

History 439: Islamic History  
Spring, 2006  
Time: 4:00-5:15 TR. Place: 2650 Humanities  
Instructor: Michael Chamberlain  
Office hours: 12:00-2:00 Fridays in 4111 Humanities and by appointment.  
Office telephone number: 265-2673.

This course is about the formation of Islamic civilization and its historical development up to the early modern era. The course is divided into three parts. In part one we examine the physical environment and human ecology of the region, long-term social and political continuities of the ancient Middle East, the foundation of Islam, and the establishment of the early Islamic empire. In part two we cover the political collapse of the empire, its replacement by regional courts, and the development of medieval Islamic political, social, and cultural institutions and practices. In part three we will examine the place of the Medieval Middle East within the wider history of Eurasia and ask how Middle Eastern peoples reacted to an increasing European influence in the region.

Grading policy: Grading is based on a map quiz (10%), section participation (15%), mid-term (25%), paper (25%) and final (25%). If you want an A be prepared to put a consistently high level of effort into the course. We recognize that the subject matter of this course is unfamiliar to most of you. If you do the work you should get a B, although an A will be difficult to obtain without dedication. A = excellent work in all respects. B = work that is excellent in parts and faulty in others or that is of a generally good quality. C = work that while acceptable lacks clarity, organization, or evidence of sustained research. If you are doing D work I hope you will drop the course. In general we will not give grades such as AB or BC on tests or papers, and will use these grades only to average out grades. We all should be able to discern the difference between an A and a B paper. I am always happy to discuss a grade and willing to argue with you over one. If you think a grade should be changed send me an email with a written argument and we will make an appointment to discuss your case in depth. All work must be completed on time.

Textbooks:

Ahmed Ali, Al-Qur'ân: a Contemporary Translation (Princeton, 1984).  
Berkey, J., The Formation of Islam  
Cook, Michael, The Qur'an (a Very Short Introduction) (Oxford, 2000)  
Lapidus, I., A History of Islamic Societies (Cambridge, UK, 1985).  
Usamah Ibn Munqidh, An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades (New York, 2000)

The textbooks are available at the University Bookstore. The books required for the paper and for outside reading are on three-hour reserve at Helen C. White. You will also receive pdf files of articles, book chapters, and translations throughout the term. If you are unable to find something, ask me before you give up. Also buy a map of the Middle East at the bookstore for the map quiz.

Course Outline and Reading List:

Jan. 17: Introduction

## I. Human geography and emergence of the cosmopolitan agrarian empire in the ancient Middle East

Jan 19: Physical and Human Geography of the Middle East; the Agrarian Empire

Jan 21: Empires and imperial cultures from Sumeria to Late Antiquity

Jan 24: The Middle East and Arabia on the eve of Islam

Reading (full references are in the resources section below).

Cook, Michael, The Qur'an (a Very Short Introduction)

Donner, F., The Early Islamic Conquests, pp. 12-49. (pdf file)

Lapidus, I. M., A History of Islamic Societies, pp. 3-10

Berkey, J., The Formation of Islam, pp. 3-52

Recommended:

“al-Arab,” art., Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd. Ed.

Bagnall, R.S., Egypt in Late Antiquity

Brown, P., The World of Late Antiquity, pp. 11-21; 96-112; 160-171.

Fowden, Garth, Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity, 12-36, 138-75.

Shahid, I., Rome and the Arabs

Hoyland, R.G., Arabia and the Arabs from the Bronze age to the Coming of Islam

## II. The Early Islamic State and the Formation of Islam

Jan 31: The career of the Prophet Muhammad I: prophecy and community in a “tribal” society

Feb 2: The career of the Prophet II: the formation of the early Islamic state

Feb 7 - 9: The Arab conquests and the early conquest state

Feb 14: Conquest state and society to the Second Civil War

Feb 16: Cult, ritual, and basic doctrines of Islam

Feb 21: Map Quiz and review

Reading:

Cook, The Qur'an

Lapidus, I., A History of Islamic Societies, pp. 11-53

Donner, F., The Early Islamic Conquests, pp. 43-90

Berkey, J., The Formation of Islam, pp. 57-75

Recommended:

Bell, R., Introduction to the Quran

Crone, P., God's Rule: Government and Islam, Six Centuries of Medieval Islamic Political Thought

Crone, P., Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam

Grabar, O., The Formation of Islamic Art

Hawting, G.R., The Idea of Idolatry and the Formation of Islam: from Polemic to History

Hawting, G.R., Approaches to the Qur'an

Hodgson, M. G. S., The Venture of Islam, I, pp. 145-186

Ibn Hisham, The Life of Muhammad

Izutsu, T., Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Quran  
Madelung, W., The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate  
Morony, M., Iraq after the Muslim Conquest  
Rodinson, M., Muhammad  
Watt, W. M., Muhammad at Mecca  
Watt, W. M., Muhammad at Medina  
Watt, W. M., Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman

