to revise unfair and incomplete assessments of their society and culture by unsympathetic and condescending scholars.

The collective result of Western and non-Western efforts is the embrace of world history as a truly universal discipline for the first time. The purpose of the quest is to understand, based on collection of solid evidence, the history of all societies that ever flourished, and to knit it into a history of mankind.

Needless to say, researchers are still in the field. Painstaking work is going on across the face of the earth by a veritable army of seekers after truth. All branches of social science, history, and technology have been brought into the quest. Boundaries between humanities and sciences have been breached. The most sophisticated radiological, geological and biomedical techniques are applied to analysis of ancient mummies, grave finds and human settlements. Computers apply advanced methods of data-analysis to correlating archaeological information and understanding the written remains of distant and more recent civilizations.

AN INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE ON WORLD HISTORY

In the late 20th century, a truly global dialogue on history and the social sciences has resulted from these efforts, aided by expansion of communications media, globalization of technology and politics, and the rise to economic power of non-Western states. Internationalization of education has stimulated this world conversation on our collective past. The sense of common predicament, if not purpose, has also influenced a dialogue among cultures and a felt need to explore our past. The twin threats of nuclear annihilation and ecological disaster have caused people to seek mutual understanding as a means of learning to cooperate on issues that affect us all.

As in earlier times, practitioners of history and social science are motivated by differing concerns. Some are motivated by inexhaustible curiosity about other times and places. Some seek national self-aggrandizement and racist justification of a mythical past. Some seek to save a threatened present by shoring up a glorious past. For many, the dialogue is still framed in fairly narrow cultural terms of reference. However, a sense of inadequacy and apology for past excesses has entered into the discourse, allowing embrace of foreign perspectives. Many social scientists now explore the beliefs and values of others to correct inadequacies in the dominant world view. They view the study of foreign cultural values as akin to looking for new medicinal substances among the world's flora and fauna.

The antidote to past closed-mindedness and exclusive Western formulation of debate has been inclusion of indigenous scholars. Hardly a single department of history in the United States and Western Europe exists without professors of various ethnic, religious and national backgrounds. The shelves of any library reveal a wealth of works by historians of various origins. If the topic is China, Chinese contributions and scholarship are ranged next to Western ones. In Middle East and Islamic studies, many scholars of varied ethnicity contribute outstanding scholarship to the historical corpus. In American history, mid-century social ferment has diversified the focus and content of American history in a thoroughgoing way. In every branch of history and area studies, a wide range of cultural perspectives has become an accepted part of scholarship that forms a vibrant international discourse. The synthesis of these diverse and multi-disciplinary efforts is in an embryonic stage. We cannot claim to have understood the history of humankind on earth.

B. Implementing a Global Approach in Our Schools

In elementary and secondary education, change has not kept pace with progress at more advanced levels of scholarly endeavor. Impetus from the grass-roots level has not been lacking. Broadened educational opportunities have spawned new generations of scholars in Western and non-Western countries. Immigration and student exchanges brought fresh air and new ideas into the classroom arena. For the most part, these changes have been well received. Teachers, students and parents have made classrooms places of vigorous cultural, ethnic and religious interaction. The teacher corps is gradually beginning to reflect the diversity of communities where they work.

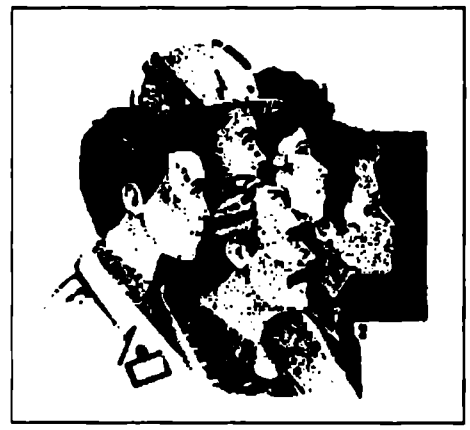
More resistance to change has been evident at higher, official levels of the educational system. Social problems perceived as resulting from an increasingly diverse student body and society retard inclusion of new perspectives. The lag in representation of diversity in political structures that control educational decisions at the federal, state and local level has slowed the process of embracing global curriculum content. An abrasive tone in some groups' demands for curriculum change stems from a sense of victimization in the past. Some remedies proffered threaten disintegration and atomization of an already threatened social and ethical fabric. Demands breed fear of the unknown. Shoring up the familiar, the traditional, the comfortable seems the easiest position to take. The status quo, though untenable, seems for some to be the only defense of Western society's integration and ethos and its democratic values.

Willingness to invite younger students to join the global dialogue of contemporary historical research has been tentative. Perceptions of history long discredited at higher levels of academic pursuit still reign in the classroom. Textbook publishers that wish to bring their work into tune with the best scholarship are hampered by the need to market books in communities that are not on the cutting edge. Many teachers are hindered by the rigid requirements of outmoded curriculum guides, and handicapped by inadequate training in the content areas of social studies given in university teacher-education programs. Unfortunately, most in-service and re-certification instruction concerns methodology and discipline rather than content area research and acquisition of cutting-edge knowledge. **Innovation in science and math has proven more amenable to adoption in textbooks, teacher training and curricula across the country than innovation in history and the social sciences.** In spite of the slow pace of change, some progress is being made. Efforts by educational organizations, citizen's groups, publishing companies, scholars and education professionals are bearing fruit. Incremental changes in the scope and content of history texts are being implemented.

NATIONAL DIALOGUE AND CHANGE IN CURRICULUM AND TEXTBOOKS

The strongest theme of change in curriculum and instructional materials has been inclusion. Cultures previously excluded from coverage are now standard in world history courses. Literature, arts and other primary source material are routinely included, though not yet to an optimal extent in terms of amount and variety. Near consensus has been achieved on including study of belief and value systems of religious and secular origin, though implementation lags behind. Contributions by non-Western and minority cultures are included more than ever to explain modern achievements. Students of many ethnic, cultural and religious groups may begin to see themselves reflected in textbooks as full-fledged singers in the human chorus.

The basic goals of global education have been defined as supporting universal access, preserving the values of civil society against prejudice and bigotry, shoring up the skills of the American workforce, and improving global literacy. Emergence of new power centers and conflict areas since the end of the Cold War has made a strategic necessity of understanding other cultures. Since we in the United States can no longer simply draw upon our own resources and live well from supplying our own markets, we are forced into multiple dependencies on a global level. Education has been cited as the key solution for U.S. companies and workers fighting for a strong position in the world economy. Domestically, harmony among various groups in neighborhoods, on campuses, and in the workplace is essential to maintaining productivity and social peace. **In the late twentieth century, there can be no peace without mutual understanding. The attempt to impose a monolithic, elitist world view can no longer be expected to bear fruit.**



The social studies are an important major vehicle for achieving global education. Hence, social studies bears a larger burden than in the past. Publishers of instructional materials are asked to broaden and deepen coverage of geography and history, to include more material from the history of science and world literature. Civics has returned to prominence. Debate over multiculturalism has pressured education professionals at all levels. So far, it seems to have yielded agreement to cover cultures with a constituency in United States classrooms. This result, while it contributes toward redressing the injustice of past exclusion in a social sense, does little justice to the quest implied by global history. A global approach to the social studies is more inclusive.

National dialogue on history and social science is beginning to yield a set of principles and goals on global social studies education. Many of these goals, skills and concepts are already incorporated in several state curriculum frameworks for history and social science. Completion of the *National Standards in World History* will intensify the demand to enhance the quality of research and will aid acceptance of innovation in structuring world history textbooks. Identification of a set of specific skills to be acquired through study of history at the national level should make it easier to implement change at the state and local level. The *Standards'* arrangement of specific historical content into a framework of eras that include a broad range of cultures in each will make it easier to urge acceptance of innovation and incorporate new knowledge. While the *National Standards in World History* does not include specific evaluation criteria to be met by publishers, Chapters 1 and 2 of the document strongly imply such standards, some of which are already included in one relatively progressive curriculum guide, the *California History/Social Science Framework,* under "Basic Guidelines for Evaluating Instructional Materials." These documents call for improving instructional materials, as described in the box below.

GUIDELINES FOR EVALUATING INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS from the California *Framework* and the *National Standards in World History*

Instructional materials should:

- Reflect the best historical research in the preparation of each topic.
- Promote active questioning and learning, not passive absorption of facts.
- Teach and model historical reasoning, evaluation, interpretation and comparative analysis.
- Integrate history, geography and the social sciences to portray fundamental facets of human culture.
- Increase coverage of history, humanities and values from diverse world cultures.
- Include a variety of historical interpretations on topics.
- Accurately and fairly present beliefs, values and ethical issues in diverse societies.
- Reflect enhanced use of primary sources to give an authentic sense of other times and places.
- Cover a wide range of social and ethnic groups within societies, from elite to ordinary.
- Emphasize patterns and principles of civil society and institutions in diverse cultures.

If taken seriously, the standards and criteria set forth in these documents ensure major changes in the structure and content of world history teaching materials. We have highlighted the California *History/Social Science Framework* several times in this study because it represents a substantive effort to move beyond conventional models. Not only does the *Framework* contain a very thorough conceptual section, the "Goals and Strands," that outline what the Social Studies should include and what outcomes are expected from its study, it also demonstrates a strong commitment to history teaching. History is well integrated with other disciplines and "draped" across several years of study, giving students exposure to a cumulative account of United States and World History. This is certainly a workable solution to the "depth versus coverage" problem teachers face when forced to deliver a complete past-to-present survey in a year. Rather than repeating the same mission impossible several times in the K-12 curriculum, it is assumed that students can retain information from year to year. With judiciously implemented review, students are to be exposed to new, age-appropriate learnings. The *Framework's* course descriptions, however, do not yet fully implement the ambitious objectives set out in its "Goals and Strands" section, particularly in the world history sequence. In spite of this important shortcoming, certain aspects of the program provide useful pointers toward improving history teaching in our schools.

CURRICULUM GOALS VERSUS COURSE DESCRIPTIONS

Many educators and members of the public seem ready to accept change. Many expect a higher standard of content from the courses and instructional materials to which students are exposed. However, no part of the educational process is sufficient unto itself. Recognition of the need to globalize the study of history cannot be implemented in one segment of curriculum production while it is denied or delayed in another.

Publishers, for example, cannot be expected to produce textbooks with a higher standard of content without a highly specific mandate from the states. Curriculum writers cannot expect reform and higher standards in textbook materials by sending mixed signals to publishers and teachers. Publication of a curriculum guide in which the philosophy and goals are conceptually progressive and altruistic will not result in better teaching and better textbooks unless the course descriptions are reformulated as well. Both teachers and publishers, fearing of necessity for their economic survival, will look to the more specific mandates on what to teach. All of the lofty goals and fancy language in the world will not bring about excellent instructional material if course descriptions are written using old textbooks and curricula as a guide. Rather than being an afterthought, course descriptions should be carefully geared to

the more philosophical sections of the guide. They should be researched as if their designers were about to write a book for the course. They should raise questions and not impose interpretations; they should be open-ended, pointing the way toward fruitful avenues of recent research by excellent scholars in the field. Course descriptions should be logical in sequence and rest on sound theoretical foundations, both in terms of pedagogical delivery and in terms of approach and assumptions in the content area. It may be comfortable to hide behind the notion that course descriptions are "merely illustrative," and need not therefore be thorough. Teachers and publishers, however, do not view them that way. Course descriptions are mined for instructional content to a far greater degree than conceptual and philosophical sections of curriculum guides. Course descriptions must, in other words, live up to the idealistic standards of their own curriculum guides.

Beyond a very limited point, teachers cannot be expected to produce their own instructional materials. To invite and encourage teachers to reduce their reliance on the textbook is positive. However, shifting the burden of reworking and enhancing content onto the teacher's back is not likely to be very successful, particularly in the difficult area of world history. Most teachers are not equipped to wrestle with the vast array of material available, and even those whose education has prepared them for substantive research and compilation in the content area seldom have the time for it. The most difficult part of the work is doubtless the process of selecting material and adapting it for use in the classroom, highlighting concepts, creating activities, excerpting and summarizing large and unwieldy works, and producing material at a reading level that gives students access to the ideas. Valiant efforts by motivated teachers are in evidence nationwide. But raising the standard of instructional material available for the world history classroom requires intellectual, financial and pedagogical support if it is to become a reality.

C. *Integrating New Knowledge — Demands and Opportunities*

To foster understanding of history and respect for the discipline, instruction must be based upon inquiry and critical thinking, and informed by the best possible research and sophisticated teaching methods. To attain these goals, we must be willing to try

different approaches and innovative models. In the following pages, we put forth some suggestions for essential structural changes and content improvements and show how they apply to world history texts in general.

Mere inclusion is too open-ended to suffice as the major criterion of progress in designing new world history courses. Addition of ever more societies' history by itself would soon outgrow the ability of teachers and students to absorb information and fit it into a meaningful hierarchy of importance. The result of unbridled inclusion would be a flea market, a haphazard collection of odds and ends.

A NEW MOLD FOR WORLD HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Study of world history has entered a new phase. The cumulative effect of masses of information is that a view of our common past is emerging. New studies result in discovery that human cultural and technological progress began much earlier, and in more places than we had thought. Instead of the persistence of isolated cultures existing self-sufficiently for much of history, the date for emergence of long-distance trade is being pushed back and its scope is widening. In material factors, language and culture, common elements and connections are being uncovered. People have begun to conceive of a global culture. We have begun to study ourselves as a human entity, almost as we might explain ourselves to intelligent creatures from outer space if they came to visit.

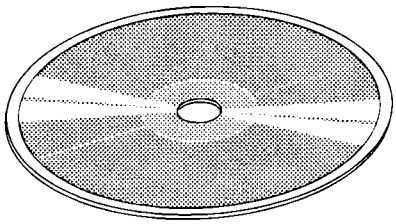
To incorporate a broad sampling of new knowledge, textbooks must be poured into a new mold. The solution is not grafting new appendages onto an obsolete framework. New structures must be found for integrating information in meaningful and valid ways. Students and teachers should search for synthesizing elements in the human experience. They should be taught how historians and other researchers go about their work. They should appreciate that debate is a natural and legitimate part of the social sciences through exposure to examples of honest disagreement based upon sound evidence. They should learn to recognize what is universal in human experience, and what is particular. Comparison of societies and civilizations, heroic individuals and unrecognized masses should move away from the alienating "us" and "them" approach. Criticism and reserve about differentness can be transformed into self-evaluation skills as an outcome of comparative history. The following sections offer some suggestions for integrating and synthesizing world history.

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR TEXTBOOK PUBLISHERS

Curriculum and textbook teams are required to routinely perform tasks from which seasoned historians shy away. Comprehensive, global works of world history have typically been undertaken by major historians at the peak of their careers. Spengler, Arnold Toynbee, Ibn Khaldun and Al-Tabari are examples from only two cultures. The days of broad-brushed surveys of world history are over. Today, most historians tread gingerly through the underbrush of narrow specializations. Teachers and textbook teams, in contrast, slog daily through swamps of information, slashing with machetes at jungles of unanswered historical questions. Adding enormously to the difficulty, they must perform this formidable task in a manner suitable for children and young adults.

In world history, production of innovative and creative treatments is perhaps most challenging. The biggest dilemma is how to accommodate the study of as many cultures as possible. Portrayal of diverse social classes and both genders adds bulk to an overwhelming mass of material. Concepts from political science, geography, economics, anthropology, archæology, sociology, theology, earth science and numerous hyphenated combinations of the above must be digested. Literature and the history of religion receive privileged treatment. These elements must be woven together into coherent, meaningful, ideologically- and religiously- and gender-neutral, colorful, accurate, up-to-date, culturally unbiased and grade-level appropriate material.

Textbook publishers are under pressure to produce these demanding works under the constraint of tighter budgets and shrinking time frames. Innovation must be carried out through the existing bureaucratic corporate structure. The time to search out specialists is seldom available. But the potential rewards are great. Not only does the United States offer a large, relatively stable market for new books—additional opportunities are opening for the export and translation of U.S. textbooks, which are the "gold standard" in education.[2] Even more possibilities exist in new educational formats such as multimedia textbooks on CD-ROM, video classrooms transmitted by satellite, and other media.



The prerequisite for acquiring and retaining these old and new markets would seem to be excellence in instructional material. It must represent the state of the art in available scholarship and pedagogical techniques. Narrow, parochial and obsolete teaching is not likely to cut the mustard.

D. Structuring a World History Text

The original purpose of teaching "world history" in U.S. and European schools grew out of the tradition of universal history discussed earlier. Students of the new generation were to acquire a self-perception of Western civilization that reinforces a sense of belonging and pride and helps to sustain the culture. The organization of older world history texts reflects that intent. They did not, at that juncture, strive for a global discourse designed to cultivate mutual understanding and exploration into our collective roots and development as human residents of spaceship earth. Students were regaled with the musings of Western culture talking mainly to itself.

Accordingly, traditional courses were clearly organized around presentation of selected cultures and civilizations. Their purpose was to trace the roots of Western civilization as they were narrowly understood then. As other cultures were included, this was done on two levels: to point out specific inventions or other contributions transmitted to Western society, or to explain points where Western civilization interacted with other cultures. Either way, other cultures were narrowly viewed as a function of Western interaction with them. They were not viewed with the intent of learning about them for their own sake.

The map following on the next page provides introduction to a timeline of world history produced near the turn of the 20th century. The large blacked-out land masses represent *terra incognita* for students in Western Civilizations courses. Unfortunately, although many so-called world history courses are still constructed around this older knowledge base, many students who hail from these blacked-out areas now populate the classrooms where these outmoded courses are still taught. In addition, new research is broadening our understanding of what constitutes roots and influences upon which Western culture is based.

This map shows the scope of historical study prior to the discovery of America.

TRADITIONAL SEQUENCING OF DISCRETE CULTURES FOR STUDY

The Western civilization approach made for neat and coherent organization of textbooks. From start to finish, there was a clear, linear progression of discrete civilizations seen as having developed into our own. African and pre-Columbian American civilization were not considered part of this progression, and were omitted from world history texts. Islam was mentioned only with relation to the Crusades, Ottoman/Habsburg relations, and the colonial period. Major civilizations among those above were treated separately in World Religions courses, seldom taught in high schools. Mention of the non-Western world after the Age of Exploration was always related to the projection of Western power. The cultures themselves were explored superficially, if at all. As the trends mentioned earlier began to alter this situation, India, China and Japan were the first non-Western civilizations to be treated in textbooks, usually receiving one summary of their development and "golden age." Africa and the Muslim world were next, assigned single chapters under the "rise, Golden Age, fall" format. Non-western civilizations received repeat mention only as a function of their contact with Europe.

Over the past 25 years, world history courses have undergone substantial, but incremental changes. More thorough discussions of China, India, Japan, Islam, Africa and pre-Columbian America are standard in world history texts. Unfortunately, the structure of course and textbooks has not changed in any fundamental way to accommodate these inclusions and additions. **The traditional sequence of the narrative**

was simply cut at seemingly appropriate points, the ends pushed apart, and the additional information spliced in. Over time, the number of splices has increased to include a few additional cultures beyond the major civilizations, such as Oceania, the Eurasian steppe and the Arctic regions, for example. Most courses and their accompanying texts follow a clear pattern of organization, centered on study of one major culture after another, arranged into clearly delineated units (between 9 and 13 in number) and chapters (between 32 and 39 in number):

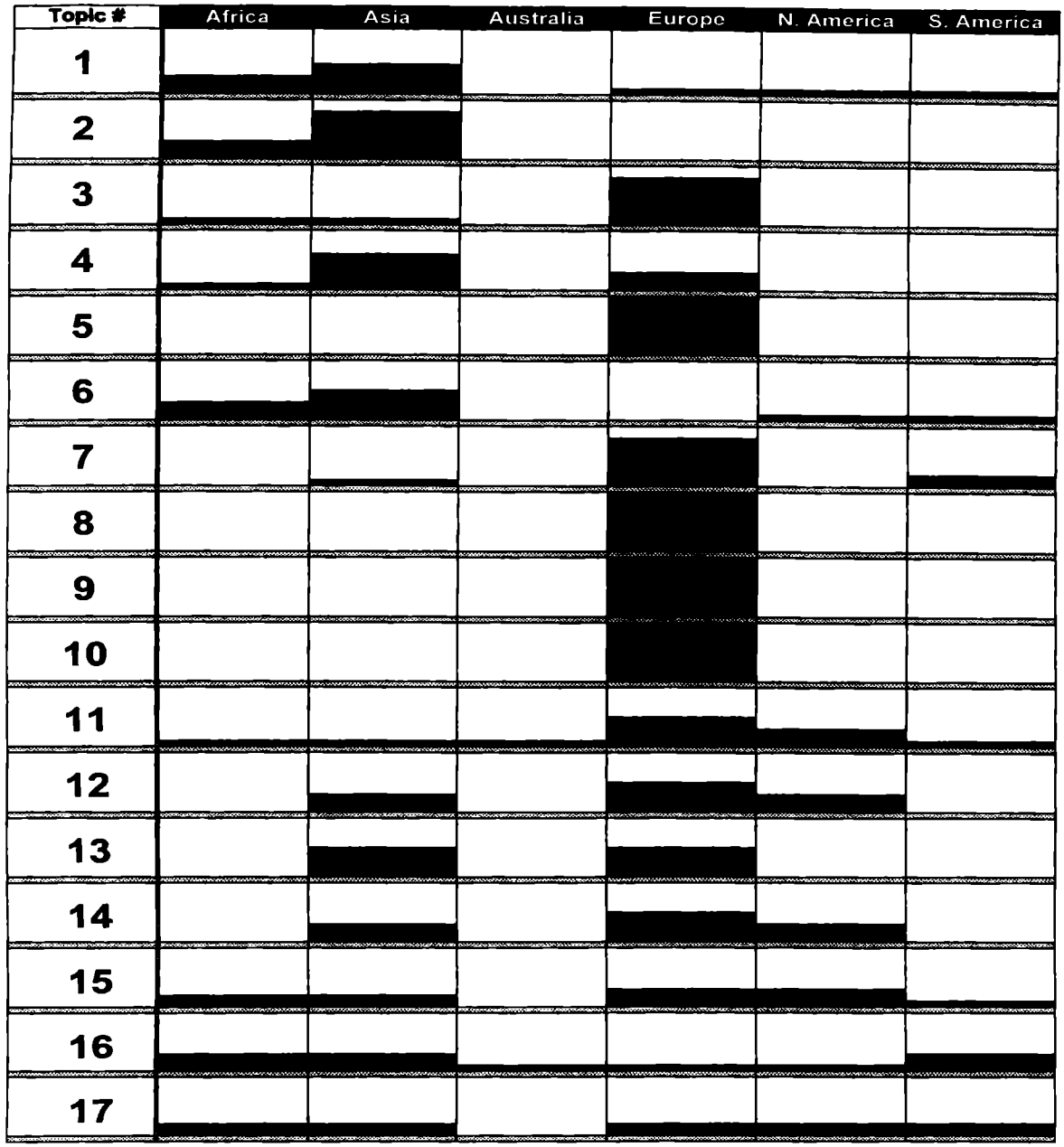
TYPICAL PROGRESSION OF TOPICS IN WORLD HISTORY

1. Prehistoric cultures
2. Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, China
   (other societies mentioned include Assyrians and Hebrews)
3. Greece and Rome
   (other societies mentioned include Phoenicians and Etruscans)
4. Byzantine Empire and Islam
5. Medieval Europe (often to nation-building milestones in 1500)
6. China, Japan, India, Africa and the Americas
7. Renaissance Europe and Age of Exploration
8. European Monarchies, Enlightenment, French Revolution, Napoleon
9. Industrial Revolution, Romanticism
10. National Expansion
11. Imperialism
12. World War I, Russia
13. Interwar years
14. World War II
15. Cold War World
16. Developing World (Asia, Middle East, Africa, Central and South America)
17. Summary of Present Trends and Dilemmas
    (not specific to any geographic region)

The preceding progression was culled from a sampling of world history texts. Departures from this typical structure are the exception, though movement away from it is detectable on a tentative, piecemeal basis among many newly developed books. The majority of basal and secondary texts currently in the bookbags of U.S. students follows this format fairly closely.

HOW DO STUDENTS EXPERIENCE WORLD HISTORY TEXTBOOKS?

Graphic presentation of two aspects of typical world history textbooks reveals the structural problems. **The first aspect is geographic coverage.** For each unit in the progression listed above, a bar graph has been produced showing approximate amount of discussion per continent for each major unit or topic based on the seventeen topics identified in the typical progression shown in the box on page 15.

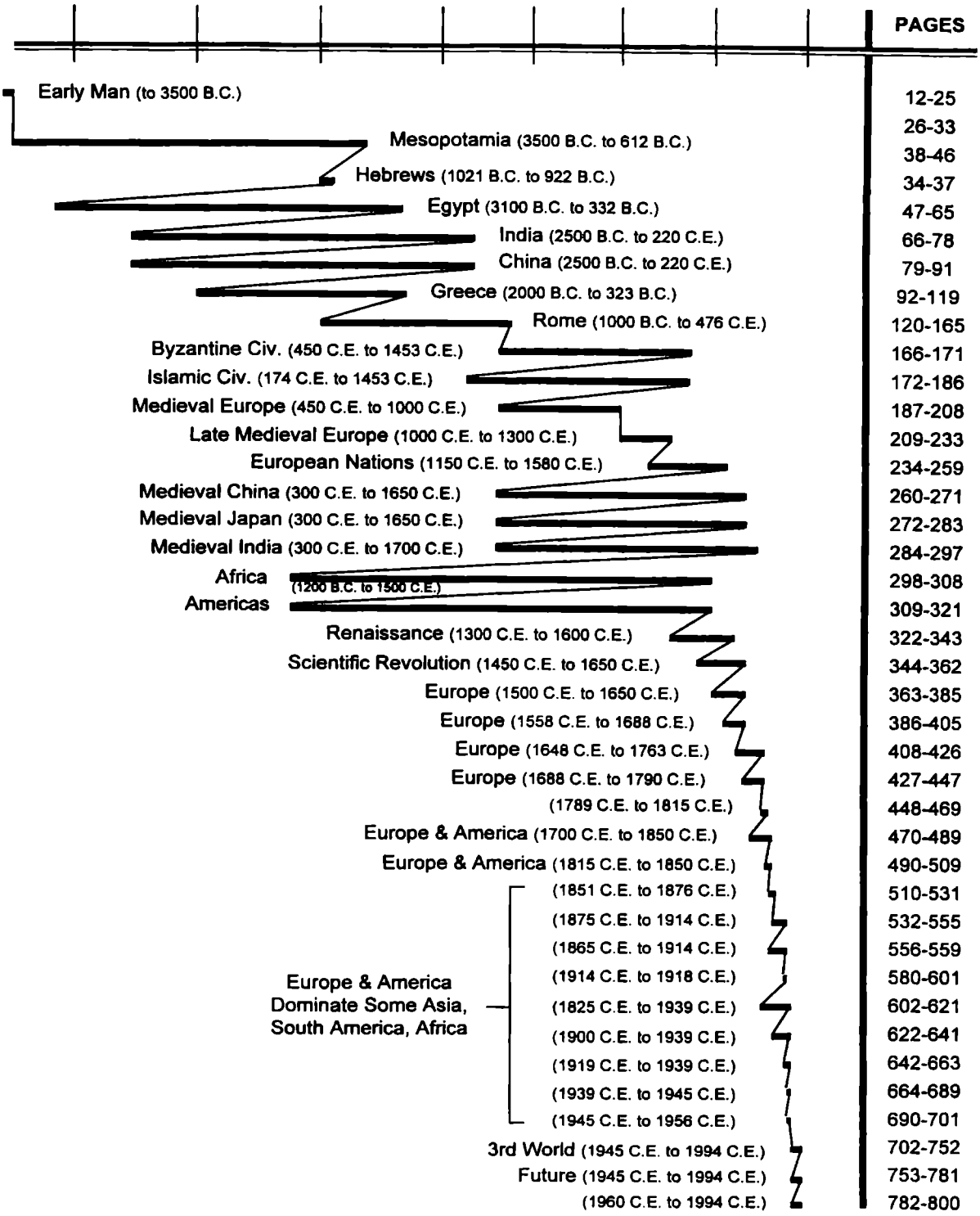


Graph shows amount of discussion per continent for each topic of study according to the "Typical Progression of Topics," pg. 15.

Thus, in row #1 of the bar graph, all continents receive brief mention, as the general discussion is about prehistoric cultures all over the world. Later in the unit, emphasis turns to Egypt and Mesopotamia, shown in row #2 with ancient India and China. Adding total geographic coverage for each continent in the world history course, Europe comes out far ahead, with Asia a close second. North America and Africa are tied for third, with the latter receiving most of its coverage early in the book and North America in the latter part. South America comes in a poor fourth. Australia and Oceania are virtually out of the running. In this analysis, no geographic division of Asia has been made, although its disproportionate size relative to the other continents would clearly justify doing so. That alteration in the bar graphs would result in further fragmentation of non-Western coverage, pointing up parts of Asia that receive practically no coverage. Division of Asia would also strongly accentuate lopsided coverage of Europe. Peripheral areas and even major geographic regions like the Pacific Islands and the Indian Ocean Basin are shown by this analysis to suffer total obscurity. The Indian Ocean basin is extremely neglected in world history treatments, although there is much information available about the early discovery of monsoon winds, it trade and important role in cultural transmission. Western students read about it only upon its discovery by Vasco da Gama.

The second mode of analysis concerns progression of the timeline from the distant past to the present over the year's coursework. In the line graph on the following page, each civilization (sometimes region or continent, as in the case of Africa and the Americas) that is separately treated in the text has been assigned a line tracing the time span covered in that unit, plotted against the number of page numbers allotted to it.

Graph shows chronological progression of historical study over a year's coursework



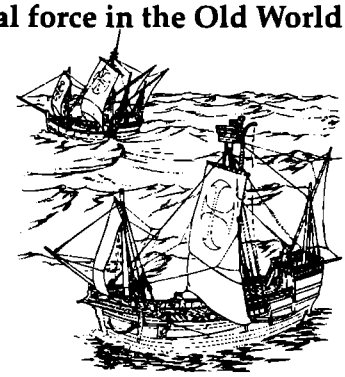
The jagged line gives a graphic picture in real time of the roller-coaster ride to which students are subjected. At the beginning of the year, things start out easily enough. From prehistory, the development of agriculture smoothly blends into the development of settlements, cities and civilizations. A small step down at about 3500 B.C. would cause no one to trip. For the next half year, the student travels to the year 1500 C.E. on a perilous course of chronological switchbacks that number over a dozen. Early in the book, the student is thrown back and forth a few thousand years two or three times in the course of a few weeks. At mid-year, the jumps in time have shrunk to a thousand years or less, but the number of switchbacks in a unit has increased to 3, 4 or 6 in a unit. These units (the medieval civilization jamboree) include the entire history of Africa and the Americas, usually dropped in just in time to catch the Age of Exploration. Around February of the school year in an efficient teacher's classroom, the chronological switchbacks slow and narrow abruptly at 1500 C.E. The student has arrived at the explanation of how Europe's development produced the modern world. Now the switchbacks involve only a few decades. The book progresses steadily forward in baby-steps toward the present time. The amount of detail increases, as does the cohesiveness of the narrative. Compared to earlier parts of the book, connections are drawn at a regular, leisurely pace. Non-Western cultures are only mentioned within the narrow bounds of their relations with Europe.

This chronological progression robs students of a sense that many groups interacted on the world stage at a given time. Granted, mention is made of contacts ("meanwhile, back in ....."), even on occasional maps with truncated trade routes, but these are easily missed in the dense text, and seldom receive emphasis. In some textbooks, the chronological sequence of the medieval period has more severe switchbacks. The feudal period and the Crusades, for example, are sometimes placed before study of Muslim civilization. Similarly, Byzantine civilization is carried through to 1453 C.E. before students have any notion of who the Ottoman Turks might be. By the time students reach that point again later in the text, the connection is long since forgotten, if indeed it was ever noted.

Secondly, it will prove nearly impossible for the student receiving an introduction to world history to glean out common trends. A pattern of human development across bands of time will not emerge naturally. This leaves little room in teaching aids and critical thinking questions for cultural comparisons of distant contemporaries. In the world history narrative as a whole, the sense of concurrent development and growing interaction is not a prominent strand. For example, early in the course, one of the clearest

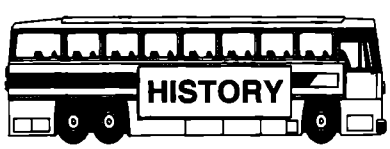
connections laid out for students is development of urban life from agricultural surplus. How and why high culture was able to emerge from this situation is fully understandable. When the rest of world history is studied as a series of discrete civilizations, however, the continuing development of urban culture is lost. Urbanization only receives clear emphasis again with relation to its revival in Europe during the High Middle Ages.

The inadequacy of the approach shows most starkly in the middle portion of these courses, covering **the period between ancient and modern times, the Fall of Rome to the Age of Exploration. Europe was clearly not yet THE dominant force, yet curriculum and textbook writers seem to have problems coming to terms with that fact. Although Europe was neither a dominant nor a pivotal force in the Old World during much of the medieval period, the story of Europe is still the dominant thread in the organization of the middle units. In an effort to trace and assert Europe's potential, the rest of the world appears as a muddle. The rich and complex interactions, achievements and developments among non-European civilizations and societies do not come across.** These non-European groups are treated in an encapsulated, isolated and trivialized manner. The sense of regional dynamics, the connections between history and geographic areas, the effect of multidimensional human movement and development is missing.



The growth of international trade, the engine of urban development, is similarly neglected as a unified phenomenon. Students are not shown how and where this trade persisted and grew after the fall of Rome, and how that trade stimulated the growth of cities from the Near East to Southeast Asia during the medieval period. The story of gradual growth and dissemination of technology as a shared human process that accompanied increasing trade, travel and literacy among civilization is missing from these textbooks.

To summarize the problem at the level of student experience, the technique of studying a series of discrete cultures one after the other is not effective. If world history is a story of related events, many of these relationships are lost because the information is not connected *in situ*. **What adults conceive as important background information is wallpaper to young students.** The world history classroom is not a leisurely stroll, but a breakneck tour-bus ride through strange and foreign streets. Altering the structure to connect disparate elements of a multi-plot story would lend meaning and aid understanding.



MULTI-DISCIPLINARY CONTENT AND APPROACHES

Discussion above has concentrated upon the simple addition of numerous cultures to the traditional sequence. The process of structuring and organizing world history materials has been made more complex by a second development. The steady broadening of disciplines represented in the treatment of each civilization has led to a compounding of the material that must be incorporated into the account. The traditional emphasis on political history and concentration upon the high culture and doings of elites has given way to interest in the broad spectrum of social activity. Whereas in the past it was sufficient to recycle stock historical figures and cultural artifacts in the manner of a practiced tour-bus guide, it is now necessary to include historical material from a variety of disciplines. **The structure of the course must be flexible and sophisticated enough to meaningfully accommodate a multidisciplinary approach.** Taken together, these developments have placed enormous strain upon the artificial framework of Western universal history. The structure has become positively rickety, its skeleton wracked with odd protrusions. The bones have been fractured in many places, and refuse to heal together to allow graceful movement. Teachers, curriculum specialists, and textbook writers are now called upon to produce a coherent, multi-dimensional view of world history. The progression of cultures that are acknowledged as having produced the modern world is no longer neat, clear or linear.

TOWARD ALTERNATIVE ORGANIZATIONAL SOLUTIONS

There are several ways to avoid a merely additive method for incorporating a variety of cultures into the world history narrative, beyond the one-dimensional treatment of discrete civilizations in the ancient and medieval periods, or the myopic view of other societies as a function of Western power projection in modern times. With sound organization, the world history course can convey a sense of human development and interaction over time. Valuable insights and contributions offered by all cultures can be brought together toward forming a world-view that is expansive, constructive and tolerant. These goals characterize the role of history and social sciences laid out in both the California *Framework's* "Goals and Strands" and the *National Standards in World History*.

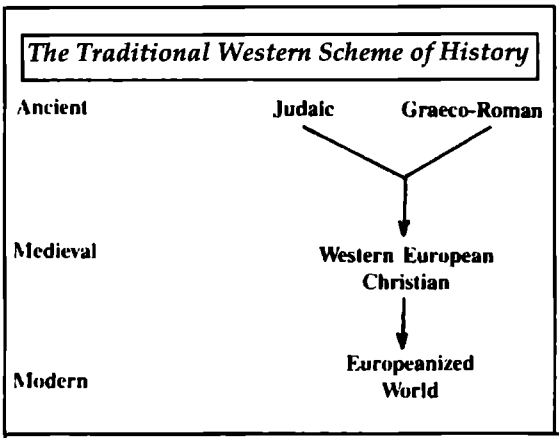
Three essential elements of organization offer themselves as categories for grouping cultures (whether societies or civilizations) for a global presentation of world history:

1. Chronology
2. Geography
3. Historical Themes

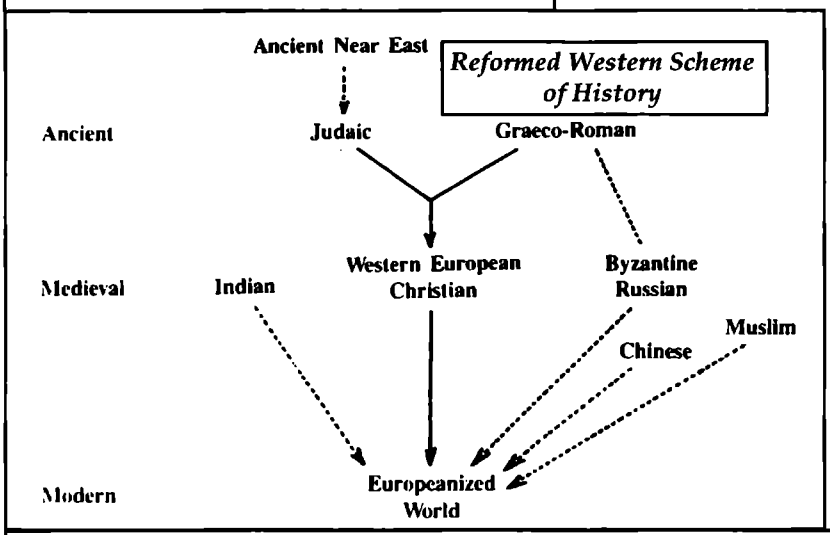
1. CHRONOLOGY

The unit of organization is a block of time, such as an era, in which activity across the whole world is studied. Building like a layer cake, or in the way geologists study bands of sedimentary rock, developments of various peoples, societies and civilizations are traced period by period to the modern era. The criteria for determining the time frame for each era is generally thematic. What global developments characterize the period? Most traditional courses and texts begin that way, tracing centers of civilization that emerged across the globe. Obviously, the units of a traditionally structured course follow a constant progression toward the future, but the sequence is too ragged, and the sense of what relates these periods to one another is often missing until the modern period, when European impact is seen as the catalyst. Unfortunately, as seen above, the smooth chronological progression is not followed throughout the course. As a result, the story of interaction among cultures is not easy to incorporate, and an account of modes of transmission and influence of ideas and technology among cultures is regularly neglected. Equity of coverage suffers as well.

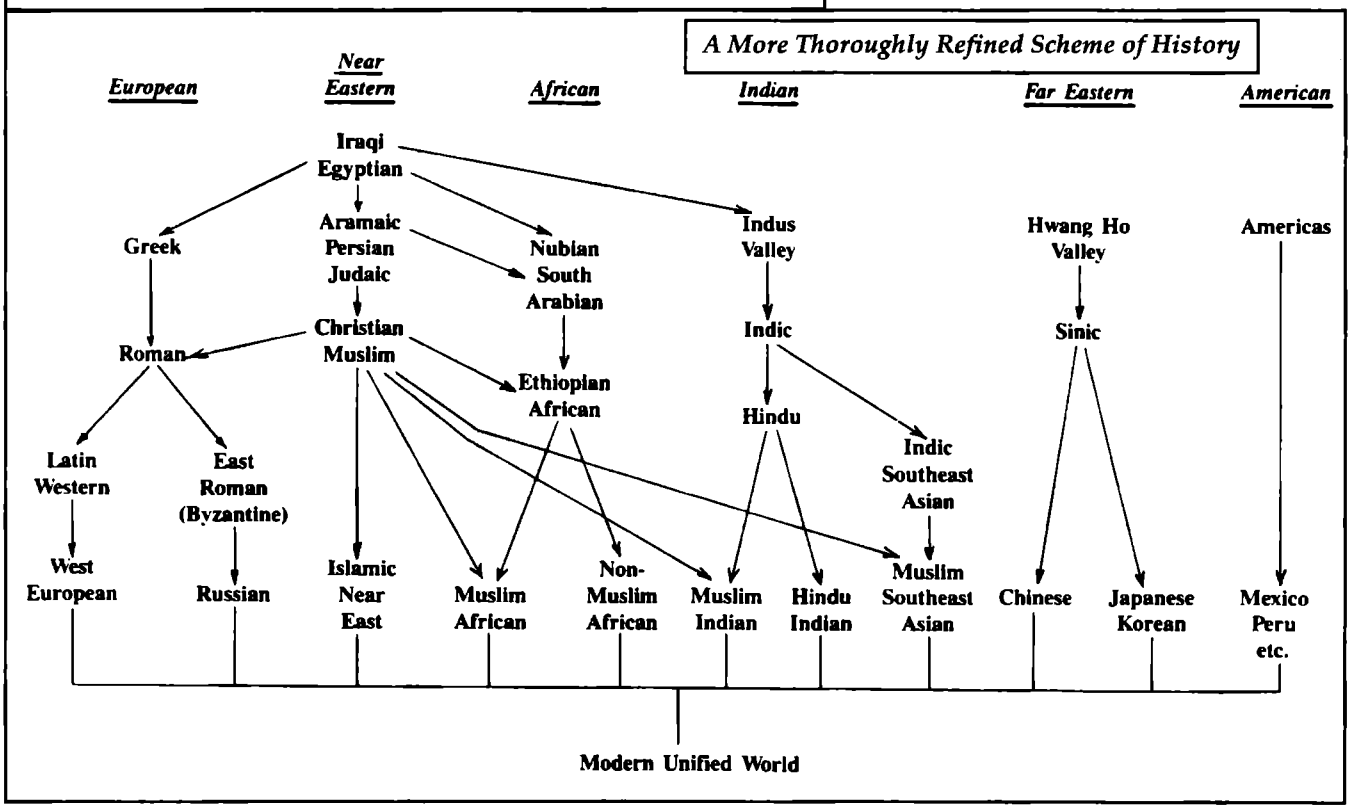
Clearly, the most accurate and understandable chronological construct for universal world history is the discussion of parallel cultures within broad bands of time, or eras. The exact division of these chronological bands may vary slightly from one treatment to the other, but this structure is uniquely suited to tracing the interaction of peoples in time and geographic space. This approach approximates the structure followed in the *National Standards in World History* document, in which world history is divided into eight "Eras." While one could argue with the precise chronological division and thematic characterization of some eras, the overall concept in the Standards is clearly sound, and promises to bring substantial progress to the teaching of world history.



Traditional chronological organization has emphasized the rigid periodization, "Ancient" — "Medieval" — "Modern." This structural understanding of world history is rooted in the Western classical tradition, at a time when the scope of geographic comprehension was centered on the Mediterranean region, and peripheral regions were only dimly lit by speculation, legend and fantasy. The appearance of Christianity marked a division between a present and an "Ancient" world. The post-Industrial sense of "modernity" has traditionally viewed the Renaissance as the second major watershed, which followed the "Medieval" period, a cultural hiatus and interim in the Western-centered view of history.



Charts by Khalid Y. Blankinship from "Islam and World History: Towards a New Periodization," American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, 8:3 (1991).



c The limited scope of this scheme has entailed exclusion of many cultures and their contributions to the pre-modern and modern global experience. The current structure of textbooks, which generally lumps its entire treatment of the great non-Western cultures in this vast "medieval period," is poorly suited to demonstrating gradually increasing interaction and development in the Old World. The frequent resort to foreshadowing and backtracking noted in the line graph above amply illustrates the faults in this periodization-cum-categorization. Even its application to European history is increasingly being questioned, as evidence emerges that the "Dark Ages" were not nearly as dismal and empty as had once been supposed. There is a recognizable trend toward de-emphasizing the concept of the medieval both among European historians and scholars of other regions.

2. GEOGRAPHY

This category is more difficult to apply, since geographic divisions are not neat. Some continental divisions are clear-cut. In other areas, they are more arbitrary, such as the division between Europe and Asia. In the Mediterranean area and South Asia, historical categorization by continent is the enemy of comprehension. In this case, bodies of water make more sense for comprehending historical development. Traditional accounts often acknowledge this fact by grouping cultures of the Mediterranean basin for study. This method is seldom carried farther east to comprehend the early and important relationships among cultures grouped around the Persian Gulf/Arabian Sea/Indian Ocean, which later extended to the Pacific. A land mass that served a similar connecting function over millennia of history is the Central Asian steppe. Traditional world history texts often overlook this region entirely, or fail to appreciate influences of steppe cultures on various civilizations.

History texts should draw attention to the changing significance of geographic divisions over time. The Atlantic Ocean basin is a good example of an area that once divided civilizations from one another and later became a vital connecting link. While geography is certainly still significant, technology has overridden many of its barriers to communication. Interweaving a strong sense of geographic influence into the historical account will make this modern development crystal clear. This theme meshes well with the historical theme of ecology. The possibilities for organizing the narrative around geography are limited since it dœs not provide effective linear organization for a historical narrative. Grouping the study of cultures around zones of interaction which change over time, however, can be effective means to incorporate a wide variety of cultures.

An argument could be made for viewing Eurasia as the "World Island," having five peninsulas or sub-continents, each housing its own distinct cultural area: Europe, the "Near East," India, Southeast Asia, and East Asia (China, Japan and Korea). The problem of Egypt and the rest of North Africa being identified alternately with the Near East and Africa is mitigated today by our understanding of plate tectonics. In discussing the relationship between world history and geography, students' attention should be drawn to the connections between land masses and bodies of water rather than their divisions. The sense of sundering and collision is almost palpable in the land relationships in Southwest Asia. The Arabian peninsula, together with the Mediterranean littoral, might be better explained as "the Arabian causeway" or "bridge."

One model for relating geography to history begins with explanation that features of the earth's surface like climate, landforms and bodies of water can act as barriers or connectors. Instead of forcing cultures into the conceptual boundaries of a continent, cultures can be viewed as foci radiating across geographic regions. The term "radiate" is not limited to forces and influences that move outward from the core of a civilization; rather, these foci also attract other influences and act as attractions upon each other. It can be shown how these foci interact and change with migration of peoples, development of technology, economic and social progress as well as environmental forces.

3. *Historical Themes*

Milestones of development identified with chronological periods (Stone Age, Iron Age, Axial Age, Atomic Age etc.) have long been part of world history accounts. These traditional periods are either too broad, too abstract or too overlapping to give much coherence to a world history text. Finer distinctions are needed that characterize developments and bring out relationships among many civilizations and societies over a comprehensible time span. This development in the organization of world history is relatively new, since it involves periodization that is not unique or limited to one dominant civilization. This trend belongs to the comprehension global history as a common human experience, and it is finding expression in history education at all levels. It is an area in which recent scholarship is finding material for synthesizing explanations.

Two newly published studies provide examples. Frances and Joseph Gies' *Cathedral, Forge and Waterwheel: Technology and Invention in the Middle Ages* (Harper Collins, 1994) is no parochial account of Western inventions. It traces the sources and routes of transmission of human technology from Chinese, Indian, Muslim and Western funds of scientific knowledge and vocational practice. While it dispels the notion of the "dark" ages, it does so in a way that fully recognizes regions of the world on which the light shone more brightly at that period, whose cultures illuminated Europe's progress and development. **To bring this sort of research to the understanding of young students, it is not adequate to catalogue inventions that "WE" got from "THEM," as if cultural reps could push shopping carts through a huge warehouse of inventions, without ever meeting their inventors or users in social context. Yet many textbooks portray the process of cultural transmission as just this mechanical and impersonal.** Pivotal inventions are passed over as having burst from the European mind full grown like Aphrodite from the head of Zeus, without any reference to their antecedents in other times and places. **Students should be shown how various cultures were able to communicate with one another, what routes and modes of contact were available, and why.** That makes for an interesting, inclusive story structure that students will be able to remember and upon which they will be able to hang future knowledge. Linear themes that illustrate gradual global development can bring cohesion to the complex narrative.

It would be difficult and artificial to apply chronological, geographic or thematic categories in a strict, exclusive manner to an entire world history textbook. Whichever focus is dominant, the other two elements must be blended in. The trick is to balance them throughout the narrative, recognizing where and when each is most relevant. There is no one correct way to apply them, but many creative ways. Such treatment assures a fairer, more accurate and comprehensible view of history, and one which promotes understanding and a sense of collective human accomplishment.

Decades of detailed study in narrow fields have provided evidence that is changing modern perceptions of the past. A recently published study, *Central Asia in World History* (S.A.M. Adshead, St. Martin's Press,1993) represents **the effort to draw the fruits of research together into the global dialogue. It is also an example of how thematic and geographic elements can be effectively combined in the world history narrative.**

Professor Adshead has identified six important global institutions of the modern world that developed gradually through increasing interaction and contribution by many cultures, in which Central Asia played an active or passive role. They are 1. the Basic Information Circuit (shared scientific knowledge), 2. the Microbian Common Market (disease), 3. the Global Arsenal (weapons), 4. the World Market (international commerce) 5. the Higher Polytechnic (technology), and 6. the Common Consensus (the still-emergent world order, based upon shared expectations of human rights and political norms).

While his analysis is not definitive, it is an excellent example of the state of the art, global dialogue. In explaining the Renaissance, for example, he identifies two common characteristics that were not unique to Europe, but seemed to emerge simultaneously in several cultures and cross-fertilize each other. These institutions are the Religious International (religious reform and revival) and the Republic of Letters (widespread state patronage of individual scholars), which he identifies as among the first world institutions of the pre-modern period. Commerce, of course, was an important engine of interaction. Central Asia is Adshead's focus, but his analysis of the evidence ranges far from there to give global meaning to regional developments. While it is clear that such analyses cannot and should not be transplanted whole into a world history text, they point up the fact that world history can no longer be portrayed as a function of Western universal history. Since earliest times, cultures have talked to each other, shared, interacted and cross-pollinated each other. Connection was the rule, whether direct, or through intermediary individuals or groups. Isolation was the exception, and was usually related to geographic barriers.

Many of these ideas have been incorporated in the forthcoming *National Standards in World History*, of which the basis of organization is eight eras of world history. As such, they are likely to influence textbook writing and state curriculum models. It will be up to curriculum specialists and textbook publishers to find creative solutions for blending other thematic, geographic and chronological elements into cohesive and stimulating treatments of world history.

E. Modifying Content for a Global Approach

Along with structural changes, a number of other modifications to traditional means of teaching world history are called for. Many of these changes are already in progress, and have acquired the status of consensus issues. While all scholarly effort is aimed at teaching, educators of young people in survey courses are not at liberty to select a narrow focus of topic. They are required to be comprehensive in the range of information they deliver. Their audience is not a group of fellow historians, but a diverse collection of novices, some interested, many pre-conditioned for boredom. The skills and content objectives are to be passed on to this group with measurable success. The school survey course might be described as a fully loaded train departing with passengers and cargo in September, required to arrive at its destination for unloading in June. It is a tall order indeed.

TEACHING FOR A FUTURE OF CHANGING "KNOWLEDGE"

There is a great temptation to simply state the "facts" in telling the story of world history. Traditional models abound in textbook warehouses. There is little time to weave a narrative and allow students to reach a conclusion by themselves. Many critical thinking questions do not deserve the name. There are several types of these. One type asks the hypothetical question, what if "x" event had not happened? Never mind that the historical circumstances for such an alternative are in no way present. Another type asks simply "How did "x" event lead to "y"? In many cases, "Y" represents the conclusion presented in the text as inevitable, and asks the student to forage in the text for its causes, which are stated in 1,2,3 order. It is a regurgitation question in disguise. Close analysis would reveal that many critical thinking questions are loaded to produce a stock answer. They seldom ask students to come up with an alternative explanation of events based on the historical evidence. **The reason is that historical evidence is not the universal coin of the realm in world history texts and courses. On the contrary, narrative fact is the currency of curricula and textbooks.** The fact that this is less true of American history materials in general is probably due to the smaller scope of the course, the higher level of detail, and the closeness of the topic to immediate relevance. **World history texts have found many novel, interesting and attractive ways to present facts, but there is still little true inquiry between their covers.** While the focus of the critique is on textbooks, it should again be emphasized that while publishers on their own can do much to improve them, at bottom they are only as good as the curricula

on which they are based. If course guides dictate conclusions instead of inviting inquiry, that is unfortunately what many publishers will present. Thankfully, some publishers, as educators rather than just businesses, are willing to take risks at adoption time.

If any one item has become an endangered species this century, it is "the fact." Today's *"Eureka!"* is tomorrow's stale bread. Just as in the sciences, current understanding of historical events and connections will be upset by new evidence. Students should be taught to read evidence and examine possibilities. Three important means for achieving this suggest themselves.

1. RESPECT AND CULTIVATE STUDENTS' CRITICAL FACULTIES

Textbooks should not be released for publication until chapters have been scrupulously checked for conflicting explanations of controversial issues in the narrative. A frequent example of this problem is in many textbook explanations of the spread of Islam. Does Islamic doctrine allow compulsion? Did Muslims apply compulsion to the effort to encourage conversion? What is *jihad*? When and how did conversion occur? Was compulsion applied to pagans or Christians and Jews? Several locations in the same book may provide contradictory information. One often wonders whether this is obfuscation or innocent confusion. It would appear that the bureaucratic setting in which textbooks are developed is too atomized to assure consistency. Chapters are apparently produced by different teams, and the review/editing process is not given sufficient time or weight to root out these problems reliably. Many students can and do notice such discrepancies. These content bloopers should be eliminated with as much alacrity as typographical errors.

This is only one danger of presenting narrative "facts" instead of a collection of evidence. It would be an interesting subject for research to discover and produce a typology of the myriad ways in which textbook authors try to make up students' minds about what happened in the past. There seems to be a compulsion not only to arrive at definite conclusions, but to present the evidence in such a way that no other conclusions are possible. This type of pedagogy belongs to the realm of propaganda, not scholarship. It becomes positively dangerous when one considers the casual level of research upon which most of these books are based.

2. ACKNOWLEDGE HISTORICAL DEBATE

Students cannot be expected to draw their own conclusions about historical events without guidance. The story must move along in a cohesive manner that conveys meaning. A world history text should represent the informed opinions of historians and other scholars. In presenting conclusions, educators are modeling the process of writing history. Without presenting evidence and showing from time to time how different historians have used the same evidence to reach entirely different conclusions, no modeling is taking place. We are not teaching history at that point, we are simply stating a series of conclusions stripped of the process of logical and critical thinking. It would be refreshing to see in the history texts something like this passage, very common in dialogue among scholars:

> "Archeologists have found remains of ___ in various places. Tax records list invention X in the markets of the city of _____. Elsewhere, a poet from _____ mentions invention X in his song about _____. This material has led some historians to think that it first originated in _____. In contrast, the historian John Smith thinks it came from _____ and was first used in (date) at _____. His opinion is based upon the discovery of _____."[2]

Another means of including sources is to quote actual historians by name in the text, or to provide excerpts from their work in separate features. This is more often practiced in American history textbooks, and should become a part of world history courses as well.

While it is not expected that courses can be bloated with debate on every issue, it should be a regular and integral part of the narrative. The fact that history is a very subjective science should be kept in the forefront of the narrative through frequent and varied examples. The *National Standards in World History* calls for teaching students to

> analyze the assumptions — stated and unstated — from which the narrative was constructed and assess the strength of the evidence presented. It requires that students consider the significance of what the author included as well as chose to omit...[3]

This would seem to imply either that textbook authors invite students and teachers to deconstruct their own text from time to time, or that they change the currency of textbooks from fact to evidence, from predigested narrative to compilation of interpretations. Textbooks should probably become something other than what they have been in the past. Teachers can do much to provide correctives for the limited scope of textbooks by inviting students to question the approaches and conclusions contained in various media. By introducing alternatives, they reinforce the understanding that

historical conclusions are tentative. Rather than giving students a packaged tour-bus ride, history courses and textbooks should provide a good map, a reliable compass and walking shoes.

3. CITE SOURCES USED BY TEXTBOOK RESEARCHERS TO PREPARE EACH UNIT AND/OR CHAPTER.

This is the Information Age. No scholar's work would be accepted if he or she did not cite sources upon which the work's conclusions are based, both in the form of new research from primary sources, and evaluation of available analysis in secondary sources. No junior high school term paper would receive a passing grade without reference to sources. Unfortunately, it has become an accepted norm and tradition in textbook publishing that sources upon which research teams base their narrative remain invisible to students, teachers and reviewers. More advanced readers must employ guesswork. The *National Standards in World History* and the California *Framework*'s "Criteria for Evaluation of Instructional Materials" require that they "reflect the best historical scholarship" and be "based on the best and most recent scholarship", respectively.[4] The best guarantee of adhering to that high standard is to provide a bibliography, at least in the annotated teacher's edition, of the sources upon which each unit or chapter were based. A "Suggestions for Further Reading" section is inadequate for this purpose, unless it is made clear that the sources cited were actually used to prepare the text.

History texts are commonly based upon a myriad and somewhat haphazard collection of sources. This is necessary, since they are compendia of information from a wide variety of area studies. In some cases, individual chapters may draw upon conflicting narratives and monographs whose ideas have been superseded. When sources are not cited, this problem remains opaque. If sources were routinely cited, however, it is likely that the quality of research would improve, and there would be a greater tendency to employ works that represent a consensus of solid contemporary scholarship rather than maverick ideas of older or more recent vintage.

Nowadays, few consumers would like to eat a TV dinner or a candy bar without knowing what ingredients are in it. This should be the case with food for thought as well. The market has dictated voluntary compliance with truth in labeling; a better educated teaching profession may begin to do so as well. At any rate, the first publishing companies to do so might find that they have set a standard that others feel compelled to follow.

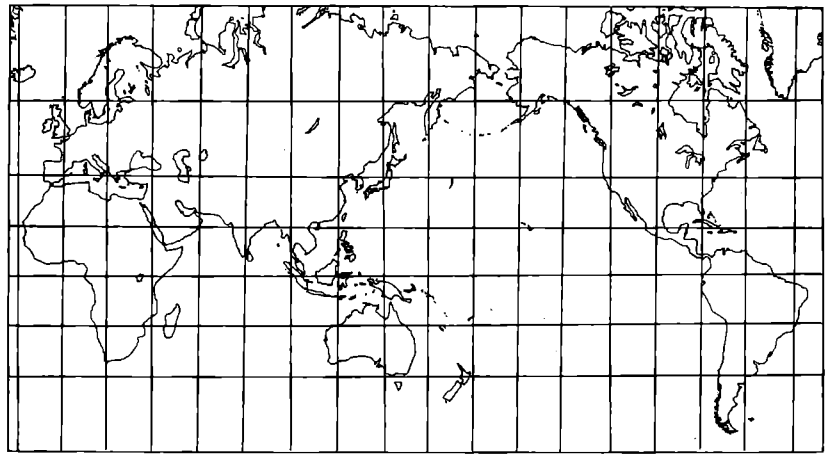
AUGMENTING GLOBALIZATION THROUGH MAPS

In recent years, newspapers have cited shocking evidence of geographic illiteracy rampant among the U.S. population. Accordingly, increased emphasis upon integrating geography into the study of history is altering the content of textbooks. More maps, more geographic information and explanation is in demand. Publishers have heeded the call, and much has already been added. Classroom teachers have access to a wide selection of supplementary materials, from laminated sets to transparencies and interactive computer programs, which are unfortunately often underutilized. These continuing efforts deserve applause. The following suggestions are intended to augment the trend toward integrating these branches of knowledge to produce a more global presentation of history.

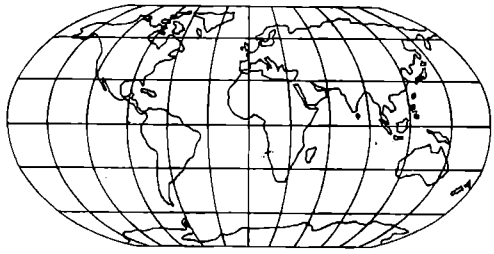
1. Map Projections

A variety of views of the world may be presented in a world history text. We now have satellite pictures of the world as it looks from space. These can be used to dramatize the effect of physical features like the Himalayan mountains, the vast size of the Pacific Ocean, and the extent of the Sahara Desert.

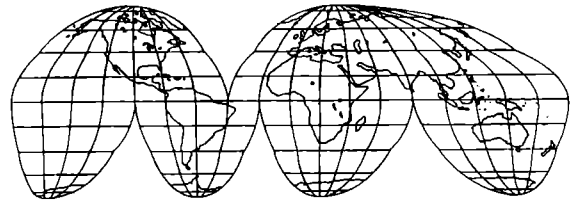
As most map study materials state in their introductory lessons, all projections produce more or less distortion. For example, the Mercator projection, with its distortion of the Northern Hemisphere (most evident in contrasting the relative size of Greenland on a map and a globe), is a poor tool for teaching world history. Prolonged and exclusive exposure imprints an exaggerated sense of the importance and size of land masses in the North. Accordingly, the Equal Area Projection is coming into more common use in atlases. Some projections in which the seas are cut produce even less distortion of land masses. These projections are seldom used, however, because of the preference for simple rectangular projections. They are presumably less confusing for students, as well. While no map can be perfect, use of flat map projections should not be restricted to one standard type for all applications. An unusual view of earth from the North Pole is a graphic illustration of the way in which far northern cultures communicated with each other, and aids understanding of one theory about America's earliest settlers. It provides a novel perspective on the size and proximity of these land masses. Teaching instructions should recommend frequent use of globes as a "reality check."



Mercator Projection



Robinson Equal Area



Goode's Interrupted

2. MAPS THAT EXCLUDE AND INCLUDE — VIEWS OF HISTORY AT A GLANCE

Cropping maps that are included in various chapters of world history can be a destructive enterprise. Here, the drawbacks of presenting discrete civilizations are readily apparent. Greece falls off the page as early Rome, centered on a blow-up of the Italian peninsula, takes over the stage. No matter that Alexandrian learning continued to flourish under the Ptolemys, and the School of Athens was not formally disbanded until 529 C.E. under Justinian. The Roman Empire is laid out around the Mediterranean in all of its glory. A small patch of the Parthian Empire is visible at the edge of the rectangle like a border decoration. Seldom do textbooks provide maps by which students can compare the civilizations discussed in one unit of study, though these might be placed with great effect on the double-page spreads usually occupied by the unit time line. Selection of a date of reference might be somewhat problematic, but in most cases an adequate solution will be found.

Typical portrayal of empires at their greatest extent can be quite misleading and distorts the historical picture. First, it burns an image into students' minds of a situation that often only prevailed for a brief period. For example, the period at which the Roman Empire existed at its greatest extent was only two years, from 115 to 117 C.E. At a somewhat smaller extent, it was stable for nearly 300 years. Similarly, portrayal of the Athenian Empire is accurate for a brief period only; a more representative portrayal of the period is a constellation of independent city states shown as discrete parts of a whole. Despite the pull of convention and established tradition, historical understanding would seem to demand portrayal of an empire's most stable configuration, not its briefly attained height. The image captured in students' minds is then more realistic, especially if only one view is given in the text. The practice of shading regions according to successive conquests and losses is of course a good alternative for older students.

The very practice of portraying empires as a monolithic mass of pink, blue or green may be called into question. Modern students have a concept of national states with clearly defined boundaries, whose governments control territory and pervade residents' lives. This was hardly the case for most of history. Apart from the occasional rumbling of passing armies (destructive as it could be), and the oft-escaped obligation to pay tributes and taxes in commodities, most inhabitants of these empires passed their lives untouched by the intrusion of government. This was certainly less true for urban areas, which were meeting points for commerce, administration and military intrusion. Thus, while it is difficult to avoid showing the extent of empires by shading with one color or another, these portrayals should be qualified with inclusion of other types of maps without supposed boundaries of states.

The practice of portraying hegemonic states is particularly problematic for the medieval period, when boundaries and constellations of rulers were fluid and highly fragmented. In the medieval period, in fact, the state is in many instances a poor focus of study, whether in Europe, Asia or Africa. In *Cathedral, Forge and Waterwheel,* the authors refer to the traditional history books with their overdependence on political history:

> In the old-fashioned history books with their political maps, Europe of 1200 figured as an incoherent jumble of petty principalities and cloudy sovereignties, seeming to stand still or even move backward in respect to the modern world. But looking past popes, Holy Roman Emperors, counts, landgraves, and archbishops, and focusing on the worlds of agriculture, commerce, manufacture and intellectual activity, one can discern a region economically coherent and intellectually dynamic, borrowing, adapting, inventing and synthesizing technology.[5]

Social, religious, intellectual, commercial, urban, and technological developments are far more interesting and instructive for most regions during the "medieval" period.

PORTRAYING REGIONS OF COMMUNICATION

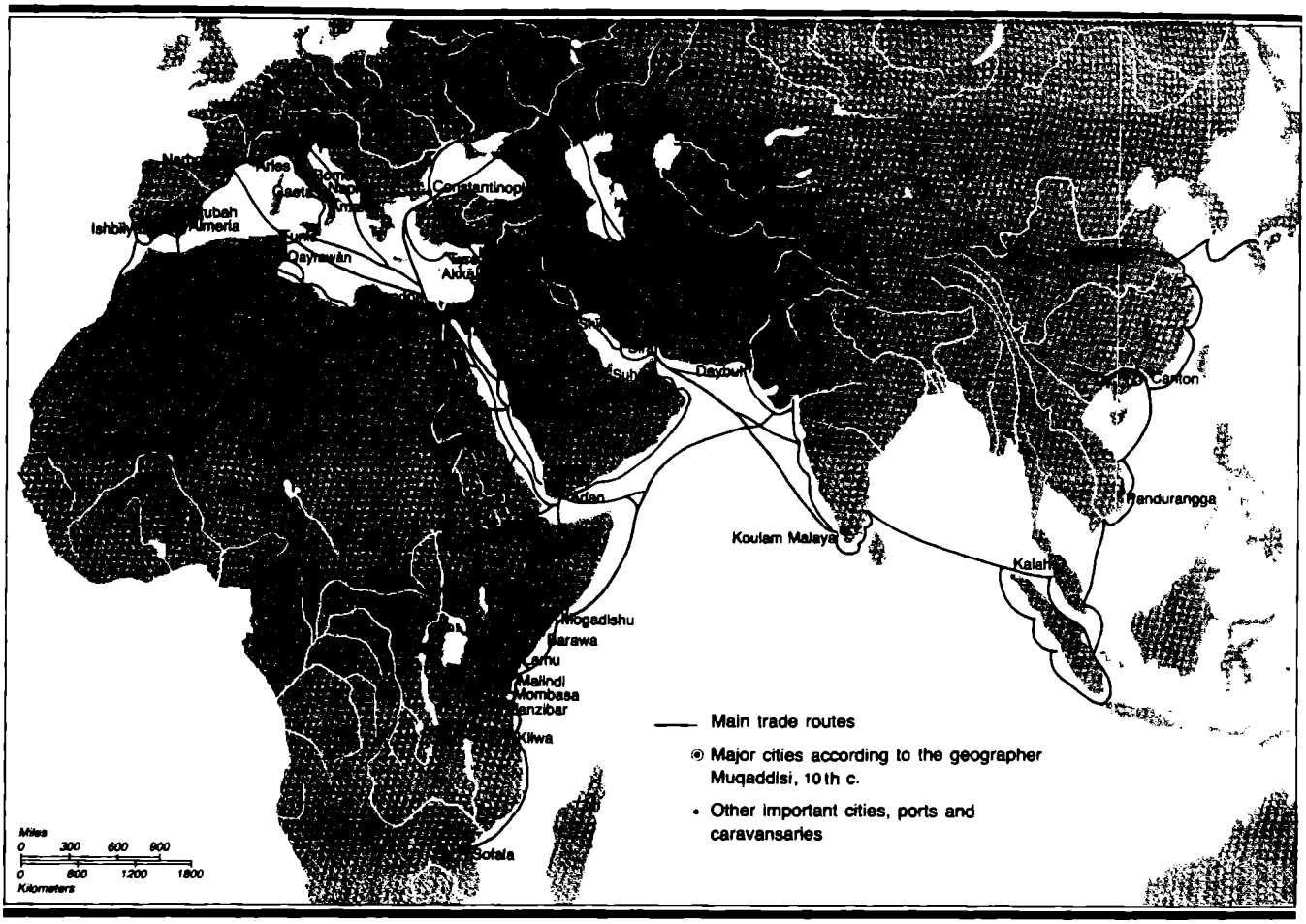
As an antidote to necessary political maps of the period, then, other types of maps should be provided. For example, a map showing the dissemination of paper production from China, along the Silk Road to Samarkand, Baghdad, the Muslim world, and spreading from Spain and Sicily gradually into northern Europe would point up the immense significance of one invention and how long it took to spread. The spread of printing from the 15th century provides an interesting contrast. The same treatment can be applied to military innovations like the use of guns or gunpowder. For the period before 1400, the broad corridor of urbanization from North Africa and the Near East, across Central Asia and India to Southeast Asia might be profitably shown. That belt, which was now spreading toward the northwest to include the growing towns of Europe, would provide students with clear understanding of the extent of trade and incentives for Europeans to explore and capture a piece of this action. Maps which illustrate these points can be find in a number of sources, including Colin McEvedy's *New Penguin Atlas of Medieval History* (especially his maps on pages 56, 74, and 88).

Maps showing the dissemination of and competition between religions would also paint an interesting and arresting picture at a variety of periods. These maps would add more dimension to competition between Islam and Christianity after the Crusades, especially in light of the conversion of some Mongol successors to Islam, and of Russians to Eastern Christianity, and illustrate the missionary impulses in the Age of Exploration along with commercial motivations. The entry of Buddhism into Japan around the time of Islam's first expansion in the seventh century would further illuminate and draw connections on a global level.

World history textbooks seldom include historical maps of the entire Old World, showing all the lands and waters of the Eastern Hemisphere. Historical trends that played themselves out over this wide field of dissemination are passed over. For example, it would be a simple matter to show all of the known major trade routes of the Old World in, say, the year 1400 C.E. An important basis of connections and transmission among cultures would be well illustrated. Instead, students are treated to maps cropped to show "Islamic trade routes," "Italian trade routes," "The Silk Road"

and "Saharan trade routes" (often cut off from other routes plied by Muslim traders). Routes that connected East Africa with Arabia, the Persian Gulf with the China Sea, the land routes of Central Asia and Europe (Eastern and Western) are lost on the cutting room floor. As a general theme of development in the Eastern Hemisphere particularly, instructional materials might profitably include regular presentation of resource maps with icons. These maps would highlight the changing nature of essential raw materials in various economies and periods, and illustrate important regions where they were acquired. Use of this type of map is too often restricted to modern geography lessons.

To explain the Renaissance, the Scientific Revolution, the beginnings of the modern world and the impetus for the European Age of Exploration, such a map would seem to play an important role. How much greater is the sense of collective human contribution to the enterprise of modernization when shown in this light. While there were still many benighted regions of the world, they were far fewer than historians had once thought.



Trade Routes of the Eastern Hemisphere, 4th-10th centuries

COMBINING PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY WITH HISTORY AND ECONOMICS

History books nowadays display a much wider variety of maps than in the past. Physical relief maps more regularly accompany discussion of history in one form or another. Climate and vegetation maps that used to be found only in geography books now illustrate the development of cultures. Maps with winds and currents sometimes accompany discussion of exploration and trade routes. These developments are admirable, and the only sound recommendation is their further expansion.

Unfortunately, the majority of maps in history texts still portray pastel blobs representing state configurations. Most of these have no other reference to geography than a beige background land mass differentiated from the light blue water. On occasion, these two-dimensional maps are enriched by feature labels where mountains or deserts would be. These are easily missed by young students, who respond better to graphic visual than verbal cues.

Trade route maps are notorious for excluding all geographic features but coastlines. In most cases, the twists and turns of the Silk Road and trans-Saharan trade routes can be explained by topographic features. More stimulating maps of these types have major rivers and display topographical relief by means of gray shading. Deserts or other features could be similarly added by means of texturing. The latter would seem to be universally applicable in place of the one-dimensional older version. Finding creative ways of adding these features without cluttering the maps' image is a challenge made much easier now by subtle computer graphics effects.

In building a base of geographic knowledge in students, constant reinforcement of this complex information is probably the best tool. Adding subtle shading to indicate geographic features not only cultivates in students the habit of noticing relationships between history and geography, but it contributes to building up an image of the world's topography that uses no additional space in the textbook.

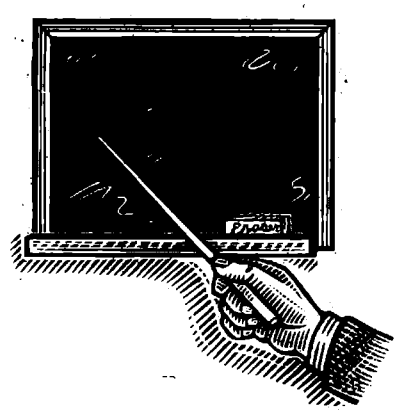
Analysis would show its appropriateness in most situations where a simple political map would have been placed. This reinforces a trend to which classroom map publishers would attest, namely that the old U.S./World pastel political maps that graced classroom walls for decades are making way for the earth tones of physical relief maps with more humble black dotted lines for political borders.

CONCLUSIONS —
A demand to stuff more into the history text duffle?

The suggestions and challenges set forth here should not be misconstrued as petulant calls for addition of more material. They are, rather, suggestions for streamlining content that has become unwieldy. This section has offered ideas for synthesizing the parts into a better integrated whole by restructuring the traditional framework. By avoiding severe chronological switchbacks, for example, space might be conserved for interesting features. Improved integration of narrative material into meaningful themes of development and comparison may free print space and classroom time taken up by excessive explanation to allow more sampling of historical sources. Even if time and space are not saved lesson for lesson, student understanding benefits from a more cohesive narrative, and the sense of connectedness and forward movement among the world's cultures makes world history seem like a more worthwhile study.

While methodological suggestions should be applied throughout courses and textbooks (citing sources at least in the teacher's edition, for example, and developing students' ability to evaluate evidence and draw conclusions), other items should be sampled where most appropriate to the subject matter. Literature is not included on every page, but suitable and interesting selections are added where appropriate. Economic history or political geography do not provide the framework for every section and chapter, but they may shed a particularly strong light on certain periods. The use of artifacts, evidence from archaeology, computerized data analysis, evidence from radio-carbon dating methods, and so on, should be inserted where they give the material a memorable twist or bring out a special angle.

TEACHING FOR A LIFETIME OF LEARNING



We should not merely teach "history." We should show how history was made, recorded and reconstructed out of lost time. Courses should provide a comprehensive sampling of material that illuminates our past, but we must deceive students that we can encompass, or know "history." We should not fear to broach subjects about which historians are uncertain. We can teach students that

it is most important to ask productive questions than to insist on imparting definitive conclusions in an omniscient voice. Finally, we must not be so sloppy that students must unlearn in college what they learned in elementary and secondary history.

Nor may we avoid the difficulty of the task by maintaining that most students will never become historians. The current consensus among educators indicates that the ability to conduct historical analysis yields dividends far beyond the schoolyard. It serves to create knowledgeable, confident citizens, not an army of little history researchers. The first step in this process is to reinforce the idea for all students that **people make history and people reconstruct it as a story**. Its scope is the total time and space of the globe's existence, and the information it encompasses is a tiny fraction of what took place there. The fact that people claim to understand any of it is a bold assertion based on logical assessment of changing evidence. That stance on knowledge construction will hold up for a lifetime of learning.

These suggestions on structuring courses and instructional materials are ideas for repacking the world history suitcase. The contents will be folded more neatly, arranged for easier access, and the world traveler will not find him or herself with a surplus of blue suits and not enough casual togs, or too many things for temperate zones, and nothing for the tropics. A varied wardrobe to suit all climes and situations will emerge at each stop, packed in accordance with the traveler's itinerary. The trip will be relaxed and enjoyable, the sights more memorable. ❖

NOTES

[1] Quoted in John Lawton, "The Cradle of the Turks," *Aramco World Magazine*, 45:2.

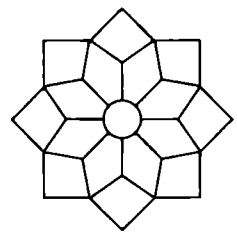
[2] See Philip G. Altbach, "Textbooks: the International Dimension," in *The Politics of the Textbook*, M.W. Apple and L.K. Christian-Smith, (New York and London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 242-258.

[3] National History Standards Project, National Center for History in the Schools, UCLA/NEH, June 1994 draft, p.17.

[4] *National Standards in World History*, August 1994 draft, p. 3, and California *History/Social Science Framework*, p. 115.

[5] Gies, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

In the following sections, we attempt to illustrate a case study of the general comments and suggestions given above, using coverage of Islam and Muslim civilization as an illustration for implementing these ideas. Beginning and ending with a discussion of resources for research and teaching, a variety of structures, options and insights for discussing Islam and the history of Muslim peoples and their interaction with other cultures will be laid out.



STRATEGIES AND STRUCTURES FOR PRESENTING WORLD HISTORY

with Islam and Muslim History as a Case Study

PART TWO

A Discussion of Sources on Islam and Muslims

A. *Western Study of Islam and Muslims*

B. *A Brief Survey of Historiography in Muslim Civilization*

C. *An Islamic Perspective on History-Writing*

A Discussion of Sources on Islam and Muslims

This section presents issues relevant to researching topics from world history. While the points made may be applied to treatment of many cultures in world history survey courses, we explore some unique problems that apply to researching Islam and Muslim history. In addition, the section offers some insights into the indigenous Muslim tradition of history-writing from the earliest period to our own times. Some of the material in this section is intended to guide the researcher. Other material, such as the survey of Muslim historiography, might be incorporated into lessons for students. Reference is made to numerous Muslim historians, chroniclers and travelers whose work might be profitably sampled in the classroom.

Unfortunately, one cannot escape the conclusion that the level of research employed to prepare materials for elementary and high school students is quite low. Raising the standard of research that goes into curriculum and instructional materials — everything that reaches students directly or indirectly — would contribute greatly to implementing idealistic goals for the social studies, especially those that concern critical thinking skills. Improved research would also do much to enhance interest in history among students and teachers. The prodigious expansion in the field of world history has resulted in a wonderful crop of books, articles and documentary films, both highly specialized studies and broad surveys. Very little of this exciting work has filtered down into school curricula, course descriptions and textbooks. Taken as a whole, curriculum has become much more demanding in terms of inclusion of new elements and stated aspirations of what content should do for students, but course descriptions and the textbooks they engender too often fall back upon old assumptions, old approaches, old sequencing and old facts. They are informed to some extent by new educational research in terms of concepts and delivery, but they are not well informed by new developments in historical research.

Textbooks, a major part of students' exposure to history in typical classrooms, have become more and more resplendent in their presentation, but the textual content itself recycles too many old ideas that have been superceded by newer work. Focussing

upon only one culture as a case study brings the problem into sharp relief. A comparison of available research materials in the field with standard course descriptions and textbook treatments on Islam and Muslim history shows that they are based on very superficial research. The fact that they often rely upon only one general source for each topic covered is apparent from the presence of idiosyncratic elements that would be eliminated by comparative research. The shallowness of the treatment also attests to the limited scope of research. Single causes for events are usually given; mistaken names and biographical sequence of the early life of the Prophet are frequent. For example, to research major tenets of Islam or the life of Prophet Muhammad, researchers might consult one of several current primers on Islam in addition to a generalized summary of information on Muslim history and cultural contributions. With the standard addition of a map showing Muslim expansion, a trade map, and some artwork, the presentation is complete. Books written for a popular, rather than scholarly audience are often selected, or staples by an older generation of orientalist scholars. Textbook and curriculum writers seem to assume that their research is adequate and appropriate for a young and unsophisticated audience. However, more recent scholarship has questioned the premises upon which many previous interpretations were based and brought new evidence to light. The worst case is when writers fall back on third- or fourth-hand research, cannibalizing older accounts. It is certain that past units on Islam and Muslim history have not taken full advantage of the best in recent scholarship.

This document can aid in incorporating a higher standard into world history textbooks that will be used in the next decades. Educators are professionally committed to aspire to a higher standard. Trends in curriculum reform reinforce this obligation. For example, the *National Standards in World History* makes a broad range of demands that require improved research. In fact, the *Standards* cannot be implemented at all without a complete overhaul of existing world history presentations. A relatively progressive state curriculum like the California *Framework* has similar implications, and includes specific criteria for evaluating instructional media.

The Council believes that writing for an audience at a lower level of academic development does not imply a low level of scholarly discourse. Clearly, a basic introduction to Islam and Muslim history cannot encompass the many intense debates in the field of Islamic studies, history, and contemporary area studies. At the same time, textbook treatments should not represent the lowest common denominator of conventional wisdom. While language and concepts must be limited in scope, the

presentation should exemplify good history teaching and research skills. An excellent introduction to Islam and Muslim history would show evidence of the following characteristics of research:

- Several accounts on each topic to be included should be consulted and cross-checked for inconsistencies. These should be drawn from respected older works as well as more recent books and scholarly articles. They should represent scholarship from the perspective of Western and Muslim authors.
- Theoretical works should be consulted in order to familiarize researchers with fundamental questions on which to base their study of other cultures and religions. These should be of a general nature as well as studies applied to the field of Islam.
- A variety of disciplinary approaches should be looked into in order to achieve a balanced account of religious beliefs and the society that is understood as having proceeded from those beliefs. [This is particularly important for chapters titled "Islam," since other cultures studied in world history textbooks are not viewed in such close identification with their religion. Religion is seen as an aspect of the society, but not the central defining characteristic of Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity, for example.]
- Primary sources such as documents, literature and historiography should be inserted to let the culture speak without second-hand interpretation by the authors. Selections should be balanced and representative rather than merely eye-catching or sensational.
- The text should demonstrate awareness of subject areas characterized by intense scholarly debate, in that they briefly summarize a variety of views with some presentation of evidence, and in that these questions are presented in an open-ended manner. Where consensus seems to have been achieved among contemporary scholars, this should also be in evidence, and writers should not reproduce a maverick or outdated view.

In order to facilitate meeting this high standard of research and its translation into teaching materials appropriate to basal and secondary levels, we provide discussion of resources available for study of Islamic religion and Muslim history and other social science disciplines.

A. *Western Study of Islam and Muslims*

Curriculum and the textbooks they engender are one product of a cultural discourse. Comparing research to a natural food chain, textbooks would be fairly high up, since textbook researchers consume and digest what many other scholars lower down have produced. Following this analogy, the lowest productions gain their energy from the sun of "historical truth and human experience," or primary sources. Contemporary interpreters are closest to the pure source. Scholars researching centuries later in secondary and tertiary sources are much higher up on the food chain. Textbooks might be viewed as the end of a long line of ever larger creatures. Any pollutants at lower ranges on the food chain will become concentrated in the textbook researcher's diet. There is a need for extreme caution, in other words, since faulty assumptions and cultural prejudices that have been absorbed into the discourse from lower levels of research will be concentrated and passed on to students. Of all audiences, young students are least able to defend their judgment against these intellectual pollutants. The best means for overcoming this problem are awareness of the limitations in available research material.

HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WEST AND ISLAM

Curricula and textbooks draw upon a long history of Western observation and study of other cultures. What elements have colored Western views of Islam and Muslim civilization in the past? Marshall G.S. Hodgson, the late eminent scholar, prepared a thorough introduction to the study of Islam and Muslims in his three-volume work, *The Venture of Islam*. In it, he explores an array of basic issues concerning scholarship on Islam, among them the history of the discipline:

> Historically, scholars' notions of 'Islam' as a field have been rather arbitrarily determined by a series of political and other extraneous circumstances. These notions still have their consequences. Almost all stages of the historical development of modern Islamic studies are represented in the works that an inquirer must still consult in the library. What is more, many of these stages are still represented in studies made in the mid-twentieth century. Hence even the casual student of things Islamic should be aware of the history of Islamic studies. This will allow him better to appreciate the relevance of the individual scholarly studies to whatever his own interests are, as well as put him on guard against various endemic but avoidable errors that have come to prevail in the field.[1]

The relationship between Western European-based civilization and Muslim civilization is unique among world cultures. Elements determining the Western view may be categorized under religious, political, military and social relationships. Economics plays a significant historical role as well.

■ **The first element is religious difference.** Judaism, Christianity and Islam emerged on nearly the same piece of real estate, and share many characteristics in faith, morals, ethics and social organization. As a result, their relationship has often involved hostility, conflict and emphatic mutual denial of validity. This is probably inevitable, since the departure point of each is a stopping place upon the same road. All three religions share the same roster of major prophets, Islam accepting all of them, Christianity accepting one less (Muhammad), and Judaism accepting two less (neither Jesus nor Muhammad). The three Abrahamic faiths are not just cousins, but siblings with the same father. Secularization of modern culture has permitted fusion of some Judeo-Christian components of the triad under the title "Western" tradition. As part of that trend, the Judeo-Christian siblings put their combined resources to the task of showing that the third sibling — Islam — was not part of the family, but an odd and illegitimate child, an ugly duckling. As a result of the conflict over Palestine, it became convenient to forget the long and profitable relationship of Jewish culture with Muslim culture. In the modern haste to emphasize ancient enmity, many overlook the fact that Jews enjoyed a much higher degree of safety and tolerance among Muslims than in Christian Europe. Among Christians themselves, the intense effort begun during the medieval period to deny all validity to Islamic beliefs and values has discouraged the flow of

authentic religious information between adherents of the two faiths. On the other hand, the period of imperial and technological domination seems to have brought on some amnesia with regard to Muslim intellectual contributions to European philosophy and science, while other cultural influences are only now being brought to light by historians.

Fortunately, in recent years, denial of common religious heritage with Islam has begun to ebb, bringing tentative acknowledgment of shared religious beliefs and values in interfaith dialogue.[2]

■ **The second element in the Western view of Islam is the burden of political and military history.** Islam entered Western European consciousness as a formidable military and political power backed by a religious system. There was no room for indifference between competitors; resemblance between the religions was too close for comfort. The possibility of losing adherents to conversion was anything but remote. Christians first became aware of Islam with the massive loss of Byzantine territory and establishment of a strong state in its former Mediterranean provinces. Gradual but steady conversion of the population in those areas was a lasting cause of alarm and despair in the Church.[3] On Europe's doorstep, military conquest was followed by Islamization of Spain and Sicily. An advanced, competing culture developed as a result. The fact that Muslims reached the Pyrenees is legendary. Incursions as far as Switzerland after the Battle of Tours are less well known. Political and military issues passed numerous milestones, such as the Crusades, the loss of Constantinople and the Battle of Lepanto, military incursions into Eastern Europe by the Ottomans followed by Islamization in some pockets of Europe, Greece and other former Byzantine territories. The perceived threat of a unified Muslim force, while neutralized between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, did not vanish until 1925. It lives on in the image of Islam as having spread by the sword and in such familiar notions as "Islamic militants," "Islamic terrorists," and "Islamic revolutionaries."

Many Western historians have viewed the advent of Islam into the Mediterranean sphere as a somewhat catastrophic event that cut off Europe from its classical, Hellenistic roots, stifled its trade and ended the world of antiquity.[4] More recently, internal causes for the cultural recession of Europe following the decline of Rome and the barbarian invasions have been identified.[5] More importantly, debunking the idea of Europe's "Dark Ages" amid evidence of continuing cultural contacts with other cultures has altered these prejudices somewhat.

Social and economic elements of the relationship receive less attention than the other two. The reason might be that this dimension implies contact between the two civilizations, denying the image of isolated adversaries peering through spyglasses on opposite sides of a battlefield. The fact is, "Europeans" and "Muslims" have been in peaceful contact with one another almost continuously since Arab Muslims pulled the curtain on antiquity in the seventh century. Many recent scholars have documented a long and fruitful contact that was probably obscured by later hostilities and the subsequent rise of Europe to dominance in the nineteenth century. James Burke, in his PBS/TV series *The Day the Universe Changed*, tells how Spain was less a flash point of military conflict than a field of constant daily contact. He illustrates a range of influences from Christians regularly visiting Muslim Toledo to get their teeth fixed to the complaint of a Spanish bishop that young Christian scholars were too much taken with Arabic poetry. He relates Renaissance development in the art of perspective drawing to scientific treatises on optics by Al Hazen (Ibn Haitham) in Cairo. This contact eventually resulted in translation of scientific works on philosophy, mathematics, medicine and astronomy that made their way to Paris on the backs of donkeys, where they fertilized a scientific revolution. Literary forms, chivalry, courtly manners and fashions, music and a host of refinements found their way into European life from wealthy Muslim cities. The Norman kings of Sicily tolerated Islam and cultivated contacts with Muslim culture after their conquest of the island, forming another substantial link with northern Europe. A third conduit was continuous trade between Italian and Muslim merchants in the Levant. While some scholars speak of the Silk Road having been cut off after the fall of Rome, closer examination reveals that Europe's contact persons merely changed. On this route, paper, gunpowder, textiles, scientific and technological information and inventions passed from East to West through Muslim hands and lands. It would be interesting to trace the influence of textiles from the Muslim world upon fashions in clothing and home decoration as they evolved in Europe. The names for many sorts of textiles, dress and furniture, as well as foodstuffs (divan, sofa, ottoman, chemise, damask, muslin, bananas, lemons, cumin and spinach are only a few) come directly from Arabic. The passing of courtly lifestyles, entertainments, manners, etiquette and the arts into middle class life probably involved more influences from Muslim society than most Westerners would care to imagine.

■ **The economic component of Western/Muslim contact is a major factor in social contact.** After consolidation of Muslim territory under the Abbasid dynasty in Baghdad, which coincides with the beginning of Umayyad rule in Spain, a burst of urban economic and intellectual activity began in the Muslim world. Trade, manufacture, architecture, literary and intellectual pursuits flourished in the unified Muslim lands, in which the rate of conversion to Islam began to accelerate until Islam formed the majority faith in the Muslim heartlands.[6] The wealth generated in this enormous region from the Atlantic to China, including territory from the Equator to the 40th parallel, had an important ripple effect, encouraging the growth of cities in Indian Ocean basin in the East, to Europe and West Africa in the West. The first European conduits for trade were Spain and Italy, a role that expanded greatly for the Italians after the Crusades, when internal European economic development increased demand for "Oriental" goods. The extent and continuity of this trade have been documented in numerous sources. Both raw materials and finished goods were exchanged, as was gold. Study of traders, commodities and location of European/Muslim commerce reveals that it remained active and well balanced in the Mediterranean until the mid eighteenth or early nineteenth century.[7] When Europe finally tipped the balance, it was after a long period of tutelage, borrowing of techniques, and mutual profit. The bulk of historical information, some of which is emerging from newly studied archives, does not permit a view of isolation followed by economic predation in the modern period. Even circumnavigation of Africa did not eliminate the thriving trade between Europe and the eastern and southern Mediterranean that goes back to Roman times.