### III. The early Islamic empire

Feb 23: The Marwanid Caliphate, 692-750  
Feb 28: The `Abbasid revolt and the early `Abbasid Caliphate  
Mar 2: Imperial culture; the impact of Hellenistic learning  
Mar 7: Economy and trade from Late Antiquity through the `Abbasid Period  
Mar 9: The formation of Islamic Law  
Mar 14, 16: Spring break  
Mar 21: Shi`ism  
Mar 23: Midterm

#### Reading:

Lapidus, I., A History of Islamic Societies, pp. 54-125  
Berkey, J., The Formation of Islam, pp. 76-158

#### Recommended:

#### Umayyads:

Dennet, D. B., Conversion and the Poll-Tax in Early Islam  
Hawting, R., The First Dynasty of Islam, pp. 21-71  
Juynboll, G. H. A., Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society  
Kennedy, Hugh, The Prophet and the Age of the Crusades: the Islamic Near East. from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century, pp. 51-123  
Sharon, M., Black Banners from the East  
Shoufany, E., al-Riddah and the Muslim Conquest of Arabia  
Veccia Vaglieri, L., "The Patriarchal and Umayyad Caliphates," in The Cambridge History of Islam, vol. 1, pp. 57-103  
Wellhausen, J., The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall  
Wellhausen, J., The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam

#### `Abbasids:

Bowen, H., The Life and Times of `Ali Ibn Isa  
Crone, P., Slaves on Horseback  
Donner, F., Narratives of Islamic Origins  
Kennedy, H., The Early `Abbasid Caliphate: a Political History  
Kennedy, H., The Prophet and the Age of the Crusades: the Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century, pp. 124-211  
Lapidus, I. M., "The Evolution of Muslim Urban Society"  
Lassner, J., The Shaping of `Abbasid Rule  
Lassner, J., The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages  
Melchert, C., The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law, 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Centuries  
Schacht, J., The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence  
Zaman, M.Q., Religion and Politics under the Early `Abbasids: the Emergence of the Proto-Sunni Elite

#### IV. The Early Middle Period

Mar 28: Collapse of empire, successor states and regional courts, 945-1092

Mar 30: The Fatimids

Apr 4: The Seljuks and the formation of the “military patronage state”

##### Reading:

Chamberlain, M., “Military Patronage States and the Political Economy of the Frontier, 1000-1250” (pdf file)

Lapidus, I., A History of Islamic Societies, 181-191

Saunders, P., “The Fatimid State, 969-1171” (pdf file)

##### Recommended:

Bosworth, C. E., Sistan under the Arabs: from the Arab Conquest to the Rise of the Saffarids.

Bosworth, C. E., The Ghaznavids.

Bulliet, R., The Patricians of Nishapur.

Daftary, The Isma`ilis: Their History and Doctrines

Kennedy, H., The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates, chap. 12: "Early Islamic Egypt and the Fatimid Empire," pp. 309-345.

Mottahedeh, R., Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society

#### V. The Middle Period

Apr 6: Crusades and counter-crusades

Apr 11: Mongol invasions and the integration of Eurasia

Apr 13: Mamluks and the Mamluk Sultanate

Apr 18: Institutions of the military patronage state: iqta' and waqf

Apr 20: The `Ulama, the implementation of Islamic law, education

Apr 25: Sufism

Apr 27: Changing relations with Europe, 1316-1500

May 2: The formation of the Ottoman and Safavid empires

May 4: Review

##### Reading:

Berkey, J., The Formation of Islam, pp. 159-269

Chamberlain, M., “The Crusader Era and the Ayyubid Dynasty”

Lapidus, I., A History of Islamic Societies, 126-161, 241-267; 344-358

Usamah Ibn Munqidh, An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades

##### Recommended:

Abu Lughod, J., Cairo: 1000 Years of the City Victorious

Bagley, F. R. C., al-Ghazali's Book of Counsel for Kings

Berkey, J., The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education.

Bulliet, R., Islam: The View from the Edge

The Cambridge History of Islamic Egypt

The Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 4

Chamberlain, M., Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus

Coulson, N. J., A History of Islamic Law

Coulson, N. J., Conflicts and Tensions in Islamic Jurisprudence

Darke, H., Nizam al-Mulk's Book of Government

Ephrat, Daphna, A Learned Society in Transition: The Sunni Ulama of Eleventh-Century Baghdad

Gibb, H. A. R., "Constitutional Organization."

Goldziher, I., Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law.

Goldziher, I., Muslim Studies, 2 vols.

Humphreys, R.S., From Saladin to the Mongols: the Ayyubids of Damascus

Hillenbrand, Carole, The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives

Hodgson, M. G. S., The Order of Assassins

Kafardar, C., Between Two Worlds: the Construction of the Ottoman State

Lambton, A. K. S., Theory and Practice in Medieval Persian Government.

Lapidus, I., Middle Eastern Cities

Morgan, D., The Mongols

Morgan, D., Medieval Persia, 1040-1797

Petry, C., The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages

Schacht, J., Introduction to Islamic Law

Paper Topics:

Papers are due Apr 25, in class.

1. "The career of the prophet Muhammad can only be understood as a response to the social and economic transformation of Mecca caused by changing patterns of world trade." Comment.

Crone, P., Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam (Princeton, 1987).

Shaban, M. A., Islamic History: a New Interpretation, vol. 1 (London, 1971).

Watt, W. M., Muhammad at Mecca. (Oxford, 1953).

Watt., W. M., Muhammad at Medina. (Oxford, 1956).

2. Were the Arab conquests directed from Medina as a deliberate policy, or were they haphazard and unplanned? Account for the classical Muslim view, and for disputes among modern scholars. What does this issue tell us about the nature of the early Islamic state?

Donner, F., The Early Islamic Conquests (Princeton, 1981)

Hodgson, M. G. S., The Venture of Islam, vol 1.

Lapidus. I., "The Arab Conquests and the Formation of Islamic Society." in G. H.

A. Juynboll ed., Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society (Carbondale Il.

Shaban, M. A., Islamic History: a New Interpretation, vol 1.

3. "The Arab conquests wrought a revolutionary transformation of the social, political, cultural, and economic structures of the ancient Middle East." Do you agree or disagree?

Morony, M., Iraq after the Muslim Conquests (Princeton, 1983).

Grabar, O., The Formation of Islamic Art (New Haven, 1973).

Fowden, Garth, Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity (Princeton, 1993),

4. "As the Arabs conquered the settled peoples of the Middle East, they were in turn conquered by them." Comment.

Morony, M., Iraq after the Muslim Conquest (Princeton, 1983).

Grabar, O., The Formation of Islamic Art. (New Haven, 1973).

Dennett, D. B., Conversion and the Poll-Tax in Early Islam. (Cambridge, MA, 1950).

5. How did the military elites who dominated the Middle East in the Middle Period exploit the societies they ruled? Were states administered by formal bureaucratic structures and hierarchies? If not, what accounts for the success of ruling groups in administering large and complex societies over time?

Lapidus, I., Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages (Cambridge, MA, 1967).

Mottahedeh, R., Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society (Princeton, 1980).

Chamberlain, M., Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350 (Cambridge, UK, 1994).

6. "Medieval Muslim cities were not governed by city councils or bureaucratic administrations. Civilian elites had none of the landholdings, charters, or military training that guaranteed the autonomy of urban notables elsewhere. Artisans and craftsmen were without guilds or trade organizations to defend their interests." How did these societies hold together as complex human communities?

Bulliet, R., The Patricians of Nishapur (Cambridge, MA, 1972).

Lapidus, I., Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages (Cambridge, MA, 1967).

Bosworth, C. E. The Ghaznavids, (Beirut, 1973) pp. 145-202. 252-268.

8. To what extent was the Jewish community of Cairo culturally, politically, and economically integrated into the larger society of Egypt? To what extent can the well-documented social and economic life of this community be taken as representative of Egyptian society at large.

Goitein, S. D., A Mediterranean Society: the Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza, 4 vols and index., (Berkeley, 1967-78).

Cohen, Mark, Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages (Princeton, 1994)

Resources in English:

Campus web-sites:

Library and Research Resources: [www.library.wisc.edu/guides/MidEast](http://www.library.wisc.edu/guides/MidEast)  
Middle East Studies Program: [www.mesp.wisc.edu](http://www.mesp.wisc.edu)

I. General:

Encyclopedia of Islam. The major reference work for the field. Thousands of entries with bibliographies. The first edition, 4 vols and supplement, Leiden 1913-1942, is complete but dated. The second edition, Leiden, 1954-, has reached the further reaches of the letter U. Entries are alphabetical, most under their Arabic, Turkish, or Persian word, so if you are looking for Cairo you will be directed to al-Qahira. Ignore the Arabic definite article al-.

Cahen, C., Sauvaget's Introduction to the History of the Muslim East A useful guide to the literature, methods, and materials of the field.

The Cambridge History of Iran, IV, The Period from the Arab Invasions to the Saljuks, R. N. Frye ed. (Cambridge, 1975);

The Cambridge History of Iran, V, The Saljuk and Mongol Periods, J. A. Boyle ed. (Cambridge, 1968)

The Cambridge History of Islam, vol. 1, P. Holt, A. Lambton, and B. Lewis eds. (Cambridge, 1970)

Eickleman, D., The Middle East: an Anthropological Approach (Englewood Cliffs, 1981).