Gold coin of Al-Hakim, ruler of Spain (796-822). In Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany

In other words, Muslim and European cultures grew up together. While Europe was in its infancy and childhood, Islamic civilization was its more mature neighbor, experiencing a period of strength and unity. As European culture matured into adolescence, Muslims to its South and East were still the dominant force with which to reckon. At the outset, Western scholars of the Scientific Revolution and Enlightenment recognized their debt to Muslim intellectuals. Latinized Arabic names like Averroes, Albukacis, Avecinna, Al Hazen, Rhazes, Geber, Serapion and others were household figures in these scholarly circles.[8] It was only after Europe's quantum leap into the industrial age was capped by economic and political hegemony that the memory of fructifying contact with Islam was pushed to the margins of obscurity. As Europe rose,

it was at the expense of its nearest neighbor. In the Mediterranean, West Africa, and the Indian Ocean Basin, European power grew as Muslim power declined. Religious competition was always an element, even when economic and political considerations seemed to dominate European motives.

This is not to exaggerate the similarity between the two cultures; it is not to diminish their differences. It is merely to state that the two have been neighbors, competitors, and siblings sharing many traditions and common elements, cross-pollinating one another's development down to the present. Neither side is always willing to admit that. The tension between closeness and distance, the need to emphasize separateness in the face of competition caused the West to view Islam and Muslims in a unique way.

THE ORIENTALIST TRADITION

Ironically, it was just when Europe began to dismiss its long cultural relationship with Muslims that extensive study of Islam began. While study of Islamic scripture and religious literature began among churchmen during the medieval period, it did not become established in secular academic circles until the late eighteenth century. It developed into a formal branch of study in the nineteenth. As Europe entered the brave new world of the Industrial Age, Western scholars discovered an interest in studying other cultures for their own sake. Perhaps Europeans' perceived advancement gave them the confidence to do so. When they did, the terms in which the study was framed were starkly oppositional: Europe was a distinct civilization, the "Occident," the West, *das Abendland,* the land of the setting sun. All else was the "Orient," the East, *das Morgenland,* even when it was due south, in the case of Muslim North Africa. The study of Eastern cultures came to be called Orientalism, and was essentially a British, French and German enterprise, later adopted in the United States and Canada without fundamental alteration. While Edward Said did not coin the term or originate the critique, he gave new critical meaning to orientalism in his seminal book by that name:

> [Orientalism is] a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience. The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe, it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. Yet none of this Orient is merely imaginative. The Orient is an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture. Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles.[9]

It is this complex of factors which Marshall Hodgson, quoted earlier, viewed as highly consequential notions reflected in all scholarly studies of Islam.

Edward Said proceeded from the assumption that historical and geographic interpretation and knowledge are man-made and may be analyzed as such. Said identified three levels of meaning for Orientalism, which he identifies as an enormously systematic and influential discipline:

1. An Orientalist is anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient in any of the social sciences and history, and what he or she produces is Orientalism.
2. Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and the Occident.
3. Orientalism entails the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient by making statements about it, authorizing views about it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism is a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.

Orientalism was supported by institutions that Europe projected into the East through its growing domination of the region, and Orientalism supported these through knowledge acquisition.[10]

In his seminal, controversial 1978 book, Said examined the discourse of Orientalism, the terms of its discussion of the Orient, and how the discourse affected attitudes and policies toward the Orient. In this brief review, a few major characteristics of Orientalist production will be summarized. Said looked back on a disciplinary tradition already a century and a half old. Many criticisms had already been raised by others within and outside the discipline. In *Orientalism,* however, he crystallized this thinking and expressed it in a comprehensive, sustained manner. He recognized the value of its scholarship, but exposed the sources of its power and brought out important flaws in Western study of Islam and Muslim civilization.

A very basic complaint is that **Orientalism lumps together diverse groups of people in one undifferentiated mass**. Important distinctions among regions and historical periods were often overlooked. This way of thinking enabled Karl Marx, for example, to envision an "Asian mode of production," or for students of religion to attach a common label to diverse "Eastern religions." Such terms as "the Oriental mind," or "Oriental despotism" belong to this frame of reference. One need only recall the political shorthand current in the 19th century in which the fate of the declining Ottoman Empire was "the Eastern Question." Its modern incarnation is "the Middle East problem." A Western policy concern becomes the monolithic definition of a whole culture. This approach is largely responsible for stereotypes that bear little resemblance to the subjects upon which they were based.

A second tendency is that **Orientalist scholars have viewed societies as static over time.** A notion of progress and a construct called "modernity" was created, based exclusively upon European historical experience. Having divided the world between East and West, scholars now pronounced those whose societies did not conform to European models as "traditional." Traditional societies were perceived as existing in primitive, cyclical time, not progressing toward the modern ideal. The concept of development in a culture was identified solely with the European mode. This way of thinking has often been applied to Islamic religion, viewing its institutions and beliefs as the antipode to modernity. It has been a common assumption that Islam must fade away if Muslim nations are to become modern. When mixed with secular ideas that derive from European experience with the Reformation, the Scientific Revolution and the Church, these secular assumptions amounted to an ultimatum delivered by Europe to Muslims. This uncritical view overlooked the fact that in the prime of Islamic culture, religious expression had stimulated scientific discovery.

A third tendency was that **many Orientalists assumed that one could understand Oriental culture sufficiently by comprehending and analyzing scriptures.** Antiquarians believed they could understand "Islamic" culture solely by analyzing documents like the Qur'an, the Hadith and the works of Jurists, works whose validity and veracity were categorically denied by many of these scholars. **An aggravating tendency was to view Islamic doctrines themselves as static and unchanging, rather than evolving in response to circumstances.** The worst result of this thinking was to create the endemic confusion between Islam as a religious doctrine and the institutions, societies and artifacts created by Muslims. This disciplinary approach fathered terms like Islamic art, Islamic Empire, Islamic terrorists, Islamic cities, and Islamic government. **Confusion between the scriptural, doctrinal world of Islam and the phenomenal, cultural world of Muslims has produced terrible misunderstanding.** Imagining that everything taking place in Muslim society results directly from Islam, the religion was condemned for the failings of its human adherents. Praise for achievements was less often forthcoming on similar grounds. This intense identification of Muslim society with Islam is a perspective the West has not applied to any other Oriental religion. "Islam" is seen as defining and determining every aspect of the society.

Said complains most bitterly of the way in which **Western Orientalism appropriated for itself the authority to represent "the Orient." Conversely, "Oriental," or native spokespersons were rendered inauthoritative, uninformed, unreliable and mute. Any discourse not framed in Western terms was rejected.** From the mid-nineteenth century to the present, debate has raged over the veracity of Muslim sources on Islam. A few scholars hurled the epithet "fabrication" at virtually all Muslim historical sources. Some scholars accepted the outlines, discounting all religious content, and found only material reasons for Islam's spread. Orientalists even felt empowered to rename Islamic religion "Mohammedanism" in the mold of Christianity, although even the simplest reading of doctrine forbids the term. The modern remnant of this tendency is found in television's "talking heads," Western experts holding forth authoritatively on "the Arab street" and other phenomena in the conspicuous absence of indigenous specialists. One might compare Orientalism to commissioning a panel of Chinese scholars to write the sole authoritative version of Western history.

CONTEMPORARY AREA STUDIES

The critique of Orientalism has joined with many social and academic trends in the past few decades to alter the direction and substance of research on Islam and the Muslim world. Inclusion of non-Western scholars in increasing numbers in scholarly

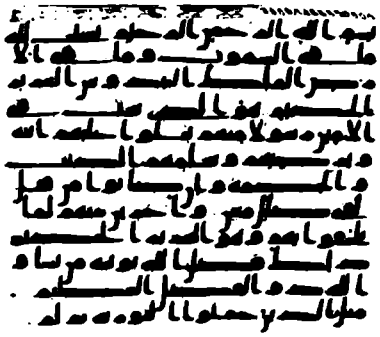
institutions, intellectual trends like structuralism and deconstruction and feminist scholarship have enabled Western scholars to question the foundations of their thinking. An extreme view holds that academic institutions are incorrigible and non-Western scholars have been brainwashed, but undeniably, significant change in the discourse has occurred. These factors have changed the way "other" cultures are studied and even affected Western historical views. Sharp distinctions like Orient and Occident have been differentiated into area studies, whose roots admittedly lie in the information requirements of various colonial desks and departments. While modern area studies serve to some extent to compartmentalize and marginalize what should be globally conceived disciplines, today's area specialists increasingly interact across disciplinary lines.

Whereas Orientalism felt empowered to set the terms of study using what it thought were universal truths, scholars today try to discover indigenous patterns of thought and development and follow them through historical time. In short, the consensus among most Western scholars and their non-Western colleagues (whether Western-educated or not), is that they had missed understanding important things about other cultures by holding European categories of thought and human institutions to be universal and necessary to progress. The fact that Europe achieved an unprecedented dominance, in other words, does not mean that no other valid path of human experience exists, or that no other contributed to its supremacy. These ideas inform much recent research in the social sciences.

A Brief Survey of Historiography in Muslim Civilization

THE TRADITION OF HISTORY WRITING AMONG MUSLIMS

Wherever Islam took root, a literate tradition developed that stimulated history writing in particular. Arabic became *lingua franca* in Muslim regions, and some vernacular languages adopted the Arabic writing system. Muslims perceived themselves as an important link in a series of momentous events, as bearers of a tradition and a historic role. This tendency was apparent from the first generation of Muslims. The magnitude of events surrounding Prophet Muhammad, the Muslim community and the spread of Islam stimulated intense activity among early Muslim scholars. These efforts aimed at preserving the Qur'anic message, the Prophet's words and deeds, and the history



Passage from the Qur'an on deerskin attributed to 'Uthman ibn 'Affan, third Rashidun Caliph. Topkapi Museum, Istanbul.

of the early community. Begun while Muhammad was still alive, the effort continued and expanded greatly after his death, forming the basis of a historiographical tradition that has persisted into the modern period.

Scholars of Islamic history, among them the dean of Orientalists, H.A.R. Gibb, agree that the major genres of Arab historical writing germinated during the first three centuries of the Islamic period. Discussing the early formation of a tradition based upon "sound methods of criticism," he states:

> Henceforward historiography is an inseparable part of Islamic culture. In the lands of the Mediterranean the ancient historical traditions are replaced or remolded in the Islamic spirit; and both in those cultured Eastern lands where no written history existed, and in primitive Africa, where there was no literature at all [sic], the establishment of Islam is followed by the rise of an historical literature.[11]

Gibb summarized the development of historical genres from the origins of Islam to the nineteenth century in his article on Muslim historiography in the supplement to the prestigious *First Encyclopedia of Islam* (E.J. Brill, 1913-1936). He evaluated numerous genres for their adherence to sound methodology, source criticism and usefulness to modern scholars. These genres will be explained on the following pages. Numerous more recent scholars have assessed the value of Muslim historical writing as sources for modern scholarship. One of the most recognized recent works is A.A. Duri's *The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs* (Princeton, 1983). A massive work of 10 volumes in German by Fuat Sezgin, *History of Arabic Writing* (*Geschichte des Arabischen Schriftums*, E.J. Brill, 1967, etc.) is a chronological and topical catalogue of Arab historical writers, listing biographical information, major works, and the location of surviving manuscripts, fragments, translations and citations in other works, along with a brief critical assessment. Two more general works are *Historians of the Middle East* (B. Lewis and P. M. Holt, E.J. Brill, 1968) and *A History of Muslim Historiography*, (F. Rosenthal, E.J. Brill, 1986) A.J. Arberry favorably assessed the authenticity of transmitted Arab pre-Islamic poetry, contributing to a long-standing debate over an important source for one branch of Muslim historical literature. In general agreement with Gibb and others, Duri identified two schools of historical writing in Madina and Iraq, and explained how these two distinct traditions informed and influenced later historians. Duri's analysis is a recognized contribution to scholarly analysis of Muslim historiography.

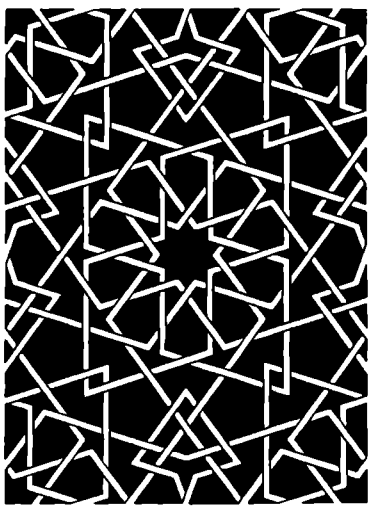
THE SCHOOL OF MADINAH

One of the earliest traditions of history writing in Muslim civilization began in the Prophet's city, Madinah, which remained the khaliphal capital during the first forty years of the Muslim state (including Muhammad's own period of leadership). Qur'an being the first authentic source, the words and deeds of Prophet Muhammad, the *Sunnah*, constitute the second essential source of information about Islamic belief and practice. Knowledge of the *Sunnah* is essential for explanation of the Qur'an (*tafsir*) and for use as juridical precedent.

Scholars of the Madinan school compiled information about the *Sunnah* of Prophet Muhammad through collection of *hadith* (the record of the Prophet's words and deeds) in written and memorized form from transmitters. Early Muslim scholars developed source-critical methods to ensure accuracy of this corpus. Each *hadith* was graded according to its *sanad (pl., isnad)*, or chain of transmission reaching back to its source, Prophet Muhammad. The value of *hadith* was categorized by the number of transmitters in each link, as well as by the quality of each transmitter. The Qur'an itself, for example, was transmitted by means of the highest standard, *mutawatir*. *Mutawatir* means that the content was recited by a great number of people in the first generation, to a great number of people in the second, and so on, ensuring accuracy through multiple, identical transmissions. As another example, a *hadith* in the category called *ahad*, transmitted by single individuals in each link, may still be reliable if the chain is made up of trustworthy persons. Hadith scholars developed auxiliary source-critical methods such as investigating and recording biographical information on the transmitters, including the character of the individual and the likelihood of his having actually met with later transmitters. These studies were the germ of the biographical genre, which included studies of the lives of the Prophet's companions as models of Islamic behavior. *Isnad* methodology carried over into collection and preservation of historical information about the affairs of the early Muslim community and military campaigns of the Prophet. The history of events surrounding the period of prophethood was essential to certain branches of religious knowledge. For example, knowing the exact circumstances in which a verse was revealed, for example, could contribute greatly to its reliable interpretation. Compilation of this information led to several forms of narrative account. Two writers from the *tabi'un*, or second generation, Aban ibn Uthman and 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr, contributed to composing the *Sirah* (biography) of Prophet Muhammad in continuous narrative form. During this period, the definitive

chronological form of the *Sirah* was established, including material on the pre-Islamic era. Histories included events from the Rightly-Guided Khalifahs to the Umayyad dynasty. The collective efforts of the Madinah school emphasized the goal of preserving accurate content.[12]

The chronological, dated narrative expanded to include general and universal history with the geographic expansion of the Islamic state and increased contact with non-Arabs, particularly Christians and Jews. Gibb and Duri cite al-Zuhri as the forerunner of this tendency, noting also that Ibn Ishaq, a second-century historian of the Madinah school, broadened the conception of the *sirah* to include events from prophecy back to the Creation. Al-Zuhri's use of sources included material from Christian and Jewish religious sources, and *qussas*, or stories, such as those found in the work of the Iraqi school historian Wahb Ibn Munabbih.[13] During the second and third centuries, historians of the Madinan school criticized works according to *isnad* standards. The use of collective *isnad* and development of a smoother narrative technique are important, and the scope was expanded to include the history of the caliphs. Two other features of the Madinan school are important for the development of genres. First, travels were undertaken to gather information, originating *ar-rihlah fi talab al-'ilm*, the journey undertaken in search of knowledge. Scholars in many fields tapped into this tradition. The Muslim genre of *rihlah*, or travel accounts belongs to this tradition as well, of which Ibn Battuta and Ibn Jubayr are only two examples. The other feature originating in the Madinan school tradition is the biographical compendium, represented by Al-Waqidi's *Kitab Al-Tabaqat*, (Book of Generations) which traces hadith scholars of Kufa and Basra through several generations. Biographies became one of the most widespread forms of Muslim historical writing.[14]



THE SCHOOL OF IRAQ

Al-Duri identifies a second historical tradition that developed in the garrison towns of Kufa and Basra, which is based more upon the Arab tradition of tribal history. It was mainly an oral tradition in which individual identity was associated with the deeds of prominent ancestors and martial exploits. An important source of this tradition involved genealogy, in which certain members of each tribe often specialized, and poetry, which celebrated and embellished accounts of events and aided memory. In the Islamic period, collection of this information served several purposes. First, the extended family or tribe continued to

be important in the social realm, though the concept of the Muslim community (*umma*) had taken precedence over it. Thus continuity was maintained with pre-Islamic times, and interest in tribal histories (*ayyam* and *akhbar*) continued. To the older histories was added the role of each tribe in the military victories leading to the Muslim conquests, and partisan accounts of the factional struggles surrounding Ali's khalifate. Second, the institution of the *diwan*, or list of those entitled to pensions from the state, lent increased importance to accurate genealogical records.

Third, formalization of Arabic language accompanied the spread of Islam into non-Arab regions and led to the development of philological studies of Arabic poetry and tribal dialects. As a branch of Qur'anic exegesis *(tafsir)*, philological studies also gained impetus. Of these three fields, the most problematic is the *ayyam* and *akhbar* literature, since tribal rivalry combined with the tradition of embellishment to introduce legends, tales and poetry into the accounts. In place of careful use of *isnad*, some compilers uncritically relied on storytellers. In the course of the first century, fragmented material was increasingly organized into continuous narratives that combined poetry, geneological information and tribal accounts. However, during this period, the "...influence of the Islamic framework on these authors is confirmed by the fact that they could not disregard the *isnad*."[15] A great deal of crossover took place during the first two centuries, with *hadith* being collected in the provinces, and works of the Madinah school incorporating material from Iraqi scholars.

The scope of historical works expanded to embrace local and regional histories, beginning with the garrison towns and the provinces. Duri cites two important practitioners of Iraq, al-Kalbi and Abu 'Ubayda. [16] He also notes the effect of the Shu`ubiya movement and the rising secretarial class in stimulating historical studies of Persian history. These early studies of other cultures also drew upon translated materials, folklore, myth and religious sources.

TECHNIQUES AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE TRADITION

Scholars' assessments of these works point to strengths and weaknesses in the tradition's development. They praise the scientific approach toward source criticism embodied in the *isnad* tradition in Islamic historiography. The collective self-understanding of these compilers as transmitters of a body of carefully sifted material can enable modern scholars to attempt to reconstruct lost works through quotations, trace additions to older works, and follow a critical dialogue among these early Muslim scholars. Duri also points to the structural analysis to which the philologists submitted poetry for authentication. Among weaknesses is the admixture of material external to

rigorous source critical methods, a problem to which few writers were immune. Legends and story material were sometimes used to enhance the narrative, and scriptural sources were sometimes used to filled in cryptic references from the Qur'an and *hadith* in historical narratives. However, Duri maintains that stylistic analysis can assist in differentiating among adherents of the Madinah or Iraqi school and among materials from various sources in each work.

The development of a solid historiographical tradition is a signal accomplishment and contribution of Muslim intellectual history to global scholarly pursuit. Although the idea of scholarly citation and documentation is occasionally found among Graeco-Romans such as Plutarch (d.c. 100 CE) and Suetonius (d.c.140 CE), as well as the Jewish Talmudists, it became an established norm only with the Muslim *hadith* and other critical religious studies. Here one is not in the presence of an accidental or fortuitous discovery, or a marginal development, but the very central principle and showpiece of the Muslim scholarly and educational system. The concepts of fair and accurate attribution of sources, of the specific identification of individual persons as sources, and the recording of such information with accompanying biographical dictionaries to further research and information are hallmarks of Muslim scholarly and educational methodology. These principles were later elaborated and expounded by hundreds of schools, then transmitted to become part of the Western European scholarly tradition. George Makdisi, in *The Rise of the Colleges*, gives strong evidence showing how the Muslim educational system became the basis of the European one.

GENERAL AND UNIVERSAL HISTORY, OTHER HISTORICAL GENRES

Among numerous important forms of historical writing, four genres that emerged in the first three centuries may be noted here: the universal and general history, the chronicle, travel *(rihlah)* literature and the biographical compendium. The two most permeable genres are the history and the chronicle. Both borrowed material from the other three, while the *rihlah* and biography retained more distinct forms. The following sections examine their development and discuss interpretation.

According to Gibb, the Muslim historian al-Mada'ini (d.c. 840 C.E.) represents fusion of the Madinah and Iraqi Schools during the third century into what Duri calls "...a common field of interest in historical studies, and in common historical views."[17] The two schools are no longer distinguishable; material from both has been synthesized into general and universal histories. Al-Baladhuri (d. 892 C.E.) cites oral and earlier written accounts, weaving together a balanced, broadly informative account. These scholars' assessment of earlier historians had stabilized, and the use of collective *isnad*

in the text diminished, since historians' attitudes on the most important ones had become fixed.[18] Al-Tabari (d. 923 CE), one of the greatest Muslim historians, represents the culmination of universal history in the traditional mold. His work is an important source for modern historians on events in early Muslim history, and a source for events nearer to al-Tabari's own lifetime.[19]

Gibb assesses the work of the major third century historians, viewed through his own orientalist prism, thus:

> ...during its apprenticeship to the science of *hadith*, the native credulousness and romanticism of Arabic memories of the past had been schooled by a certain empiricism and respect for critical standards... As soon as history passed outside the Islamic field, the old difficulty of distinguishing between legendary, semi-legendary and historical elements reappeared, and with it the tendency to take on trust whatever materials were available.[20]

Balancing this tendency, Gibb identifies an important new intellectual element that emerged in the third century: "the desire of knowledge for its own sake."[21] Gibb introduces the geographer-historians, such as al-Yaqubi and al-Mas'udi, who were unsatisfied with information available on distant lands and cultures, and took up travel for the sake of knowledge *(al-rihla fi talab al- 'ilm)*. Al-Yaqubi's universal history embraces earlier civilizations, drawing upon critical use of translated Greek, Syriac and Persian sources, as well as extensive materials gathered from his travels.[22] Among al-Biruni's many scientific contributions in the 4th century are his attempt to gather information on ancient civilizations through travel, contained in his *al-Athar al-Baqiyah*.[23]

This development resulted from geographic and commercial expansion that broadened the Muslim intellectual horizon through contact with Hellenistic and other cultures. The period of the universal scholar, predecessor of the Western Renaissance man, initiated a great deal of original scholarly activity and synthesis. Scholar-historians, expanded the fund of historiographic material to include geography, use of astronomy for accurate dating and cartography, and interest in first-hand investigation of other cultures. They also departed from the idea of the historian as sifter and transmitter of methodologically established "facts." These scholars felt the need to submit ideas and evidence to rational inquiry and to enclose them in a theoretical framework.[24]

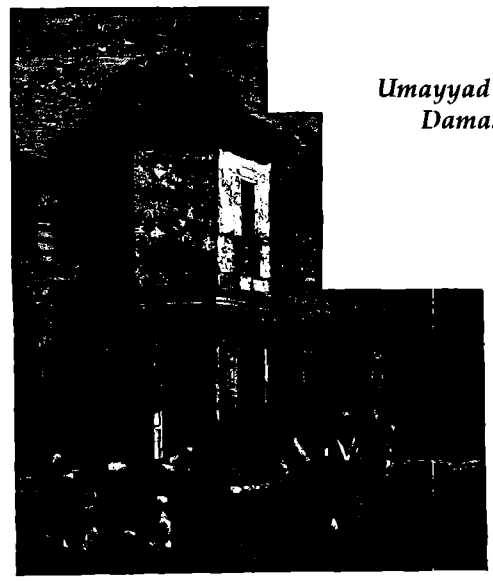
Muslim historians do not fit into neat categories; personality and the pull of empirical data blurred genres' boundaries. Several developments from the tenth century influenced the further development of historiography. An innovative element in historiography was inclusion of other scientific disciplines like geography, and first-hand studies of other cultures in historical writing. Exemplars of writers in this tradition are al-Mas'udi and al-Biruni. Gibb compares the work of Ibn Khaldun with this

tradition, identifying him as a scholar-historian with the "older, humanistic view of history." He locates Ibn Khaldun's innovative and famous critique of historiography in a revival of the universal genre in Syria, Egypt and the Maghrib.[25] Numerous modern historians recognize in Ibn Khaldun a father of the discipline of sociology.

The effect of normative intent in historical writing is an issue in interpretation of Muslim historiography. A well-known scholar John Wansborough, assumed that "sacred history" was specifically composed in order to function as the "articulation of an ethical ideal, of values by which conduct...could be assessed and achievement measured."[26] He discredits the early Muslim historians, claiming to have found internal evidence showing manipulation of historical data to produce a "sacred history" based on Islamic models. Gibb takes an opposite view, claiming that it was only after the "old theological conception which had given breadth and dignity to history was discarded..."[27] that secularized historians played loosely with the facts in favor of moral and ethical values in their work. He cites the *Mirrors of Princes* as didactic records of virtuous and evil deeds for future generations, but poor histories. "If history were merely a branch of ethics, not a science, they need not scruple to adapt their so-called historical examples to their own needs."[28] This genre owed little to the methods of the Madinan School, more closely approximating literature than history. Ibn Khaldun, in contrast, succeeded in weaving history together with practical sciences like ethics and economics. Ibn Khaldun's social and historical commentary incorporates ethics as fulfilling the goal of perfecting man's action, "the ordering of the household or city as they ought to be."[29] These issues of interpretation lie at the core of universal history as a Muslim genre, the story of man's interaction with God as both normative and cautionary tale.

CHRONICLES OR ANNALS

The recognition of history as a significant discipline and science brought with it a burgeoning output of historical works in Muslim lands from the third Islamic century (ninth/tenth CE). The amount of historical writing that is preserved from Muslim civilization during



Umayyad Masjid, Damascus

the medieval period far outweighs that of Western Europe. China or Japan. The tradition of Indian historiography began with the entry of Islam. A lasting genre from the first three centuries is the regional, dynastic or local chronicle. The *Sirah* and tribal history were the first historical literature written in the narrative, chronological form. The next were histories of the khalifate and the provinces. Within the chronicle genre, a great deal of history is preserved by scholars, military men, literati, members of families and dynasties, in a range of styles from highly ornate poetry to straightforward prose.

Histories of the provinces began the tradition of local histories. Histories of Muslim cities and their prominent citizens exist for all Muslim regions. The best among them convey an excellent sense of historical sweep, giving insight into events at all levels of society. They are informed by a wealth of sources. Only one example is Al-Jabarti's eighteenth century chronicle of Egypt, including an account of Napoleon's 1798 invasion. Some chronicles are impenetrable, blow-by-blow accounts of official doings and events. They may provide fascinating material for the political historian, but their concern with events of the most transient nature makes discovery of trends a painstaking task. The writer's professional background is often evident in the text (i.e., bureaucratic, religious scholar, military), along with his biases and personal qualities. He may place himself in the foreground or attempt invisibility; he may be an official on the career ladder or a critic. Some authors produced these works under official supervision. Others wrote as bearer of institutional memory in hope of posthumous fame. Some chronicles circulated among the secretarial class as textbooks, or found use in the ruling elite as lists of potential employees for the next regime, as noted by Ibn Khaldun.[30] Stylistic and structural features present challenges to interpretation. Highly formalistic language and ornateness of style have presented obstacles not only to modern readers. A historian of the Crusader period, Abu Shama, included in his own chronicle a sober revision of an earlier work in ornate poetry by Imad Ad-Din.[31] Chronicles are primary sources because of their closeness to events, so comparison of several accounts of the same event is advantageous. Histories of the Crusades offer excellent lessons in the subjectivity of history, since an abundance of chronicles by European and Middle Eastern participants is available. Gabrieli and Amin Maalouf balance the traditional European view with Muslim accounts.[32]

BIOGRAPHICAL COMPENDIA

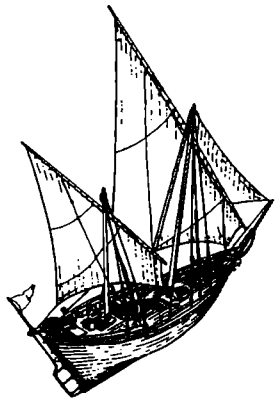
Gibb identifies the biographical genre as the best in Muslim historiographic tradition. Biography is firmly rooted in the *hadith* tradition, and remained in the domain of scholars, who continued the *isnad* discipline and used precision in fixing chronological data. The value of biographies is that they provide a "...supplement and corrective to the political annals."[33] Biographical works fill in where other genres stop, offering a fuller record of cultural history. Excerpts were often included in general histories and chronicles. Politicians were subjects of biographical chronicles and more universal works like al-Suyuti's tenth century biography of the khalifs. Biographical dictionaries of local scholars and judges were prepared all over the Muslim world, as were literary biographies and studies of scientists in mathematics, astronomy, medicine and other fields. Some biographical works are obituaries with scant information, while others offer fuller portraits with anecdotes and poetry. The *tabaqat* follow a field through several generations. Activity within this genre was very intense. Comprehensive compendia exist for Muslim cities as remote as Timbuktu and Samarkand, having been compiled for several periods. The scholars who compiled these works often employed correspondents in other major urban centers, who were often historians themselves.[34]

Recent historical scholarship is finding new ways to mine this rich vein of information on Muslim history. The genre is useful for tracing literary and scientific history, establishing lines of influence in intellectual trends, and possibly for estimating or assessing demographic information. For example, in *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period* (Harvard, 1979), Richard Bulliet utilized mathematical analysis of the extensive biographical data [the compendium by Ibn Sa'd contains over 4000 entries] from a number of regions to make hypotheses about the rate and extent of conversion to Islam following the Muslim conquests. He uses the Muslim naming system to trace the generation in which conversion took place. Another new work by Ruth Roded, *Women in Biographical Collections*, (Lynne Rienner, 1994) makes a reassessment of the oft-maligned role of women in Islam by examining the large number of female scholars, philanthropists and other prominent women who have figured in these biographies down to the twentieth century. Marcia Hermansen has surveyed recent interdisciplinary work using Islamic biographical materials including some of those listed above. She identifies nearly ten different genres that contain biographical information, and assesses an astonishing number of historical, literary, textual, quantitative and even psychological modes of analysis. Her bibliography includes 86 books and articles, mostly written in the past two decades.[35]

TRAVEL (RIHLAH) LITERATURE

The *rihlah*, which began as a method for gathering and authenticating material for other genres, developed into a literature for its own sake. One prototype of this genre is an account of the *hajj*, the religious journey of a lifetime to Makkah, which takes the pilgrim through many lands and tribulations, and whose recounting is still of great interest to local folk upon homecoming today. By the medieval period, the genre had become a celebration of the extent and cosmopolitanism of the Islamic domains, as Sufis, merchants and scholars traveled widely. The famous *Rihlah* of Ibn Battuta in the fourteenth century exemplifies this genre, as do the works of Ibn Jubayr, Ibn Al-Baytar and Sulayman Tajir.[36] This tradition extends through the Ottoman period. A very interesting account is *Disorienting Encounters* (University of California, 1992), the recently translated *rihlah* of Muhammad As-Saffar, a Moroccan scholar who accompanied his country's first modern diplomatic envoy to Paris during the mid-nineteenth century.

The reader's ability to appreciate *rihlah* literature is challenged in several ways. These accounts should be handled as raw material, snapshots of a place by an outsider during a certain period. The student's object may be ascertaining information about the lands visited or the culture of the visitor. First, from an objective standpoint, is the possibility that the author may not have visited some of the places about which he wrote. He may be lifting passages from other accounts or relying on hearsay to round out his work. Clues are often provided by the relative density or sparseness of description or by deduction using logistical, topographical and climatic information. Another problem is the lack of historical context for the regions visited, which must be filled in by the reader. For example, Ross Dunn has done a great deal to solve both problems by attempting to ascertain Ibn Battuta's actual itinerary, and providing historical background on each region he visited.[37]



Arab Dhow

A second challenge is discerning the filter of the writer's cultural and social background, the lens through which he views the scene. Travel accounts are anything but objective, and satisfying analysis requires deep understanding of the author's religious and cultural milieu, a task requiring empathy, a willingness to travel with the traveler. The author's historical context is also important here: whether he represents conqueror or vanquished, whether a loner at the mercy of locals or member of a military/diplomatic entourage, whether among co-religionists or unbelievers, whether a civilized visitor among primitives or the reverse.

The reader, if he understands himself as a fellow traveler, must evaluate his own context in the same way to achieve a fair appraisal. The reward is a fresh view of both cultures portrayed in the text, and the reader's own. This type of primary source material offers interesting possibilities for inclusion in textbook features.

CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM HISTORIANS AND SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

As indicated earlier, in Part One, the second half of the twentieth century has produced a large number of non-Western scholars working in history and the social sciences. Two developments have encouraged this trend, which extends around the globe. As early as the mid nineteenth century, numerous young, privileged Muslims began to acquire a Western education, first in Europe and then in the United States. While many of these sought technical degrees, a certain proportion also pursued studies in education and the humanities. Two well known and very different scholars are Taha Hussayn and Sayyid Qutb, both Egyptian. Between the end of World War II and the present, thousands of Muslim students earned degrees from Western universities. Some returned to their own countries to work. Others occupy teaching positions and professorial chairs in Western universities. Scholarship in Muslim countries has been encouraged by newly founded and reorganized older universities. History and social science have been important parts of that work. While constraints on free political expression in many of these states have affected some aspects of historical interpretation, a great deal of work has been done, both in original research and interpretation, discovery and cataloguing of archives and archaeology. Western scholars of Islam travel to conduct research on these recently opened archives, and most are fluent readers of source languages. As an example of scholarly work in Egypt alone, Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid Marsot prepared a 1973 article on historical scholarship in Egypt in the twentieth century. She categorizes contributions by professional historians, men of letters, journalists, government officials and politicians. She discusses the historical value of these works, intellectual trends and schools, as well as their contribution to archival work. She praises their "ability...to use new material to elucidate historical events, that is, material which is not only derived from archives but which comes from society, from its customs and manners."[38]

The result of these developments is availability of extensive resources on a detailed range of topics concerning the Muslim world. For any given topic, one could study the layers of available primary sources, indigenous secondary sources, older Western studies and newer scholarly books and articles by Western and Muslim historians and other social scientists. In these works, the reader enters into an ongoing dialogue among

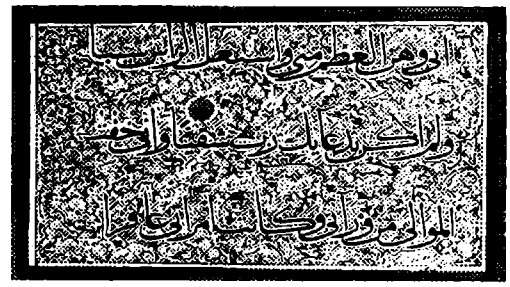
students of a specialty area, in which the authors assess, re-assess and criticize premises and evidence. The researcher can trace the way in which older Orientalist ideas and constructions of evidence have made way for newer discoveries and interpretations proceeding from an open atmosphere of dialogue among cultures.

C. *An Islamic Perspective on History-Writing*

Apart from a sense of the importance of recorded history, a Muslim historian brings to the study of the past a world view informed by Islamic faith. While this religious content was worn on historians' sleeves in the past, its influences are more subtly felt among many Muslim social scientists today, who often couch their discussion in Western terminology and frames of reference. Discourse among Muslim social scientists today still explores modern interpretations of the meaning and purposes of historical studies, just as in the days of Al-Waqidi, Al-Tabari and Ibn Khaldun. As in earlier times, when Islamic world views experienced intellectual cross-pollination under the influence of major cultural traditions like the Greek, Persian and Sanskrit, Muslim social scientists sift, absorb and transform what they find to be of value in modern traditions. It is an intellectual process to which the Islamic tradition has always been highly receptive.

HISTORY IN THE QUR'AN AND SUNNAH

Both the Qur'an and the Sunnah unequivocally legitimize the study of history. First, the general exhortation to acquire knowledge is extended to both men and women. The Qur'an invites believers to investigate God's creation and reflect rationally upon it as a source of knowledge. In many passages, the Qur'an refers to nature and



humans' ability to learn about and understand it by means of observation.

> *Do they not travel through the land so that their hearts (and mind) may thus learn wisdom and their ears may thus learn to hear? Truly it is not their eyes that are blind but their hearts which are in their breasts. (22:46)*

It is Allah who has laid his creation open for observation and study for His glorification and mankind's edification:

> *He who has made for you the earth like a carpet spread out; has enabled you to go about therein by roads and channels; and has sent down water from the sky." With it have we produced divers pairs of plants each separate from the others. (20:53)*

With regard to specific study of the past, the Qur'an itself makes extensive use of narratives about prophets, places and events that belong to the history of monotheism. The events are related as information together with their consistent moral and religious lessons. The Qur'an, which is believed to be direct speech of Allah to Prophet Muhammad, Muslims and mankind in general, refers to and makes comparisons between its own and other versions on the same subject. Incidentally, this fact makes nonsense of the simple assertion that Muhammad "lifted" or "incorporated" stories from the Biblical tradition into the Qur'an. Comparison with Biblical accounts reveals major and minor differences that preclude their inclusion for mere legitimizing purposes, as by an agent who wishes to add authority and a sense of continuity to an alien tradition. In view of the intense doctrinal and scriptural differences among Byzantine and Coptic Christian contemporaries of Muhammad, the conclusive stands taken in the Qur'anic narratives were not mere attempts to accommodate and mollify. The Qur'anic accounts suggest the value of historical criticism using both internal and external evidence.

ALL HUMANKIND AS THE OBJECT OF STUDY

The Qur'an points to the value of knowledge over ignorance and the effort required to acquire it. Numerous passages refer to collection and comprehension of historical information.

> *See they not how many of those before them we did destroy? Generations We had established on the earth in strength such as We have not given to you, for whom we poured out rain from the skies in abundance and gave (fertile) streams flowing beneath their (feet); yet for their sins We destroyed them and raised in their wake fresh generations (to succeed them). (6:6)*

> *Travel through the earth and see what was the end of those before you (30:42)*

> *Do they not travel through the earth and see what was the end of those before them? They were even superior to them in strength and in the traces (they have left) in the land: but Allah did call them to account for their sins and none had they to defend them against Allah. (40:21)*
>
> *These are some of the stories of communities which We relate unto thee: of them some are standing and some have been mown down (by the sickle of time). (11:100)*

Humankind and its works are clearly identified as an object worthy of study. These passages show the potential that all cultures in the past and present may be embraced in historical studies. Several of the passages, which are only a selection of similar references, invite comparison among societies on the basis of gathering evidence of their resources, their past and present works, and the ways in which the passage of time has affected them. When one takes into account the detailed manner in which the language of the Qur'an has been gleaned for direction in intellectual endeavor, these interpretations are significant. The foundation of education for many generations of Muslim scholars in Arabic and non-Arabic speaking countries has been memorization and exegesis of the entire Qur'an.

HUMANS AND THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

While studies of natural history and the environment traditionally belong to the realm of science rather than history, the Qur'an draws important connections between human society and the environment that are worth noting. Among the central messages of the Qur'an is what it tells mankind about his role on earth. It is presented as a challenge, one in which the concept of avoiding sins and striving to achieve God's pleasure in the final accounting is given precise meaning.

The Qur'an states that God is the creator of the earth and all the universe; more than this, God possesses and maintains proportion and balance in His creation. Humans are told that God encompasses the measure of all created things, which humans could scarcely comprehend. What is the challenge presented to humankind in relation to the creation? In the second chapter of the Qur'an, we are told something of our role on earth, in the form of a "conversation" between God and His angels:

> *Behold, thy Lord said to the angels: "I will create a vicegerent on earth." They said, "Wilt thou place therein one who will make mischief therein and shed blood? Whilst we do celebrate Thy praises and glorify Thy holy name?" He said, "I know what you know not." (2:30)*

This verse speaks volumes about the challenge and despair of human history. The human assignment has been defined by interpreters of the Qur'an as that of a custodian of the earth. The task encompasses man's responsibility to establish justice in human affairs and to make wise use of the natural world, the provision given to mankind in

this life. This is the meaning of doing God's will and avoiding transgression on a communal level. A chapter well-known for its lofty message and language is "The Beneficent" (*Al-Rahman*), entitled after the first of the "Ninety-nine Names," or attributes of God. Its first ten verses elaborate upon this collective and individual responsibility of humankind. The chapter begins by emphasizing how God created man and gave him the means to acquire knowledge. He draws to our attention the perfect order and proportion in which He created the universe. Man is warned to observe, uphold and not to upset the balance:

> *And the sky He has uplifted; and He hath set the measure,*
> *That you not exceed the measure,*
> *But observe the measure strictly, nor fall short thereof.*
> *And the earth hath He appointed for His creatures... (55:7-10)*

The chapter describes at length the favors of God to mankind on earth, its resources, mankind's intellectual, scientific and technological capabilities, the rewards for judicious use of these, the pointlessness of human arrogance, and its punishment.

PURPOSES OF HISTORICAL STUDY — MORALITY, POSTERITY, CURIOSITY

In sum, these verses clarify the human purpose on earth, and outline the role of humans in exploring and assessing their achievement. In this light, history is an essential field of study, a duty for the moral education of the human race.

One can identify in these Qur'an verses two major purposes for the study of other cultures. The paramount purpose is a moral and ethical one. The Muslim historian is invited to compare past and present cultures in terms of their apparent greatness in wealth, in monumental works and achievement, and to assess their achievement in establishing justice as well. This study might legitimately extend to all cultures and civilizations, both past and present. The idea of traveling in the earth to see these things first hand was undertaken by such figures as al-Mas'udi, al-Biruni and Ibn Battuta. These scholars wrote about what they saw from a more or less scientific view according to their persuasion. An important and legitimate element in the quest for knowledge is, of course, curiosity. The Qur'an stimulates

curiosity by referring to other times and places, and to phenomena yet unseen and unknown to the reader. However, as in any other branch of endeavor for a Muslim, the quest for knowledge should not be limited to the desire to know for its own sake, a boundless, undifferentiated curiosity.

Rather, the desire to know about other people, times and places is tempered by the need to investigate these societies' moral dimension. The Qur'an mocks people who dismiss the moral lessons of history as fanciful "stories of the ancients" whose bones are dried to powder. We are warned against ignoring history's lessons. How did they measure up to standards of human behavior toward one another and toward the Creator? What happened to them? How do they compare with the historian's own society?

FATE AND HUMAN ACCOUNTABILITY

Investigation of history is a study of moral values and responsibility. The Qur'an tells us that the ability of cultures to survive is directly related to their adherence to moral principles.

The well-known Western historian Arnold Toynbee expounded a theory of history in many respects compatible with an Islamic perspective. His views may be used to illuminate one possible Muslim view. Toynbee's stated motive in *The Study of History* was to discover an alternative understanding of the differences between cultures (societies and civilizations) to the racist/imperialist view prevalent in the British Empire of his day. In the course of a panoramic survey of world history, he concluded that societies constantly face challenges to their growth. Environmental challenges stimulate and test their ability to adapt and invent to meet the need for survival in different environments. Social challenges test their ability to devise and maintain social forms and institutions that promote balance and prosperity among elements of their community. Their collective success or failure, in turn, determines whether they will collapse from internal pressures or succumb to invasion by better-equipped and motivated others, or succumb to natural disasters. He compared uneven development among cultures to a group of climbers on a mountainside, each proceeding upward at different rates according to their ability and the relative difficulty of the terrain at various points. At times one climber will appear to overtake the others, while some remain struggling; other climbers rest periodically at plateaus before advancing; still others slip and fall to their death.

O thou man! Verily thou art ever toiling on towards the Lord, painfully toiling but thou shalt meet him. (84:6)

The "Islamic" element in Toynbee's understanding is the combination of "fate," or challenges presented by the natural environment, and human competitors against whom cultures are (not randomly) pitted, and the element of collective responsibility and free will. If a society can marshal its creative energy and rise to the occasion, it will progress. If it loses its moral energy or succumbs to tyranny and oppression, it will eventually collapse from within, or it will be ripe to fall with the first strong gust from without.

In many respects, this perspective provides an example of modern thought that illustrates the balance in an ideal Islamic society between individual responsibility before God, the family and community, and the collective responsibility to uphold religion and the law that is incumbent upon the whole community through its individual members. In Islamic law, there are certain duties incumbent upon individuals (*fard 'ain*), and duties that the community is responsible for making certain some of its members carry out (*fard kefayah*). Not everyone in the society, for example, must become a scholar of law, but it is incumbent upon the whole community that some of its members are enabled and encouraged to become such.

In the context of human responsibility to undertake individual and collective effort, this view informs the task of the historian. It provides many signposts for developing tools suited to the historian's job and endows the endeavor with a sense of purpose and a framework for evaluation and assessment.