Humphreys, R.S., Islamic History: a Framework for Inquiry (Princeton, 1991).

Kennedy, H., The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: the Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century (London, 1986).

Pitcher, D. E., An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire (Leiden, 1972).

Robinson, Francis, Atlas of the Islamic World since 1500 (Oxford, 1982).

Roolvink, R., Historical Atlas of the Muslim Peoples (Amsterdam, 1957).

## II. Economic History.

Pirenne, H., Muhammad and Charlemagne (New York, 1958).

Havighurst, The Pirenne Thesis, 3rd. ed. (Lexington, MA, 1976).

Byrne, E. H., Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries (Cambridge, MA, 1930).

Udovitch, A., ed., The Islamic Middle East: 700-1900: Studies in Economic and Social History (Princeton, 1981).

Ashtor, E., A Social and Economic History of the Near East (London, 1976).

Richards, D. S., Islam and the Trade of Asia (Oxford, 1970).

Watson, A. M., Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: The Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques, 700-1100 (Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, 1983).

Bulliet, R., The Camel and the Wheel (Cambridge, MA, 1975).

## III. The Prophet Muhammad and Late Antique and Early Islamic Arabia

Andrae, Muhammad: the Man and his Faith, T. Menzel trans. (London, 1956).

Armstrong, K., Muhammad: a Biography of the Prophet (New York, 1992).

Ataya, A. S., A History of Eastern Christianity (London, 1968).

Bagnall, Roger S., Egypt in Late Antiquity (Princeton, 1993).

Bell, R., An Introduction to the Qur'an (Edinburgh, 1953).

Bell, R., The Origins of Islam in its Christian Environment (London, 1968)

Brown, P., "Late Antiquity and Islam: Parallels and Contrasts," in B. Metcalf ed., Moral Conduct and Authority: the Place of Adab in South Asian Islam (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984).

Brown, P., Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine (New York, 1972).

Brown, P., Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity (Berkeley, 1982).

Brown, P., The World of Late Antiquity (London, 1971).

Burton, J., The Collection of the Qur'an (Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, 1977).

Cook, M., Muhammad (Oxford, 1983).

Crone, P., God's Rule: Government and Islam, Six Centuries of Medieval Islamic Political Thought (New York, 2004).

Crone, P., Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam (Princeton, 1987).

Fowden, Garth, Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity (Princeton, 1993), 12-36, 138-75

Hawting, G.R., The idal of Idolatry and the Formation of Islam: from Polemic to History (Cambridge, 1999).

Hawting, G.R., Approaches to the Qur'an (London, 1993).

Hoyland, R.G., Arabia and the Arabs from the Bronze age to the Coming of Islam (London, 2001)

Izutsu, T., Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Quran (Montreal, 1966).

Shahid, I., Rome and the Arabs (Washington, 1984).

Trimingham, J., Christianity and the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times, 243-286.

van Ess, J., and Wansbrough, J., book reviews in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 43 (1980).

## IV. The Arab Conquests and the Conquest State.

- al-Baladhurî, The Origins of the Islamic State, P. Hitti and E. C. Murgotten trans., 2 vols., (New York, 1916, 1924).
- Donner, F., The Early Islamic Conquests (Princeton, 1981)
- Donner, F., "The Formation of the Islamic State," Journal of the American Oriental Society, 106 (1986), pp. 283-296.
- Donner, F., Narratives of Islamic Origins.(Princeton, 1998).
- Kaegi, W., Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests (Cambridge, 1992),
- Lapidus, I., "The Arab Conquests and the Formation of Islamic Society," in G.H.A. Juynboll ed., Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society (Carbondale, Ill.)
- Shoufany, E., al-Riddah and the Muslim Conquest of Arabia (Toronto, 1972).
- Shaban, M. A., Islamic History: a New Interpretation, vol. 1 (London, 1971).
- Madelung, W., The Succession to Muhammad: A Study of the Early Caliphate (Cambridge, 1997).
- Morony, M., Iraq after the Muslim Conquest (Princeton, 1983).
- Pederson, E. L., Ali and Mu'awiya in Early Arabic Tradition (Copenhagen, 1984).

#### V. The Umayyads and Umayyad Opposition Movements.

Because of the unreliability of the written sources for this period, many of the best studies on the Umayyad period are treatments of non-narrative evidence, such as law, dogma, art, and architecture.