CULTURAL TRANSMISSION TO FUTURE GENERATIONS

Up to this point in the discussion, we have concentrated upon Qur'anic contributions to an Islamic historical perspective. The relation

of Prophet Muhammad to the Qur'an is that of purveyor of its message, and interpreter of its meanings through his example. The *sunnah* forms an identity with Qur'anic injunctions about history. Muhammad, like other prophets, frequently used parables and stories from the past to illustrate important lessons; in the *hadith*, some stories from the Qur'an are elaborated and expanded. Muhammad also gave exact accounts of important events in his own spiritual journey. He did this in full awareness that his companions were recording these in memory and/or in writing, both in his presence and among each other. One well-known *hadith* from the authoritative collections illustrates how Muhammad enjoined preservation of material about events surrounding the Muslim community for posterity:

> Narrated 'Abdur Rahman ibn Abi Bakr's father:
>
> *Once the Prophet was riding his camel and a man was holding its rein. The Prophet asked, "What is the day today?" We kept quiet, thinking that he might give that day another name. He said, "Isn't it the day of Nahr (slaughtering the animals of sacrifice)?" We replied, "Yes." He further asked, "Which month is this?" We again kept quiet, thinking that he might give it another name. Then he said, "Isn't it the month of Dhul-Hijjah [for performance of hajj]?" We replied, "Yes." "Verily! Your blood, property and honor are sacred to one another like the sanctity of this day of yours, in this month of yours and in this city of yours. It is incumbent upon those who are present to inform those who are absent because those who are absent might comprehend (what I have said) better than the present audience."* (Sahih Al-Bukhari, Vol. 1:67)

This *hadith* (speech) is highly significant in terms of the duty of Muslims as a community to convey the message to future generations, which Muslim historians took on in a professional sense. Muhammad frequently ended his remarks with the exhortation to those present to convey it to others. The last part of the final sentence instructs Muslims about the possibility that the message he delivered will be interpreted differently and perhaps more fully by generations to come. Therefore, it must be faithfully and accurately recorded. Incidentally, note how Muhammad's remarks draw attention to the importance of an accurate chronological context for the historical record. Indeed, the Qur'an itself was the source of calendrical reform, establishing twelve as the correct number of months (9:36-37). Other instances of similar statements recorded in the *hadith* indicate that Muhammad intended these remarks to be applied to the entirety of his message in the context of its historical setting.

As we have seen in the survey of historical sources, Muslim scholars took their prophet at his word. Remarks such as these were one foundation of the mandate under which the Madinan School developed and influenced generations of Muslim historians down to the present day, over fourteen hundred years later. ❖

NOTES

[1] Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 39.

[2] A recent example was the 1994 ASCD Conference workshop on "Teaching About Religion in the Schools," which included a panel of two Christian, one Jewish and one Muslim scholars.

[3] See for example, Henri Pirenne's 1925 thesis in *Medieval Cities*, or the more recent *Oxford History of the Classical World*, "Envoi: on Taking Leave of Antiquity," p. 828: "From 311 until the coming of Islam at the end of the seventh century, the great Church of North Africa was split between two rival groups whose theological disagreement was enforced by rancor...In the East also there were successive splinter groups, some only small but others very substantial...as a result, when these provinces first met the force of the Arab invaders from 634, the capacity of the Byzantine army and administration to resist was weakened by the deep alienation of many of its Monophysite citizens, who soon found their new rulers, though not always tolerant, at least much easier to live with than the Constantinople straitjacket. In Egypt the scale of apostasy to Islam so saddened one seventh-century monk on Sinai that in despair he took his life, and in the circumstances even suicide incurred no censure.

The Arab conquest of Syria, Egypt, North Africa and then southern Spain and Sicily, ended the unity of the old Roman world as no other factor did. The Mediterranean was no longer a Roman lake."

[4] Ibid.

[5] See, for example, articles by Thomas Brown and Rosemary Morris in the *Oxford History of Medieval Europe* (1988), the first of which directly takes Pirenne to task.

[6] See Richard Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*, (Harvard University Press, 1979).

[7] For the medieval period, see Eliyahu Ashtor, *Studies on the Levantine Trade in the Middle Ages* (Variorum Reprints, 1978), and *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983). For later periods, two interesting and entertaining studies, Ralph Davis' *Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English Traders in the Levant in the 18th Century* (Macmillan, 1967) and Bruce Masters' *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600-1750* (New York University, 1988).

[8] See Sayyid Hossein Nasr, *Science and Civilization in Islam* (Kazi Publications, 1992) and *Islamic Science: an Illustrated Study* (World of Islam Festival Publications, 1976) and Margaret B. Stillwell, *The Awakening Interest in Science during the First Century of Printing 1450-1550* (Bibliographical Society of America, 1970).

[9] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (Vintage Books, 1979), p. 1-2.

[10] Said, p. 2-3.

[11] H.A.R. Gibb, "Tarikh," supplement to the First Encyclopedia of Islam, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1927/1987), p. 236.

[12] A.A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs*, (L.I. Conrad, transl.), (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1967), p. 20-27.

[13] Ibid., p. 34.

[14] Duri, op. cit., p. 39.

[15] Ibid., p. 43.

[16] Ibid., p. 51, 56-57.

[17] Gibb, op. cit., p. 236; Duri, op. cit., p. 60.

[18] Ibid., p. 62, 65.

[19] Gibb, op. cit., p. 237.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., p. 237.

[22] Duri, op. cit., p. 64.

[23] Nafis Ahmad, *Muslim Contribution to Geography*, (New Delhi: Adam Publishers, 1945), p. 26.

[24] Muhsin Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 142.

[25] Gibb, op. cit., p. 240.

[26] Wansborough, *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History*, (Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 33.

[27] Ibid., p. 238.

[28] Gibb, op. cit., p. 238.

[29] Muhsin Mahdi, loc. cit.

[30] Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah* (F. Rosenthal, transl), Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1967), p. 28

[31] Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, (New York: Dorset Press, 1957).

[32] See also Amin Maalouf, *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes*, (Schocken Books, 1984).

[33] Gibb, op. cit., p. 239.

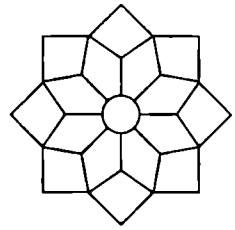
[34] Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "Syrian Manuscript Sources for the History of Eighteenth Century Ottoman Egypt," in D. Crecelius (ed.), Eighteenth Century Egypt: The Arabic Manuscript Sources, (Claremont: Regina Books, 1990), p. 108.

[35] Marcia K. Hermansen, "Interdisciplinary Approaches to Islamic Biographical Materials," *Religion*, vol. 18 (1988), p. 163-182 (passim).

[36] Ahmad, op. cit., p. 10.

[37] Ross E. Dunn, The Adventures of Ibn Battuta, (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1986), passim.

[38] A. Marsot, "Egyptian Historical Research and Writing on Egypt in the 20th Century," MESA Bulletin, 7:ii (1973), p. 15.



STRATEGIES AND STRUCTURES FOR PRESENTING WORLD HISTORY

with Islam and Muslim History as a Case Study

PART THREE

How Do Ground Rules for Teaching About Religion Apply to Islam and Muslim History?

A. *Approaches and Guidelines for Discussing Religion in History*

B. *Achieving Fairness and Accuracy— Critiques, Criteria and Insights*

C. *Setting Up a Structure to Cover Doctrine and Practice*

How Do Ground Rules for Teaching About Religion Apply to Islam and Muslim History?

Inclusion of world religions has been mandated as an integral part of world history content. These studies have been deemed essential for promoting global literacy, encouraging cross-cultural understanding, and giving depth to historical studies. Another important function of teaching about religion is the opportunity to explore ethics and value systems by comparing their development and application in various religious belief systems. Religions are, of course, also important to the study of law and concepts of justice that are still topics of intense debate today. Religion has also been a frequent topic in various media presentations in recent years. Islam has been quite prominently represented among treatments of various world religions. The following section offers critiques, criteria and insights relevant to achieving accuracy and balance in all types of presentations. While Islam is the topic of this case study, we believe that many of the points raised are equally valid for treatment of other world religions.

A. *Approaches and Guidelines for Discussing Religion in History*

Educators have been grappling with standards for fair and accurate treatment to use in evaluating instructional materials that include religious content. These efforts have yielded what might be called a set of ground rules, "Do's and Don'ts" which may be applied to classroom teaching as well as to one of its common vehicles, the textbook.

For example, the Program in Humanities and Human Values at the University of North Carolina published *Ten Suggestions for Teaching About Religion*, and the Public Education Religion Studies Center (PERSC) at Wright State University developed *Criteria for Evaluating Curriculum Materials and Programs*, salient points of which are summarized here:

- Teaching about religion may be interdisciplinary as well as included within the social studies and humanities...
- The approach should include understanding from both within and outside the religious tradition studied and include both institutional and personal religious phenomena.
- Subject matter may legitimately include both the history and literature of the religion, as well as religious thought and the relation of religion and culture, distinguishing between historical facts and confessional facts.
- Materials and methods should avoid reductionism(e.g. using only psychology or only sociology of the religion) and one-sidedness (i.e., they should present both the traditional, conservative view of scripture as well as the modern critical view, in addition to the contemporary relevance and meaning of the historical material).
- Methods of presentation should be open-ended, seeking not consensus but understanding and appreciation of the values that lead to different religious (and irreligious) commitments, especially with the object of breaking down stereotypes and of helping students to accept the validity of other religious experiences than their own.
- Teaching must not violate the First Amendment of the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, ...[1]

Supporting these views, Charles Haynes, past president of the National Council on Religion and Public Education, currently with the Freedom Forum First Amendment Center at Vanderbilt University, published *A Teacher's Guide to Study About Religion in Public Schools* that generally concurs with these criteria. He identifies four approaches to teaching about religion:

- **Natural Inclusion :** study should take place within a historical or cultural context....What is taught about ...should be only what is essential to understanding the events or peoples under consideration....Students should be told why their study of religious tradition...is necessarily limited. Make clear why certain religious influences and themes have been selected for study. Remind students that there is much more to learn about the complexity and richness of each faith....Alert them to the...wide diversity of opinion about religious events and ideas among the various religions and within the traditions themselves.
- **Fairness and Balance:** ...no religious or anti-religious point of view should be advocated...When discussing religious beliefs, ...avoid injecting personal religious beliefs by teaching through attribution (e.g. by reporting that "most Buddhists believe..."). Fair and balanced study about religion includes critical thinking about historical events involving religious traditions....The full historical record (and various interpretations of it) should be available for analysis and discussion...use primary sources where possible so that students can work with the historical record...note that consideration of destructive or oppressive acts carried out in the name of a religious belief is not an opportunity to attack the integrity of the religion itself....Avoid making qualitative comparisons between religions...Structural parallels on the other hand...may be a helpful way to organize...discussion. It is also appropriate to compare and contrast the different perspectives religious groups might have on historical or current events.

- **Respect for Differences:** When teaching about the major faiths of humankind in history, teachers must take care not to present religious truth claims as relative or to reduce all religions to a common denominator. ...These faith communities...subscribe to absolute truths derived from the sources of revelation and authority in their traditions. The view that all faiths are ultimately the same may be compatible with some world views, but this is itself a philosophical position. Equally problematic are attempts ...to "explain away" religious faith as merely a social or psychological phenomena....It is permissible to present various theories of religion and to introduce students to the social, economic and cultural context in which religions have formed and changed. However, it is first and foremost essential to report how people of faith interpret their own practices and beliefs, and how these beliefs have affected their lives historically as well as how they affect people's lives today...allow the student to learn how each faith understands itself.

- **Use of Religious Scriptures:** Study of history or literature would be incomplete without exposure to the scriptures of the world's main religious traditions....the classical religious texts are part of our study of history and culture...Religious documents give students of history the opportunity to examine directly how religious traditions understand divine revelation and human values....selections from these accounts should always be treated with respect and used only in the appropriate historical and cultural context. Alert students to the fact that there are a variety of interpretations of scripture within each religious tradition.[2]

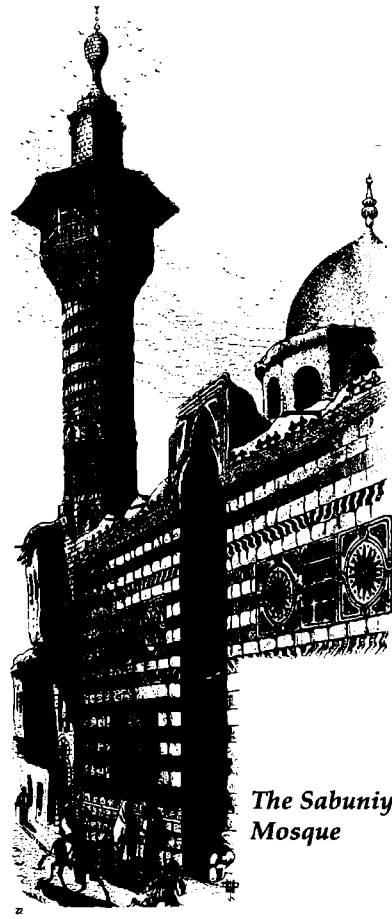
These two documents elucidate principles that serve as useful guidelines for preparing textbook treatments on religion and religiously defined cultures. In the section below, it will be shown how these groundrules can be constructively applied to teaching about Islam and Muslim culture in world history textbooks.

ISLAM AS A RELIGIOUSLY-DEFINED CULTURE

A glance at most curriculum guides and tables of contents in most world history textbooks reveals that Islamic religion and Muslim civilization have a unique position when compared with other topics. The distinguishing feature is that the religion and the culture are treated as an identity. For example, one finds no unit entitled

"Buddhism" or "Hinduism" or "Christianity" unless its objective is to trace the immediate origins and development of the religion and its doctrine. In many cases, however, "Islam" is the title given to the entire treatment of the religion, the history of its people and culture. For example, some textbooks carry a unit title such as *Byzantine Civilization and Islam* or *The Rise of Islam*, as opposed to *Islam and Muslim Civilization*, for example. Leaving aside the correctness of these titles or approaches, the salient point is that the culture of Muslims is treated as proceeding from the Islamic religion in much closer association than is the case for any other major world religion. The common confusion between the terms "Islam," "Islamic" and "Muslim" in nearly every discussion in the print media testifies to this over-identification. Scholars of both religion and history share the concern that misrepresentation results from confusion about what belongs to the realm of Islam and what impulses have originated in other realms.

For the purposes of this discussion, however, it will be sufficient to note that the close identification of the religion "Islam" with the historical actions and institutions of "Muslims" requires particular attention to the groundrules enumerated above. It is our position, furthermore, that careful adherence to these rules would eliminate much of the confusion. **Insights as to how groundrules for teaching about religion apply to teaching about Islam and Muslims should help educators to make choices about structure and content at any point where these topics are relevant to the discussion of world history.**



The Sabuniyya Mosque

B. *Achieving Fairness and Accuracy — Critiques, Criteria and Insights*

Both sets of guidelines described above apply similar fundamental principles:

- Presentation must be "open-ended, seeking not consensus but understanding and appreciation."
- The validity of any one religious or irreligious view over another must not be stated or implied in the presentation.
- Religious truth claims may not be reduced to relative ones or to a common denominator, since this represents in itself a particular philosophical position that excludes other possibilities.
- Explain and discuss religious beliefs by attribution ("Muslims believe that...") without injection of the authors' personal judgments.

ORIGIN OF RELIGIONS AND SOURCES OF CHANGE IN RELIGIOUS HISTORY

Many textbooks fail to meet these guidelines from their first mention of religious experience by primitive man and of Abrahamic faith. An ambiguous tendency is apparent in how they approach the origins of religion in human experience. In general, religion appears as something "developed" by people. Some authors ask students to look at how religion "helps" people, for example. This appears to imply that religions are useful, positive constructs. The unfortunate implication of the question, "How does religion help people?" is the reductionist notion that societies develop certain religious constructs because they are utilitarian from a social or political standpoint. This tendency is all the more disturbing because it presents to the students a foregone conclusion, namely, that religion is invented by human societies, and takes on certain forms out of convenience or cultural taste. A question more open to student inquiry would ask, "How does religious belief affect people?" The latter phrasing accommodates the possibility that people sometimes understand and apply their belief in positive, altruistic ways, and sometimes in negative, exclusionary and intolerant ways.

Discussion of historical change in religion brings out this problem more sharply. Stating in one form or another that "early religious beliefs" were polytheistic posits an underlying assumption that religion "evolved" from polytheism to monotheism, and that one or more specific peoples may be credited with the "invention." Examples of this type of statement from textbooks are the following:

> **Achievements of the Old Stone Age**..."Religion": Archaeologists have also found evidence that Old Stone Age people developed religion. They apparently performed rituals, ceremonies that they believed would help to bring success in hunting. [3]
>
> Some scholars suggest that during the Old Stone Age people developed basic religious beliefs.[4]
>
> ...However, the Hebrews were the first people to develop an ethical world view, which included the basic principles of belief in one God and concern for individuals.[5]
>
> The Jews developed the belief in one God who demands moral conduct. ...The ideas they developed are known as Judaism, which grew into one of the world's great religions...This was a remarkable achievement for a people who began as a group of tribes in Mesopotamia.[6]

In the first statements, students are presented with the foregone conclusion that religious belief was made from whole cloth, beginning, as these passages elucidate further on, with belief in many deities. The origin of monotheistic religion becomes an invention, a contribution of one particular people, like the stirrup, the chariot, or the light bulb. With varying degrees of subtlety, many textbook authors present the conclusion that not God, but the Hebrew people were the founders of the monotheistic, ethical system. Description of the Hebrew people's contribution as pioneers of monotheism should be given in terms of their own understanding of the faith, namely, that they were chosen to receive and represent God's truth. The religion of the Hebrews is understood as a REVEALED religion; therefore, to state that the Hebrew people somehow "came up" with the concept of monotheism is to categorically deny the truth of the religion. To imply that they were inventors of the faith, in however admirable a light that may be presented, is to draw a foregone conclusion about the truth or falsehood of revealed religion.

The argument may seem merely semantic, but it points up a serious fallacy. Many textbook authors and editors choose this secular option as the most neutral position, even though it represents a particular philosophical and ideological stance. Use of secular assumptions in teaching the history of religion rankles severely in religious circles, whether Jewish, Christian, Muslim or other. It also violates recognized standards and ground rules for teaching about religion Many have called it propagation of atheism, which is certainly no better than propagation of any one religion in the classroom.

1. *Origins of Monotheism According to Its Adherents*

Neutral, non-judgmental discussion of religious belief is not incompatible with accurate and intimate portrayal. The tenets of a belief system may be described on their own terms, not through the filter of opinion for or against its veracity. According to all three monotheistic faiths — Judaism, Christianity, and Islam — God revealed Himself to man, the first recipient of revelation having been Adam as "the first man." Whether one accepts Adam's role in the literal or symbolic sense, that fact eliminates the possibility of argument that monotheism developed after or as a historical progression from polytheism. Clearly stated, according to the Torah, the Bible and the Qur'an, man's first religious experience was with the One God. **Thus, revealed, monotheistic belief systems view polytheism as a digression from a known, innate spiritual truth.** Monotheism did not proceed out of polytheism in any "natural progression of ideas." **Where monotheism succeeded polytheism historically, there was an abrupt break with the past, accompanied by conversion.** The monotheistic faiths teach that each prophet in the long line exhorted his people to believe in and worship the One God only, abandon idolatry and practice certain basic ethical behaviors. Islam goes so far as to acknowledge that God sent messengers to every people at one time or another with a similar message, even though all of these are not named in scripture. This teaching entails the potential that every world religion proceeds from the same source and contains some kernels of truth.

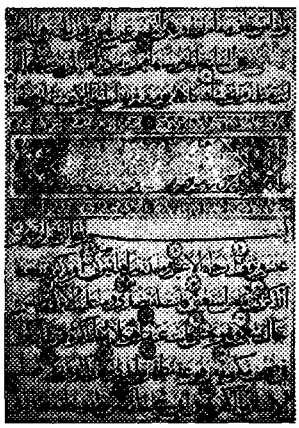
2. Origin and Definition of Islam

Islam's beliefs do not, according to its followers, originate with Muhammad, or even in his time. Muslims believe that Islam, like Judaism and Christianity, is a revealed religion. Its basic tenets are the same ones, revealed by the same God, who made His Word known to Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus (among others). **Adherence to the rule about attribution and open-ended, non-reductionist presentation disqualifies all statements to the effect that Muhammad started or founded Islam.** Clear understanding of the religion's name would help to clarify this point. "Islam" simply means a state of peace achieved through submission to God. A "Muslim" is the participle form of the same root, meaning "one who aspires to achieve the state of Islam." Thus, Muslims believe that all prophets and believers since Adam have been by definition Muslims, or simply those who submit their will to God. Submission to a Higher Will has been a consistent attribute of prophethood and faith.

Islamic teaching states that all revelation came from the same God and had in essence the same message (worshipping and obeying One God, shunning major sins like those named in the Ten Commandments, honoring parents, helping the poor and one's kin and neighbors). It is thus inaccurate to state that Muhammad founded or started Islam, since **the Qur'an, Muhammad's revelation, states that Islam (submission to God) originated at the time of Adam, the first human who was given consciousness of His presence by God, originating thus with God Himself.** All three monotheistic religions share much of the same terminology (for example, the greeting "shalom" in Hebrew, from the same Semitic root, "SLM") surrounding the definition and essence of religious belief and the nature of God. Muslims are taught that the revelation given to Muhammad is the most recent and final one, the culmination, confirmation and criterion for judging the validity of basic beliefs (though not minor laws and acts) taught in earlier revelations, including those in the Judeo-Christian canon. In a similar vein, Muslims accept the authenticity of the Torah and the Bible as based upon revelation, but do not believe that they have been accurately preserved since the time of their revelation, having undergone loss and change by the hand of man.

3. *AUTHORSHIP OF SCRIPTURE — ATTRIBUTING INFLUENCE VS. MAKING COMPARISONS*

Similarly, those historical figures to whom the title "prophet of God" is attributed may not be said to have authored content in their scriptures. This represents the utmost violation of fairness and accurate representation of revealed religion. The question of "influence" among religions is also not appropriate because it injects the author's personal view. Applied to Islam, this principle disqualifies statements to the effect that Muhammad modified the emerging Qur'anic scriptures in certain ways to attract, mollify or impress certain groups. This explanation is frequently encountered with regard to the change in direction of prayer from Jerusalem to Makkah during the Madinan period. Similar statements have been made with regard to narratives about persons who also appear in the Bible or Torah, such as Solomon, Joseph, Jesus and Mary.



Course descriptions and textbooks stating that Judaism influenced Christian doctrine, and these two in turn influenced the religious content of Islam are presenting a foregone conclusion alien to the internal understanding of any of the faiths. An open-ended view may draw teachers' and students' attention to similarities, but these must be clearly identified as such. "Influence" implies a causal relationship in which an author transmits elements from one tradition into another by selecting items for inclusion. If that author then states that his work is of divine origin, he has committed the worst form of perjury. Speaking about a Divine Author in terms of "influence" is either absurd, since it implies that He is being influenced by His own work, or it belongs to the realm of blasphemy. Muslims view Muhammad and all the other prophets as vessels for God's revelation; to state that a prophet determined the content of revelation according to his taste or under the influence of political motives is to call the religion a blatant lie, whatever the academic intent of the author or scholars whose works have been consulted. Such biases do not belong in instructional materials.

4. PROVIDING HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND ENRICHMENT FOR PROPHETS' LIVES

Neutral and historically significant presentation is achieved simply by stating what the Hebrew people believed about the patriarch Abraham, his predecessors and his successor prophets, explaining what events are known about their lives with as much detail as the editors see fit. Historically significant portrayal includes information about geographic, social, political, economic and other aspects of the historical context in which the prophets played out their missions.

The possibilities for such neutral presentation make interesting history-teaching. For example, ideas about status and the pressure of social systems are illustrated by Abraham's refusal to worship the idols of his kinfolk, and in his subsequent migration. In the story of Joseph and his brothers, the geographic and economic importance of the Nile Valley civilization to nearby regions is illustrated by the fact that Joseph's family went there to trade for grain under famine conditions in their own land east of the Sinai peninsula. Joseph's rescue from the well attests to the regularity with which the caravan routes were plied. The story of Moses' people under slavery in Egypt provides interesting discussion and inquiry material on the topic of class, caste and political authority, and even about social (downward) mobility, if one considers what happened in the generations between the first descendants of the Abrahamic line in Egypt (the offspring of Joseph and his brothers and their folk) and their predicament as slaves in Moses' generation. How and why might the migrants' descendants have been enslaved? What do these events tell about Egyptian society and its attitudes about outsiders? How does the Hebrew people's situation compare with Egyptians' encounter with the Hyksos?

On the other hand, the major significance of the prophets and their stories for the religiously neutral setting is the fact that they have been considered as prophets by millions of people past and present. These beliefs have had historical consequences in many realms. It is not necessary to connect their lives with any recorded historical events, though such connections exist in many cases, but one may study the stories as they were related and acted upon in a given culture.

With regard to Muhammad, the researcher finds that much scholarly effort has been expended in placing his mission in historical context. Here one must distinguish between efforts to assess the significance of Muhammad's mission in light of events in the Arabian Peninsula or the Near East before and after Islam on one hand, and scholars' attempts to discover how the Arabs could have snatched prominence out of the jaws

of obscurity on the other. Muslim sensibilities, based on belief in free will, are not offended by the search for historical causes and human agency. However, too many Orientalist scholars have attempted to discover *any* sufficient cause other than religion that could be cited as the key to the Arabs' conquest of two ancient civilizations. To these efforts belong causes like excess population growth and scarce resources, adverse climatic change ("Islam as the Last Barbarian Invasion"), for which not a scintilla of evidence exists. The Arabs' need to expand trade and the weakness of both Persia and Byzantium are other material causes commonly cited, which, while contributory, are not sufficient.

Handled in an insufficiently balanced manner, these attempts are condemned in the ground rules as efforts to "explain away" the religious or spiritual impulse. This bias in the sources has resulted from discounting all religious content from Muslim historical sources, a process that has produced much distortion. Patricia Crone holds the record for extreme views on this topic; she denies any religious causation at all in the spread of Islam, stating that Islamic religion was an eighth century fabrication with no antecedents in Muhammad's time.[7]

In conclusion, students and their families should be left to decide about the veracity of religious historical material and its message unmolested by the intrusion of secular assumptions. They should be given the opportunity to interpret the stories on multiple levels. By following these groundrules, publishers are free of any charge of bias in that they have merely relayed information about religion and provided a context in which the culture may be better understood, in a fair and accurate manner.

TRANSLITERATION AND PRONUNCIATION

An important issue in discussing Islam is how to transliterate Arabic terms. Study of any culture using a language not written in the Latin alphabet presents this problem. Standardization is just beginning to take hold in academic circles. The Library of Congress has issued guidelines that it uses to transliterate Arabic; this is probably the most standard method. Because Arabic contains some sounds that do not correspond easily to Latin letters, a system of ellipses and symbols has been devised that is quite accurate, but not suitable for young students in a survey course. For these reasons, many authors of materials on Islam use modified versions of the "standard" academic transliteration system. The rule of thumb is to follow transliterations that enable students to approximate the correct pronunciation. For example, Arabic vowel sounds are limited to "a," "i," "u," both long and short sounds, with "y" used both as consonant

and vowel, as in English. Thus, the transliteration "Muslim" is preferable to "Moslem" because it better enables the casual reader to reproduce the sound of the original word. Similarly, "shaykh" or "shaikh" better reproduces the original than "sheik." Writers should not be tempted to reproduce common journalistic mispronunciations in their transliterations under the guise of familiarity, as this clashes in the ears of Muslims, and does not contribute to a mutually respectful dialogue.

USE OF TERMINOLOGY

A second, very common problem in materials related to Islam is incorrect or inconsistent use of terminology. Fortunately, the era when Islam was dubbed "Mohammedanism" as a parallel construct to Christianity and Buddhism has come to an end. Today, the most frequent error encountered in the print media is confusion surrounding the terms "Islam" or "Islamic" and "Muslim." In addition, categories and terminology taken from Christian discourse and history are inaccurately used to describe very different categories and institutions in Islam. Two common examples are cavalier use of the word "church" to describe a Muslim house of worship or a universal religious institution representing Islam, and use of the word "clergy" to describe scholars or other religious leaders. These and other concepts will be discussed below.

1. *Distinction Between "Islam," "Islamic" and "Muslim"*

To set the record straight on this fundamental point, ***Islam*** is the name of the religion whose final Prophet was Muhammad. Islam simply means a state of peace achieved through submission to God. ***Muslim*** is the name used for an adherent of the Islamic faith. A Muslim is one who aspires to achieve this state of submission, as a lifelong quest. It is on the basis of this simple definition, and not a sort of team spirit, that Muslims base the conviction that all prophets and believers since Adam were Muslims; they are counted among those people who submitted their will to God. Differences among prophets are concerned only with the scope and circumstances of their missions. This definition embodies the utmost universalism of the Islamic faith: anyone may become a Muslim, God alone judges whether they have lived in accordance with that aspiration.

Authors have created misunderstanding by confusing adjectival expressions concerning Islam. The term ***Islamic*** is accurately applied only to what pertains directly to the faith and its doctrines (such as Islamic law, Islamic worship, Islamic celebrations, Islamic values, principles and beliefs.) The term ***Islam*** belongs to the realm of the

aspiration, the ideal, the pure faith. We may acquire knowledge from this realm from the authentic Islamic sources, and we may examine its constructs, interpret its doctrines and describe what is required of adherents of the Islamic faith; however, we may not describe a person or any historical phenomenon as Islamic.

To illustrate the problems inherent in usage, an author might come up with a relatively benign formulation like "Islamic women" or "Islamic populations," even "Islamic countries" when "Muslim" women, populations or countries are clearly meant. When the historical phenomenon and cultural content begin to diverge from what is, doctrinally speaking, Islamic, the situation becomes more problematic. For example, writers refer to works as "Islamic art" or "Islamic literature" even though some depict images forbidden by Islamic doctrine, such as the Prophet and angels, or in case of works that are not authentic sources of information about Islamic doctrine or practice. Some scholars have tried to identify and describe phenomena such as an "Islamic city," "Islamic trade routes," "Islamic villages," as though the religion included a blueprint for such cultural forms. **At their worst, such incorrect adjectival constructions produce oxymorons**, such as "Islamic terrorists" and "Islamic militants" or "radical Islam" or "Islamic extremist groups," frequently used uncritically even while the same text states clearly that Islam is a religion of moderation, not radicalism, one that condones neither wanton violence nor extremism, much less terrorism, which is expressly forbidden by the most basic limitations placed upon legitimate warfare by Islamic doctrine.

These incorrect usages are prime examples of the way in which writers have failed to distinguish between the religion and its adherents' actions and cultural constructs. An important contribution of the eminent scholar Marshall G.S. Hodgson was to recognize this problem and coin a new word to better define it. He employed the term ***Islamdom*** to refer to "the society in which Muslims and their faith are recognized as prevalent and socially dominant, in one sense or another. He employs the term ***Islamicate*** to denote

> ...not the religion, Islam, itself, but the social, and cultural complex historically associated with Islam and Muslims, both among Muslims themselves and even when found among non-Muslims.[8]

In other words, cultural phenomena that emerged in the Muslim regions under more or less direct influence by Islamic factors, which may or may not conform to the demands of the belief and value system, are called "Islamicate." Although this term has become fairly well established in academic circles, it is certainly too awkward and abstract for use in elementary or secondary teaching materials.

The simplest solution is to use the terms ***Islam*** and ***Islamic*** solely for what pertains to the religion, and use ***Muslim*** as an adjective to denote the works and acts of Muslims, or groups of people and their institutions (such as Muslim women or men, Muslim population, Muslim countries or civilization, Muslim art, Muslim government or leaders, Muslim extremists). **The important distinction is that human interpretation of Islam by Muslims is necessarily imperfect, and that persons, cultural artifacts and institutions are derived from and informed by Islamic precepts with admixture of secular, regional and ethnic influences. In short, human acts and constructs fall short of being purely Islamic, and therefore may not be denoted as such.** While it is also true that "Muslim" is a derivative of "Islam" and that it has the connotation of aspiration and striving rather than accomplished fact, it has been customary from the time of Muhammad that within the confines of earthly life, anyone should be called Muslim who has made the *shahadah*, or profession of faith. Thus, expression of this distinction is both simple and convenient, it enjoys the backing of historical precedent, and meets the basic standard of fairness and accuracy. Finer distinctions may be left to loftier levels of academic discourse.

Tile showing Ka'bah and Masjid al-Haram

2. BORROWING TERMINOLOGY FROM ANOTHER RELIGION

The other source of incorrect terminology mentioned above is the use of terms from Christian or other religious discourses to describe Islamic doctrine or Muslim institutions. While textbook writers might be excused for using terms that are ubiquitous in the mass media, the objective of replacing ignorance with knowledge and understanding sets a higher standard for usage.

■ "CHURCH," "CLERGY" AND "CLERIC"

The most commonly borrowed terms used in discussion of Islam are CHURCH and CLERGY, or CLERIC. A basic level of accuracy requires explaining that Islam recognizes no central religious authority or institution of brick and mortar housing persons charged with authoritative interpretation of religion to believers. Yet treatments of Islam too often fall back on use of the term "church" to mean an official institution of some sort, without defining any more closely what they mean. Texts commonly refer to the lack

of separation between "church and state" in the Islamic concept of government. In this instance, it is far more accurate to drop both terms, which were paired by historical events in Europe, referring instead to the lack of separation between "the realm of religion and the realm of human political affairs." More simply, one might substitute "religion and government" for "church and state." Muslims recognize no "church," "clergy" or "clerics" who act as intermediaries in the Muslim's relationship with God. Just as they believe that no one can bear responsibility for another's acts, or atone for the sins of others, no one may exercise spiritual authority over another believer. A Muslim should seek knowledge before considering action; a Muslim may consult one more learned than him- or herself, but one does so as a free agent.

The word "clergy" is often pressed into service to describe a Muslim scholar, or prayer leader, or Sufi mystic, or even a teacher. Occasionally, it is even applied to political leaders. There is too much wrong with this term to allow its continued use. First, the English, Christian term refers to an ordained person, used in opposition to the term "laity." Such a distinction does not exist in Islam. The nearest equivalents would be "learned" and "unlearned." There is no institution to carry out ordination, even if Islam did authorize such, which it emphatically does not. Second, the term "clergy" is too imprecise, since Muslim religious scholars have played a wide variety of social roles. Thus, under the incorrect term "clergy," a variety of Muslim figures might be meant: an *'alim*, or scholar of Islamic knowledge, a judge, an *imam*, or formal or informal prayer leader, a *shaykh*, or tribal, guild or spiritual leader. These scholars and leaders often filled other economic and social roles unfamiliar to the concept of clergy as a group supported by and pledged to a central institution. Common denotations and connotations of the word "clergy," in other words, have no resonance in Islam or Muslim society.

■ *"THEOCRACY"*

If one follows the incorrect description of the Muslim government as a theocracy, then the *khalifah* himself would also be a member of the clergy. However, the type of government described by the term "theocracy" is an impossibility in Islam.

> Theocracy is: "government by priests or men who claim to know the will of God; a state thus governed."[9]

"Knowing the will of God" in the sense of governing implies not a general mandate based on an established body of scripture, but day-to-day divine rule subject to unpredictable change by authorities receiving orders from God. Government by prophets is theocracy. One can argue that the rule of Moses, David, Solomon and Muhammad was theocratic, but rule by successors is no longer such. In the case of Islam, the *khalifahs*, or successors to Muhammad, presided over states based upon the rule of law. The source of that law was two-fold: the Qur'an and the example of Muhammad, the Sunnah. However, scholars agree that the *khalifah* himself was not above the law. His mandate reached no farther than upholding established Islamic law. The first *khalifah*, Abu Bakr, set the precedent by informing Muslims that their obedience toward him (based upon accession to an oath of office) was conditional upon his undeviating adherence to the law, which was a matter of public record. Apart from Abu Bakr's precedent, the limited executive authority of the khalifate is established in both Qur'an and Sunnah. Unlike a ruler who presides by divine right, for example, a Muslim ruler may be dismissed, reprimanded, criticized (as were all of the *khalifahs*)[10], or act as the defendant in a court proceeding, as did Ali, the fourth *khalifah*, in a civil suit while in office. He may not abrogate the law, but is subject to it. No aura of holiness attaches to him. No matter how much pomp became attached to Muslim rulers, or how remote they became from their subjects, they never acceded to the status of priests or god-kings. Later in this section, the structure of law will be discussed in more detail.

■ "FUNDAMENTALISM" AND "FUNDAMENTALISTS"

These terms have become so common in journalistic and scholarly usage that they have wandered deep into the conventional wisdom. This in itself is a phenomenon worthy of historical note. In world history courses, however, such terms should not be used uncritically. One assumes that the original meaning of the term will be studied in connection with Protestantism, and that mutations and applications of the term in various historical periods will be traced before its contemporary usage is introduced. In this context, the term "fundamentalism" is a historic artifact used as modern parlance to describe a form of dedication to religious over secular life. Uncritical use is not permissible, particularly when it appears as a knee-jerk addition to the title of any Muslim, Jew, Christian or Hindu who holds that religion is more than a personal phenomenon. Its use as a synonym for "extremist," "fanatic," "radical" is equally unacceptable.

Historically, "fundamentalist" was originally applied to Christians, later referring to those Christians who took the Bible as literal as opposed to allegorical truth, among other implications. Nowadays, the term has expanded in meaning to include almost

any adherent of the major world religions who still believes that faith is a model for modern life. Antipodal to "fundamentalist" is probably "secularist," rather than "superficialist," to coin a ridiculous term. Vincent Cornell, a scholar of religion, has wryly turned the tables, using "secular fundamentalists" to refer to those who proselytize others to their lack of faith. A related pair of opposites is "modernist" versus "traditionalist." These terms carry considerable historical baggage of which students should be made aware before they can evaluate its applicability.

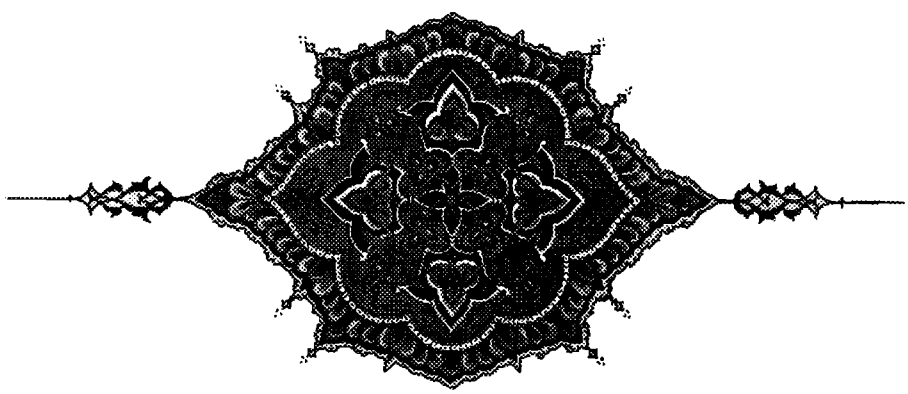
Several trends in the history of Christianity are relevant to the development of these complex ideas. The European struggle for a secular state took place in the context of two phenomena foreign to the Muslim world: an organized Church with worldly authority, and post-feudal, national monarchies legitimized by or heading a Church. Western scientific enterprise also developed its dichotomies between the spiritual and secular realms, between matter and spirit, and a sharp divide between tradition and modernity. This Christian historical environment is unlike either that which spawned Muslim science, or that of Chinese or Japanese science and technology. Western science developed in spite of and often in opposition to the Church and seldom in alliance with Biblical scholars. This situation was exacerbated where scientific influence entered Europe from the Muslim (infidel) world. The Creationist debate in education is a contemporary illustration of this historical opposition. Western science, based of necessity on secular assumptions, gained momentum as it carried religious reinterpretation and capitulation in its wake. Religious revival in the West has often been an anti-modern sentiment. Scholars and popular commentators alike often assume this is the case with Islam, as well. Accepted uncritically, however, this view is an example of how Europeans assume that their own experience is universal. On the contrary, these notions have little resonance in Muslim thought and practice, whose scientific impulse existed in alliance with, or at least in an atmosphere of tolerance with Islam. Even where Greek philosophy caused temporary intellectual indigestion in Muslim scholarly and political circles, there was no Islamic "Church" hierarchy to bring sanctions against scientists. The pursuit of "secular" science was no maverick, dangerous endeavor in the Muslim world; it was patronized and encouraged at the highest levels long before the Renaissance or Western penetration.

Given the nature of the Qur'an and Sunnah and its relationship to Islam and Muslim practice, it is hard to transfer a notion of fundamentalism to the belief system. Since Islam enjoins obedience and submission to God's commands as stated in the Qur'an and exemplified by His prophets, there are no degrees of belief and practice. With regard to literal interpretation of scripture, the Qur'an itself states that some verses are to be

understood allegorically, some are general principles and some are direct injunctions to be followed to the letter. The very nature of the Qur'an differs markedly from the Bible, and the two scriptures have a very different history.

A term, or category that better expresses the phenomenon that "fundamentalism" is intended to describe is religious renewal (*tajdid*) and resurgence. These terms are preferable to "revival," which evokes certain historic images from Christianity. Many such historic and contemporary Muslim movements of renewal and resurgence labeled "fundamentalist" refer to models from among Muhammad's loyal companions, the "Rightly-Guided Khalifahs," the Muslim equivalent of American "Founding Fathers" or "framers." Many of these Muslims in the modern world wish to renew their societies according to virtuous models, principles of good government and balanced social life based on the historic precedent set by those close to the source. Historically, Muhammad's early companions who became leaders of the community have always been viewed fondly in contrast to the worldly rulers who followed them, so that one is not dealing with a new phenomenon. Most adherents of these ideas are not anti-modern Luddites who want to return to nomadic life forms and archaic standards of living, any more than American admirers of the Founding Fathers prefer the horse over the jumbo jet.

The salient point is that fair, critical and informed use of terms promotes constructive and differentiated understanding of "the other." The term "fundamentalist" has pejorative overtones, causing people to dismiss a group of ideas, pigeon-hole or stereotype trends in thought before they have investigated their content. Too much herd mentality and too little open-mindedness is inherent in use of the term "fundamentalist" as a category of backward-looking, superstitious people whose ideas have no value for modern life.



USE OF REPRESENTATIVE VISUAL IMAGES

Photography and artwork play an important role in conveying a message. Organizations commanding the resources to provide a high level of colorful illustration have a corresponding responsibility to make sure that the images used contribute to understanding and meet the same high standards as written material. Three criteria are applicable to selection of artwork and photography:

CRITERIA FOR SELECTING ARTWORK AND PHOTOGRAPHY

1. Does the image enrich understanding of the subject under discussion in the text and aid receptivity and retention of lesson objectives?
2. Was the image selected on the basis of sound research in that it represents the correct historical period, portrays the cultural group under discussion accurately, and represents excellence in an artistic field or typifies objects of everyday use?
3. Does the image violate guidelines for teaching about religion by offending religious prohibitions recognized by most of its adherents; does it meet standards of fairness, accuracy and balance, providing historical context and recommended use of primary source materials?

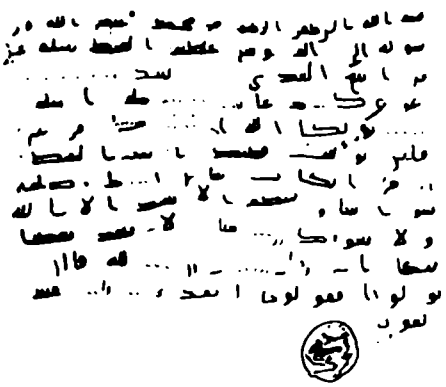
1. Use of Images Portraying Figures Sacred to Muslims

One of the most common images in introductory chapters on Islam are 16th century Persianate miniatures that supposedly represent Prophet Muhammad and/or the Angel Gabriel. Picture editors are satisfying a typical journalistic need to see the protagonist when they insert these images. Unfortunately, however, their use violates the above standards, being inappropriate on several levels. First, it is forbidden in Islam to depict the Prophet or the Angels. Leaving aside the scruples and conventions under which these artists worked in the 16th century, their use is offensive to most Muslims today. Second, their use contradicts content often found in the same text, which often explains that because of the prohibition against depicting human and animal figures, Muslim arts flourished most in the areas of calligraphy and geometric, abstract and botanical ornamentation. There is some gray area in the prohibition among scholars, and not all Muslims subscribed to it strictly. However, the prohibition against depicting holy figures has been recognized more universally.

Third, they do not represent the correct historical period or give information about it. The images themselves clearly illustrate the prohibition under which they were made. These miniatures depict an archetypal figure in archetypal clothing (16th century Persian clothing) with no face, often floating among clouds, surrounded by a flaming aura. The angels appear with faces (archetypal Persian miniature faces) and patterned wings. Apart from being colorful, they do not enrich the text. Since they tell nothing about the actual appearance of Muhammad in terms of stature, face, clothing, or way of life, it is difficult to imagine why they are included in a history text. Captions to these miniatures seldom tell students that they are not contemporary images, showing stylized views made 1,000 years after the Prophet. It is time to drop their use in introductory material on Islam.

2. WHAT IMAGES PROVIDE HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR ARABIA IN MUHAMMAD'S TIME?

What sort of images might be substituted for these? Photographs of the Ka'bah in Makkah would show the simple block construction of the building. Examples of early calligraphy of the Qur'an may be included as both art and document study. Examples of such calligraphy on deerskin are attributed to the hand of several of the companions and "Rightly Guided Khalifahs" [These images are reproduced in *The Cultural Atlas of Islam*, (I. & L. Faruqi, Macmillan, 1986.)] Al-Faruqi's' book also includes a letter attributed to a scribe, or secretary of Muhammad, directed to the Archbishop of Egypt, dated 5/627 C.E. It is kept in the Topkapi Museum, Istanbul. While its authenticity is questionable, the fact that such letters were written to leaders in the region, such as Heraclius, is well-known. An account of the reaction to such a missive at the Byzantine court of Heraclius is related in *Sahih Al-Bukhari* (1:6). Stone inscriptions from pre-Islamic Arabia are another possibility for setting the context in which Muhammad played out his mission. They also allow document study, if translated in the caption.



Letter from the Prophet to the Ruling Archbishop of Egypt, dated 5/627. Topkapi Museum, Istanbul.