- Beeston, A. F. L., et al., Arab Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period (Cambridge, 1983).
- Cook, M., Early Muslim Dogma: a Source-Critical Study (Cambridge, 1981).
- Coolson, N.J., A History of Islamic Law (Edinburgh, 1964).
- Cresswell, K. A. C., Early Muslim Architecture (Oxford, 1969).
- Crone, P., and Hinds, M., God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam (Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, 1986).
- Crone, P., Slaves on Horseback (Cambridge, 1980).
- Dennet, D. B., Conversion and the Poll-Tax in Early Islam (Cambridge, Mass, 1950).
- Ettinghausen, R., From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic World: Three Modes of Artistic Influences (Leiden, 1972).
- Goldziher, I., Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law, A. Hamori and R. Hamori trans. (Princeton, 1980).
- Grabar, O., "Islamic Art and Byzantium," Dumbarton Oaks Papers 18 (1964): 113-32.
- Grabar, O., Studies in Medieval Islamic Art (London, 1972).
- Grabar, O., "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock," Ars Orientalis 3 (1959): 33-62.
- Grabar, O., "Umayyad Palaces and the Abbasid Revolution," Studia Islamica 18 (1963): 5-18.
- Grabar, Oleg, and Ettinghausen, Richard, The Art and Architecture of Islam, 650-1250 (Penguin, 1987).
- Grabar, Oleg, The Formation of Islamic Art (New Haven, 1973).
- Hawting, G. R., The First Dynasty of Islam: the Umayyad Caliphate AD 661-750 (Carbondale, IL, 1987).
- Juynboll, G. H. A., Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society (Carbondale, 1982)
- Kennedy, H., The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphs: the Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century (London, 1986).
- Sharon, M., Black Banners from the East (Jerusalem, 1983).
- Wellhausen, J., The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall (Calcutta, 1927).
- Wellhausen, J., The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam (Amsterdam, 1975).

#### VI. `Abbâsid Empire

Bowen, H., The Life and Times of `Alî Ibn `Isâ, the Good Wazir (Cambridge, 1928).

Daniel, E. L., The Political and Social History of Khurasan under `Abbasid Rule (Minneapolis and Chicago, 1979).  
 Kennedy, H., The Early `Abbasid Caliphate: a Political History (London, 1981).  
 Lapidus, I. M., "The Evolution of Muslim Urban Society," in Comparative Studies in Society and History, XV (1973).  
 Lapidus, I., "The Separation of State and Religion," International Journal of Middle East Studies, iv, (1975).  
 Lassner, J., The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages (Detroit, 1970).  
 Lassner, J., The Shaping of `Abbasid Rule (Princeton, 1980).  
 Melchert, C., The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law, 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Centuries C.E. (Leiden, 1997).  
 Omar, F., The `Abbasid Caliphate (Baghdad, 1969).  
 Schacht, J., The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence (Oxford, 1953).  
 Shaban, M. A., The `Abbasid Revolution (Cambridge, 1970).  
 Zaman, M.Q., Religion and Politics under the Early `Abbasids: the Emergence of the Proto-Sunni Elite (Leiden, 1997).

## VII. Middle Period Politics, Society, Culture.

Bosworth, C. E., Sistan under the Arabs: from the Arab Conquest to the Rise of the Saffarids (Rome, 1968).  
 Bulliet, R., The Patricians of Nishapur (Cambridge, MA, 1972).  
 (New York, 1994).  
 Cahen, C., Pre-Ottoman Turkey, 1071-1330, J. Jones-Williams trans. (London, 1968).  
 Dunn, R. E., The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: a Muslim Traveller of the 14th Century (London and Berkeley, 1986).  
 (Albany, NY, 2000).  
 Gibb, H. A. R., "Constitutional Organization," in M. Khadduri and H. Liebesny eds., Law in the Middle East (Washington, D. C., 1955).  
 Goitein, S. D., A Mediterranean Society: the Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza, 4 vols., (Berkeley, 1967-78).  
 Goldziher, I., Muslim Studies, 2 vols., C. Barber and S. M. Stern eds. (London, 1968-71)  
 Hodgson, M. G. S., The Order of Assassins (The Hague, 1955).  
 Hodgson, M. G. S., "The Isma`ili State," in Cambridge History of Iran, V. (Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, 1968).  
 Humphreys, R.S., From Saladin to the Mongols: the Ayyubids of Damascus (Albany, 1977).  
 Ibn Battuta, Travels of Ibn Battuta, H. A. R. Gibb trans., 2 vols. (London, 1969).  
 Kafardar, C., Between Two Worlds: the Construction of the Ottoman State.  
 Karamustafa, A., God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Later Middle Period, 1200-1500 (Salt Lake City, 1994).  
 Lapidus, I., Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1984)  
 Makdisi, G., "Muslim Institutions of Learning in Eleventh-century Baghdad," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, xxiv (1961).  
 Massignon, L., The Passion of al-Hallaj, 4 vols., H. Mason trans. (Princeton, 1982).  
 Mez, A., The Renaissance of Islam, trans. Khuda Bakhsh (London, 1937).  
 Morgan, D., Medieval Persia, 1040-1797 (London, 1988).  
 Mottahedeh, R., Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society (Princeton, 1980).  
 Petry, C., The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages (Princeton, 1981).

e-mail

How many have taken 137 or 205?