The other type of image frequently encountered is the empty sand desert, flat, featureless, sometimes containing a lone bedouin figure. Sometimes, photos of modern bedouin families in traditional dress and tents are shown. These pictures might be useful under certain conditions. However, the Arabian

desert is not uniformly featureless sand. Arabia has many regions with flora and fauna, wells and oases, mountains and valleys. Some areas are arable, most notably Al-Taif, near Makkah (which played a historic role at the time of Muhammad.), and Madinah, which is known for its date-palm groves, some of which probably look much the same now as then [See *Eternal Saudi Arabia* (R. Golt, London: Elk Publications, 1980) or *Aramco and Its World: Arabia and the Middle East* (Nawwab et.al., Dahran, S.A., 1981) for natural and historical scenes and artifacts.] Second, it is historically inaccurate to overemphasize the nomadic element in the history of Islam. Muhammad was born among a sedentary, wealthy, urban-dwelling tribe that occupied the seat of a major religious shrine on a trade route between the Indian Ocean Basin and the Mediterranean region. Islam can in no way be construed as having arisen among a primarily nomadic people. Even the bedouin cannot be properly understood without the sedentary, urban context; they enjoyed specific cultural, ethnic, political and economic relationships with their sedentary brethren. These relationships will be discussed further in the next chapter. For the purpose of discussing visual images, it must be noted that balance is the watchword. Images of urban settings, of date groves, oases, the habitations and artifacts of trade along the Hijaz Mountain route and the Red Sea will reinforce ideas in the text. A picture of harvesting the South Arabian frankincense tree's resin, one of the most important commodities on the Makkan route, would be helpful (See Thomas Abercrombie's article "Arabia's Frankincense Trail," *National Geographic Magazine*, 168:4 (October 1985), with photos by Lynn Abercrombie. Images of pre-Islamic Arabian settlements that are now being excavated in the Peninsula (One site, named *Qaryat Al-Fau*, is described in a book by that name.) would show that Arabia was historically multi-dimensional.

3. *Use of Contemporary Photos to Illustrate Aspects of Culture*

Authors and picture editors often try to depict real or imagined customs by selecting photographs that might be described as "ethnic folklore shots." Editors display an inordinate fondness for these romantic images, placing them in geography and history books and journalistic accounts out of proportion to their usefulness as teaching aids. They sometimes receive startlingly inaccurate captions, as well.

Here, broad generalizations in the text are hardened into stereotypes as the image of rural, traditional, backward, isolated, romantic, inaccessible, exotic people is etched onto the retina of generations of unwitting readers. These muted, often dark, painterly

photos often exhibit withdrawn expressions. Distant figures, back views, odd costumes that conceal the person beyond recognition are regularly selected; they are often the only images of real people among historical artifacts and art objects. They are interesting, attractive, aesthetically pleasing photographs, but they are not good teaching aids. They belong in tourist guides.

Where photographs are used to illustrate customs, practices and beliefs of contemporary cultural/religious groups, they should be selected for the way in which they represent styles and behaviors practiced by a substantial proportion of the group's adherents, depicting common, not odd usage. For example, when illustrating Muslim women's dress, graphic editors often seize upon the beaded face mask adorned with coins and embroidered in many colors, with a rural background of agriculture, pastoralism and traditional architecture. Not a fraction of a percentage of the already small minority of Muslim women who actually do choose to cover their faces wear such heavy masks. The caption may also inform readers that such are worn "in strict Islamic countries," while "in other Islamic countries, women wear Western fashions." To test such a statement for accuracy, it should be applied to Egypt and Indonesia, two of the most populous Muslim countries, neither of which could be called "strict" in their application of Islamic dress codes. Yet in sheer numbers, the majority of women who do wear *khimar* or *niqaab* (face covering), or face covering, probably live in those two nations, alongside the majority of women who wear some form of Islamic dress without a face veil. Photos of elaborately masked women usually are taken in rural areas, in a few pockets of a few Muslim countries. These images are sensational, and do not stand up to any test of reality, accessibility, appeal or representativeness. A far more informative shot would show a street scene in Egypt, Turkey, Indonesia, or Pakistan, with its astonishing variety of Muslim and Western dress, and all forms of hybrid in between. Such photos inform the reader about the range of dress habits from poor to wealthy, professional to unskilled men and women.

Similarly, in portraying religious practices of contemporary Muslims, cross-cultural understanding is enhanced by showing scenes of Muslims in the United States or other contemporary settings. For example, instead of showing elderly men in an ancient city's historic *masjid* (mosque), people praying on a bed of

sand or a mountainside, show the Friday prayer service in any U.S. city. Instead of (or alongside) a traditional setting with African or Omani children reciting the Qur'an, show a classroom in a U.S. Muslim weekend school, for example, or a school scene in any Muslim country, where the Qur'an is taught as part of the school curriculum. The latter provides cultural connections, points up the contrast between a relatively homogeneous as opposed to a polyglot society like our own, and brings out comparison of legal and educational systems. Pictures that are truly representative are not just decorative; they can be used for constructive picture study exercises.

In the spirit of openness and promotion of tolerance, contemporary photos of adherents of other faiths should be appealing in their use of color and light, accessible in expression, and varied in portraying many aspects of their daily life. The balance between Muslims in traditional versus modern Western attire and surroundings should be representative of the group, its occupations and activities.

4. *Use of Art Objects, Historic Books and Journalistic Images*

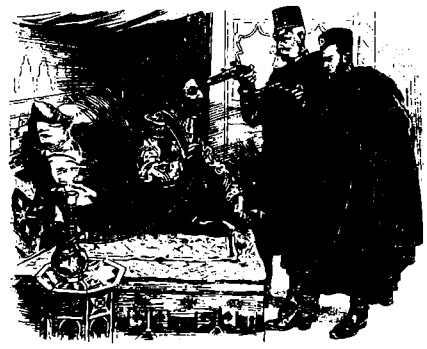
Images that illustrate historical periods should be selected with purposeful, constructive criteria in mind. The criteria noted above emphasize enhancing the historical text with additional information in the form of museum objects, rare books, Islamicate architecture and objects of luxury trade. Two cautions are important. First, artwork should originate in the historical period under discussion wherever possible. One example is depiction of warfare and military technology. Since technology played such an important role in the outcome of warfare, it is important not to show, for example, a *trebuchet* (a type of medieval catapult) being used against a castle in order to illustrate early Arab victories. Pictures of Arab warriors should be taken from sources nearly contemporary to the conquests, instead of using, for example, a romanticized, Orientalist etching from the nineteenth century. Nor should an Ottoman Turkish miniature showing victories in Eastern Europe be used to illustrate early Arab military victories. Sixteenth century Persianate miniatures should not be used to illustrate cultural forms during the Abbasid Period (8th - 13th century), simply because they are found in

11th century warfare, Afghanistan

profusion. A modern photo of tourist camels in front of the Pyramids is a poor substitute either for surviving photographs of real caravans, or for one of the many period artworks that show camels and caravans (al-Wasiti's illustrations for al-Hariri's *Maqamat,* for example) Careful research would bring more accurate and interesting works to light that illustrate intellectual and social trends of the period.

5. PORTRAYING THE MODERN PERIOD

The basic criteria for image selection can be followed profitably into the modern period. In choosing images that portray pre-modern and modern Muslim society and its relations with the West, many of the same issues from earlier historical periods apply. An additional concern, however, is that more care should be taken to place the image in the context of its author, his purpose in producing the image (painting, engraving, or photograph), and his background (Muslim or non-Muslim, indigenous or foreign, journalist, bureaucrat, scholar or missionary). These aspects are emphasized in teaching students to decode the image and glean from it relevant historical and cultural evidence. The same is true for images from contemporary journalism. Photographs from news services portraying, for example, scenes from the Iranian Revolution, various wars and other conflicts in the Middle East, portrayals on terrorism and "fundamentalism" should be selected very carefully and handled as subjective productions and pieces of historical evidence. They should never be presented as neutral depictions of events. Captions should draw attention to the context, the photographer's purpose or assignment, and even the contemporary reaction it produced when published. Efforts should be made to pair images commonly circulated throughout the news media (labeled as such) with less common views. Images that reinforce stereotypes should be balanced with captions or companion images. Document studies using these images enhance critical thinking skills seen as essential tools for history teaching in the *National Standards* and elsewhere.



EVER READY TO OBLIGE!
ABDUL HAMID: "DEAR ME! OUGHT I TO BE FRIGHTENED?"

19th century British cartoon

C. Setting Up a Structure to Cover Doctrine and Practice

Teaching about religious doctrine involves a number of complex issues that present a particular challenge in meeting the guidelines for teaching about religion. The most important principle is accurate representation of teachings without second-hand interpretation by outsiders. The preferred method is presentation of the authentic Islamic version prefaced by the attribution ("Muslims believe that..."). The second important issue is selectivity of coverage. According to Haynes, coverage is necessarily limited, but selection of religious influences and themes should reflect clear purposes in accord with an open-ended style. His approaches are in basic agreement with the PERSC guidelines, which state that coverage should include:

- both "confessional and historical facts"
- description of "religious thought and the relations between religion and culture."
- "study of both personal and institutional phenomena."
- "understanding and appreciation of religious values." by reporting "how people of faith interpret their own practices and beliefs."
- inclusion of religious scriptures, which appear as historical literature and documents for constitutional reasons, and whose use is characterized by balance and placement in historical and doctrinal context for reasons of fairness and accuracy.

How do these guidelines apply to teaching about Islam?

1. Criteria for Selection of Topics from Islamic Doctrine

Islam is a complex and comprehensive system of spiritual and worldly content that provides Muslims with guidance for individual and community life. How can textbook authors and research teams meet the challenge of fair, accurate and balanced portrayal?

It is not sufficient, for example, to describe the Five Pillars without explaining their context and wider meaning. Listing elements of ritual practices in Islam will not result in a clear picture of the religion and its adherents; in fact, the latter may be made to appear ridiculous in this way. Some discussion of the meaning and source of these modes of worship is needed. A random listing of rules, laws, assumed practices and

traditions will not promote understanding, and it is often an excuse to commit the worst violations of guidelines on teaching about religion. Tradition is confused with law, principles are lost in details, legitimate teachings are omitted in favor of a pastiche of presumed practices floating aimlessly in time and space. Lack of structure in these presentations belies the authors' faulty perception of their subject's structure.

Most introductory accounts exhibit utter confusion about the sources of law and practice in Islam. Many articles on Islam contain contradictory statements about controversial subjects on facing pages and in back-to-back chapters. What is actually stated in the Qur'an, and how was the Qur'an transmitted from Muhammad's time to our own? What is the Sunnah and how was it transmitted to later generations; in what form does it exist today? How do the Qur'an and the Sunnah together contribute to forming the recognized body of Islamic beliefs, laws and practices? What is the source of the well-known Five Pillars? Systematic exposition is rarely found; what there is of explanation on these is seldom accurate.

A survey of typical textbook chapters indicates that most editors agree on the basic beliefs to be included; convention dictates discussion of certain aspects of Islamic doctrine (Position of women and dress, *jihad*, dietary restrictions are the most common items.) It is obviously impossible to cover the entire social, economic and political system, but what topics should be selected? The following criteria for selecting topics from doctrine and practice seem valid and relevant:

CRITERIA FOR SELECTING TOPICS FROM DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE

1. What religious practices would a non-Muslim eyewitness be likely to observe among Muslim co-workers, neighbors, locker- or classmates?
2. What aspects of doctrine and practice do Muslims consider most important?
3. What common misconceptions are current in print and electronic media about Islam and Muslims (insofar as these relate to world history), and what doctrines are relevant to illuminating these in a fair and accurate manner?
4. What topics have been selected for coverage in the chapter on Muslim civilization and history? Which of these seem most affected by Islamic doctrine in terms of the action they produce in Muslims or the cultural institutions which they have engendered?

These criteria are selected for their potential in promoting global cultural literacy, appreciation of values, and civic values of tolerance and cross-cultural understanding. They also fulfill several aspects of the PERSC and Haynes guidelines listed in this segment, such as demonstrating clear purpose, illuminating relations between religion and culture, relating confessional and historical facts, and study of personal and institutional phenomena.

2. Setting Up a Framework for Discussing Islam

Learning about an unfamiliar religion is like walking into a strange room with the lights off. The reader cannot tell the shape of the room, but bumps repeatedly against oddly-shaped objects about which he tries to ascertain information before moving on to the next. In this way, the reader gradually accumulates impressions about the room while searching for the light switch. After extensive investigation, a general impression will begin to form about the shape of the room and its contents. If the reader finds the light, this impression will be confirmed or found false. He or she might also leave without finding the switch.

Writers can give directions to the light switch. Clear, systematic treatment takes its cue from the religion's own categories, its logical self-understanding, its hierarchy of knowledge. This is a way of meeting the guideline about "reporting how people of faith interpret their own practices and beliefs, and how these beliefs have affected their lives historically...and today."(Haynes).

Most introductory treatments of Islam leave their readers in the dark. For example, textbook chapters commonly include the generalization that "Islam is a complete way of life." Too often, nothing follows to explain, or "explanation" will consist of a few more generalizations. "Islam (or the Qur'an and Sunnah) has rules about ...," followed by a laundry list of major and trivial items, from family law and business to brushing teeth and diet, including the familiar prohibitions (pork, alcohol, gambling). Explanation trails off in vague, contradictory statements about traditional and modern roles and dress of women, the concept of *jihad*, tolerance of other religions, etc. Usually, these rules are not placed the context of any logical categories to which they belong, nor is the student given any sense of the way the parts might fit into this "complete way of life," which is made to appear as a jumble of rules.

This incoherent muddle is not inevitable. The worst shortcoming is that clear statements about the sources of these beliefs and practices are not included, and examples of the relevant doctrine and its interpretation are not given so that readers could judge for themselves. If this practice is followed, it becomes easy to meet another important guideline, "distinguishing between confessional and historical facts," or separation between religious beliefs and application by its adherents. These distinctions are essential to the goals of historical and cultural understanding.

Setting up a framework upon which the reader can hang knowledge, providing a diagram of the darkened room, can be achieved in discussion of Islam. Under a chapter subheading like "Islamic Beliefs and Practices" or "An Islamic Way of Life," for example, clear exposition requires inclusion of certain standard elements presented in a logical sequence.

Preliminary to discussion of any aspect of doctrine, an exposition on the sources of Islamic belief and practice is essential. Such important material should not be casually tossed into the account as a subordinate clause. The following outline provides a structure for describing the origins of Islamic doctrine, presented in the form of questions and answers:

1. **What are the authoritative sources for Islamic beliefs and practices?**
2. **What is the nature of this source? What is its relation to the others?**
3. **How was this source transmitted from its origin to Muslims today?**
4. **How has this source affected doctrine and practice among Muslims?**

The following sample replies are provided to inform researchers and editors regarding the sources of Islamic belief. Category A refers to the Qur'an, category B to the *Sunnah*, and category C to additional sources. Naturally, actual texts would vary according to grade level and intended depth of treatment, and would in general need to be briefer.

A. THE QUR'AN

❶ THE QUR'AN IS THE FIRST SOURCE OF AUTHORITY.

❷ Muslims believe that it is the revealed, direct speech of God (Allah) through the Angel Gabriel. It contains 114 chapters, which are not arranged in the order of revelation, but their order was established by Muhammad during his lifetime. Western scholars have often expressed bewilderment at the seemingly random order, but Muslims disagree. The Qur'an embodies Arabic language of the highest literary standard, which Muslims find unsurpassed in beauty, expressing meaning on many levels. While Muslim practice allows its translation into other languages, such works are not scripture and do not hold the status of the original. The Qur'an is recited only in Arabic during worship. Similarly, exegesis (called *tafsir*) of the Qur'an is done only by consulting the original Arabic scripture. Even then, Muslims believe that the authority for meaning rests only with Allah; no human can claim to have the last word on the meaning of scripture. For this reason, Muslim scholars always close their remarks with the expression *Wa Allahu 'aalam* (And [only] God knows).

❸ It was revealed during 23 years of prophethood, recorded by Muslims through memorization, witnessed recitation and writing during Muhammad's life. It was collected in written, bound and final authoritative form during the early years following Muhammad's death. A final authoritative recension was made during the rule of Uthman, occasioned by the need to prevent changes in syntax and mispronunciation resulting from the spread of Islam into non-Arabic speaking regions. Several very old copies are in museums today. An interesting source on the collection of the Qur'an is John Burton's *The Collection of the Qur'an.*

❹ Muslims everywhere revere the Qur'an. As stated above, Muslims are required to memorize a portion of it for recital in daily prayer. It is a common practice and aspiration for Muslims to memorize the entire Qur'an and learn to recite it correctly according to modes that can be traced in unbroken oral transmission to the Prophet. The Qur'an is universally recognized by all Muslims as the prime authority on Islamic belief and practice.

B. THE SUNNAH

❶ The second authoritative source is the Sunnah.

❷ *Sunnah* means "the way" and refers to what Prophet Muhammad said, did, and permitted his companions to do during his lifetime. The relationship of the Sunnah to the Qur'an is chiefly one of elaboration and explanation. The Qur'an itself commands Muslims to follow the Sunnah, thus authorizing it directly as the second source.

> *O you who believe! Obey Allah and obey the Apostle and those charged with authority among you. If you differ in anything among yourselves refer it to Allah and his Apostle if you do believe in Allah and the Last Day: that is best and most suitable for final determination.(4:59)*

A simple example of this relation is prayer: the Qur'an states that Muslims must uphold prayer; prayer times are mentioned only in a general way. Through the *sunnah*, or Muhammad's own example, Muslims know the exact prayer times, the formats of obligatory and supererogatory prayers, the liturgy and rituals surrounding prayer. Muslims believe that Muhammad's mission to mankind was not only to receive a scripture, but to demonstrate how to apply it in individual and community life. In accordance with this mission, Muslims believe that Muhammad acted under God's special guidance (*wahy*), except in certain ordinary matters. During the 23 years in which the Qur'an was revealed, Muhammad lived among the Muslims, teaching and modeling behavior, approving and disapproving of existing customs. His companions, meanwhile, felt it was their duty to record and transmit Muhammad's sayings and actions; some memorized the occasion and content, while others wrote it down.

❸ The Sunnah is recorded in authoritative collections compiled from written and memorized anecdotes and speeches, called *hadith* (pl., *ahadith*). The Sunni Islamic tradition, which comprises the majority (about 85-90%) of Muslims, takes its name from the practice of following Muhammad's example. Sunni Muslims recognize six authoritative Hadith collections. The two most famous of these are al-Bukhari (d. 870 C.E.) and Muslim (d. 875 C.E.). Shi'i Muslims recognize different, but overlapping collections. These collections were compiled in the form that we have today in the third and fourth centuries of Islam (9th-10th centuries of the Common Era). The final compilations were the culmination of a process begun during Muhammad's life. Their collection was characterized by innovation in source-critical methods among Muslim scholars of the day, who cited the names of all persons who were links in the chain of transmission reaching through several generations back to their Prophet. These links were investigated and graded according to a scale of reliability, then sorted into categories of correct, doubtful and spurious *ahadith*. Among the first biographical collections were

those composed about transmitters and scholars of *hadith*. Often, several variants of a *hadith* are reproduced side-by-side in the collections, which are arranged under topics. These collections comprise numerous volumes, and have been translated into many languages. An auxiliary source of knowledge about the *sunnah* is *Sirah* literature, which are biographies of Muhammad. *Sirah* of the prophet includes much information about the early history of the Muslim community. This literature does not carry the authority of the *hadith* collections as primary sources for religious practice, however, since these works are acknowledged to be interpretive historical narratives.

❹ The Sunnah has been recognized by Muslims as the source of understanding about belief and practice that complements the Qur'an. Muslims have sought to model their own lives after the Prophet's example since the days of his companions. For this reason Muhammad's has been one of the most closely studied lives in history. Hadith transmitters and scholars have been counted among the most respected of scholars in Muslim tradition; both men and women participated in scholarly efforts in this field. Ordinary Muslims from their youth can be found citing *hadith* as precedent for their own behavior. Scholars have resorted to Muhammad's as the second authoritative source for doctrine and law after the Qur'an.

C. ADDITIONAL SOURCES

❶ ALL OTHER SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT ISLAMIC BELIEF AND PRACTICE ARE DERIVED FROM AND BASED UPON INTERPRETATION OF THE TWO AUTHENTIC SOURCES. The intellectual system developed by Muslim scholars **to interpret these sources and apply them to personal and community life under changing historical circumstances was called the science of *fiqh* (understanding).** Islamic beliefs are summarized as ***aqida*, the convictions Muslims accept as a condition of adherence to the faith. Islamic law (*shari'ah*) is a summary of the principles, guidelines and practices upon which personal and community behavior should be modeled.** Neither of these two derivative sources is codified by a central, temporal authority. On the contrary, their content represents the range of consensus by the Muslim community based upon centuries of scholarship.

❷ **Islamic law, derived from aqida and fiqh, is a mixture of immutable and mutable elements.** One could arrange these elements on a scale of mutability. The elements of belief are not subject to change. The form and content of worship are not subject to change, though exceptions are possible under extenuating circumstances. The scale of permitted and prohibited behaviors is subject to limited change under strict logical and legal conditions. Principles of righteous behavior are viewed as immutable universal obligations which are the *raison d'être* for religion and the standard by which God promises to judge humankind. The details of interpersonal,

intercommunal, international, social, economic and political behavior are either clearly established in the first two sources (hence immutable with limited exceptions) or may be flexibly arranged, under adherence to Islamic principles, according to the changing circumstances of the community in time and place.

An example from the Islamic political system is the practice of consultation by persons holding positions of authority. The Qur'an ordered Muhammad to make decisions by consulting with knowledgeable companions. From the *sunnah*, we find *hadith* testifying that Muhammad frequently practiced decision-making by consultation. From the two sources, we find both principle and precedent. Thus, the practice of consultation as a mode of governing has the status of a principle, a general order to be carried out. The principle becomes elaborated into law, answering questions like: Who is an authority (a mother, a father, a military officer, a political leader)? When should authorities consult? Whom should authorities consult? On what matters should authorities consult? How should people under the rule of authority respond if consultation is not practiced? **At the final stage is broad flexibility.** This would deal with the means of implementing the principle and practice. In this example, the authority might call in many or few, male or female, Muslim or non-Muslim, specialist or ordinary citizen, depending upon the issue to be decided. The means of consulting might be face-to-face, by traveling, by carrier pigeon or satellite hookup, by referendum, letter, newspaper article, book or involving input from the entire citizenry over a computer terminal in each person's home.

Each of these questions and possibilities in turn become involved and overlap with other applicable principles. The science of fiqh, as a legal and logical system supported by many related disciplines, is like a traffic control system for the application of Qur'an and Sunnah in real life.

❸ **Documents and literature on fiqh and Islamic law may be found in many sources, which are not all historically equal. Since Islam recognizes no central temporal authority in an institution corresponding to the Church, there is no single codified edition of definitive Islamic law.** However, efforts by scholars to interpret Islamic law for a changing Muslim community began immediately upon the death of Prophet Muhammad. The mandate of his successors was not to make law based upon human theocratic authority; rather, they were obliged to follow the texts of the Qur'an and the example set by Prophet Muhammad. The authority of divine guidance was replaced by the consensus of knowledgeable and experienced persons in the community, interpreting the Qur'an and Sunnah. Potential scholars felt the burden of this mandate, so accurate collection of the sources and development of disciplines that could aid in interpretation became fertile fields of scholarly work. We have mentioned the compilation of Qur'an and Hadith above. In the section on Muslim historiography, others have been explained. Auxiliary disciplines like philology, systematic study of

Arabic grammar and syntax were important for explaining (*tafsir*) what the sources meant. Historical studies played a major role, both in illuminating scripture by relating the circumstances under which verses were revealed, and in examining Muhammad's life and the development of the community as a source of precedent.

Political developments in the Muslim state were also impetus for development of the corpus of Islamic law on the basis of fiqh and other sciences. The period of the first four, or "Rightly Guided" Khalifahs ended in disagreement among various groups of Muslims. The beginning of the Umayyad Dynasty involved departure from several important Islamic principles on the part of governmental authority. Abandonment of the principle of community selection in favor of hereditary succession is only one. Gradual movement in the direction of a monarch-like head of state continued under the Abbasids. Muslim scholars — not to be confused with any ordained clergy — witnessed these events with apprehension, but not despair. The Sunni/Shi'a split was an important faultline, but more important was the fear among scholars that the government was getting away from them, to put it simply. Thus the ongoing effort to collect, analyze and systematize understanding and application of Qur'an and Sunnah acquired a new and urgent significance. In this context, the four major schools of Sunni law — Hanifi, Maliki, Shafi'i, Hanbali — were developed by their founders, several of whom were contemporaries and colleagues, and later elaborated under generations of their successors. Their purpose was to set a legal standard which political authorities could not afford to ignore, based upon the authority of consensus among the Muslims (*ijma'*, based upon the *hadith* stating, "My community will never be united in error."). Political and religious leaders did not ignore it, but each political authority implemented aspects of it. How much? As much as the dictates of conscience, political skill and circumstances allowed.

❹ The standard set by Muslim legal scholars was historically very influential. Its application was one important factor in shaping the lives, society, government, commerce and culture of Muslims. Many other factors came into play as well. The *shari'ah* was never frozen in time, never fully applied after its embryonic application by the "Rightly Guided" Khalifahs, never something one could conveniently hold in one's hand.

In libraries today, one may study the writings of these scholars and their successors down to the present day. They comprise thousands of volumes. The work of elaborating and modifying the *shari'ah* has been an ongoing process since early Islam. While modification of these four accepted schools has often been very gradual, the practice among scholars of making judgments (*fatwa*) based upon unique circumstances has been constant; indeed many of these scholars have served as judges in official capacities. The modern period has elicited much movement in the area of *shari'ah*, as debate continues among scholars of various persuasions. The radical push

to respond to rapid change as it produced new social, economic and political realities has met with the conservative pull to remain anchored to traditional understanding based upon a heritage of honored scholarship. The spectrum of opinion runs from imitation (*taqlid*) to unjustified innovation with no precedent in tradition (*bida'a*).

The resulting older and more recent scholarly works adorn the bookshelves of many literate Muslim families today. The *shari'ah*, or Islamic law, has had enormous significance in influencing the normative systems under which Muslims all over the world live.

3. Using the Structure to Discuss Doctrine and Practice

The schema outlined above provides a structure that can be used to illuminate many controversial issues in Muslim history and contemporary studies. As stated above, selection of topics from the complex and comprehensive system of Islam should proceed according to the criteria stated above. The mode of presentation becomes systematic with internal understanding of how Islamic sources inform Muslim behavior in a personal and historical sense. The danger of creating confusion, violating principles of fairness, accuracy and balance is much reduced. This framework is similar to the schema for outlining the authoritative Islamic sources, in that it utilizes the question-and-answer format. The questions are slightly different, but follow closely the Islamic hierarchy of knowledge that derives from the sources of belief and practice elucidated earlier. The process of explanation involves several steps:

1. What do the Qur'an and Sunnah say (as direct primary source quotes, where practical) about the subject?
2. How have the scholars viewed this subject in the context of Islamic law? (Here, varying interpretations may be included and labelled as such. The author may select from several historical periods. Again, the opportunity for direct quotes from these works allows primary-source study and promotes critical thinking by students.)

❸ How have Muslims applied these doctrines and interpretations in actual practice, in specific historical instances? What historical circumstances provide context for these interpretations and actions? (Here, a combination of historical document study [treaties, chronicles, eyewitness accounts, etc.] and recitation of other forms of historical evidence [maps, contemporary art objects, Muslim and non-Muslim historical and literary sources, archaeological evidence, etc.] can be combined with summary of various contemporary historical views. For issues of doctrine and practice in the modern period, interviews, speeches and various readings by Muslims are relevant sources preferable to hearsay, speculation or second-hand interpretation.

EXAMPLE 1—JIHAD

Suppose, for example, an author wants to include information about *jihad*, the concept of personal striving to overcome difficulty, or undertaking limited warfare under precise conditions. The author need only run the idea through the system as one puts a horse through its paces.

① A balanced selection of quotations from the authoritative sources can be made. Here it is particularly important that the ground rules relating to providing context, as well as balanced selection be carefully applied (See especially Haynes' "Use of Religious Scriptures.")

② Where citation of relevant passages does not seem to provide a sufficient overview, a summary of the relevant sources may be found by consulting one of many books of Fiqh al-Sunnah. Several translations are listed in the bibliography. In some cases, the thorough researcher will find that historians have summarized the doctrine of *jihad* as a preface to their discussion of Muslim expansion. Marshall Hodgson and Hugh Kennedy have included some discussion on this subject, but a thorough presentation is found in Khalid Blankinship's recent book, *The End of the Jihad State* (State University of New York Press, 1994). Varying interpretations from within a period may be profitably discussed, or the account may examine how various ruling or dissident groups understood the doctrine in a given historical period. Modern interpretations of the doctrine may be covered in a similar manner (An interesting source is a recent PBS documentary *The Sword of Islam*, which examines a wide array of viewpoints.)

③ Finally, the account may examine how the various forms of jihad, both spritual and military, were practiced by Muslims at various times and places. It is important, however, to provide information on the historical context in which action took place. This should be done in every instance to avoid the undifferentiated notion that *jihad* was practiced as a synonym for unprovoked military aggression. The most common periods covered is the expansion of the Muslim state in the seventh and eighth centuries, followed by the Mongol successor states and the Ottomans. Of course, modern "Muslim" political activism, extremism, radicalism, militancy and terrorism are often discussed under the *jihad* rubric.

Returning to the simplest example, the early expansion of the Muslim state, it could be determined that the vast majority of popular accounts fail to provide doctrinal or historical context for the concept of *jihad*. Students are left with a mass of unsupported foregone conclusions about conversion under the sword and land-hunger. Absent from virtually all accounts is the significance of religious intolerance in the Byzantine and Sassanid Empires, and in the Mediterranean region as a whole. As in the Reformation period in Europe and after, the religion of the ruler was to be the religion of his subjects. This intolerance is familiar enough to students of the Roman Empire, who are taught about the crucifixions and the catacombs. Discussion of official intolerance and persecution of various Christian groups in the Byzantine Empire is seldom emphasized. In order to simply propagate the message, in other words, either a treaty or military defeat was necessary.

While this may appear to be a purely historical question, it touches upon doctrine and terminology, since the meaning of *jihad* is more closely related to the idea of "making and effort in the way of faith," an idea that implies exhausting all other avenues before the resort to military measures, real or threatened, than the common translation "holy war," with all of that term's terrible and absurd connotations. For this reason, the victories are termed in Arabic and Muslim understanding *futuhat*, or "openings," with the meaning that the potential for making the message of Islam known in that territory was no longer blocked. The problem of adherence to the letter and the spirit of the law is not to be confused with problems of doctrine or terminology. In this case, confusion is often introduced into the discussion by confusing two discrete questions of doctrine. The first is the permission to "make and effort against," or undertake limited warfare in defense against persecution or in the face of intolerance. An entirely separate issue

of doctrine is the prohibition against use of coersion in propagating religion. *La ikraha fid-din* (Qur'an 2:256, "Let there be no compulsion in religion"). Complementing this statement are the principles and regulations regarding coexistence between Muslims and those of other faiths, particularly Jews and Christians, readily accessible to the researcher. Unfortunately, many textbook accounts have clouded the issue by combining the two issues in a careless manner.

Once the doctrinal issues are clarified, the question of interpretation and application in various historical periods follows the schema laid out above with no further difficulty. While it is impossible for the historian to plumb the recesses of the human heart with certainty, scholars can shed light on the discrepancies between doctrine and practice, based upon a sober evaluation of historical evidence and honest intent.

It is widely accepted among scholars that principles of tolerance were practiced extensively under Muslim rule. Historians have found no equivalents of "forced baptism" of the masses associated with the spread of Islam. Many well-reputed scholars attribute the prospect of religious *laissez-faire* by the Muslim rulers to the willingness of Christians and Jews in cities like Damascus, and in regions like Iberia, to embrace Muslim governance over Byzantine or Visigothic rule. On the other hand, the fact that territorial expansion was not immediately related to conversion of the populace is borne out by evidence that it took many decades or even centuries, before even regions contiguous with Arabia were Islamized. The persistence of various early Christian sects in the Near East today is further evidence against the notion that Islam spread by the sword. With a thorough background of doctrinal and historical information, comparison with religiously sanctioned military measures from other cultures may be undertaken, and with modern understanding of the just limits on warfare.

EXAMPLE 2A—WOMEN IN ISLAM

A frequently-encountered topic such as women's dress is fairly simple to elucidate according to the schema outlined earlier:

① What passages in the Qur'an and what ahadith are relevant to the kind of and extent of clothing women should wear. It may be relevant to include similar information on men's dress for the sake of comparison and context. This area is too often overlooked.

② Summarize accounts by Muslim scholars on the subject of women's dress in Islam. This subject has been very well covered by contemporary scholars in books of Fiqh, in pamphlets, and in many historical accounts of women in Islamic society. The bibliography contains numerous examples.

③ Use artwork from various periods, descriptions in literary and historical sources, and contemporary photographs to discuss the practice of Muslim women (and men) with regard to styles of actual dress. Make an effort to cover a variety of cultural groups and classes, periods and geographic environments (urban vs. rural, for example). Context may be provided by discussing the pre-Islamic environment and its influence on women's dress and related practices, and the practice in surrounding and/or influential cultures.

EXAMPLE 2B—WOMEN'S ROLES

With social topics such as the role of women, the same procedure may be followed, with the caution that there is no category in Islamic law called "the role of women." Women are first of all classed among people in general, and it is axiomatic that each person occupies many roles (economic, social, legal, spiritual), each entailing its matrix of rights and duties. The author would need to search among many categories to encompass a notion of what role women play in Muslim life. Textbook treatments are notorious for confused accounts on this topic that provide less light than heat. Too often, in the guise of information, they provide only trip-levers for the student to fill in gaps with conventional wisdom and stereotypes.

A lady and her attendant watching a hunting scene. From a manuscript of poems by Sa'di (d. 1404).

A more authentic, fair and accurate approach is to search for clues among the categories of Islamic law. Research would reveal which are most fruitful, bearing in mind the dictates of academic honesty and balance. A few examples are given here:

- The duty of acquiring knowledge applies to all women, and beliefs about the human soul and its accountability apply fully to them as well.
- Family law applies to her as wife, mother, sister, and daughter.
- Laws about exercising authority apply to women as mothers and owners of property and business.
- Laws about inheritance, financial transactions, accumulated wealth and contracts apply to the latter roles as well.
- Laws of warfare apply to her as a participant in military struggle.
- Guidelines about dress in public and at home apply to women as well as men, but involve important differences in substance, if not principle.

These prescriptions must be viewed within the context of the overall Islamic social system, however, and not in isolation. Furthermore, opportunities for consideration of the implications of these doctrines and practices should be given, as well as the invitation to compare with women's historical roles in other societies. With this treatment, the student has data and evidence, material for critical thinking. Her or his mind has not been made up by the author in advance. Even a complex topic like the role of women can be handled according to the schema outlined for *jihad*:

① Make balanced selection of quotations from Qur'an and Sunnah to reveal the complexity of the issue. As stated in the ground rules, the author must provide context for these excerpts.

② Summarize the above cautions on defining "the role of women" by explaining the various applicable categories of Islamic law and the principles that govern her inclusion and legal status, providing explanation where necessary on the social context and its implications. (For example, while it is true that women receive a lesser share of inheritance than men, women hold absolute title to their property and its use or sale, and they are not required to pay for their own upkeep. Men have numerous financial responsibilities within the extended family.) Here, quotations from scripture might be a part of explanation, but summary is also needed in light of the wide variety of legal issues affecting women. Again, numerous sources listed in the bibliography summarize these topics, both translations of Fiqh volumes and historical studies.

③ Give historical evidence on how Muslims have applied these doctrines and interpretations in actual practice. An important watchword: Do not merely ask what roles women did NOT play, viewed from a twentieth century Western perspective; rather, remain open to discovering what roles women DID play in each specific society, and why. Influences other than Islamic law have affected Muslim societies' views of women's roles. Tradition, ethnicity, social class and livelihood (bedouin or steppe tribes vs. Mediterranean urban or rural, West African vs. Iranian pre-Islamic cultural models) have combined with changing historical circumstances to affect women's roles. Women's studies is a new historical field. The topic is fascinating, and a wealth of interesting, recent studies is available, many of which employ primary source material in novel ways (The bibliography includes books and articles, both surveys and studies of specific periods and cultures).

Ottoman woman and girl, 19th c. engraving

One could continue for some pages on the possibilities for employing this structure to a host of other topics, but hopefully, the point is clear. Curiosity and prejudices about a topic are not the best means for approaching its explanation; readers may be left in the dark. Approaching the subject from the standpoint of its own logical categories and hierarchy of knowledge will bring more enlightenment. Almost any topic can be explained and evaluated using this framework. Creative use of state-of-the-art research combined with historical honesty, a sense of fairness and balance, will produce an enlightening, rich account. Further suggestions on interweaving topics of this sort into the account of Muslim history and culture, and the points at which these intersect with Islamic knowledge, Muslim practice and historical circumstances are discussed in the next section, where historical, geographic and chronological structures are suggested for integrating these topics into the account. ❖

NOTES

[1] Thayer Warshaw, PERSC Newsletter, 1:2 (Winter 1974), p. 119.

[2] Charles Haynes, *A Teacher's Guide to Study About Religion in Public Schools*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1991), p. 4-6.

[3] Marvin Perry et. al., *A History of the World*, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1993.

[4] Burton F. Beers, *World History: Patterns of Civilization*, Prentice Hall, 1983.

[5] Ibid.

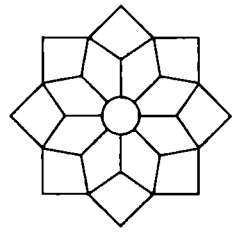
[6] T. Walter Walbank et. al., *History and Life*, Glenview, IL: Scott Foresman, 3rd Edition, p. 34.

[7] Patricia Crone & M. Cook, *Hagarism: the Making of the Islamic World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

[8] Hodgson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 59.

[9] *New Lexicon Webster's Dictionary*, New York, NY: Lexicon Publications, Inc., 1988.

[10] Andre Clot, in his book *Harun al-Rashid and the World of the Thousand and One Nights* (New Amsterdam Press, 1989), relates the story of a conversation at court between a scholar, a highly respected group at that time, and the Abbasid ruler. The scholar daringly and not-so-subtlely framed his criticism by quoting a verse from the Qur'an about the confrontation between Moses and Pharaoh. Harun al-Rashid is said to have remarked wryly, "Which compares the worse, you and Moses, or I and Pharaoh?"



STRATEGIES AND STRUCTURES FOR PRESENTING WORLD HISTORY

with Islam and Muslim History as a Case Study

PART FOUR

Outlines and Options for Embracing Muslim History

PART FOUR

OUTLINES AND OPTIONS FOR EMBRACING MUSLIM HISTORY

Parts One through Three have discussed the substance and structure of world history courses, brought forth issues of world history in general, of research, and of coverage and approach touching mostly upon Islam as a religion. This part of the document will demonstrate how the structural and curriculum issues laid out in Part One relate to presentation of Muslim history, and illustrate the historical dimension of some points raised in Parts Two and Three. Furthermore, this part lays out specific options for structuring coverage of Muslim history at various periods with the goals of providing a more authentic and culturally significant presentation and of meeting standards for disciplinary range, depth of coverage and skill development in teaching world history.

This section provides concrete historical content from Muslim history in various modes of presentation from schematic to highly specific. Some of these suggestions provide sketches of broad periods that can be used to gain a historical overview or plan topics for new instructional materials. Some of the suggestions can be readily transformed into classroom activities. A section critiquing typical coverage and arrangement of introductory treatments on Islam and Muslim history can be utilized both to correct existing textbook or curriculum treatments and to avoid problems in newly developed materials. The critique is followed by a discussion of criteria for selecting topics that take into account a consensus of recent recognized research. The outlines, modules and snapshots provided can be used by teachers, publishers of instructional materials and curriculum writers to plan, implement and enhance survey courses in which Islam and Muslim culture are to be taught.

A. Meeting Standards and Improving Instruction

Two trends in restructuring the history curriculum are clearly identifiable in documents such as the *National Standards in World History* and the California *History/Social Science Framework's* "Goals and Strands" as well as other state guidelines:

- **Enhanced coverage of topics in world history will be required,** including more time spent on each culture and period, broader and deeper coverage of various realms and disciplines of history neglected in the past, and incorporation of material for thinking skill development. Rather than repeated superficial, "comprehensive" coverage at various grade levels, many states are opting for sequential courses running from middle school to high school. Inclusion of world history is recommended for enrichment of elementary courses, as well.
- **Improved chronological and thematic integration of the total material of world history will be required,** both in terms of discussing the interaction of cultures with one another, and in providing **a global framework of meaning** for the phases of human development from past to present. This implies a **restructuring of content** that shows interaction of many cultures in a given time period, as opposed to providing meaning and continuity only from the perspective of one culture, the European, or "Western."

Samples from these two guides illustrate the meaning of enhanced coverage. The *Framework's* "Goals and Strands" call for "developing students' literacy in history and the other humanities (including ethics), geography, economics, sociology, and political science"(p. 12). The importance of each discipline to understanding global diversity and unity is elaborated under the heading "cultural literacy":

> ...students must understand the rich, complex nature of a given culture: its history, geography, politics, literature, art, drama, music, dance, law, religion, philosophy, architecture, technology, science, education, sports, social structure, and economy (p. 14).

The *National Standards for World History* makes similar demands. "Criteria for the Development of Standards," #14, requires that:

> Standards in US and world history should integrate fundamental facets of human culture such as religion, science and technology, politics and government, economics, interactions with the environment, intellectual and social life, literature, and the arts (p. 5).

The *Standards* reinforce the demand for multidisciplinary treatment by defining "Historical Knowledge" as "a broadly integrative field" consisting of five "spheres": social, scientific-technological, economic, political, and philosophic-religious-aesthetic (pp. 6-7). These requirements place a heavy burden on the process of selecting topics with a view to integration and adequate coverage of each civilization.

With regard to restructuring the chronological framework for teaching world history, the California *Framework's* "Goals and Strands" recognize "understanding the meaning of time and chronology" as an integral part of historical literacy:

> ...students should learn not only when events occurred but also what else was happening at the same time in that society and elsewhere...so that the past is comprehensible rather than a chaotic jumble of disconnected occurrences (p. 13).

Similarly, the fourth "Criteria for the Development of the *Standards*" states that historical studies should be founded in chronology, an organizing approach that fosters appreciation of pattern and causation in history (p. 4). The concept is emphasized as the first of five skills in Historical Thinking, and it is broken down into seven subskills, including reconstruction of causation, patterns of succession and duration, and comparing alternative periodization. Improved chronological integration and reorganization are necessary to achieve these objectives, as discussed in Part One.

IMPLEMENTING STATE CURRICULA AND THE NATIONAL STANDARDS IN WORLD HISTORY

These guides contain a conceptual foundation and a section mandating specific historical content. Both the *Framework* and the *National Standards* documents are very idealistic and comprehensive in the conceptual area. Analysis demonstrates that neither document fully succeeds in meeting the high standards set down in the conceptual section when applied to specific historical content. However, the *National Standards* does a significantly better job of meeting its standards than most state curricula, and there remains considerable flexibility for teachers and publishers who would implement them.

Teaching and developing instructional media requires creative use of these documents versus narrow, literal application of content guidelines. Translation of lofty conceptual goals into limited choices from among the vast array of historical material is a formidable task. The impossibility of doing so makes a compelling case for creative versus rigid reading of curriculum guides. Few such documents claim that their historical content is definitive. The *Framework* labels its course descriptions as "illustrative." The *Standards* allows that its chronological framework of eight eras is

"not definitive," requiring some adjustment in application to certain cultures in the schema. Its historical content standards are multi-faceted and subject to varying interpretations and approaches. The exemplars, which illustrate each group of content standards with student activities, are mostly open-ended and point to fruitful possibilities for research and teaching, but they do not comprehensively cover the corresponding content standards—they provide a mere outline for historical presentation.

Any curriculum guide has these shortcomings and limitations. Teachers and writers must bring creativity and excellent research to bear to produce material that not only conforms to the content requirements, but also fulfills the more abstract goals. Textbook publishers and teachers may demonstrate conformity with the letter of the program or utilize it as the authors state that it is to be read: as an illustrative guide with broader goals and more inherent flexibility than is implied by necessarily sketchy historical content statements. Researchers should make every attempt, furthermore, to identify and override faulty approaches while addressing the specific intent and broad goals. The following sections address flaws in past historical treatments and discuss creative treatment of Muslim history.

B. *Studying Muslim History and Culture in Survey Courses*

The following critique illustrates common shortcomings in introductory treatments of Islam as a preface to the solutions offered in the final section. The critique is based on the Council's work in classrooms and for numerous publishers, reviewing and developing textbook chapters on Islam and Muslim history, which it addresses in the context of world history as a whole.

In the past, very little variety has been evident in the selection of topics for textbook surveys of Islam and Muslim history. Most are based on an outline that includes the elements listed below:

1. brief background of nomadism in Arabia
2. summary of Muhammad's early life, prophethood and the rise of Islam to his death
3. outline of Islamic beliefs and practices
4. summary of the growth of the early Muslim state (First four Arab khalifahs and Umayyads)

5. spread of Islam, often including Africa and selected regions of Asia
6. Abbasid period and its cultural contributions, and also Spain
7. the Crusades
8. Turkic and Mongol invasions, subsequent Islamization
9. the rise and fall of the Safavid, Mughal and Ottoman Empires
10. 19th century imperialism, 20th century Arab nationalism, independence, modern Middle East issues (oil, Arab/Israeli conflict, terrorism, fundamentalism)

The first six topics shown above are concentrated in one or two chapters entitled "Islam," usually in a unit with Byzantine civilization. The unit typically follows the unit on Rome, and sometimes follows "feudalism." Material on Islam in West Africa (sometimes also East Africa) is included along with a broad survey of Africa from pre-history to colonization. Chapters on the Mongols, Mughals, Safavids and Ottomans are placed at the end of the medieval period, under "Asian civilizations." Topics from the modern period are treated as paragraphs or sub-sections in chapters on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

WHY THIS TREATMENT IS FAULTY

Problems with the above scheme are threefold:

- Traditional treatment is too narrow, excluding many significant aspects of the culture.
- Chronological arrangement of the material isolates events and cultural developments from their context in world history as a whole, making connections, causation and influences difficult to comprehend.
- Approaches to the study of Islam and Muslim history are in some cases inadequate or based upon invalid assumptions.

The problems above are related to the arrangement of the material within the textbook as a whole, to the actual content of the chapters dedicated to Islam and Muslim history, and to significant omissions that seriously mar the overall presentation.

BACKGROUND AND RISE OF ISLAM

Problems with the approach to the rise of Islam are apparent in textbook treatments from the first page. Islam is seen as a new religion that originated in a desolate place among a nomadic people. Three mistakes are apparent from the outset. First, the Arabian peninsula is not an entirely isolated place, but sits at the crossroads of Eurasia and Africa, the geographic product of sundering and colliding forces in the earth's crust. It is also not chiefly a sand desert, but contains a variety of landscapes, flora and fauna. Since ancient times, the region has been surrounded and criss-crossed by land and sea trade routes, an important one of which runs parallel to the eastern shore of the Red Sea through Makkah and Madinah. Arabia has participated in the rich cultural development of the region, having often served as a refuge for various groups who in turn introduced their cultures there. Abraham himself is a good example. Second, the nomadic element is overemphasized. Introductory text and pictures usually make this descriptive point indelibly. The symbiotic relationship between sedentary and nomadic groups is seldom made clear, and neither is the importance of the region's towns in long-distance and regional trade. Islam is thus portrayed as a pastoral and tribal rather than urban religion. Third, Islam is not a "new" religion. The fact that it shares the same roster of prophets and the same essential message is not the product of accident or expediency. Nor are its differences from other monotheistic religions accidental or merely eccentric. An authentic view of Islam and its "rise" must be considered within the context of the history of the other two Abrahamic faiths and their interaction in the region and beyond. Islam as a religion and as a culture is a continuation and development of previous religions and cultures.

Another problem is description of the rise of Islam. There is too much concentration upon the person of Muhammad as the "founder" of the "new" religion. In Part Three, we discussed this problem in terms of authentic portrayal of Islamic teachings. As a historical issue, Muhammad's individual role tends to be overemphasized, with consequent neglect of the social, political and economic context in which his message was received. This emphasis on the individual is a typically Western approach to history, but it clashes in important ways with an Islamic self-understanding. Muhammad is believed to have been a fully human messenger of God. Muhammad and his message were set in a specific time and place, but the message itself is universal. In this context, the people and circumstances — even global circumstances — achieve as much significance in understanding the message and its unfolding as the individual who was the vessel for that message. Most textbook accounts err in centering the development of Islam on Muhammad's political and doctrinal decisions, which are

seen to have been successful because of his personal acumen. Other characters in the story are mere cardboard cutouts, the most prominent of whom are actually named, but little else is learned about them. The entire story is related in terms like: "Muhammad decided to..., Muhammad now proceeded to consolidate, or challenge, or [pick a verb]." Motives and intentions, opposition or creative support are seldom attributed to the other actors in the drama, whether leaders of Quraysh, citizens of Yathrib (Madinah), individual companions and early Muslims, or the various Arab tribes, some of whom were clients either of the Byzantines or the Persians. Muhammad is portrayed as the mover, the schemer, the consummate hero who single-handedly brings people into the fold and marches them into prominence. In a way, this is another example of the search by Western historians for any sufficient material cause for the rise of Islam, mentioned earlier. In this case, the cause is personality, individual prowess, the *Zeitgeist*.

The problem with this explanation is, on the one hand, that it presents a foregone historical conclusion that Muhammad is the major cause of Islam's rise. On the other hand, it is not good history writing, which requires investigation of many possibilities, consideration of multiple causation and an attempt to portray various facets of a situation. Even a purely "factual" description of the rise of Islam requires interweaving Muhammad's biography with the story of the growing community and its adversaries. Past accounts have touched upon other figures and groups chiefly as a function of the way in which Muhammad acted upon them. Since the historical context of the region is insufficiently portrayed, students have difficulty understanding the motivation of various groups. Muhammad is shown as responding to others, but their cultural background is missing, their interests are hard to perceive, their actions are untold. This is largely because, intentionally or not, the accounts are focused upon supporting certain assumptions about the relationship between historical events and revelation of the Qur'an. This assumption, in brief, is that Muhammad himself responded to the demands of the moment in shaping the Qur'an. He is portrayed as being "influenced" by political and religious expediency in developing his message. Textbooks tell, for example, how he included stories from the Old and New Testaments upon meeting with Christian and Jewish groups. A more neutral account would merely state the apparent historical connection; a more biased account will state that he did so to gain prestige. In the worst instances, this treatment requires falsification of the historical record. For example, one text accuses Muhammad of having changed the direction of prayer (*qiblah*) from Jerusalem to Makkah in response to his expulsion of some Jewish tribes from Madinah. In fact, the change in direction of prayer occurred well before

the expulsion of any Jewish tribe from Madinah. The Jewish tribes are portrayed as completely passive; no attribution of opinions, interests or actions is made in the story. Unevenness in the amount of detail given often supports foregone historical conclusions rather than open examination of evidence. Certain events are dated to the exact day; other well-known and significant facts are skipped over. The trivial mention of the *qiblah*, which even the Qur'an itself ranks as less important than sincere submission and worship, occurred in the same account in which no reference was made to the peaceful surrender of Makkah; it was merely stated that "Muhammad and his army took over Makkah." Thus, many of these accounts violate both ground rules against promoting consensus and particular philosophical positions on religion (for or against the possibility of divine revelation of a particular scripture), and rules against weighting historical evidence toward a particular historical conclusion. However unintentional the bias may be, it must be recognized as such and not treated as if it were a neutral position.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF ISLAMIC DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE

Chapters on the rise of Islam generally break off the historical account at this point, after the death of Muhammad, and insert a discussion of Islamic teachings. Here, attention is turned to the main outlines of Islam as a system of beliefs, rituals and practices. It is no wonder that the student does not know these things; so little has the discussion of Muhammad's life and mission contained information on the religion. So little has the student heard about the spiritual or social effect of his work. The student has read that Muhammad became aware of and pursued his mission (prophethood); he attracted followers and he maneuvered politically. Students must now be told in factual terms what the religion included.

It would be far easier, and far truer to the mandate to teach about religion in history, to convey this information in the historical context in which it unfolded. Students would not need to be told, for example, that Islam "has rules about the family, about economics and politics." They should have already received this information in the historical context of its revelation. Information about worship in Islam might have been received in a comparative context, contrasting Muslim worship with pagan worship of Quraysh, or that of Christians and Jewish groups in the region. Very few of these accounts discuss the differences among the three monotheistic religions; most concentrate on the similarities between Islam and the other two. In tandem with the account of the growth of the Muslim community in size and status, the scope of Islam as a spiritual, economic, social and political system should unfold before the students' eyes, in the form of

historical evidence. Balanced and historically accurate presentation of this process leaves students with a clear impression of the dimensions of religious practice and understanding, as well as the principles of personal and community life that played such seminal roles in the development of Muslim cultures to the present. The function of a section on doctrine following the account of early Islam should be merely to summarize, and to introduce the idea of change and continuity in the application of Islamic beliefs and practices toward understanding the formation of a culture and a civilization. Part of this introduction might relate to the beliefs and practices of Muslims in the contemporary world.

OVER-RELIANCE ON POLITICAL HISTORY

Bias and inadequacies evident in overemphasis on Muhammad's biography take on a similar form in the account of Muslim history after his death. In his lifetime, Muhammad is shown as exercising the will to power; he is portrayed as the sufficient cause for the rise of Islam. This difficulty of approach quite naturally continues into the historical account of Islam under Muhammad's successors. Now, however, the political and military leaders are sufficient cause for the spread of Islam, often referred to as "expansion." That the story focuses primarily on the exciting and astonishing military history that led to expansion of the geographic arena under Muslim influence is not surprising. Unfortunately, however, the student hears about little else, and receives precious little in the way of detail even on that. For example, what sort of military campaigns were waged on both sides? Why? Under what terms did city and countryside submit to Muslim rule? Who supported the Muslim effort among the local populace, and who opposed it? For example, it is fairly well known that Jewish groups aided the entry of Muslim troops into Spain.[1] It is very little known, however, that in the early battles against the Byzantines, possibly as many Arab soldiers fought on the opposing side as aided or belonged to the Arab Muslim side.[2] Information on the cultural milieu into which Islam gradually began to spread is absent. Abstract conditions in the Byzantine and Persian empires are always cited as factors in the expansion equation, the Persian side being briefly resurrected from its obscurity since the textbook chapter on ancient Greece. With regard to acceptance of Islam following the expansion of Muslim rule, textbook treatments encourage the default assumption that conversion to Islam was wholesale and immediate. This notion is contrary to the evidence cited by most contemporary historians. However, little additional evidence is given for the spread of Islam.

The state is seen as carrying Islam and its culture forward to the exclusion of other forces. Despite the emphasis on the state, little information is given about the nature of governance, its challenges, methods, infrastructure and administration. Even most individual leaders, the khalifs, fail to acquire a personality in these textbook accounts. This is "traditional," dry history at its driest: list the dynasties and their dates of accession, list a few accomplishments and weaknesses, record their demise, and move on to the next group. Students may be forgiven for hating such history. Students should be familiarized with the chain of political succession. Traditional periodization is anchored to political changes in the Muslim state, in this case, the sequence of dynastic changes from the foundation of the Umayyad dynasty by Mu'awiyah in 661 to the Abbasid revolution in 750 C.E., with the subsequent founding of Umayyad rule in Spain. The breakdown of unified rule brings with it a daunting array of dynastic labels until the simpler order of the Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal empires takes their place. Unfortunately, students are seldom given the historical material with which to compare these states in significant ways.

As noted above, most textbook accounts rely too much on the story of these events to the exclusion of most other developments. The political-historical framework, instead of dominating the account, should be only one aspect among many. At certain periods, political events are indeed significant, especially when events in other spheres bring about the downfall of a laggard, complacent regime. The state is in certain periods a catalyst for social change and cultural achievement. At such times, these trends deserve prominence in the narrative. Too seldom, however, do textbooks give a rich account of the social, economic, religious and artistic spheres of Muslim society. Similarly, it is not always necessary to cover each of these equally, since their relative significance varies among historical periods. In extreme cases, the dynastic name is made to stand for the entire society, as in "the Abbasids traded," or "the Abbasids shared translations with the Umayyads in Spain" as though these transactions were purely affairs of state. The diverse, human complexion of society is reduced to a monolithic, impersonal state.

Significant Historical Trends Outside the Political Realm

A vital point about Muslim history is overlooked because of the usual over-reliance on political history. That point is expressed in Francis Robinson's excellent *Atlas of the Islamic World Since 1500,* which contains valuable essays on regions and periods of Muslim history seldom covered in survey courses. Describing the general decline in Muslim political power in the tenth century, he states:

> ...although Arab culture continued to grow as a unifying force throughout the Muslim world, the power of the caliphate itself declined.[3]

In this statement, Robinson too closely associates Muslim culture with the Arabs, although in the Abbasid period to which he refers, Persians, Indians and many others were already contributing significantly through the medium of Arabic language. Muslim culture is a more apt term. **His point, however, is extremely important: The decline of the central political institution did not signal decline in many other realms of Muslim civilization. Unifying and creative forces continued to be potent in expanding the reach and defining the development of Muslim culture.** In fact, the disintegration of the Abbasid state was coterminous with the rise of Arabic book culture and other forms of learning. Whether or not the two trends are linked by causation, it is true that scholarship in Muslim culture was as often vigorous without the support of the state as with it. This point is a major theme in many scholarly accounts of Muslim history. Marshall Hodgson follows this theme through the whole of Muslim history to the present, arguing that the khalifate became separated from firm moorings of legitimacy, but that the development and dissemination of *shari'ah* (Islamic law) and related disciplines, and its transmission and exercise through judicial, financial and scholarly institutions ensured the continuing integrity and growth of Muslim culture. H.A.R. Gibb, Albert Hourani and others have noted this phenomenon in the continuity and vitality of Muslim cities over long periods, which were supported by the converging interests of both merchants and scholars. Together, notes Albert Hourani, they helped give the cities power and stability:

> In the Islamic period [the relationship between government and settled, urban society] was given distinctive shape by...the close connection between the commercial bourgeoisie and the *ulamah*, those learned in the law and other religious sciences, belonging to or grouped around the mosques and schools. This connection had several aspects: members of bourgeois families took to learning, men of learning married into such families, the ulamah possessed a certain economic power through their control of the awqaf [charitable trusts], and both groups shared an interest in a stable, prosperous and cultivated urban life. Members of the great bourgeois families and of the ulamah together provided an urban leadership; their wealth, their piety, culture and ancient names gave them social prestige and the patronage of quarters, ethnic or religious groups, crafts, or the city as a whole.[4]

This illustration of the importance of social history shows that study of political history, the rise and fall of various unified state constellations in Muslim history does not adequately account for the remarkable unity in diversity of Muslim culture and religious belief in today's world. Other realms of history must be brought into the account and followed through several periods to achieve a sense of change and continuity.

Such treatment will not only answer questions, but will closer approach the recommended goal of many curricula that cultures should be studied from within. Students can begin to see others as they saw themselves.

In summary, political history may provide a convenient and traditional framework for periodizing and dividing Muslim history. Over-reliance on political and related military events, however, leaves many questions unanswered about the essence and enduring characteristics of Muslim civilization, its influences on other cultures both Muslim and non-Muslim, and the society that brought it about. By equalizing the emphasis across the various realms of historical inquiry, important elements that are often omitted can be covered. A few such topics are:

TOPICS FOR INCLUSION IN TEXTBOOK SURVEYS OF ISLAM AND MUSLIM HISTORY

- the pivotal role of scholars in forming and sustaining Muslim culture
- languages, literature, arts & architecture, libraries and sciences
- change in women's roles across time and space
- crafts and guilds, manufacturing
- the Muslim role in technology transfer and trade in the hemisphere
- rural/urban relations
- ethnic diversity and minorities
- important cities and spread of urbanization
- spread of Islam to adjoining areas; discussion of their pre-Islamic past (Africa, Central Asia, Malaysia)

By consistently and thoughtfully interweaving multidisciplinary themes and features into the account, by balancing attention paid to various realms, students in a survey course may be led toward an understanding of the culture upon which they can build later in their academic careers.

FAULTY CHRONOLOGICAL PROGRESSION OF COVERAGE, LACK OF INTEGRATION

Discussion of Islam is usually subsumed under units on the "medieval period," concentrated there along with virtually all other "non-Western" contributions to human development. The entire survey of Muslim civilization from the seventh to the seventeenth, and even in some cases through the nineteenth is thus covered in the textbook before mention of the European Renaissance. All major non-Western cultures are shown as having enjoyed their Golden Age and faded into obscurity until they submitted to European dominance during the period of industrial imperialism.

This tendency to assume that beyond their Golden Ages, these societies ceased to contribute to the world's cultural, technological or scientific life is closely related to the concept of the Medieval Period, the Middle Ages, the hiatus between ancient, classical civilization and modernity. This term is not very satisfactory in an era of global history-writing for several reasons. First, for some time, a trend away from the notion of the European "Dark Ages" has been recognizable. The term "Middle Ages," has been questioned on similar grounds. Recent research has brought evidence that Europe itself was neither as isolated nor as backward as had generally been assumed for much of the period. These discoveries originally brought about use of the odd term "High Middle Ages" to refer to the latter part of the period from 1000 to 1500 C.E., or 1200 to 1500 C.E. Mounting evidence of the survival of Mediterranean and Eastern European riverine trade, cultural interactions with Muslim civilization in Spain, Sicily and Italy, and evidence of cultural borrowing and technological innovation has rendered the term ever less useful. As stated in Part One, use of the term "medieval" is not particularly apt for the non-West, since these civilizations (Muslim, Indian, African and Chinese, as well as Japanese, Southeast Asian, and even Mesoamerican and Andean) experienced an internal cultural flowering and periods of expansion and interaction with other cultures, phenomena that do not correspond well with the connotations of "medieval," as an interim preceding development and flowering.

While it is true that this terminology is very entrenched, and as such is not likely to be changed through the medium of school textbooks, it might receive less emphasis in several ways. The most significant means for de-emphasizing use of "medieval" is improved chronological structuring, as discussed in Part One. Events and cultures discussed under units on the medieval period should fit quite strictly into that time frame. For example, neither Mughal nor Ottoman civilization was "medieval," but belong to the early modern period. Both lasted well into the modern era, with cultural

and social expressions lasting much longer. Events between 1500 and 1800 C.E., for example, should be discussed with relation to events elsewhere in the world, so that students gain a sense of interactive causation. Another means by which the entire story of civilization can be improved is by integrating the historical account of each culture to show how, where and when they interacted with others. As suggested in Part 1, geographic regions of communication may provide a structure around which to build. Three examples of such zones for the "medieval" period are the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean Basin and the Eurasian steppe. A third means, enhanced coverage of the various realms of human activity, makes up for the fact that much interaction and influence took place in these zones that had little to do with states. This sort of treatment promises to make the diversity, quality and extent of human activity at this period so evident as to render the term "medieval" virtually irrelevant.

FROM THE RENAISSANCE TO THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

Like the isolated treatment of great civilizations in the medieval period, emergent European civilization is treated as an isolated phenomenon. China was China, India was India, Islam was Islam. Now, for virtually the rest of the course, Europe will be Europe. Each culture is shown as having projected military, economic and political power, but little evidence appears of interaction or mutual influence in any sphere. Inventions and devices are contributed, but the student does not learn how or where. Now, in Europe's Renaissance, the overwhelming factors in causation are internal — improvements in agriculture, the rise of towns and trade, the ingenuity of the Italians, the rebirth of classical learning. While certain influences from others are acknowledged, usually limited to material items or the nebulous "preservation of Greek thought," a vital aid to understanding is missing.

As with earlier "Golden Age" treatments, the paths of transmission, the "where, who and how" are seldom explained. In the coin of the history textbook realm, "the generalization," "the fact" is stated somewhere in the unit on Islam that Muslim or some other culture contributed to the cultural awakening in Europe. The specific evidence, the illustrations and citations of translators, authors, the anecdotes that would show the arenas where real people from Europe and the Muslim world came into contact are sparse or nonexistent. These arenas of interaction are precisely those neglected realms of Muslim society, often far from the political centers, on the fringes or in the mainstream of Muslim cultures: in Spain, at peace and at war, in Sicily, in the ports of Alexandria and Tyre, in the libraries of intellectuals. The enormous influence of Muslim civilization as a catalyst of the European Renaissance is acknowledged by most scholars. The following, by Richard Fletcher, is one example:

> The creative role of Islamic Spain in the shaping of European intellectual culture is still not widely enough appreciated. Apart from anything else, it is a remarkable story. The scientific and philosophical learning of Greek and Persian antiquity was inherited by the Arabs in the Middle East. Translated, codified, elaborated by Arabic [not only Arab, but writing in Arabic] scholars, the corpus was diffused throughout the culturally unified world of classical Islam in the ninth and tenth centuries until it reached the limits of the known world in the West. And there, in Spain, it was discovered by the scholars of the Christian west, translated into Latin mainly between 1150 and 1250, and channeled off to irrigate the dry pastures of European intellectual life. The rediscovery of Aristotle's works by this route decisively changed the European mind. Navigational devices such as the astrolabe made possible the voyages of discovery to east and west. Newton's work would have been inconceivable without the knowledge of mathematics transmitted through Spain. Islamic Spain was not just an exotic bit of orientalia quaintly moored in the Iberian peninsula...It played a significant part in the formation of the Old World's civilization.[5]

Offering a different perspective on the subject, the noted scholar of Muslim science, Sayyid Hossein Nasr states:

> Islam became heir to the intellectual heritage of all the major civilizations before it save that of the Far East, and it became a haven within which various intellectual traditions fund a new lease on life, albeit transformed within a new spiritual universe. This point must be repeated, particularly since so many people in the West wrongly believe that Islam acted simply as s bridge over which ideas of Antiquity passed to mediaeval Europe. As a matter of fact nothing could be farther from the truth, for no idea, no theory or doctrine entered the citadel of Islamic thought unless it became first Muslimized and integrated into the total world view of Islam.[6]

Among many other scholars, Fletcher and Nasr give ample information on the modes and means of transmission, the latter offering voluminous knowledge on Muslim sciences from their inception through specific instances of their transmission and importance to the West and their continuing contribution to the global scientific heritage after this initial transfer to Europe, a field which receives little attention in textbooks.

The failure to comprehend the influence of Muslim culture on Europe, on Africa, on Asia, and even in the new world, or indeed the influence of any culture on the West except the classical Greek and Roman, is a direct result of the way historical studies are organized. Muslim history following Abbasid decline is usually abandoned to confusion, returning to the orderly, discrete, contribution-centered, rise-and-fall, "Golden Age" model with the Ottoman, Mughal and Safavid Empires. Although these events are encompassed within the "medieval" units, and although the students have no knowledge of the external events in Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas that helped precipitate their decline, their "fall" is duly noted in virtually the same breath as their "rise." Unfortunately, although neither actually "fell" until the eighteenth or nineteenth century, and certain institutions and social forms survived much longer, discussion is capsulized at the end of the "medieval" period or thereabouts. Thus the "fall" is isolated from its causes, while the "Golden Age" is seen as an afterglow of

greatness by a civilization on the way down. The remarkably similar European Renaissance, with its state patronage, architecture, painting and commerce, is portrayed as the dawn of greatness. A Taj Mahal, for example, appears decadent in this scheme; Brunelleschi's Florentine Cathedral appears seminal and sublime. A more sober and integrated view would not disallow comparison, but show points of similarity, points of contrast, and lead students toward producing a mental balance sheet of relative strengths and weaknesses among cultures of the time.

A more dynamic treatment of the early modern period does not seek to bury Chinese, Mughal and Ottoman culture prematurely under the hermetic "rise and fall" model. Instead, it imparts a sense of suspense as to the outcome of the vibrant contest of cultures rather than dry inevitability. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many areas were hotly contested politically, and many important influences and techniques entered Europe from other cultures. Islam continued to spread during these periods, especially in Africa and Southeast Asia. If these cultures have been pronounced dead for the students a unit or two earlier, these connections will not be apparent. It is no excuse that these units foreshadow later events to conserve space in the textbook, or that dates and timelines clearly point to the later chronology of the "fall" of the Ottomans, Mughals, Mings, or others. These dates are usually overlooked by students. Students do not yet know what Scientific Revolution is, what the nineteenth century was, or what industrialization is. The effect is to rob events of their causation. Students are not led to inquiry; they are trained to accept and recite what they are told, incomprehensible though it may be. There is no drier way to tell the story of world history.

It should be remembered that even into the nineteenth century, Europe wanted more from China than China from Europe, with the result that her markets were pried open with opium to stanch the flow of hard currency from the West. The story of Europe's attaining the upper hand is not a one-sided story, even if the weight of easily accessible historical evidence seemed to support that view until recently. A mass of more recent research proves that Europe did not attain its position of dominance with old, established cultures as a juggernaut, but through lengthy interaction and even influence. It is a falsification of the historical record to leave students with the impression that non-Western cultures succumbed to domination without creative response, or that they were by that time utterly decadent cultures waiting to be mown down and pruned to conform to the Western model of civilization.

To produce a more realistic picture, the story of active non-Western cultures can no longer be bottled up in the medieval units, appearing only as passive, when mentioned at all, throughout the long nineteenth century, and reappearing only as "modern problems and conflicts" in the twentieth century. Treatment should be more concentric, more even, alternating focus among regions of the world during similar time spans, rather than jerking students wildly back and forth chronologically until Europe reaches its prominence at the Renaissance. At that historical period, it was still unclear who would achieve dominance, but in textbook accounts, so-called "Asian civilizations" have already been consigned to oblivion. The only fair, accurate and multi-faceted method is to treat the span of history as a series of periods selected for their global focus, and then to discuss significant events, trends and interactions within and among each culture during that period.

A final note on basic coverage of Muslim history underscores the need to integrate the history of non-Western civilizations, in this case of Muslim regions, with developments in Europe's modern period, the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. Imperialism and colonization in these areas did not blot out these cultures; they continued to exist in active form, and their activities defined the form and scope of European responses in numerous arenas. Not only did European thought and technology influence others at this time. Not only did Muslim, Christian and other intellectuals absorb European education and adopt cultural forms. European artists, intellectuals, and people in business and diplomatic professions also absorbed and transmitted into Europe influences from Muslim aesthetic, spiritual, commercial and political realms, among others. These movements deserve, even require coverage to complete the picture of modernization of whose fruits, both sweet and rotten, we now partake. In the twentieth century, a more thought provoking discussion of Muslim and other cultures is required than the concentration upon conflict and development problems. Discussion should foster understanding of diverse approaches to modern life rather than making regional problems stand monolithically for an entire society.

C. *Structures for an Inclusive Survey*

We have offered a critique in the section above in order to point out through the case study of Muslim history how improvements in the approach to historical studies touching many cultures can help fulfill the goals of enhanced coverage and improved integration. It would be inadequate, however, to leave the discussion at the level of

critique, in which certain features are made to stand in a harsh and unflattering light. The capabilities of the educational system in the United States, of which curriculum development and educational publishing are important parts, give cause for optimism that the need to innovate and refurbish will be met with good intentions and ample creative resources. To that end, the following section suggests criteria for selecting topics from among the various disciplinary fields, and provides outlines and options for designers of instructional materials designed to help give depth to historical studies of Islam and history of Muslim civilization and culture.

These suggestions provide an interpretation of the way curriculum guides and the *National Standards in World History* may be implemented in ways that demonstrate creative compliance and coverage. This section provides a wide range of options for discussing essential skills, concepts and historical content while avoiding cookie-cutter similarity among various instructional media. **The most important thrust of the section and this entire document, however, is to support the demand that textbooks represent state-of-the-art-research, honest and intelligent historical inquiry, and creative as well as equitable organization.**

1. Selection of Topics for a Survey Course

Burgeoning content is certainly a problem in world history. The more interesting things we learn, the larger the field grows. We have shown somewhat abstractly how rethinking and re-organizing the chronological and thematic structure of texts will both save space and improve content and skill development. The following suggestions relate to selection of items for coverage, organization and research of those topics into a brief but revealing account of Muslim culture at various periods.

In the past, topics for textbook surveys seem to have been selected according to a very traditional, deterministic view of what constitutes history. In recent decades this view has undergone change in favor of more breadth and depth of coverage. The solution to improvement is not merely additive, however; new textbooks should not cover all of the traditional material and then add the new. New curricula and materials should reflect a more liberated process of selecting topics. Once selected, they do not need to remain fixed for each unit or for each culture. On the contrary, the relative weight accorded to each topic should be balanced according to specific criteria. Once selected, the topics will benefit from an integrative approach. If the topics selected are indeed relevant to the period, they will "sing" in harmony; the connections between the various realms of the society and those it influenced make the account flow by itself. Laborious switchbacks and dry recitals should be reduced to a minimum.

Rather than selecting topics merely according to what has been covered in the past, more enlightened criteria suggest themselves. Useful criteria for deciding to cover an aspect of history would seem to be:

CRITERIA FOR COVERING AN ASPECT OF MUSLIM HISTORY

- What events or phenomena are most significant in this culture during this historical period?
- What features of the society and culture demonstrate continuity over time?
- What events, trends and phenomena demonstrate regional influence and/or overall global or cultural significance?
- What events and cultures are relevant to contemporary demographic, ethnic and geographic issues?

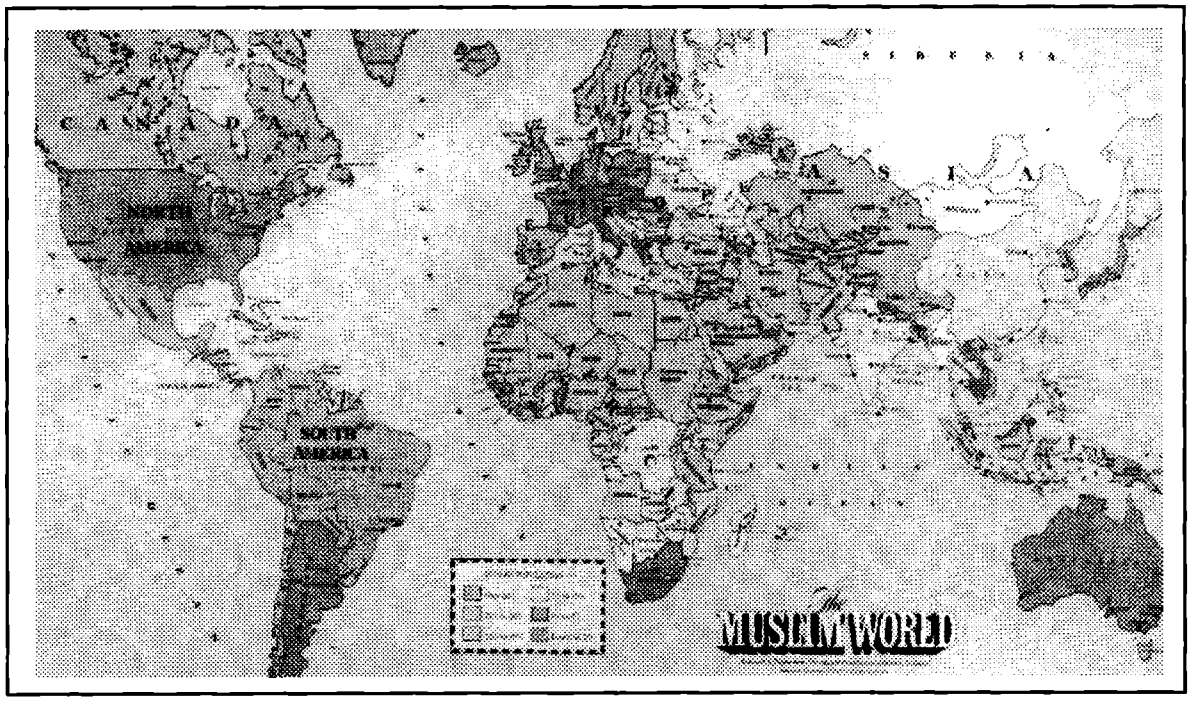
Events like the rise of Islam and its spread are studied in depth because they were pivotal in a global sense. In-depth treatment explores these events from the perspective of various historians and historical disciplines. Such treatments contribute to understanding of multiple causation. In recent decades, aspects of Muslim history that were not considered pivotal in a global sense have received increased attention and acquired new significance. Scientific work in the Muslim world and technology transfer from Muslim and other cultures are two such aspects. The newly appreciated significance of international trade in the eastern hemisphere during the "medieval" period is another aspect in which Muslim civilization is now acknowledged as having played a major role. Certain features of Muslim culture and society require depth of treatment because they are constant (but not monolithic or unchanging), providing dimension to the picture of Muslim civilization at all periods. Other aspects should be covered at a variety of periods because they reflected or contributed to global developments. In-depth coverage of topics from social, economic, political and intellectual history is mandated by the *National Standards in World History* and many state curriculum guides because it aids understanding of the modern world in general through the lens of a particular Western or non-Western society.

The following suggestions, then, provide a selection of ideas for integrating world civilizations, resulting in a smooth-flowing, comprehensible story of how we all got here from there. In addition, these suggestions offer ways to integrate various disciplines into the account by focusing on specific aspects of Muslim history that shed particularly strong light on a certain period.

EMBRACING THE GEOGRAPHY AND CULTURES OF THE MUSLIM WORLD

Demographic and geographic facts in the contemporary world constitute a strong argument for covering certain topics. Their significance in the current world situation is usually an indicator of their historical importance as well. Review of some important demographic facts related to Islam and Muslims is helpful. It is a very common misconception that most Muslims are Arab, and that Islam is primarily a Near or Middle Eastern phenomenon. Many treatments too closely identify the Muslim world with the Arab world. First, not all Arabs are Muslim, there having been Jews, Christians and followers of polytheistic faiths among them from an early date. Second, Arabs constitute a large ethnic group, but Turkic, African, European, Sinic, Persian and Indian Muslims vastly outnumber Arabs among the total Muslim population. The demographic midpoint of the Muslim world is Lahore, Pakistan, far to the east of the Arab lands. Today, Arabic speakers make up about one sixth of all Muslims, of whom one third are Egyptians, many of whom do not consider themselves Arabs. Add to that number the small but growing population of African-American and other Western peoples who have converted to Islam in the twentieth century, and it is clear that a historical survey of Muslim groups encompasses in some sense the history of most major world civilizations. A contemporary map showing regions where Muslims live, together with their ethnic origin and language helps in making decisions on covering the history of Muslim peoples. Areas neglected in the past include East Africa, Southeast Asia, Central Asia and Eastern Europe. Another region with significant Muslim population is the Caribbean, whose multi-ethnic history is relevant in the early colonial period, both in connection with importation of African slaves, immigration of Muslims from Spain and Portugal (severely restricted by the colonial powers) and in connection with later importation of workers within the British and French imperial systems of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This factor is also significant in the growth of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa. To lend contemporary significance to the study of Islam and Muslim history, authors may provide coverage of demographic changes in Western countries (Western Europe, North and South America) through labor migration, immigration, travel and conversion to explain the growth of Muslim populations in

their discussion of the twentieth century world. The following map on distribution of Muslim world population may be helpful in making decisions about coverage of Muslim cultures in world history.



2. Outlines, Multidisciplinary Modules and Snapshots

On the following pages, options for designing a survey of Muslim civilization are given in several different forms. The material may be used in a variety of ways:

- as outlines for complete chapters or units
- as themes for sequential inclusion in various chapters or units
- as isolated longitudinal studies
- as features or sidebars in a chapter
- as classroom activities or student research projects

The suggestions are provided in three formats:

1. A **group of seven outlines** is given that emphasize major periods, events, groups, and trends throughout Muslim history. Under these headings, reference is made to important aspects of the various historical realms (social, cultural, economic, etc.) that are significant for the time period. These cannot be considered definitive in any way; they are merely suggestive, and represent one of many possible approaches to organization.

2. A **group of modules** is provided that sketch out significant topics from Muslim history and culture for longitudinal study. These topics involve aspects like trade, scholarship, the role of women, social structure, and the arts and sciences, that play continuously significant and changing roles throughout Muslim history.

3. A **group of "snapshots"** is provided that capture some of the points mentioned in the modules, but point to ways in which they might be featured in on a smaller scale than, or to illustrate points raised in the modules.

Each outline or group of outlines, modules and snapshots is accompanied by explanations that help explain its purpose, significance and elucidate approaches and research directions for their use.

The material in this section should not be used in isolation from the rest of this presentation. Organizational suggestions, research, presentation and selection criteria, overviews, critiques and guidelines from the other sections of this document should be borne in mind as the units and chapters are planned, written or revised. The material is this section combines to provide an overview of Muslim civilization and its relation to world history as a whole. These frameworks provide possibilities for constructing innovative accounts of Islam and Muslim history, and for integrating the history of Muslim civilization with that of other cultures beyond the main units where "Islam" has traditionally appeared. Structures and fruitful research directions are given for typical topics in the curriculum and for areas seldom covered.

For additional examples of topics and approaches similar in format to the snapshots given here, consult relevant sections of the *National Standards in World History* document and/or the Council on Islamic Education's review and recommendations. Eras 4 through 8 of the national document reflect extensive input from the Council, while the review, available from the Council office, contains some additional exemplars as well as explanation and bibliographic references.

OUTLINE #1

Background to the Rise of Islam

The geographic, cultural and religious context:

A. Roots of Abrahamic faiths
   1. Abraham's migration
   2. Marriage to Sarah, Hajar, birth of Ishma'il and Isaac
   3. Construction of the Ka'bah at Makkah, origin of pilgrimage

B. Religion in the Arabian Peninsula
   1. Hanafi monotheists
   2. Polytheism
   3. Christian and Jewish groups

C. Economic and political importance of Arabia (historical evidence)
   1. Early inscriptions and biblical references to Arabs
   2. Camel nomadism, regional and interregional trade routes
   3. Town dwellers and agriculturists
   4. Important trade cities (Petra, Tadmur, Palmyra, Hatra)
   5. Arabia Felix (Yemen)
   6. Christian Arab kingdoms
   7. Clients of Persia and Byzantium

D. Background of regions into which Islam spread in the first century
   1. Byzantine empire
   2. Sassanian empire and Central Asia
   3. North Africa and Iberia

EXPLANATION FOR OUTLINE #1

Background for the rise of Islam reaches back in its religious dimension to discussion of the origin of human faith in God. For the more concrete historical dimension, background information reaches back to the origin of Abrahamic faith. Muslims attribute construction of the Ka'bah in Makkah to Abraham, the common father of monotheistic religion, who is believed to have traveled to the valley called Bakkah with his wife, Sarah's handmaiden Hajar, by whom he had the child Isma'il (Ishmael). They remained there and their descendants intermarried with local tribes, making Abraham's descendants forefathers of the Arabs. This genealogical information was not first told to the Arabs by Muhammad, but was a source of pride and common knowledge among a people who counted genealogical records among their most

important connections to historiography. The original dedication of the Ka'bah to monotheistic worship was eventually lost to polytheistic practice, but the name "Allah" to represent the idea of a greater God was present among the Arabs. Monotheistic practice existed in the Arabian Peninsula in the form of monastic settlements of Christians, agricultural settlements of Jews, and isolated individuals called *hunafa'* (sing. *hanif*) who maintained belief in One God, practicing meditation and cultivating in some cases knowledge of scriptures.

To place the idea of Arabs as members of an ethnic and language group and to place them in a territorial context, information on the earliest historical record of their presence is pertinent. Assyrian inscriptions state that Gindibu the Arab fought against their king Shalamaneser III in 853 B.C.E., and that an Arab queen Zabibe paid tribute to the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III in 742 B.C.E., and that the same king was victorious over an Arab queen named Shamsi in 734 B.C.E.. By the mid 600's B.C.E., numerous Arabs had settled in the Syrian desert, and were the objects of campaigns by rulers such as Nebuchadnezzar and a ruler whose kingdom was near present-day Jordan. An invasion by the Babylonian king Nabonidus in 554 B.C.E. resulted in his taking up continuous residence at an oasis north of Yathrib, proceeding on to Yathrib itself in 539 B.C.E., which is the first recorded mention of the city of Yathrib, which would later become Madinat An-Nabi (City of the Prophet). This journey of the Babylonian king attests to the growing importance of Arabia at that time.[7]

Roman coins showing Arab chieftain surrendering

Numerous Biblical references attest to the presence and importance of Arab groups, including Nehmiah 2:19 and 6:1-2; 2 Chronicles 17:11, 21:16; 22:1 and 26:7; Isaiah 13:20; and Jeremiah 3:2.[8] In pre-Islamic times, the area in which Arabic was spoken was apparently larger than the Arabian Peninsula, including much of Syria, Jordan, Palestine and Iraq. Technically, the Arabian Peninsula does not include the Fertile Crescent, but Ismail Al-Faruqi argues for a broader geographic definition thus:

> Geographically speaking, "Arabia" is the Peninsula as well as its crown and neck, the "Fertile Crescent." Each is the continuation of the other and is inconceivable without it. The Peninsula desert extends to the extremities of the overarching Crescent thinning its extremities to nothing. Likewise, it extends northward into the Crescent, widening its cavity and making it coalesce with the Peninsula which it continuously hugs.[9]

Historical background to the rise of Islam should include the cultural, economic and political role of the Arabian Peninsula in the region. Here, the role of both sedentary and nomadic cultures is of equal importance, since they lived in symbiosis. Al-Faruqi notes the way in which the peoples in the Peninsula and on its periphery migrated in and out between the desert and the sown, intermarried and intermixed, sharing language, culture and religion and making ethnic distinctions a moot point.[10] The story of Abraham is only one early example of this point. Richard Bulliet's book *The Camel and the Wheel* (Harvard U. Press, 1975) analyzes data on the development of camel nomadism and its role in regional trade through the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods. He provides excellent perspective on the contributions and interaction of sedentary and nomadic groups in political, military and commercial arenas, and attributes pivotal significance to the development of a type of North Arabian camel saddle between 500 and 100 B.C.E. Comprehensive information on the historical background is also provided in Ismail and Lois al Faruqi's *The Cultural Atlas of Islam* (Macmillan, 1986); many early Arabic inscriptions are reproduced in the book. Numerous books and articles by Irfan Shahid cover the pre-Islamic history of the peninsula and its cultural and political relations with empires in the region. A feature of the regions inhabited by Arabs attested to by archaeological and literary evidence is Christian Arab kingdoms based at Tadmur, Petra (the Arab Nabatean kingdom whose well-known ruins are in Jordan), Busra, Al Jabiyah and Jilliq, each of which encompassed varied Arab tribes and contained some Jews, Zoroastrians and adherents of Mesopotamian religions.

This inscription is in Himyaritic, a language of the pre-Islamic southern Arabians.

The existence of Arab cities and kingdoms on the fringes of the Peninsula is closely related to its importance in caravan and seaborne trade, an economic role that stretches back to the earliest roots of intercivilizational commerce between, for example, the Tigris-Euphrates and Indus Valley civilizations. By the time of the Roman Empire, the Silk Road was already well established, and was connected to routes serving depots and ports on the Mediterranean Sea and along the Fertile Crescent, skirting areas inhabited also by Arabs. In *The Silk Road Saga*, Drege and Buhrer, refer to the origins of what later became a maritime "silk road":

> It was doubtless initially Arab ships that made their way through the Red Sea and across the Indian Ocean. ...It was later from Egypt that ships were laden for India, competing with the Arab boats.[11]

The authors cite works by Roman historians Strabo (d. 21 C.E.) and Pliny (d. 79 C.E.) that reinforce this information. Reference is made here to the routes in which the fertile and strategically -situated Yemen, or *Arabia Felix*, played a pivotal role. This was the

trade in both the products of Arabia and transit goods from India. The Romans saw it as an exotic, wealthy, mythically enhanced place because of the trade goods like perfumes, silks and jewels that passed through it, as well as the pearls, incense, dates and other goods that originated there. A quote from Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* gives an interesting, if not entirely accurate impression of this view:

> One half lives in trading and the other half in brigandry; in short, they [Arabs] are the richest nation in the world, for the treasures of the Romans and the Parthians flow there. The Arabs sell the products of their seas and their forests and buy nothing.[12]

This trade on and along the Red Sea from Yemen to Egypt and Syria was pertinent to the rise of Makkah. The role of Makkah as seat of an important shrine and depot on the north/south Red Sea trade route provides the important urban context, since Makkah reached its zenith some time before the rise of Islam. The chronological framework of nomadism, trade, and states should be integrated with geographic and cultural information provided as background to the rise of Islam.

A second factor in the rise of Islam is the historical background of the regions into which Islam began to spread in the seventh and eighth centuries. This type of background should accompany discussion of the spread of Islam to each distinct region, as stated elsewhere. With regard to the earliest period of territorial expansion, however, it is in this case fortunate that most textbook discussions of Islam are preceded directly by a chapter on Byzantine civilization. It is much less fortunate, however, that the entire culture is introduced and dismissed under the traditional chronological structure in the same breath, so to speak. Thus, the student learns that the Muslim Ottomans took Constantinople in 1453 C.E., before he or she knows what Islam, a Muslim or an Ottoman is. Under a more integrated structure, however, the economic, political, religious and military background of the Byzantine regions will be clear in the student's mind, requiring only a sentence or two of review and accounts of relevant new information in the section on the spread of Islam. This fortuitous situation is less true for the Persian or North African aspect of the historical background. These regions have, for all the student in most courses knows, dropped off the map sometime earlier. To make the overall point more briefly, all the Middle Eastern peoples participated in building Muslim civilization, whether they retained their previously held faiths or converted to Islam. Thus, background information outside the immediate Arabian context ought to be considered.

OUTLINE #2

Muhammad's prophethood, the rise of Islam, Islam's beliefs and practices

A. Tribal and family background and early life (570-610 C.E.)

B. The Call to Prophethood (610-622 C.E.)
   1. Revelation, nature of Makkan *surah*s of the Qur'an
   2. Early followers and rejecters
   3. Period of persecution at Makkah
   4. Spiritual and social development among Muslims in the early period

C. The Hijrah to Yathrib (622-632 C.E.)
   1. Background of Yathrib
   2. Founding the Islamic polity
      a. Dustur Al-Madinah (constitution document)
      b. Political, economic and social relations among Muhajirun and Ansar
      c. Contrasting nature of Madinan *surah*s of the Qur'an
   3. Struggle and consolidation of the Muslim community
      a. Principle of *jihad* in Islam
      b. Early encounters and motives on both sides
      c. Badr to Uhud
      d. Battle of the Ditch and after
      e. Significance of tribal alliances and treaties
      f. Victory at Makkah and aftermath
         1)Summary of events
         2)Conversion to Islam in Arabia following victory
      g. Development of Muslim social relations at Madinah
      h. Death of Muhammad and succession of Abu Bakr

Coverage of Doctrine: See Parts Three and Four of this document for guidelines and criteria on selection and treatment of topics, integration of doctrine with the historical account. This topic is probably best covered in the context of developments during the Makkan and Madinan periods, but aspects of doctrine and practice may be summarized at the conclusion of the historical account, especially with regard to showing how it applies to Muslims in today's world. *See Snapshot 6A for activities on describing and comparing religious ideas and beliefs.