OK: now I know how many copies of McNeill and Waldman to buy

Maps and map quiz: use other textbooks, atlas if necessary

absence- first two weeks of april; films, exciting guest lectures

Content of the course

-Middle East: modern notion; the civilization we will be studying reached from Indonesia and the Philippines to West Africa; we will be studying the core area in which Islamic civilization developed - from Egypt to Central Asia, or, if you will, from the Nile to the Oxus. This means that I will leave out a few very important areas. Islamic Spain, for example, was one of the most brilliant medieval societies, but we will have little to say about it. If you are mainly interested in Spain or NA, or India for that matter, you won't learn much here directly; on the other hand, you will not be able to begin to study these areas without the background we are going to cover here.

-Period: We will begin with a discussion of the geography of the region, including human geography and the relationship of different types of people to their environment. Then customary to begin a course like this with the career of the Prophet Muhammad; but for the first part of course I want to cover the long term-continuities in the history of the region.

Several warnings:

We will be looking at things at a very high level, so we won't get into too much detail for many periods. For the early part of Islamic history, we will cover things in greater detail, both because it is important to understand how this civilization came into being, and because this is a civilization that is perhaps uniquely conscious of its history. Early Islamic history is a sacred narrative, and it is important for you to understand it. You cannot understand developments today without it. The story of the early Islamic period is one that is known to most Muslims in some detail.

Because of this: a second warning. Muslims themselves, as we shall see, disagree about the facts and the interpretation of the early period. And modern scholars have taken a different view of the sources from the period. So for Muslims in the course, if my account does not jibe with what you have learned, bring this up; talk about it, debate it.

And a third warning: I really like to teach in such a way as to allow you to understand the point of view of people we are studying. I will often ask you to put yourself in the shoes of someone else - even someone you don't like very much. On this I ask your forbearance. When I ask you to understand the point of view of some Mongol warrior bent on death or destruction, or how women in the region have understood institutions such as the veil or the harem, I am not

So the first thing I want to do is try to define the Middle East. The term Middle East is inappropriate to what we are studying. It is a modern term, one that makes sense only except as the world seen from Europe.

To Europeans, the world was divided into three parts: Europe, which they insisted on seeing as a continent, Africa from the southern edge of the mediterranean southwards, and Asia, including everything from Istanbul to Calcutta to Peking. The kind of thinking that produced these definitions is easily seen as outdated. But the way it structures the world has become part of our mental equipment. You can see it in university departments, where departments of oriental studies still cover the world from Istanbul to Tokyo. You can see it in Journals, like the journal of the social and economic history of the orient, or the journal of the american oriental society. You can see it in the fact that North Africa is normally not studied along with the Middle East, but rather with Sub-Saharan Africa. It also results in courses like this one.

The term Middle East itself is very recent. It was an invention of the British in world war one, who used it to put a name to a new bureaucratic entity. It is slightly less ethnocentric than Near East, but it is still misleading. If you look at the map of Eurasia, geographically and culturally what we call the Middle East might better be termed the Middle West.

The people who lived in the pre-modern Middle East didn't think of the world as the Middle East. It is a European invention. In the period we will be studying, the Middle East was part of a larger cultural zone, one that included North Africa, Spain, and large parts of Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent.

But we won't be studying those societies, except in passing.

The civilization we call Islamic civilization developed its distinctive features in the Area we now call the Middle East, in the land between the Nile and the Oxus. So that is the region we will be focussing on. I plan to mention North Africa, Central Asia, and Spain occasionally, but in general we will concentrate on this region.

Second, the dates are also slightly misleading.

It is customary for a course like this to start with the Prophet Muhammad, who was born in 570. Both Muslim and European scholars have seen the life of the Prophet Muhammad as such a break with the past that his prophecy began a new epoch in Eurasian history. Both groups have interpreted the appearance of Islam as the detonation of a historical nuclear bomb that blew everything in the past away.

So for Muslims, the year of the founding of the political community of Muslims by the prophet Muhammad is the year one of the calendar.

Westerners accept the life of Muhammad as a natural break for very different reasons, some of which are pernicious.

Now having given you my reservations about the borders of this course, I would like to show you how we are going to handle it. This is not to say that this course cannot be taught within the dates as given. There is an Islamic civilization that is a variant of the Perso-Mediterranean civilizations of antiquity, but that had its own distinctive features.

In many respects it represents the culmination of antiquity, because for the first time Persia, large parts of Central Asia, and the Mediterranean were united in a single cultural

zone. It was also a period when nomads, peasants, city people, and regimes were brought into a single cultural system.