D. Summary of Basic Beliefs and Practices
   1. Personal and communal aspects of the Five Pillars
   2. Spiritual foundations and world view
   3. Social, economic and political principles

EXPLANATION FOR OUTLINE #2

The chronological framework for the events immediately leading to the emergence of Islam begin before Muhammad's birth in about 570 C.E. with information on the economic and political position of Quraysh during the period, and brief discussion of the clans, including that of Muhammad, Bani Hashim. Mention of the relative prominence of each includes discussion of the role of each in hosting the annual pilgrimage. Many anecdotes are found in the biographical sources. Material on his early life can be brief, in favor of a more extensive treatment of the period of prophethood, from 609 to 632 C.E. Part Three and Part Four contain discussion of approaches to covering this period, and the points listed in the outline refer to commonly discussed topics in biographical and other historical studies of the period of prophethood and growth of the community. The development of the Muslim community is broken into two periods: the first 13 years at Makkah to the Hijrah [not **Hegira**], or migration in 622 C.E., the remaining and seminal 10 years at Yathrib, renamed Madinah, until Muhammad's death in 632. Discussion of Islam's teachings is characterized by the distinction between the Makkan and the Madinan periods in revelation and in the community's activity and capabilities. The early Makkan surahs, for example, are typically about the attributes of God and of faith, the warning of Judgment and Reward, and the forms of worship. When in Madinah the community is established as a polity, revelation encompasses laws and systems for just ordering of community life and relations with other communities. As stated in the referenced material, it is important to convey a sense of the meaning of Muhammad's mission to the people who received it. It is also important to interweave Muhammad's biography with the story of the growing community, ensuring that explanations are not unilateral, but contain evidence of complex causation and true interaction among the various actors.

OUTLINE #3

History of the Muslim State, 632 to ca. 1100 C.E.

A. The "Rightly Guided" Khalifahs (632-661 C.E.)
   1. Significance and role of the *khalifah* (or *khi-la'-fah,* as an institution)
   2. Consolidation and Expansion
      a. Historical context of *jihad:* empires and state religion, tribal religion
      b. Byzantine and Persian Empires
      c. The course of geographic expansion
   3. Administration (through Ummayad and Abbasid periods)
      a. Development of communications infrastructure
      b. Role of dhimmis (non-Muslims) in administration
      c. Garrison towns and provincial governors
   4. The death of Uthman and the struggle over succession
      a. The period of *fitnah*
      b. Emergence of dissenting groups
      c. Origins of the Shi'a/Sunni Muslim split
         1)political issues in the split
         2)beginning of a dissenting tradition

B. Umayyad period (661-750 C.E.)
   1. Fundamental changes in Muslim rule under Mu'awiyah
   2. Consolidation of Umayyad rule, internal & external
   3. Geographic expansion
   4. Legal, intellectual and socio-cultural developments

C. Abbasid period (750 - 946 C.E.)
   1. Conversion, demographic and social change in the Muslim state
   2. Characteristics of Abbasid government
   3. Cultural and intellectual flowering (see science & scholarship modules)
   4. Economic and commercial development (see trade module)
   5. Umayyad Spain (introduce but cover political and cultural developments with coverage of later periods)

D. Breakup of unified rule ca. 850 - 1194 C.E.
   1. Samanids and Buyids
   2. Fatimids and Tulunids
   3. Seljuks

EXPLANATION FOR OUTLINE #3

This segment of the historical survey provides an opportunity to evaluate particularly carefully selection of topics for coverage. Just as the events and trends to be discussed are momentous for world history, this period is important to internal understanding

of the culture, representing the germination of Muslim civilization. Here the temptation to record military events and the succession of political leaders is perhaps greatest. Students will benefit more from an account which discusses events from the social, administrative, and intellectual realms, which complement the background information given on these regions before the appearance of Islam. Among administrative issues are the difficulty of ruling from a distant capital, the formative period in Muslim legislative history, and the participation of, indeed dependence upon, non-Muslim officials from earlier regimes. Among social issues are the receptivity of the existing populace to acceptance of Muslim rule and the beginning wave of conversion and participation of *mawali*, or converts in the society; the changing role of women among both Arabs and people of the former empires, and the social, economic and intellectual role played by the garrison towns in Iraq, Syria and Egypt. To the intellectual sphere belong the issues discussed later under "The role of Muslim scholars."

In treating the 30-year rule by the "Rightly Guided" Khalifahs, or successors to Muhammad, the period of disagreement and strife that ended it and caused the split between Shi'a and Sunni Islam, and the accession to power of the Umayyad dynasty, there should be room for portraits, or at least telling vignettes that give names and personalities to the actors. Instead of emphasizing the "what" happened, more telling emphasis is on the "how it happened," particularly in light of the momentous events these people had experienced in their lifetimes. It should be possible to capture some of the anguish and uncertainty, a sense of the difficult choices and lost opportunity. Account of the changes brought by Muawiyah's decisions becomes more than a dry recital of facts, and the possibility of multiple interpretations of events becomes more real.

The development of the state during its expansion from North Africa in the West to beyond Persia in the East might be illuminated by discussion of the geographic and military obstacles and facilitating factors. Some students are fascinated by military history. Instead of mere facts, description of the political system and its characteristics (i.e. comparison with the state under Muhammad, and among the first four successors, then the Umayyad rulers) should be included, discussion of its goals and analysis of the challenges these rulers faced in governing a large and growing territory. Interesting here is the diversity of land, cultures and religions in the new state, the inexperience of the Arabs in governing such a large and diverse state, and the application of a novel system of rule. A related point is the development of infrastructure to link the provinces with the capitals at Madinah, then Damascus, then Baghdad, with the subsequent founding of Umayyad rule in Spain, including explanation of the change in location.

The sequence of dynastic changes from the foundation of the Umayyad dynasty by Mu'awiyah in 661 to the Abbasid revolution in 750 is illuminated by the range of historical material from various realms discussed above. Political change, though momentous, is placed in a perspective that more closely approximates that of the people who lived then; it is one element of many in their lives and society. The change in and eventual disintegration of the unified Muslim state must not be confused with a decline in the development of Muslim civilization at this time. If events beyond the political realm are followed, and indeed if the political realm itself is properly understood, this misunderstanding will not occur. It is central to comprehension of the persistence and spread of Islam and its cultural development.

The breakup of the unified state began even before the Abbasid revolution in 740 C.E., when the Great Berber revolt sundered Morocco and then Algeria from the khalifate forever. Spain followed, expelling its last Umayyad khalifal governor in 745 C.E. These lands never acknowledged the Abbasids. A more or less continuous devolution and disintegration of the Abbasid state began shortly after that dynasty's rise, although it paradoxically coincided with the rise of Arabic learning and book culture. Slightly more than a century after they had taken power, the Abbasid khalifs lost power to military dictators in 861 C.E., except for a brief restoration from 892-908 C.E. In the provinces, Tunisia, Tripolitania and Oman became quasi-independent in 800 C.E. and Yemen in 819 C.E. After repeated tries, Egypt and Syria became independent in the tenth century as well. East of Baghdad, Khurasan became independent in the ninth century, first as a family fief, and later in the hands of Saffarid rebels, followed by the Samanids of Transoxania in the ninth. Although the disintegration of the khalifate was nearly complete before 900 C.E., nominal loyalty to it was not extinct until after the 10th century, when the breakup was complete, although it was not until the Mongol destruction of Baghdad in 1258 that it absolutely came to an end.

Such events as the founding of Tulunid, Fatimid and Ayyubid dynasties in Egypt and Syria, the Seljuk invasions of Baghdad and Byzantine lands, which represent the first migration of Turkic people into the Muslim lands, represent a process of fragmentation which should not be confused with Islamization and developing cultural unification of Muslim lands. The detailed political account is nearly mind-numbing; for young students, a broader brush is needed, but not a merely factual tone. Such complexities invite the introduction of various historians' interpretations. Political maps and dynastic names do little to illuminate the period. If fragmentation is occurring in

one sphere, unifying factors might be sought in another. Evidence for the importance of this pursuit is the mere persistence of Islam in regions where it had already been established; the continuing spread of Islam makes it vital to understanding the period.

OUTLINE #4

History of the Muslim State, 1000 to 1500C.E.

A. Muslim Regions, 1000 - 1500 C.E.
   1. North Africa
   2. West African and East African states
      a. Trade and urbanization in the Niger bend
      b. Ghana and Mali
      c. Commercial towns of the East African coast
   3. Near East and Turko-Iranian world
   4. India and Indonesia

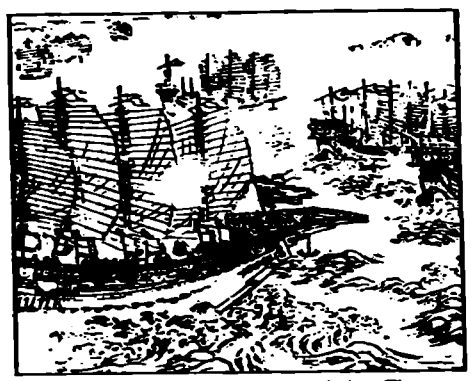
B. Interactions with the outside
   1. Mongols and China (see also trade)
      a. Mongol society and culture
      b. The course of the invasion
      c. Significance for world history
         1)military significance
         2)Pax Mongolica
         3)Islamization of Mongol successor states
      d. Confrontation with the Mongols and its world significance
   2. Hindu India
   3. Christian Europe and the Crusades
      a. Cultural and military interaction in Spain
      b. Sicily and the Normans
      c. Italian trade in the Levant, role in Crusade effort
      d. Crusader campaigns and states in the Levant

C. Later States
   1. Mughals
      a. Origins and Development
      b. Interaction with Muslim and non-Muslim powers
      c. Religion, Science Arts and the Humanities
   2. Safavids
      a. Origins and Development
      b. Interaction with Muslim and non-Muslim powers
      c. Religion, Science and the Humanities
   3. Ottoman state
      a. Origins and Development
      b. State system
      c. Religion, Science and the Humanities

EXPLANATION FOR OUTLINES #4 & #5

The Crusades, which is usually a major focus in survey courses, is less prominent in the outline above. However extensive the coverage, the movement should be placed in perspective of its European significance, but also in the proper scale with regard to the Muslim context; the invasion should not be magnified out of proportion by 19th and 20th century hindsight. Use of chronicles and personal accounts from both sides should be selected for the way in which they reveal attitudes on both sides, but also to demonstrate that cultural contact went far beyond the military confrontation. The dual perspective should be provided not only by chronicles and eyewitness accounts, but also by divergent modern interpretations, including the Muslim view. Its lasting legacy in relations between Christians and Muslims is worthy of note, a recent example of which is an article in *The Economist*, "A Survey of Islam: Not Again, For Heaven's Sake," (August 6, 1994), featuring a Crusader on its cover.

Discussion of the Turkic migrations that continue in this period is important in various realms, with the Seljuk Sultanate establishing itself over a wide region, including the Byzantine empire, also began during this period, and is capped by the Mongol invasion with destruction of the Abbasid capital at Baghdad in 1258, and the beginning of Mamluk rule in Egypt from 1250 and Syria from 1260 C.E. Political events during this period include the continuing loss of Muslim territory in Spain to Christian forces, and the founding of the Ottoman dynasty in 1280 C.E.



Part of an ancient painting depicting Zheng He's travels on the Indian Ocean.

In addition to the theme of migration and invasion on land, an important and often overlooked scene of development was the Indian Ocean basin. All around its rim, from East Africa to Indonesia and China, the ongoing trade was linking people and cultures, developing supply and demand, and making use of the technology that would spread to the West and complete the sea link from the Western side with such important consequences. The theme of this period can identify three clear areas of increasing interaction:

1. the migration of peoples and their integration into the established Muslim civilization (mainly Turkic).
2. the expansion of trade to include people in adjoining regions (including Southeast Asia, West and East Africa, and in some sense, Northern and Central Europe), and their introduction to centrally located Muslim cultures.
3. the exchange of information and knowledge in science and technology (paper, textiles, navigation, medicine, mathematics, etc.), in philosophy, literature and the arts (Greek learning, poetry and prose, religious thought, architecture and decorative styles, music, etc.) through Spain and Italy into Europe, but also in Central Asia and India, which absorbed and radiated Muslim culture after the effects of the invasion waned.

Students should be shown evidence that the exchange between outlying and central Muslim regions is a process of mutual influence and not a passive relationship involving one-sided power projection by a monolithic "Islam."

As stated earlier, the crystallization of the three groups in Muslim civilization that usually close out textbook coverage of "Islam," the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals should not be considered here under the rise and fall model, but should acquire in student's minds significance in the context of the period as a whole. All three states were characterized by an expansion of Muslim territory, cultural development and influence. These groups were interesting for their internal characteristics, their achievements and for the role they play in the changing global context. Hindsight in view of their later decline versus Europe's rise should not cloud the understanding that these groups continued to contribute to the developing world culture, including influence on the gradually emerging culture of Europe.

The next period, shown in outline #5, discusses these increasing interactions in light of a new factor for relevant Muslim regions, projection of European power. In the past, the account of the response has been sparse. If individual explorers and adventurers dominate the stage, there are also interesting and telling stories to be told of those who assisted (like Ibn Majid, the famous navigator who is credited by numerous historians with having led Vasco da Gama into the Indian Ocean) and who responded to their incursions (like the Ottoman and Indian sea captains who opposed the Portuguese); description of the merchants, seamen and the life in the port cities and hinterlands draws a portrait of the world into which Europeans now stepped.

Astrolabe

As focus in many survey courses shifts to the internal development of Europe, students' attention should be drawn to the fact that the period of increasing interaction in the eastern hemisphere did not result in the torch of knowledge and commerce being passed for once and for all to Europe, leaving the rest of the world in passive darkness. Rather, historians increasingly place the European Renaissance in the context of cultural developments in other parts of the hemisphere, in the scientific, artistic and religious spheres, supported necessarily by vigorous economic activity. Europeans, in reaching beyond their accustomed cultural sphere, were very much affected in their ways of thinking, their imagination and artistic sense, and in their tastes and styles, among many other influences absorbed from the civilizations into which they now came in contact. In telling the story of European colonization, it is also important to note that many different groups were affected. Muslim settlers went to the Spanish colonies as craftsmen and brought their styles, whose influence was a significant part of the Spanish cultural heritage itself. Asians entered the New World from the Pacific, bringing immigrants, goods, styles and modes of thought and society into that world and contributing very early to the diverse culture we know today. These elements are usually passed over.

An interesting perspective on this period of confrontation and more peaceful interaction is the comparison of societies on a large scale, for example, European societies, Far Eastern societies, Muslim societies, African societies. How are their social systems structured? How do local and regional authorities and institutions interact? What roles do education, agriculture and commerce play? What is the status of military organization and technology? What role do religious institutions and systems of thought play? The purpose here is to provide a global sweep that will help students place important changes in perspective. Not only will such a survey provide a fascinating description and enhance their knowledge base, the student will also have the opportunity to ponder some very large questions on the historical, but also on the moral and ethical level. What are the ethical foundations of territorial expansion? How are ethics affected by attitudes about "foreign" and "different" cultures? What role do religious beliefs and institutions play in shaping encounter and interaction between different cultural groups? Students can weigh the historical evidence to consider various alternative outcomes.

In terms of the material basis of human life, students may consider the changing role of agriculture, land use and trade. What role did geography play in patterns of colonization and trade? What kinds of agricultural goods were produced for the international market; what were their origins (sugar, coffee, spices, tea, dyes, cotton, silk, etc.)? How did regional and local agriculture change in the various societies under consideration? These comparisons, better than any factual account of "causes" and "trends" to be memorized for a multiple choice test, make it clear where dynamic forces and where stagnation is evident, and point up strengths and weaknesses of various societies that will be useful for understanding the forces at work shaping a modern world. These are the benefits of a more integrated and equitable approach — a sense of the participation of all peoples and a broader understanding of both European and other societies that does not emerge from a one-sided approach.

The outline below does not begin to approach the possibilities for building the comparison sketched out above. Addition of modules and snapshots from the next section, combined with features and student research and discussion activities would be required to craft such a presentation.

OUTLINE #5

Mughal, Timurid, Safavid and Ottoman interaction with Europe: 1500 - 1800 C.E.

A. Mughal, Timurid, Safavid and Ottoman interaction with Europe
   1. Initial confrontations
   2. Commercial and military interactions
      a. Indian Ocean trade, naval operations
      b. Mediterranean (Levantine) trade, naval events
      c. Ottoman land campaigns
      d. Russian and Chinese expansion in Muslim regions
   3. Religious and intellectual responses
      a. Reformation in Europe and missionary work abroad
      b. Religious renewal movements in the Muslim world
      c. Institutional and individual responses in religion, literature, and science
   4. Political and diplomatic efforts
   5. Transfer of "tastes" from Muslim lands: toward global consumer styles
      a. fads and fashions in the 18th & 19th centuries (beverages, fabrics, wallcoverings, ceramics & porcelain, early industrial designs, etc.)
      b. textiles & designs
      c. furnishings
      d. luxury products

OUTLINE #6

The Muslim World in the 19th century

A. The Muslim world in the 19th century
   1. Political and economic penetration - Imperialism (Europe and Russia)
      a. diplomacy and treaties
      b. commerce and finance
      c. colonial regimes — local and European
   2. Technology transfer and regional responses
      a. transport
      b. mechanized production
      c. military technology
   3. Intellectual responses
      a. Education
      b. Religion
      c. Literary & journalistic
      d. Artistic
   4. Social and Political responses
      a. Change among various classes and groups
      b. Change in the family and civic organization
      c. Independence, nationalism and state-building

EXPLANATION FOR OUTLINES #6 AND #7

The most important innovation in textbook coverage in these eras would be to provide any substantial coverage at all; the story has usually been told from one perspective only. The thrust of discussion in the nineteenth century, in the context of units on Europe's and the United States' industrial growth and later imperialism, is threefold, and is probably best accomplished by means of paragraphs or sub-sections that might take the form of brief case-studies or illuminating incidents that can be interwoven into the account of global interaction during the period. Examples are: the process of economic penetration, the process of political change through the interaction of internal and external forces that for some regions resulted in colonial regimes, and responses to the influx of Western ideas and influences in the social and intellectual realms. The trend toward draping the world history course across two or three school years makes it feasible to broaden the scope of the historical account to include these aspects. Certainly these efforts will begin with a sampling, which should be selected for its

capacity to represent and provide historical evidence of these responses. Trade statistics offer an interesting perspective on the expanding volume of European sale of manufactured goods. The human counterpart to these statistics is provided by portraits of the merchants and producers of raw cotton and silk in the Levant, for example, or the changing scene in the bazaars of Damascus or Aleppo. A portrait of the Egyptian experiment in industrialization under Muhammad Ali should not be overlooked. The French entry into Algeria should be described in terms of conditions on the ground, both urban and rural. The rise of journalism in Muslim regions deserves note, as do important changes in the education systems that begin during the nineteenth century. On the social level, it is important to note which groups are rising to the status of elites, and which traditional elites are being shunted aside, and consequent changes in appearance and life of cities. The impact of improvements in transportation illustrates how the old survived alongside the new, and deserves analysis in terms of the formation of spheres of influence by the Great Powers, and the later determination of colonial and national borders. These are only a few rich veins that may be tapped to produce a vibrant and multi-faceted account of an astonishing century.

In the twentieth century, coverage involves supplying students with a clear historical background and context for seminal events in the century. The involvement of Muslim regions in the world wars is significant, but it must be seen in the context of the nineteenth century obsession with the "Eastern Question," of dividing the spoils of the Ottoman empire especially, but also involving the balance of power in Muslim regions. These issues invite comparison with the strategic issues during the Cold War. The "problems" approach to discussion of the postwar world is probably inevitable, but coverage should include a more constructive analysis as well. Among the "problems," the Arab/Israeli conflict is the most poorly covered in past textbooks, and would benefit most from judicious coverage of the historical background, both political/diplomatic/military and cultural/religious/social. Another important area of study is understanding of the variety of independence struggles waged in the Muslim countries, and an appreciation of how they affected selection of 20th century leadership and possibilities for state-building. If any two areas require a more in-depth approach, they are the implications of the many economic and development issues pertinent to the region. The second area for in-depth study is the social situation in a range of Muslim countries, not from a Western, normative standpoint (to the degree that is avoidable), but a more detached survey that would take into account learnings from previous eras of Muslim history. This would provide a corrective to the monolithic approach in past accounts of a faceless, nameless, colorless region of "conflict" in which the entire region

and its people are defined by a selection of Western policy issues. The following outline, and the modules and snapshots in the following section provide approaches and areas that might be featured toward meeting these goals.

OUTLINE #7

The Muslim World in the 20th century

A. The Muslim World in the 20th century
   1. World War I and the breakup of the Ottoman Empire
   2. Postwar borders, kingdoms, conflicts, and oil exploitation
   3. Independence struggles in Egypt, Syria and India
   4. British Mandate Palestine
   5. World War II role
   6. Postwar denouement of prewar conflicts (1945 - 1965)
      a. Creation of Israel and Western, Muslim response
      b. Egyptian revolution and Nasserism
      c. Iran, Mossadegh and the Shah
      d. Indian independence, creation of Pakistan
      e. Sub-saharan African states
      f. North African independence and state-building, especially Algeria
   7. Significant issues for the late 20th century
      a. Oil, Water, Labor and other resource and trade issues
      b. Arab/Israeli conflict — regional and international dimensions
      c. Cold War and post-Cold War issues
         1)the Persian Gulf, Horn of Africa
         2)Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey, India/Pakistan/Bangladesh
         3)Muslim regions of the former USSR and China
         4)Islam in Africa
      d. Muslim resurgence in society and politics
         1)Internal roots and forms of expression
         2)Political expression and state reactions
            a.Accommodation, mainstream participation
            b.Repression and militancy
            c.International reactions
         3)Case studies: Iran, Algeria, Egypt, Sudan, Afghanistan, Jordan
      e. Social and environmental issues
         1)Changing roles for women in Muslim societies
         2)Family status and pressures on the traditional family unit
         3)Effects of rural-urban migration
         4)Urban life and challenges in Muslim countries
         5)Role of agriculture; human resource, land and water issues
      f. Islam in Southeast Asia (Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, etc.)
      g. Muslim minorities, and Islam in Europe and the Americas

D. Multidisciplinary Modules and Snapshots

The following modules and exemplars provide research and structural direction for areas in which coverage will have more depth. These topics may appear in appropriate chapters as features or be integrated as thematic subsections that appear in several consecutive chapters on Muslim cultures or historical periods. Two different formats are given. Modules isolate important themes of lasting significance and continuity that may be added as features, concentrated in one or more chapters, or broken into parts of several units. Each aims to cover a specific and significant aspect of Muslim history and culture as it changed over time. The second format targets one or a selection of distinct periods of history, providing selective portraits of a period through the lens of various disciplines. Inclusion of such material provides a sampling of various realms of Muslim life over time. These may be included in textbook units in many forms. They may involve ideas for student research activity, a group discussion, a simulation, document or picture study, map study or an excerpt from literature or other primary source. These ideas can be conveyed through guided study of excerpts from historians' works representing various periods or approaches. The possibilities are limited only by the educator's imagination and the scope of research.

EXPLANATION FOR MODULE #1, SNAPSHOTS #1-4: TERRITORIAL EXPANSION VS. THE SPREAD OF ISLAM THROUGH CONVERSION, DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY AND URBANIZATION

In treating the spread of Islam, the most logical place to begin for any period is with the background of a given region before it encountered Islam. Textbook treatments have often neglected this element, beginning instead with the active role played by Muslim groups, whether military or otherwise. Scant information is usually provided at the monolithic level of empires. A portrait of the society just before Muslim influences touched it would be more useful in explaining the spread of Islam, why it persisted thereafter, and to introduce evidence of how indigenous forms were retained and influenced the shape of Muslim development. This approach is as useful for the Byzantine, Persian, North African and Iberian contexts as it is for Central Asia and India, West Africa and Southeast Asia. This material becomes particularly fascinating during the period of European imperialism, which sometimes acted to facilitate, and other times to slow the spread of Islam. Confusion about the rate of conversion, of whether compulsion is or is not sanctioned by the Islamic faith, and whether or not people of other faiths were tolerated and granted civil rights and participation in Islamic

society may be dispelled through a treatment that respects students critical faculties. The key is presentation of evidence rather than "facts," introduced, as stated in Part 3, by beginning with the Islamic hierarchy of knowledge: citations of key principles from the authentic sources of the religion, their interpretation, then, a balanced account of events, including mention of the type of sources on which evidence is based is presented. In the example of the spread of Islam, this evidence might be drawn from a variety of time periods and types of information. Document study using treaties is useful; discussion of theories on conversion to Islam in various regions would be helpful; eyewitness accounts of invasion or accounts by converts and non-converts, citation of laws and proclamations might be added; evidence of Christian, Jewish and pagan communities and their longevity in a given region could be given along with selected data on tax rolls. Students would be treated to a lesson on the kinds of evidence upon which historians base their conclusions. The text might suggest a conclusion, or it might suggest several possibilities. The authors might leave students with a question, having presented a balanced and differentiated sampling of available evidence.

The story of how Islam gradually became the faith of the majority in various regions uncovers many other social issues. For example, discussion may lead to the status of minorities and the concurrent religious and cultural developments among Christian and Jewish groups under Muslim rule. Particularly important in this regard is the flowering of Jewish religious thought and literature in the Muslim heartlands, and the gradual adoption of Arabic, and later Persian languages and aspects of Muslim culture among Christian, Jewish, and other groups.

An important addition to a survey is to provide a chronological sketch of conversion to Islam following the first phases of territorial expansion. Later phases in the spread of Islam are seldom placed in a chronological framework. Particularly important here is the spread of Islam along trade routes in Central Asia, East and West Africa and Southeast Asia. The spread of Islam into Eastern Europe is barely mentioned in world history texts, coverage of which is confined to a map showing the extent of Ottoman territory at various times, and discussion of the threat to Europe. The failure to distinguish between military or political expansion of territory and the spread of religion and culture among the inhabitants may be redressed in several ways. Instead of sowing confusion where conclusions are uncertain, writers may simply base their account upon stating what historians think they know, and what questions have been raised in the effort to understand a historical process. Discussion of the chronological context of conversion provides the opportunity to illustrate how historians work as detectives to discover history's secrets. The problem of ascertaining demographic

information from the past begins with estimating population. Land, or cadastral surveys undertaken by governments for tax purposes provide important clues but not definitive information. Many name only male heads of household, leaving other family data to guesswork. Some provide names of landowners and villages under their purview; some list religious affiliation of villages, where these are homogeneous.

As an example of one well-known effort, Richard Bulliet has made ingenious use of a common literary source to build a theory about conversion in *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period* (Harvard University Press, 1979). He makes use of the incorporation of genealogical information in Muslim naming custom to find out how many generations elapsed since conversion, marked by the transition from a non-Muslim ancestral name to a Muslim one. By compiling data from a large sample found in the biographical dictionaries of prominent Muslims, he is able to produce curves of conversion for several Muslim regions. It is fascinating to show students how he employs various statistical methods to measure the average length of a generation from death dates and historical data from other sources, and how he differentiates his data by exploring different types of Muslim names. Whether or not subsequent research proves his theories correct, the exploration shows how a creative historian with intimate knowledge of the culture uses modern historical methodology to discover the past. At the same time, a simplistic misconception about the "immediate" conversion by the sword is dispelled, and important aspects of Muslim society, like the role of converts and scholars in the growth of Muslim cities, are brought to light. Older students can sharpen their research skills by searching for scholarly reactions to Bulliet's thesis and finding out how historical debate furthers the cause of acquiring new knowledge.

For later historical periods, textbook authors can also raise questions about the spread of Islam to various regions. Diverse historical phenomena, such as the spread of Islam through trade, missionary work by members of Sufi orders who traveled far and wide, through conversion of former enemies like the Mongols (and even some Crusaders), as well as the spread of Islam into Eastern Europe in the wake of Ottoman expansion, each raise different methodological questions. What qualitative and quantitative evidence exists to show that conversion occurred? For example, is the number of *masajid* or schools a fair indicator? Does Bulliet's theory about naming apply to later periods, or even to the present. (The student may even test it on American Muslim converts of various ethnic groups.) How can this information be placed in a chronological context? What relevant, dated archival information might be available for the period, such as tax rolls, court records, literary material? What conclusions about

causation can be drawn by correlating political, cultural and economic events with evidence on conversion? For example, how did European imperialism affect the spread of Islam in the Spice Islands and in West Africa? How has the growth of Islam in Europe been affected by immigration of citizens from former colonies into countries like France and Britain? How did Germany's post-war need for labor affect the growth of Islam there? What factors have been operative in the United States? These are all pertinent and fascinating questions, each of which opens up windows on aspects of studying the past. How much richer is an account containing unanswered but carefully posed questions than a dry rehearsal of stereotypes and half-truths! To teach for a future of changing knowledge, we must invite, not avoid study of unexplored and tentative areas. The new world history must not worry as much about facts as about teaching students to uncover knowledge by posing insightful, valid questions and following up with logical, sound methodology.

Module 1: Social Structures in Muslim Civilization

A. Society and Class in Muslim civilization
   1. The making of majority Muslim society
      a. pre-Islamic background of regions into which Islam spread (with each)
      b. The gradual spread of Islam through conversion
         1)Middle East, North Africa and Spain (650 to 1300)
         2)Central Asia, West Africa, Indian Ocean rim (750-1850)
      c. The role of Sufi orders
      d. The role of trade
      e. The role of colonial powers in opposing or facilitating
   2. Non-Muslim groups in Muslim society
   3. Sunni and Shi'a Muslim interaction in various regions
   4. The family and social systems in Islam
      a. roles of family members
      b. the economic role of the family
      c. political roles of families (notables and others)
   5. Urban and rural society (Umayyad, Abbasid, Ottoman, Indian, Persian, regional other at various periods)
      a. Nomadic and sedentary folk
      b. Peasant and landed elites
      c. Military and bureaucratic elites
      d. Bourgeois and scholarly elites
      e. Organization of urban life

SNAPSHOT

1

Social, Religious, Economic and Political Conditions in Regions Adjoining Muslim Lands

For any given period from the earliest expansion of Islam around the nucleus of Muhammad's community, it is fruitful to analyze the situation and provide a portrait of these societies before Islam arrived, and to attempt to identify internal factors which facilitated the spread of Islam.

2

Early Muslim Expansion (622-750 C.E.)

Analyze the relationship between military expansion and the spread of Islam. Explore the conditions for warfare and its significance in Islamic doctrine and practice. What role does *jihad* actually play in the spread of Islam? How can the Qur'anic prohibition against forcible conversion and mandated tolerance of Jews and Christians (which was ultimately applied much more broadly to include Zoroastrians, Buddhists and even Hindus at various historical periods) be reconciled with the seeming historical concurrence of military expansion with the gaining of converts in those territories? While it is true in a general sense that military activity supported the spread of Islam, what was the focus of these military campaigns? Explore comparatively the degree of religious tolerance in territory under Byzantine and Persian rule. To what extent did all three monotheistic faiths emerge in a hostile environment intolerant to dissemination of a novel belief system? What factors determined the official religion or religious stance of a given Byzantine, Persian or other ruler? Compare religious tolerance and the existence of warfare with the Reformation period in Europe. To what degree did the official religion of the head of state determine the religious affiliation and practice of his or her subjects? Compare the situation under the Roman Empire as Christianity began to spread. In what ways did the possibilities for military response to intolerance differ among Muslims in the seventh century from that of Christians in the first through third centuries C.E.? Contrast this period with the military campaigns of the Christian Crusades.

3

Muslim Society in the Period 650-1200 C.E.

Explore the process and effects of gradually accelerating conversion to Islam among the populations in Iraq, Iran, Transoxania, Syria, Egypt, Tunisia and Spain between 650 and 1200 C.E. How long did it take to achieve majority Muslim population from the beginning of Muslim rule? What historical evidence gives information about conversion? How did conversion affect the growth of cities like Damascus, Baghdad, Fustat, Alexandria, Kairouan, Cordoba, Nishapur? How did the gradual increase in Muslim converts affect administration and government in various Muslim regions? Describe the process of conversion to Islam and profile converts from among various groups (Jewish, Christian, other) at the earliest, middle, and later periods in Islamization of various societies. Identify prominent individuals (scholars, intellectuals, administrators, etc.) from convert families. What role did religious tolerance play and how did the social roles available to non-Muslims affect the conversion process? What role did groups like Arabs, Persians and Turkic groups play? How do historians' views differ with regard to the process of conversion, its driving factors and its political and social effects?

SNAPSHOT 4

IDENTITY FORMATION — RELIGION, CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

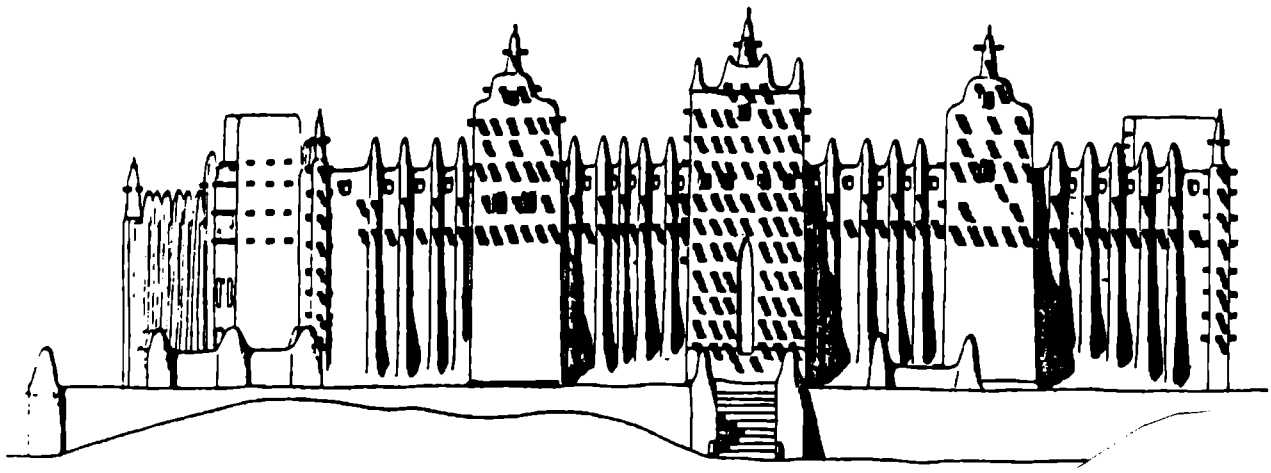
1. Examine characteristics of Muslim culture in various regions. Analyze the differences in Islamization among various groups. Distinguish between kinds of identity formation, such as the spread of Arabness versus the spread of Islam, a definition of religious identity. Is the term "Arab" a linguistic or an ethnic definition, or both? Analyze the weight of cultural forces with regard to Arabization vs. Islamization, for example; what factors in Persian culture prevented Arabization? Compare examples from various regions and periods, for example: West and East Africa, Central Asia (Turkic and Sinic), the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia and Indonesia; Eastern Europe (Albania, Bosnia, etc.), and Western Europe, the U.S. and Canada.

2. Examine effect of Arabic language on Muslim cultures. What factors helped Arabic language to become a *lingua franca* in Muslim regions? Where did Arabic cause indigenous languages to fall out of use? Which languages persisted alongside Arabic and even took their places as languages of Muslim literature and scholarship, such as Persian, Turkish and Urdu? What was the effect of Arabic on those languages that persisted in terms of vocabulary and script? What languages developed due to Islamic influence, such as Kiswahili?

5

SPREAD OF ISLAM IN AFRICA, CHINA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA, 1100-1800 C.E.

Describe the means by which Islam was introduced to societies on major land and sea trade routes. What institutions and practices in merchant communities facilitated dissemination of Muslim culture? Identify mosques, schools, khans, caravansaries and warehouses built along trade routes. What characteristics of the larger Muslim culture supported the spread of Islam to outlying regions? How did Arabic language, coinage and relative ease of travel aid the spread of Islam? What role did Islamic business and legal practices play? Profile the daily life of a merchant on caravan and seaborne routes and the biography of some Muslim individuals who traveled, such as scholars and members of sufi orders. Compare and contrast the spread of Islam in various outlying regions.



SNAPSHOT 6

VARIOUS PERIODS

Describe everyday life in Muslim cities in various regions and periods. Identify the most important features of each city, both in terms of geography, infrastructure, technology and architectural and cultural significance. Profile important men and women. Describe the nature of the city and its importance in the region, in Muslim culture as a whole, and its historical role. Describe how important professions are organized and carried out, such as manufacturing, artisanal trades, education, government & administration, farming and trade. What rural hinterlands are important to the city? What trade routes serve it, and what other economic, political and religious activities play important roles? Describe the daily life of various groups and social classes. What institutions seem to be common to Muslim cities, and why? How do these features differ from cities in Europe and elsewhere in the world? What role do cities play in Muslim regions? How is their historical development different from that of cities in Europe? Why?

Some of these cities may be followed through several periods as a continuous theme. Examples of cities are the following:

Damascus during the Umayyad period
Kufa and *Basra* from the Umayyad to the Abbasid period
Nishapur in Persia
Baghdad from founding in early Abbasid period to 1000 C.E.
Andalusian cities of *Cordoba, Toledo, Seville* during 10th-13th centuries; 14th c. *Granada*
Herat, Samarkand, Tashkent, Bukhara in the tenth/fifteenth/twentieth centuries
Isfahan during the Safavid period
Timbuktu, Jenne 12th-14th centuries
Kilwa, Mombasa, Mogadishu, Suakin during 14th, 15th centuries
Delhi, India during Ibn Battuta's visit in the 14th century (also mentioned by Ibn Khaldun in the *Muqaddimah*); later, in 17th century
Istanbul (Constantinople) during the 16th century
Aleppo, Syria during the 18th century
Alexandria, Egypt during the mid-nineteenth century
Beirut, Lebanon during the mid-19th century, during the 1960's
Tehran, Iran from 1950 to 1979

EXPLANATION FOR MODULE #2, SNAPSHOTS #6-#9: THE ROLE OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS

The role of Muslim scholars is an aspect of Muslim history that meets the criteria for requiring coverage. It is a distinctive and continuous feature of Muslim society, a multifaceted institution that reflects change in the civilization over time. From the earliest Muslims to the present, across the breadth and depth of the Muslim world are

the scholars, encountered wherever there are Muslim communities. The best expression of this phenomenon and its centrality to understanding Muslim history is by Richard Bulliet at the conclusion to *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*:

> ...the true central thread of Islamic history lies not in the political realm of the caliphs and sultans but in the social realm where the ulamah served as the functioning heart of the historic Muslim community.
>
> ...political power did not produce intellectual and religious eminence, nor was it produced by it. Intellectual and religious vitality depended upon a third factor, the emergence of a powerful and dynamic social and religious elite within the local Muslim community; and this same Muslim establishment, if it never succeeded in creating by itself a powerful state, at least contributed greatly to the power and survival of the existing state by ensuring a high degree of social order.[13]

Many scholars, such as H.A.R. Gibb, Marshall Hodgson, Albert Hourani, Oleg Grabar, Francis Robinson, to name only a few, have recognized this consistent thread and expressed its significance in various ways. Yet this feature of Muslim society is utterly missed in the excessive concentration on political history to which Bulliet refers in the quotation. It is virtually impossible for students to understand how Islam was preserved and Muslim society remained a cohesive and identifiable culture over vast reaches of time and space without appreciating the role of scholars. A textbook account that confines scholars' work to materialistic "contributions" and trails off in the tale of empire, political disunity, empire and decline leads students down a blind alley.

The following module and snapshots provide an approach toward coverage that might be enhanced by inclusion of many other ideas, for example: What role did religious knowledge play in the character of scholarly effort? How does the scientific effort undertaken in Muslim society compare with Chinese scholarship? How does the role of scholars change over time? What relationship did they have to other elites and ruling authorities, what was their role in articulating and enforcing law in various periods and regions? What role did scholars play in spreading Islam to outlying regions and in supporting the development of Muslim institutions? What economic roles did they play? What roles did various groups of scholars play in the responses of their societies to emerging modernizing forces?

Another topic worthy of discussion in the form of text, student research or classroom activities are the spiritual characteristics of Islam. These would play a larger role in World Cultures courses, but they are equally significant in a history survey because of their influence on generations of people, on their actions, their institutions, their art,

literature, science and technology. Among world religions, Islam is distinctive for its lack of separation between the sacred and the profane, or worldly. Comparisons of religious beliefs have historical importance with regard to conversion and the spread of religion, intellectual and religious influence and relations among cultural groups, not the least of which are religious conflicts.

Module 2: Scholarship and Science in Muslim Civilization

A. Development of Islamic Sciences
   1. Transmission, compilation and recension of the Qur'an
   2. Transmission and collection of *hadith*
   3. Auxiliary and Interpretive Disciplines
      a. Arabic language and script
      b. History writing
      c. *Tafsir* (exegesis)
   4. Development of Islamic law (*Shari'ah*) and Judicial system
   5. Shi'a Islam
   6. Interaction with other philosophies and religious systems
   7. The role of the scholar in Muslim civilization
      a. Islam and the ulamah
      b. Muslim scholars as judges
      c. Muslim scholars as writers
      d. Muslim scholars and political leaders
      e. Sufi scholars and religious orders
      f. Muslim scholars as multi-disciplinary scientists

7

COMPARING RELIGIOUS IDEAS AND BELIEFS

1. Read selections from the Qur'an and analyze the values and ethics they express. Compare these ideas with the values of Christianity and Judaism, and with those of Buddhism, Hinduism. An extension of the activity might explore the influence of these belief systems upon secular ideologies, philosophies and ethical systems.

2. Explore the concept of the "sacred" in Islamic belief: What persons are sacred; does Islam recognize as sacred prophets shared with other religions? What acts and behaviors are considered sacred; how do Muslims view everyday acts? What sacred acts do Muslims perform as acts of worship? What are the sacred spaces and places recognized in Islam? In what ways does "time" in general, or particular times and seasons have sacred quality? Compare and contrast these sacred phenomena in Islam with corresponding phenomena in other religions.

continued...

3. Describe the features of a masjid (mosque) with regard to layout, consistent architectural elements, furnishing and modes of use (frequency of occupancy; educational, political and social functions, etc.). Research specific examples from various regions and historical periods with regard to styles, techniques and unique characterstics. Compare and contrast these aspects with houses of worship from other religions, past and present.

4. Read passages from the Qur'an* and Hadith* that refer to specific prohibitions, such as drinking alcoholic beverages, gambling and eating pork. Discuss the reasons given for the prohibitions in the scripture. Compare dietary restrictions from other world religions and the reasoning given for these prohibitions.

5. Compare Qur'anic accounts* regarding prophets and other persons recognized in common by Judaism, Christianity and Islam, such as Adam, Noah (Nuh), Jonas (Yunus), Abraham (Ibrahim), Isaac and Ishmael (Ishaq and Isma'il), Joseph (Yusuf), Moses (Musa), David (Dawud), Soloman (Suleiman), John the Baptist (Zakariyya), Mary (Maryam), Jesus (Issa), etc. Make a graphic representation showing similarities and differences in the stories. Discuss the implications of these discrepancies, both as adherents of the religions and as others view them.

* *Most translations of these two sources are indexed for finding relevant passages. Alternatively, computer software currently on the market allows keyword and other kinds of searches to locate information quickly and comprehensively. See bibliography.*

8

EARLY MUSLIM SCHOLARSHIP

1. Describe the steps in transmitting, recording, compiling and disseminating the Qur'an and the Sunnah (in the form of hadith relating the words and deeds of Muhammad). When did the process begin (during his lifetime) and when was it completed (during the caliphate of Uthman for the Qur'an; mainly by the 9th-10th centuries for hadith collections)? What role did the chain of transmission (*isnad*) play in authenticating sources, and what roles have the study of the art of recitation and oral transmission played from the seventh century to the present day? What role has written and printed transmission played, and how do they complement oral transmission (including the implications of audiotapes today)? What is the significance of preserving the text in its original language? What is the importance of the Qur'an for preservation of classical Arabic language? Compare with Hebrew, Greek and Latin as languages of scripture and secular use.

2. Make a flow chart showing how different branches of knowledge developed from compilation and recension of the Qur'an and the collection and verification of hadith. Show the importance of philology, or study of word meaning and grammar, as well as developments in Arabic script proceeding from these efforts. Show how the study of history was furthered from efforts to collect genealogical and biographical information from many sources, make chronologically accurate accounts of events during Muhammad's lifetime and after, and to sift information from oral histories. What role did the chain of transmission (*isnad*) play in establishing historical methodology. How did this tradition affect later history-writing? Describe the process by which Islamic law developed from the seventh to the ninth centuries out of Qur'anic sciences, logic, and the practice of governance. Write resumes for several of the most important individuals involved in these efforts. Explain how these works have been preserved.

9

MUSLIM LEGAL SCHOLARS, 8TH AND 9TH CENTURIES AND BEYOND

Prepare brief biographical sketches on the founders of the four major schools (*madhhab*) of Islamic law. What were their backgrounds and in what political and social atmosphere did each accomplish his work? Who were their predecessors and students, and what contributions did these groups make? How did their work affect the development of Muslim culture? Assess the influence of systematized law upon doctrine, thought and practice in other religious groups within Muslim society and abroad.

10

SUFISM

Trace the development of Sufi scholarly thought and describe the circumstances in which it thrived. Using examples from specific regions, Sufi religious orders and individuals, describe how Sufism acted as a force of renewal of Islamic thought and practice, aided the spread of conversion and religious knowledge as emissaries from urban to rural areas and from central to peripheral regions. Discuss major characteristics of Sufi thought and practice as well as areas of friction and disagreement with the legal dimension of Muslim thought.