So instead of following the traditional approach, stressing discontinuities, what I want to do is to understand continuities with the pre-Islamic past. Islamic civilization inherited a pattern of institutions, ideas, and practices from the ancient world. So the first thing that I want to do this week is to understand the Middle East within the context of a form of society that appeared in the 4th millennium B.C.E., and continued until the first world war-the agrarian empire. We want to understand how an empire came into being, and how out of that empire a civilization developed.

By focussing on the level of the empire or the civilization, we are necessarily stressing unity rather than diversity. There is a drawback to this. By stressing unity, we will be giving short shrift to diversity. So I'd like to point out several possible deficiencies to this approach.

1. Because we have so much territory to cover, we will be viewing the Middle East from a very high altitude. By focusing on the level of the civilization, we will be ignoring much of the local diversity of the Middle east. The consequence of focussing on such a large object is that to make the Middle East appear to be more uniform than it is, and more integrated. Just remember that the processes of social, political, cultural, and economic integration that we are discussing cover an enormous local variety. The continuities over time also conceal shorter-term local discontinuities.

2. Another problem with looking at things from such an altitude is that it focusses on ruling groups to the exclusion of groups in opposition to the ruling ideology. We will talk about resistance to the dominant ideology. We will however not be able to treat in detail non-elite groups and minorities, of whom there are very many. Middle Eastern societies in this period were made up of many ethnic and religious communities. We will have time to study only a very few of them.

3. Related to this problem is that we will not be able to say very much about people other than young and middle aged men. Women were subjected to multiple exclusions in this society. In the sources they are by and large silent, and there is nothing that historians can do about it. But there are a limited number of things that can be said. I want to get across some idea of how women lived, of how the legal status of women was defined in the period.

What we are going to talk about today are the images that Europeans have of the non-West. It almost goes without saying that these images are inaccurate. That's not a point we will dwell on too much. What we are interested in is why these images appeared.

You know how in economics people it is said that the basic rule is that there is no such thing as a free lunch. What I want to talk about is the basic rule in cultural criticism: there is no such thing as an innocent description of other people. Whenever people represent others, they bring complicated agendas with them that deform the representation.

We can see this principle in operation especially clearly in the case of The Middle East.

We might think that Middle Easterners and Europeans would be able to understand one another. They have similar pasts. Both were shaped by the cultural heritage of Greece and Rome. Both were subjected to conquest by outsiders in the early middle ages, the West by Germanic peoples and The Middle East by Arabian peoples. In Islam, Judaism, and Christianity, both have religious traditions that sprang from a single source. Yet in spite of these similarities, neither society recognizes the image that the other holds of it. If you are an Egyptian, you find the Middle Easterners described in most accounts by Europeans to be cartoon characters. They are almost completely incomprehensible. The reason for this is simple: the images that Europeans have held of The Middle East tells us more about Europeans than it does about Middle Easterners.

The European image of The Middle East began in the Crusades. In this period, as all too often in later periods, Europeans didn't differentiate among the various societies of the middle east. The Middle East was not seen as a distinct society, but rather as a part of a very threatening Muslim world. Much of what Europeans wrote about Muslims in this period was wildly inaccurate. Some Europeans knew that these accounts weren't quite correct, but they told themselves that they weren't meant to be. One of them justified the outrageous representations of Muslims by Europeans by saying "it is safe to speak evil of one whose malignity exceeds whatever evil can be spoken" (Guibert of Nogent, d. ca. 1124).

What Europeans wanted to do was to explain the success of Islam, and to interpret that success as a menace for Christendom. Islam was the dominant religion in the Middle East only because Muslims converted people by the sword, or because Islam was supposed to tolerate sexual promiscuity. The Prophet Muhammad was supposed to have been a sorcerer whose who was able to destroy the church in Africa only by magic. Stories about the defiling of the holy sepulchre went all over Europe, and were part of the propaganda designed to excite interest in the crusades.

This raises a question. Why did Europeans feel so threatened by Muslims? Europe was in no danger of conquest. Why were Europeans suddenly so interested in Jerusalem under Muslim rule? It was after all a long way away, and had been under Muslim rule for a very long time. The answer to these questions is not to be found in The Middle East or the Middle East, but rather in Europe itself.

During the crusades, Europe was emerging from a long period of political fragmentation. When Europeans started thinking about outsiders, they began to think of their own similarities rather than their differences. This concentration on an outsider, especially a threatening outsider, was in part a strategy for creating larger levels of political organization in Europe.

Because of the Crusades, more careful scholarship on Muslims and on The Middle East began to appear. This scholarship was not composed of the wild stories of the early period of the crusades. Scholars learned Arabic, and wrote accounts of the East based upon them. I'd like to be able to say that it corrected the wildly inaccurate view that Europeans had constructed of the East, but it didn't. What scholars did was to construct another Orient which was superimposed on the earlier one.