11

18TH - 20TH CENTURY MUSLIM SCHOLARS AND INTELLECTUALS

1. Discuss the social, political and economic position of religious scholars (*ulamah)* in 18th century Mamluk Egypt. Explain their role as intermediaries between the rulers and the ruled and identify interests that bound them to either side. What qualities of legitimacy gave them the ability to serve as social arbiters?

2. Evaluate evidence of progressive and reactionary trends among *ulamah* in various regions and attached to various institutions in response to Western impact in the 19th century. Describe the spectrum of debate among Muslim scholars and intellectuals on what means and adaptations of "Islamic" practices were possible and necessary in response to changing circumstances.

3. Explore the efforts of Naqshbandi sufi scholars to resist Russian and Chinese threats to Muslims in Central Asia during the 18th century.

4. Explore movements of renewal such as the Wahhabi movement in Arabia, the Padri movement in Indonesia and the Sanusi movement in North Africa, and similar movements in China.

5. Account for the loss of independence of Muslim scholars in the course of the restructuring of political systems in Muslim countries during the 19th and 20th centuries. Evaluate the extent to which Muslim religious institutions were brought under government control and were deprived of their ability to act as social buffers.

6. Research the careers and explore the writings of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Rashid Rida and Muhammad Abduh. What was their critique of their own society and the Western impact. What

continued...

solutions did they envision and how did each strike a balance between ideas from their own religion and traditions and innovations from Western culture?

7. Compare the writings and biographies of Muhammad Iqbal in India and Hassan Al-Banna in Egypt. Compare the political and social conditions that stimulated their activity.

8. Describe aspects of the unique position of religious scholars in 20th century Iran that enabled them to contribute to uniting segments of Iranian society in revolt against the Shah in 1979. How did they combine modern and traditional elements to overthrow a leader who enjoyed the support of Western governments? How did they combine these elements in consolidating control of the government after the revolution. What changes in leadership styles and substance have been apparent over time?

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS

The study of political institutions and law in Muslim society touches upon the way in which Islamic doctrine and precedent combined with other elements, such as pre-Islamic social and political structures of a given ruling group, external influences and pressures combine with internal factors to produce state systems in Muslim history. Survey courses frequently discuss this topic in depth only for the Ottoman period, but it can be fruitfully explored in every period to some extent. An attempt to frame specific issues for each major grouping from early Muslim history to the present would be an undertaking far beyond the scope of this work, but a selection of questions may be suggested as an approach:

- How is the ethnic and social origin of the ruling group reflected in their styles of rule and organization of the administration?
- How and to what extent was the influence of Islamic models and the class of shari'ah scholars a factor in determining policy?
- What domestic and "foreign policy" objectives were pursued by the rulers, and what internal and external challenges did they face?
- What relationship did the rulers establish with local groups, both rural and urban?
- What patronage and contributions with regard to arts, technology and science were made or facilitated by direct or indirect means?
- What territorial losses and gains occurred?

- What groups participated in sharing power and how?
- What impact did this group's governance have upon other cultures and how?
- What factors brought about its demise or replacement?

Clearly, many of the approaches discussed above overflow into other historical realms, and it is not intended to imply that these forces do not originate outside of the state. The extent of state influence in these areas varies among periods and regions, and makes for an interesting topic of study in itself. Close attention to research is the best guarantee of producing a well-integrated account.

Module 3: Economic Development and Urbanization

1. Regional and international trade and travel
   a. Mediterranean/Black Sea region
   b. West Africa
   c. Overland Asian (Central, South, Southwest) routes
   d. Indian Ocean Basin
2. Crafts and technology (discuss origins, transmission, uses)
   a. Textiles (fibers, fabrics, dyes, weaving, knitting, knotting)
   b. Paper, book binding and illumination
   c. Glass and ceramics
   d. Domestic arts — home furnishing, culinary arts
   e. Metallurgy (mining & refining, forging, welding, military use)
3. Important Muslim cities
   a. Everyday life
   b. Social organization
   c. Architecture and infrastructure
4. Travel
   a. importance of travel in Muslim culture
   b. transport technology (ships, navigation, mapping)
   c. travel literature and science

EXPLANATION FOR MODULE #3, SNAPSHOTS #10-15: REGIONAL AND LONG-DISTANCE TRADE

A third topic that deserves consistent coverage for all periods is trade. The Near East, as it is called, has always played a pivotal role in eastern hemisphere trade by dint of its position as a great hinge between three continents, connecting many land and sea routes, and at various periods, including our own, for the resources concentrated there. During many periods in world history, the Muslim world served as an important depot for long-distance trade by virtue of its geographic position, because its wealth and stability made it a magnet for commerce, and as a source of both raw materials and finished goods, particularly textiles, glassware, and ceramics. It served as the most important market for Europe's fledgling textile trade and certain raw materials. This commercial interaction can be followed through the medieval period through the nineteenth century. This long-term commercial interaction was also an important conduit for cultural exchange, it being the main reason that Italy led the rest of Europe into the Renaissance. The Indian Ocean Basin is a vast arena of trade and cultural interaction that has always received short shrift in textbooks until it was "discovered" by the Portuguese and their imperial successors. It is gradually becoming common knowledge that "the Silk Road on the Sea" is both a very old and a very significant factor in the development of human commerce in goods and ideas. It is time that the various cultures, such as India, East Africa, South Arabia, and Southeast Asia and even Oceania were tied together in textbook accounts as they were in actual historical development. It is time to compensate for overemphasis on land masses that pervades until Europe's absorption of maritime technology in the fifteenth century. Much of the technology used by Europe (the magnetic compass, the astrolabe and quadrant, the lateen sail, astronomical tables and the mathematics for navigation and mapmaking) originated in and were transferred from the Indian Ocean Basin. The commerce of the region, its art, ideas and romance were a powerful pull factor to global interaction. Knowledge of the region and its changing economic role is essential to understanding the development of a global civilization.


12

MAP STUDY—TRADE AND URBANIZATION

Present maps of trade routes across and within Muslim territory at various periods from pre-Islamic through the 15th century. Correlate these with maps showing urbanization of the eastern hemisphere at corresponding periods. Analyze the relationship between long-distance and regional trade and urbanization. Explore evidence on the volume and nature of trade from several cultures (China, Africa, the Near East, Central and Southeast Asia and Europe) and assess its affect on political, social and economic life. Compare the conditions for urban development among cultures.

SNAPSHOT

13

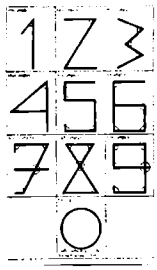
MUSLIM TRAVELERS AND TRAVEL LITERATURE

Study and map the itineraries of well-known travelers such as al-Biruni, al-Masu'di, Ibn Fadlan, Ibn Jubayr, Leo Africanus, al-Bakri, Ibn Battuta, Cheng Ho (or Zheng He), Muhammad as-Saffar (Morocco, 19th century) and Muhammad Asad (20th century). Describe the purpose and results of their journeys, detail significant events and personalities encountered and show how their journey illustrates aspects of the history of the period and the societies they visited. Cite excerpts from travel notes and literary accounts of these journeys by the travelers or others.

14

PAPER AND OTHER SIGNIFICANT WORLD INVENTIONS

Trace the origin of paper to China and follow its introduction and manufacture along the Silk Road to its introduction into Muslim civilization from the 8th century. Date its appearance and manufacture at Samarkand, then Baghdad, and its later dissemination elsewhere in Muslim territory. Date its appearance in Europe. Describe the manufacture and importance of paper and contrast it with papyrus and parchment in durability, expense and quality.



Interpretation of the origin of Arabic numerals, defined according to the number of their angles.

** Numerous other inventions like gunpowder, the stirrup, military technology and other products are topics of similar treatment. Rather than merely rehearsing the fact that such items were contributions from Culture X, Y or Z, students benefit from information about historical evidence used to date introduction of an item, paths of transmission, uses and enhancements of products, and their significance for the period and for later times.

SNAPSHOT

15

PICTURE STUDY— 14TH TO 18TH CENTURY EUROPEAN PORTRAITS, INTERIORS AND STILL LIFES

Analyze the items of everyday use and display depicted in these artworks. Make hypotheses about their location of origin in domestic manufacture or international trade, about the influence of styles and tastes from various world cultures, and about the importance of objects for comfort, health and social status. Compare artworks from various periods as evidence for dating introduction of technologies, trade goods and changing tastes and fashions. Assess the increasing importance of contacts with other cultures over time. Significant items include leather goods and textiles, glassware, ceramics, furniture, books, jewelry and food items, architectural and mechanical devices and implements of commerce.

SNAPSHOT

16

CROSS-CULTURAL MENUS

Reprint a menu from European or Middle Eastern cuisine and identify ingredients that were introduced from the New World, the Far East and the Middle East. Present various historical possibilities and specific evidence for the origins of these foods (names in various languages, archaeological and literary evidence, agricultural and trade documents, etc.). Explain how the active exchange of goods and ideas among various cultures from the 12th-17th centuries makes it difficult but fascinating to reconstruct the origins of some products.

17

TEXTILES & TRADE

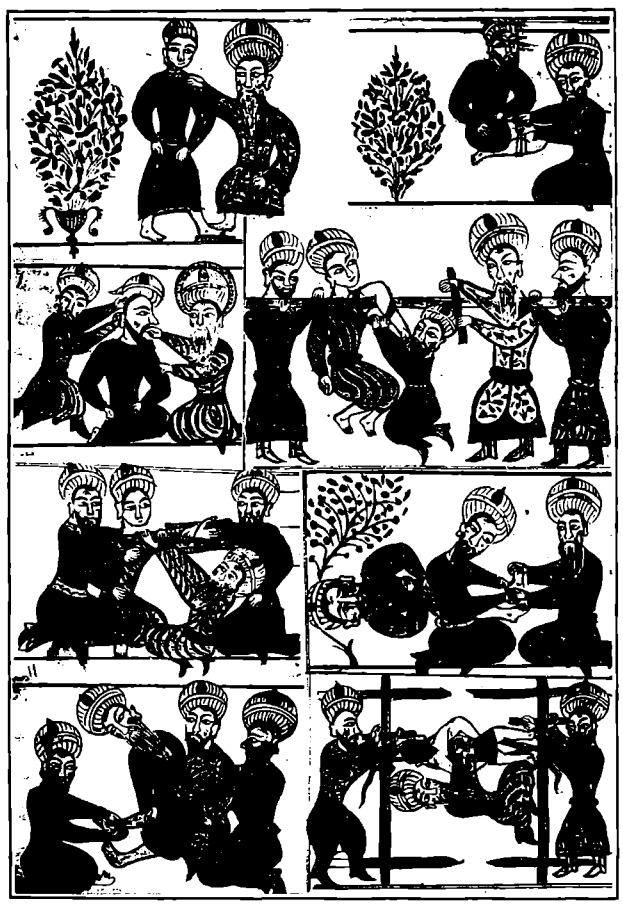
1. Trace the role of manufacture and trade in Muslim regions in the introduction and use of various fibers such as cotton, linen, silk and wool. Trace the origins of each and discuss how they were refined and improved through selective breeding and cultivation. Include information on processing, dyes and fabric finishing, as well as the origin of various distinctive fabrics (muslin, voile, velvets, brocades, mixed fiber fabrics of silk/wool, linen/wool, silk/cotton, etc.) Discuss how the trade in fabrics and exchange of technology affected fashions, health and standards of living in Europe, Muslim regions and the Far East between the 9th and 18th centuries. Assess the extent to which trade in fabrics and related raw materials (dyestuff, sizing, raw and semi-finished fibers, etc.) was responsible for economic development and consequent social and political changes.

2. Trace the gradual change in the nature of trade between Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean at various periods between the 9th and 19th centuries, considering such factors as forms of payment (barter or specie), balance and proportional importance of the trade for various partners, changing proportion of raw materials vs. finished goods, luxury vs. commodities, transport, and the various cities, countries, agents, suppliers, as well as the social, religious and ethnic groups involved in the trade. Impact on regional and local agriculture and indigenous markets is another factor worthy of study.

EXPLANATION FOR MODULE #4, SNAPSHOTS #16-24:
SCIENTIFIC AND ARTISTIC CONTRIBUTIONS OF MUSLIM CIVILIZATION

This realm is featured in most surveys on Islam and Muslims. However, cultural and intellectual developments from the first centuries of Muslim history are too often limited to those of most interest to Europeans or those typical for a "Golden Age." Intellectual developments that are highly significant among Muslims too often receive no mention. Among the most important of these are the compilation of the Qur'an and development of the religious sciences (hadith, history, Arabic grammar, Qur'anic exegesis, law, etc.), which are important both in terms of the transmission of Islamic sources and the history of Islamic law. Knowledge of these disciplines gives dimension to political events, artistic and intellectual movements and social organization. Questions of authority and legitimacy of Muslim rulers that still have relevance today are illuminated by information on these subjects. These areas are discussed in Part Two of this document, where it is shown how they affected every realm of life in Muslim civilization.

More typical intellectual and cultural activities are the scientific disciplines, literature and the arts, discussion of which is usually lumped together with the Abbasid period. While it is usually mentioned that Greek rationalism influenced Muslim scientific activity, and that Persian and Indian works were integrated into Abbasid works on astronomy and mathematics, it is important to explain the modes of transmission. How did these bound works come into possession of Muslim scholars? What libraries were preserved in lands that came under Muslim rule? What paths of interaction enabled or facilitated contact with intellectuals of other faiths and various ethnic groups (commerce, state patronage, diplomacy, etc.)? What contributions did non-Muslim intellectuals make and what features of Muslim civilization facilitated their contributions? What cultural developments among minority groups, such as the Jews, occurred within Muslim civilization? What effect did science, technology and the humanities have on Western and Eastern civilizations, and what points of contact enabled influence to occur? Too often, the theme of "contributions" by one civilization or another is framed in overly materialistic terms. Students are told "what WE got from THEM" in a sterile manner, bereft of causation or hints at complex and varied modes of cultural interaction and transmission, anecdotes which lend meaning, open doors to understanding, and make fascinating reading.



Algebra comes from al-jebr, meaning the reunion of broken parts. The word Algebra, which entered English in the 1500's, originally had the original meaning of bone-setting.

Module 4: Arts and Sciences

Development of Arts and Sciences in Muslim Civilization

1. Early efforts
   a. State patronage and policy
   b. Role of non-Muslims in assimilating culture
   c. Conversion and Islamization
2. Flowering under Abbasid and Umayyad Andalusian rule
   a. Greek, Persian and Indian contributions and sources
   b. Translation and assimilation (House of Wisdom)
   c. Poetry and prose literature
   d. Universal scholars—prototype of the Renaissance Man?
      1)Astronomy, mathematics and physics
      2)Medicine, pharmacology and botany
      3)Engineering, agriculture, military sciences
      4)Philosophy
   e. Calligraphy, architecture, music and decorative arts
3. Influences from and to neighboring cultures
   a. Commerce and technology transfer in the "medieval" period
      1)Land and maritime trade routes
      2)Modes of civil and military technology transfer
      3)Cultural exchange and everyday life
   b. Muslim civilization and the East
      1)Central Asia, India, China
      2)Lands of the Indian Ocean Basin
   c. Muslim civilization and the West
      1)Modes of interaction with Eastern and Western Christian culture
      2)Spain, Italy and Sicily
      3)West Africa
      4)The European Renaissance and Enlightenment

18

CULTURAL INTERACTION—UMAYYAD & ABBASID PERIOD

Investigate the sources of knowledge upon which Muslim science and scholarship built from Byzantine, Persian and Indian heritage during the Abbasid period and beyond. What individuals and paths of transmission (diplomatic missions, preservation of ancient libraries; acquisition and translation of important works, employment of non-Muslims in administration, government and cultural endeavors, travel, trade) enabled this knowledge to enter Muslim society? Trace the roots of certain scientific institutions (Persian & Byzantine hospitals, for example) and bodies of knowledge (such as astronomy, mathematics, philosophy). Trace the beginning of the efforts to translate works from other cultures that culminated in founding the House of Wisdom. In which scientific endeavors of Muslim civilization did non-Muslims play major roles (medicine, for example)? What features of society enabled cultural interaction on this scale and what was the result? Assess the roles of Arabic language and Islamic religion in facilitating scholarship across the Muslim world. What roles did widespread trade and prosperity play in the development and dissemination of scholarship? Describe the process by which Muslim scholarship spread throughout the Muslim world and then entered European scholarly circles.

SNAPSHOT 19

SCIENCE AND SCIENTISTS IN MUSLIM REGIONS

Focus on individual scholars in several fields of scientific and literary endeavor, at various historical periods and in various regions. Disciplines may include astronomy, mathematics, medicine, biology, physics and engineering, poetry and music, history, visual arts and architecture. Research figures such as Ibn Sina, Al-Biruni, Al-Jahiz, Al-Ma'ari, Hunayn, Al-Razi, Al-Zahrawi and Ibn Rushd. How do historians account for this burst of intellectual activity in terms of economic, political, religious and other factors? Compare the life and works of these scholars in Muslim society with the model of the European Renaissance Man and scholars of the Scientific Revolution. How did each depend upon support of powerful and wealthy patrons? What social rewards did they receive? What was the significance of their contributions; how did later scholars build upon their work? How did the content of their scientific work relate to their religious beliefs? How did the position of science in Islam differ from that of western Christianity? Compare and contrast Islamic science with modern Western science.

Al-Tusi's version of Euclid's Proof of the Pythagorean theorem

SNAPSHOT 20

STATE OF THE ART OF MEDICINE

Report on the health care system in the Muslim world in the 12th and 13th centuries. Describe the major medical works in use and their authors, diagnosis and treatment of disease, pharmacology, surgical techniques and preventive care. Describe health care infrastructure such as homecare, private clinics and hospitals and their various facilities (separate wards, use of gowns, teaching hospitals, herb gardens and pharmacies, etc.) Include information on funding of health care from public (government) funds and from private charities (waqf) and donation of services by individual practitioners.

SNAPSHOT 21

CALLIGRAPHY AND DECORATIVE ARTS—VARIOUS PERIODS

1. Analyze examples of calligraphy in various styles and scripts, including highly stylized calligraphic designs and illumination from the 7th to the 17th centuries in various regions. Why was calligraphy such an important art form in Muslim culture. Investigate the careers of several famous calligraphic artists.

2. Analyze examples of decorative designs in various media, such as Qur'an and other book illumination, tile and mosaic, stonework and woodcarving, objects of everyday use, architectural decoration and textiles. Account for the prominence of this type of artistic expression in Muslim culture. Compare styles, colors and media from various regions and periods. What relationship do these designs illustrate between mathematics and art? How do they compare with contemporary computer-generated abstract designs? Discuss how these designs influenced art forms in other cultures.

3. Compare and contrast the meaning and purpose of art in the Muslim world with that of the Far East, the medieval Christian world, Renaissance Europe, and contemporary art.

continued...

4. Research styles of architecture in the Muslim world in terms of purpose, form, decoration and technology. What types of building received the most lavish patronage, and why? What new forms were introduced with Islam, and how did older regional forms influence styles and construction? Compare with gothic, Renaissance, and classical architectural styles and technology in the West, and with that of other non-Western civilizations.

22

NORMAN SICILY

Describe life at the court of Roger II, Norman ruler of Sicily. Account for the prominent role played by Muslim intellectuals, merchants and artisans in his kingdom. What scientific, artistic and other contributions did Muslims make to Sicily? How did Muslim influences enter Europe through the Normans?

23

LIFESTYLES AND MANNERS; THE ARABIC TERM "ADAB"

1. Compare features of medieval and Renaissance courtly life and manners with that of Muslim Spain, Sicily and Baghdad, such as the use of seasonal clothing and fashions, sports and games, music and entertainments, and literary styles. Identify similar features and present evidence of influence. (Horsemanship, falconry, minstrels, jesters, chivalric and lyrical poetry and musical instruments, as well as literary forms such as the frame tale (Chaucer, Boccaccio), Dante's *Divine Comedy* and elements of the picaresque novel are a few specific examples from the categories listed.)

2. Discuss the many connotations of the Arabic word "adab," defined in Hans Wehr, *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Spoken Language Services, 1976, p.9) as "culture, refinement, good manners, social graces, humanity, the humanities, belles lettres, humaneness, decency, propriety." In another form it means "ethics and morals." Etymologically, it may have come from Persian into Arabic, then back into Persian with the advent of Islam. A person who possesses the quality of refinement and culture is called "adeeb," also a man or woman of letters, an author. This constellation of meaning passed along with the ideal of culture into Muslim societies and certainly into medieval Europe.

EXAMPLES, COMPARISONS AND INFLUENCES IN LITERATURE

1. Research the history of the group of stories known as the *1001 Nights* or the *Arabian Nights.* Did all of the stories originate in the same culture, language and geographic location? Were they part of an oral or written tradition? Can the stories be dated to determine what historical period they depict? To what extent do they provide a reliable account of life at the time of Harun al-Rashid or any other figure? To what extent are they romanticised? How did these stories reach European readers? When and in what languages were they translated? How have the stories affected understanding of Muslim society? What impact have they had upon storytelling and popular culture in the West? How did Western interest in the stories affect their popularity in the Muslim world?

2. Read from English translations of the following works of literature and compare them with the listed works from European literature. Where relevant, assess the judgements of literary historians with regard to the question of influence:

✎Read essays from *The Book of Animals* of Al-Jahiz (d. 869 C.E.) and compare with the work of famous essayists in the Western and American traditions to enhance appreciation of this prose form across cultures.

✎Compare passages from *The Muqaddimah* or *Prolegomena* by Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406 C.E.) or political and administrative work *Siyasat-Nama* by the Seljuk wazir Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092 C.E.) with Machiavelli's *The Prince.* Muslim literature written by courtiers and administrators as advice to rulers on ethics and politics abounds, but the works listed above are among the most important ones.

✎Compare passages from the histories of al-Tabari al-Mas'udi, Ibn Khaldun and other Muslim historians with excerpts from the works of Herodotus, Thucidides, Tacitus and well-known Western historians. What characteristics do they share? What makes good history-writing?

✎Compare ideas in selections of Andalusian poetry, Arabic bedouin poetry and Ibn Hazm's *The Dove's Necklace* with chivalric literature in medieval Europe.

✎Compare the topic and treatment of an imaginary conversation with the inhabitants of Paradise and Hell in *Risalat Al-Gufran* [Letter of Forgiveness] by Abu al-'Ala al-Ma'arri (d. 1059 C.E.) with the topic and treatment of Dante's *Divina Comedia.*

✎Compare the exploits of the rogue hero in *Badi' al-Zaman* (*The Wonder of the Age*) by al-Hamadhani (d. 1008 C.E.), the *Maqamat* (*Assemblies*) of al-Hariri (d. 1122 C.E.) [and its lavish illustrations by al-Wasiti] with the picaresque hero in Spanish literature, particularly Cervantes' novel *Don Quixote.*

continued...

✎Compare the character Hayy Ibn Yaqzan in the story by the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Tufayl (d. 1185 C.E.) with Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe.* Investigate the influence of Ibn Tufayl upon Christian philosophers and theologians during the 17th and 18th centuries as investigated by modern scholarship.

✎Find other comparisons and probable influences on literature, thought and science that flowed from Muslim culture into Western culture. The bibliography lists numerous references on this topic.

SNAPSHOT 25

Influences in European Renaissance Art

Research the development of perspective drawing in European painting and assess the effect of Ibn Haitham's (Al-Hazen in Latin translation) work on visual perception in *The Book of Optics* (*Kitab al-Manzir*). Trace the influence of his work through Roger Bacon and others, as well as the parallel contribution of Kamal ad-Din al-Farisi in experimenting with the phenomena of rainbows, prisms and the *camera obscura.*

SNAPSHOT 26

Astronomers, Mapmakers and Navigators

Construct a collage or pictorial museum display on the development of knowledge in Muslim civilization that aided maritime technology. Describe the transmission of geographic knowledge and acquisition of new knowledge, explain various efforts to measure a degree of longitude and hence earth's circumference, and efforts to use coordinates to locate cities relative to Makkah; discuss the state of the art in mapmaking from Ptolemy through Al-Idrisi and Piri Reis, pilots' navigation charts, discovery of "trade-" and monsoon winds; trace the origin and describe the use of navigation instruments like knot-and-card, quadrant, astrolabe, compass; explain the importance of certain features of ships — lateen sail, carvel-hull, rudder designs, etc.). Discuss how these techniques were transmitted to and from other cultures in the hemisphere. Compare these technologies with those of medieval Europe and assess the influence of imported technology in Europe's Age of Exploration. Research Ibn Majid, the famous Muslim navigator who aided Vasco da Gama, among other figures.

SNAPSHOT 27

Military Technology Transfer

1. Describe Mongol military techniques that gave these armies the edge over opponents. What techniques were absorbed into Muslim and European culture?

2. Describe the state of military art employed during the Crusades. What advantages accrued to each side and what lessons were learned in the course of the lengthy campaigns?

3. Describe military technology employed in the successful campaigns of Ottoman armies. Analyze the troops' organization and the economic, social and political foundation of Ottoman military forces and identify its components, terminology and relationship to the central authority.

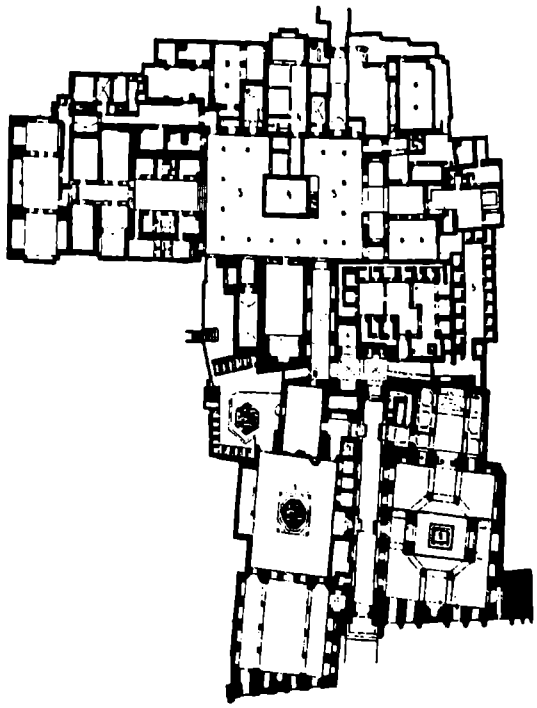
continued...

4. Assess the effect of successful Ottoman military campaigns in Europe upon the training and equipment of European knights. Describe the effect of developing gunpowder technology, particularly the transition from gross explosive devices to artillery to hand guns on warfare. Contrast the period of military borrowing by Europe from the Ottomans to the early nineteenth century reorganization of the Ottoman military along Western lines. Focus on social, political and economic changes necessitated by these changes in both cultures.

5. Assess the impact of gunpowder technology and modern mechanized warfare in the loss of Muslim territory and political control to European and Russian imperialism.

WOMEN IN MUSLIM SOCIETY

Another important feature with enduring significance is the role of women, which is too often presented in a dismissive and sloppy manner. Readers are told that Islam accords certain rights to females, but that Muslim women have played "traditional" roles, and are only coming gradually and painfully out of their Islamic cocoon in the modern period, through the agency of Western social and cultural ministrations. The true story is much more complex and differentiated. As modeled in Part Three, under "the Role of Women in Islam," the opportunity should be taken to define doctrinal roles and their implications, and then to examine the role of women in specific historical contexts that may differ greatly within a society (urban vs. rural; elite vs. lower class), within a geographic region (West Africa vs. North Africa), across contemporary Muslim cultures (modern Saudi Arabia vs. modern Egypt or Malaysia), or within the same culture at different periods (Persia vs. modern Iran; Umayyad vs. Ottoman Mediterranean; seventh century Madinah vs. twentieth century Saudi Arabia). Portraying women's lives in a differentiated, historically state-of-the-art manner over the full length of Muslim history is particularly important due to neglect and misunderstanding in past accounts. To give only a few examples from the outline, accounts might focus profitably



Hospital of Qalawun, Cairo (13th century)

upon "Female contemporaries of Muhammad," "Early Muslim Women Scholars," "Commercial Investment and Philanthropy by Muslim Women in the Ottoman Period." Another profitable topic is an account of the role of the parallel social system known as "the Harem," which is shown in an article by Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot to have been considerably different from what the Orientalist's romantic fantasy would lead students to expect.[14] Numerous other works on women in Muslim history are listed in the bibliography.

Module 5: Women in Muslim Societies

The roles of women in Muslim society

1. Women in Qur'an, Sunnah and Islamic law
   a. The significance of spiritual equality
   b. Roles of women in the family
   c. Relations between husband and wife
   d. Legal framework for women's roles in economic, political, social and personal spheres
2. Women in early Muslim society
   a. Pre-Islamic roles
   b. The early Muslim community
      1)Makkah and Madinah
      2)The early Muslim state
3. Influences from other cultures on Muslim women
   a. Mediterranean urban and rural culture
   b. Persian culture
   c. North and West African culture
   d. Indian and Central Asian culture
   e. European, or "Western" culture
4. Women's contributions
   a. Scholarship
   b. Arts and Trades
   c. Philanthropy
   d. Commerce
5. Comparative womens' history
   a. With medieval and modern Western women
   b. With position of women in various religious groups past and present
   c. Muslim women before and after Western cultural/economic impact

28

FEMALE CONTEMPORARIES OF MUHAMMAD

Assess evidence from Qur'an, Sunnah and the history of the Muslim community at Makkah and Madinah that describes the roles of women in economic, social and political realms. What changes did Islamic doctrine bring to the lives of women? What additional demands and opportunities were posed by the struggle of the Muslim community to survive and spread? What are the implications of Islamic doctrines on equality of spiritual worth, economic and legal rights, responsibilities and rights within family and society, including the duty and right to acquire education?

29

MUSLIM WOMEN IN SCHOLARSHIP AND THE ARTS

Identify prominent women scholars, literary figures and artists during the Abbasid period. In what fields were women prominent contributors and what factors in religion and society encouraged their participation? Compare across regions and historical periods.

30

POLITICAL ROLES OF MUSLIM WOMEN

Explore aspects of the biographies of specific women as participants in political dialogue and military action; as wives and mothers in palace and court life; as rulers in their own right. Assess the extent to which social and political elites restricted the movement and participation of women using interpretations of Islamic doctrine or building upon pre-Islamic models in certain regions.

31

COMMERCIAL INVESTMENT AND PHILANTHROPY BY MUSLIM WOMEN

Present the arguments of historians of the Ottoman period on the economic roles of women as property owners, inheritors and business investors. Cite examples of famous Muslim women who donated money for public works and charities. How does archival evidence on contracts, taxes, private charitable endowments (*waqf*, pl. *awqaf*), and court cases demonstrate the prominence of women in contributing to social and economic life outside the home? What evidence is available to demonstrate women's roles in agriculture, crafts, scholarship and trade among various social groups?

32

THE HAREM

Define and describe the institution known as the harem in several historical settings. What roles did women play in society as a whole, and by what means did they do so? Compare historical evidence with the impression Orientalist romantic fantasy would lead students to expect.

33

WOMEN'S DRESS AND SOCIAL ROLES

Study evidence of Muslim dress and participation in common social and economic life across various regions, classes and time periods within societies (urban vs. rural; elite vs. lower class), within a geographic region (West Africa vs. North Africa), across contemporary Muslim cultures (modern Saudi Arabia vs. modern Egypt or Malaysia), or within the same culture at different periods (Persia vs. modern Iran; Umayyad vs. Ottoman Mediterranean; seventh century Madinah vs. twentieth century Saudi Arabia).

34

IMAGES OF MUSLIM WOMEN IN THE WEST

Analyze Western perceptions of Muslim women and relevant Islamic doctrine in literature, journalism, art and other realms from the 19th century to the present. Upon what kinds of historical and contemporary evidence is the impression based? What Western stereotypes and other cultural factors inform these views?

35

CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM WOMEN

Compare Muslim views of women's issues by Muslim men and women as compared with Western views of the same, using literature from a variety of religious and secularist groups and Western academic and journalistic sources. Identify points of similarity and disagreement.

36

BEFORE AND AFTER

Draw up a balance sheet of gains and losses for women before and after colonialism and Western economic dependency, incorporating knowledge from past learnings about Muslim society in various periods and regions.

Concluding Remarks

It must be emphasized that this document is open-ended. It provides a glimpse and a sampler of what is possible in terms of coverage and what is available in terms of scholarly research materials. Twice or three times the number of modules and snapshots could easily have been provided. Each outline could be expanded to twice or ten times its size. Many more Muslim historians and genres could have been cited in Part Two. Numerous issues could have been addressed in Part Three. The historical and cultural field is rich. It invites a reassessment of coverage offered in the past in light of the enormous possibilities.

Another source of suggestions for activities and research are found in the *National Standards in World History* document and in the Council's assessment and review of the June and August 1994 drafts. The Council on Islamic Education had the opportunity to provide extensive review and input into the content standards and exemplars that touch upon Muslim regions from Eras 4 through 8, having modified or composed a considerable amount of the material in those sections and some others. In implementing the *Standards* and other curriculum guidelines, this *Strategies and Structures* document may be used to complement and fill out areas merely sketched out or suggested in the broadest terms. It may be used to go beyond the sometimes sterile categories and terms to which these guidelines are by nature limited, and most importantly, it may be used to draw together the isolated parts of these guidelines to produce a picture of communication, exchange, influence and interaction, and to attribute to it names, faces, and places.

The process of translating these many elements into convenient, informative and enriching accounts for students' and teachers' use is always daunting. We envision the process as a collaborative effort in which the resources of the Council on Islamic Education can contribute to the teaching, planning, research and writing process. The Council has been actively aiding front-line educators in classrooms for several years, and will continue to do so. Regarding the field of curriculum, this document represents a continuing contribution. With regard to the publishing sector of the education field, reviewing manuscripts long after they have been conceived and composed, and shortly before they are typeset (sometimes even after publication and distribution) has a very limited usefulness and involves many hazards. To a certain extent, it is a waste of effort and energy, an inefficient and backward way to raise the standard of quality. The desire to find a better way to fulfill the need has brought forth this document as an introduction to the possibilities inherent in a collaborative approach to developing new materials. We hope that the effort has been useful. The measure of its efficacy will be the ability of future students to understand their world and act in it constructively and responsibly. We are prepared to share the burden of accomplishing that task. ❖

NOTES

[1] Montgomery Watt, *A History of Islamic Spain*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Unive

sity Press, 1965), pp. 10-16.

[2] Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, New York: Longman, 1986, pp. 60-61.

[3] Francis Robinson, *Atlas of the Islamic World Since 1500*, (New York: Facts on File, 1982), p. 25.

[4] Albert Hourani, "The Islamic City in Light of Recent Research," in Hourani and Stern, eds., *The Islamic City: a Colloquium* (Oxford: Near Eastern Hist. Group and U. of Pennsylvania, 1970), pp. 17-18.

[5] Richard Fletcher, *Moorish Spain*, (New York: H. Holt & Co., 1992). p. 8.

[6] Seyyid Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Science: an Illustrated Study*, (London: Festival of Islam Publications, 1976), p. 9.

[7] On the early Arabs, see especially George Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, 2nd ed., Penguin, 1980, pp. 142-44, 275, 285-86, 302, 308, 349, 356-57, 380, 388.

[8] See *The Interpreter's One-Volume Commentary on the Bible*, 1971, pp. 477ff.

[9] Ismail and Lois Al-Faruqi, *The Cultural Atlas of Islam* (Macmillan, 1986), p. 3.

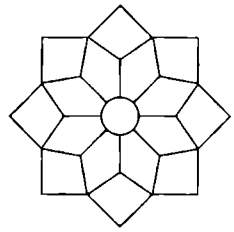
[10] Ibid., pp. 9-12.

[11] Jean-Pierre Drege and Emil M. Buhrer, *The Silk Road Saga*, (New York: Facts on File, 1989), p. 17.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Richard Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*, (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1979), p. 138.

[14] Afaf Marsot, "The Revolutionary Gentlewomen of Egypt," in Lois Beck and Nikkie Keddie, eds., *Women in the Muslim World*, (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1978). See also Al-Sayyid Marsot, ed., *Society and the Sexes in Medieval Islam* (Malibu: Undena Publ., 1977).



STRATEGIES AND STRUCTURES

FOR PRESENTING WORLD HISTORY

with Islam and Muslim History as a Case Study

PART FIVE

Resources for Preparing Materials on Islam and Muslims

Bibliography for Researchers, Writers and Editors

Bibliography for Student Readings

Articles in Periodicals

Video Cassettes

Calendars and Related Works

Computer Software

RESOURCES FOR PREPARING MATERIALS ON ISLAM AND MUSLIMS

The books and other references listed in this section are by no means exhaustive. A significant portion of the resources are books that have proven useful in the research and/or courses of the Council's affiliated scholars. Listing a title here does not imply endorsement. Like other research works, these should be used criticially, in conjunction with other resources. Extensive further references can be found in the bibliographies of the works listed here, particularly those with more recent copyrights. Those works with a ➸ icon next to the title are translated from original sources in Arabic, Persian or other languages.

Books for Researchers, Writers, and Editors

THE HOLY QUR'AN

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➸ *The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an: New Edition with Revised Translation and Commentary.* 'Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali. Beltsville, MD: **amana publications**, 1994.

➸ *The Message of the Qur'an.* Muhammad Asad. Gibraltar: Dar al-Andalus, 1980.

➸ *The Noble Qur'an: The First American Version.* T.B. Irving. Brattleboro: Amana Books, 1985.

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➸ *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran.* Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall. New York: Mentor Books, 1930.

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The Price of Victory. PBS Video.

The Silk Road. PBS Video.

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Calendars and Related Works

Prayer Schedules for North America. Contains commentary on calculation of prayer timetables. Plainfield, IN: Muslim Students' Association. 1978. 292 pages.

Yearly Calendar. Contains Hijri and Gregorian dates. Illustrated with original Muslim artwork. AMICA International. Seattle, WA.

Yearly Calendar. Contains Hijri and Gregorian dates. Illustrated with original Muslim artwork. Islamic Society of North America. Plainfield, IN.

Software

QUR'AN, HADITH, AND LAW

The Alim 3.0 - An Islamic study toolkit which includes Qur'an in Arabic and English translations, commentaries on the Qur'an, Sahih al Bukhari, al Muwatta', Fiqh al Sunnah, Islamic Subjects database, and dictionary of terms.
Requires: IBM PC or compatible, DOS, 512K RAM, 1.5-15 MB free on hard drive, EGA or better display.
Price: $115
Available: ISL Software Corp., (800) 397-5561 / (512) 690-5973.

Al-Qari' - Unique program that teaches users how to read, spell, and recite Qur'anic Arabic. Combines sound, graphics, text and animation to provide a user-friendly, stimulating learning experience.
Requires: 386 IBM PC or compatible: 4MB RAM, 20 MB free on hard drive, Sound Blaster; MAC: System 6.0.5 or higher, 2.8 MB RAM, 16 MB free on hard drive.
Price: $129
Available: SoundVision, 843 W. Van Buren, Ste. 411, Chicago, IL 60607. (800) 432-4262.

Al-Quran Database - Qur'anic text with English translation by A. Yusuf Ali and M. Pickthall. Searchable English text by keyword and subject. Complements Al-Hadith Database.
Requires: IBM PC or compatible, DOS, 512K RAM, 10 MB free (also available for Windows).
Price: $79
Available: MVI Bookstore, 434 S. Vermont Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90020 (213) 384-4570.

Qur'an on Mac - Qur'anic text with English translation by A. Yusuf Ali.
Requires: Macintosh, System 7.0.
Price: $145
Available: General Trade and Technology, 4505 Allstate Dr. #108, Riverside, CA 92501 (909) 788-8729.

Qur'anBase - Research tool for English translation of the Qur'an. Extensive search abilities.
Requires: IBM PC or compatible, DOS, 256K RAM, 1.5 MB free on hard drive; MAC, System 6.0.5 or higher, 1.5 MB free on hard drive.
Price: $49
Available: SoundVision, 843 W. Van Buren, Ste. 411, Chicago, IL 60607. (800) 432-4262.

Al-Hadith Database- Contains the following collections of hadith in English: *Sahih Bukhari, Sahih Muslim, Abu Dawud, Al-Muwatta,Tirmidhi,* and *Nasa'i.* This program cross-references with Al-Qur'anBase.
Requires: IBM PC or compatible, DOS, 512K RAM, 20 MB free on hard drive (also available for Windows).
Price: $79
Available: MVI Bookstore, 434 S. Vermont Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90020 (213) 384-4570.

Hadith on CD - Collections of hadith databases on CD ROM. Over 15 languages supported.
Requires: IBM PC or compatible with CD ROM drive.
Available: Center for Hadith Analysis, 805 29th St. #552-N, Boulder, CO 80303
(303) 938-1211

HadithBase - Contains all nine volumes of Sahih Bukhari.
Requires: IBM PC or compatible, DOS, 128K RAM, 5 MB free on hard drive.
Price: $59
Available: SoundVision, 843 W. Van Buren, Ste. 411, Chicago, IL 60607. (800) 432-4262.

Islamic LawBase - A program that enables users to search the following legal sources in English: *Fiqh as-Sunnah, Majellah al-Ahkam, Hedaya al-Marghinani, Fatawa-e-Qazi Azam, Al Halal Wal Haram, Muwatta, al Risala al-Qairawaniya, Criminal Law of Islam.*
Requires: IBM PC or compatible, DOS, 512K RAM, 20 MB free on hard drive.
Price: $199
Available: MVI Bookstore, 434 S. Vermont Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90020 (213) 384-4570.

QUIZ PROGRAMS

Al Hadi 1.0 - Contains questions on pillars of Islam, prayers, Ramadan, terminology, etc.
Requires: IBM PC or compatible, Windows, 2MB RAM; MAC, System 6.0.5 or higher, Hypercard 2.0, 2 MB RAM.
Available: Afrisoft Ltd., 1815 Wellington Rd., Los Angeles, CA 90019 (213) 731-LINK

Islamiyat - Quiz program with multiple levels, on topics related to Islam and Muslim history.
Requires: IBM PC or compatible, 128K RAM
Price: $25
Available: Manar Technologies, 3424 25th Street N.E., Calgary, Alberta Canada TIY 6CI
(403) 250-2333.

pcIQ - Multiple choice quiz game on topics related to Islam and Muslim history. Multiple levels of difficulty.
Requires: IBM PC or compatible, 128K RAM
Price: $49
Available: SoundVision, 843 W. Van Buren, Ste. 411, Chicago, IL 60607. (800) 432-4262.

PRAYER-TIME CALCULATORS

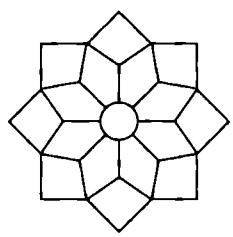
An-Nida 2.1 - Calculates prayer time schedules for any month of any year (up to 2050) for any location in the world. Comes preset for more than 550 locations. Many features.
Requires: MAC, System 6.0.5 or higher, Hypercard 2.0
Price: $39
Available: SoundVision, 843 W. Van Buren, Ste. 411, Chicago, IL 60607. (800) 432-4262.

Minaret 1.3 - A menu-driven program to calculate prayer times for many cities. Produces text output of prayer schedules.
Requires: MAC, System 6.0.5 or higher
Price: $10 (shareware)
Available: Kamal Abdali, P.O. Box 65207, Washington, DC 20035.

CLIP ART

Arabesque Patterns and Clip Art - One hundred geometric and floral patterns in EPS format.
Requires: MAC, System 6.0.5 or higher, program capable of importing EPS files.
Price: $49.95
Available: Arabesque Software Co., 329 S. Mayfair Ave. Ste. 212, Daly City, CA 94015 (415) 495-8655

Clip Art Collection - Thirty calligraphic images in EPS format.
Requires: MAC, System 6.0.5 or higher, program capable of importing EPS files.
Price: $54.95
Available: Sakkal Design, 1523 175th Place SE, Bothell, WA 98012 (206) 484-8830.



This volume is really two books in one — an exposition and a resource book. It begins with an extensive discussion on teaching world history in survey courses based on the experience of a varied group of professional educators. Arguing for a truly universal perspective in world history, **the Council on Islamic Education** analyses why many curricula and textbooks are not effective tools for global education. While coverage has become more inclusive, the traditional structure has become a liability. Structural problems are identified that inhibit integration of new historical research, hinder comprehension and retention by students, and fail to cultivate coveted critical thinking skills. Recent trends in curriculum, including the new *National Standards for World History*, raise expectations for excellence in social studies education and promise a more effective American workforce and civic climate.

Lest the book join the grim chorus of works bemoaning the state of education in the U.S., this volume offers resources for solutions and a variety of options and insights on how to teach about Islam, criteria for selecting components of the presentation, and outlines, modules and activities for constructing a rich, varied survey of Muslim history that is integrated into the total world history course. Teachers, curriculum writers and designers of instructional materials will find in this book a rich vein of information and ideas for improving classroom study of history and increasing the flow of knowledge from higher levels of academic discourse into the schools.

The impressive group of historians and education professionals affiliated with the Council on Islamic Education has contributed substantially to this resource document, having assisted in the project's planning and design, and provided specific input from their various fields of expertise in history and the social sciences.

The author, **Susan Douglass**, is an educator with experience in the classroom and the curriculum design process. Her academic training is in history, and she both writes and reviews instructional materials for Social Studies programs.

"*Structures and Strategies* is an excellent resource for both teachers and publishes engaged in the development of world history curriculums. It provides an insightful guide through Islamic and Muslim history and helps sensitize the reader to central issues relevant to the integration of Islamic and Muslim history into the fabric of world history. The (document) also functions as a sound and powerful argument for developing world history curriculums that have a truly global, and not regional or singular, perspective."

Bill Morrison
Executive Editor
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