This new image had two components. First, scholars wanted to know Muslim doctrine better in order to refute it. Second, they wanted to appropriate those parts of the

Muslim heritage that could do them some good, especially ancient philosophy, medicine, and geography. This double game of rejection on the one hand and appropriation on the other caused some wild distortions.

Some of these distortions have survived until today: you can still read in many world history textbooks that Muslims in the Middle Ages guarded Greek philosophy for the West, supposed to be its rightful owner. The proper heirs of ancient philosophy somehow include Scandinavia and California but exclude The Middle East and Syria--where many of the ancient philosophers were born and lived. These are the consequences of our imposition onto the material of history of our categories of Orient and Occident.

So until the early modern period, we can see superimposed three contradictory images. Various European elites constructed the Orient in different ways: for some the Orient is the assembly point for threatening hordes of powerful and rapacious Muslims. For others it is the abode of heresy. For still others, it is a font of wisdom and a guardian of philosophy. There is a common theme in all these representations. The Orient that they described reflected the social and cultural realities of their own societies, and not the societies that they were describing. These people were all constructing an Orient as something outside of themselves. The image of the Orient was something they could refer in their own struggles for prestige and authority. It cannot be really understood outside those struggles.

This constructed Orient--the Orient as threat, the Orient as something different, an Other--had a purpose in giving Europeans a common identity. Europe may not have recovered the Orient in the period of the Crusades, but by constructing an image of the Orient it found a way to construct itself. Without the Orient--in other words without this image of the Orient, it is possible that there may never have been an Occident--which is itself as much a constructed image as the Orient is.

When we move from the medieval period to the 18th and nineteenth centuries, Europeans still have images of Middle Easterners and of Muslims that go back to the medieval period. But there is a shift in what they look at. Instead of seeing The Middle East as part of a larger Muslim threat, Europeans in this period described it specifically. They were no longer afraid of it. On the contrary, they were looking around for excuses to dominate it.

When you read what Europeans in the 18th and 19th centuries had to say about The Middle East, you wonder why they stayed. What they saw was political despotism, social dislocation, moral depravity, repression of women, laziness, disease, and poverty. Although scholars had a slightly more elevated approach to this idea of a decadent Orient, it set the agenda for their arguments also. Scholars contrasted what they now saw as the glories of the past of Islam with the decadence of the present. Hundreds of books were written about the early period of Islam, almost none about more recent history. The same reluctance to distinguish among very different societies marks much nineteenth century scholarship. Where medievals had seen a single Muslim horde, nineteenth and twentieth century scholars wrote about a single Orient. They understood politics with reference to Oriental Despotism; they understood economics by referring to an Asiatic mode of production. There was some truth in all of these arguments. But sub-text of these descriptions on the part of everybody making them was that the region would be better off under new management. Instead of the threat to Europe that they saw during

the Crusades, Europeans now saw a place badly in need of European help--in other words, of European domination.

There was also another kind of representation, especially in the nineteenth century. In addition to merchants, soldiers, and diplomats, another European character appeared on the scene: the tourist. Europeans began to go to The Middle East in large numbers to see the antiquities. Escaping a Europe in which attitudes about sex and about social status were constricting by today's standards, in The Middle East, they were free to indulge in wild fantasies about both. Middle class people could pretend that they were aristocrats. The Middle East, which is an extremely sedate place in sexual matters, became the backdrop for all manner of sexual fantasies projected on it. This is the Orient that you can see in the Orientalist school of painting of the period--this Orient has harems, belly dancers, lascivious glances by women behind veils. Its not the Orient I've experienced.

So from very modern times, to the middle ages, we can see the construction of an Orient by very different interests. This Orient was not a geographical description. It was a cultural construct. It was a way of imagining the world that reflected power more than it reflected geography or culture. Just as in the curriculum debate people here were struggling over the right to represent the past, so today Westerners, Middle Easterners, Arabs, and others are struggling. In our readingh, we will see those struggles as they unfold.

We certainly haven't escaped the power of these images. In folklore, children's stories, popular culture, movies from Rudolph Valentino on, Have you all seen Lawrence of Arabia in its most recent incarnation? Those of you who haven't, go as soon as you can before it disappears. Its not only a great movie. Its also the hit parade of virtually every recent cliché about Arabs. My favorite is when Peter O'Toole, playing Lawrence, looks at Alec Guinness, playing the Sharif of Mecca, and says, "as long as the Arabs remain disunited, they will always be a little people, nasty, barbarous, and cruel." I sometimes think there shoiuld be an Oscar catagory for sexual and political fantasies projected onto a Middle Eastern background.

asking you to approve. If something makes you uncomfortable, debate it. That is what universities are for. Always remember, when you are ready to condemn something, that there is a context; that the past can be reinterpreted but not changed, and that understanding is for a historian far better than judging.