Introduction

In the mid-ninth century, a Christian of Greek lineage, Qusta bin Luqa (fl 860-900), was born nearly twenty miles off the eastern Mediterranean coast, in the Bekaa Valley (modern Lebanon). His hometown, Baalbek (Heliopolis), which had formerly been under Byzantine control, had recently fallen to an invading Muslim army. As a young man traveling to Baghdad for a translation program sponsored by the Abbasid ruler, al-Musta'in (862-866), bin Luqa crossed paths with another translator, Thabit ibn Qurra al-Harrani, a Sabian born in 826 in the city of Harran in today's southern Turkey. Within only a few decades, the Greek treatises they translated into Arabic became an integral contribution to the growing corpus of natural-scientific knowledge across the Islamicate(1) world, which, at this time, included territories ranging from Spain to India.

Beginning in the seventh century, the Mediterranean, as well as its surrounding landmasses, experienced further integration through the spread of Islam. By the time al-Musta'in rose to power in the mid-ninth century, the Muslim world had already expanded westwards through North Africa and into Spain and as far north as modern-day Georgia and Azerbaijan. Eastwards, on the frontiers of the Indian subcontinent, Rajput forces continued to defeat invading Muslims, who had recently penetrated Central Asia. The following centuries (ninth through twelfth) experienced flourishing developments in many sciences, aided by the Abbasid (c. 750-1258 AD) Caliphate's patronage of translations. Thus, the diverse and far-reaching Islamicate world provided fertile and active ground for widespread dissemination of commodity and culture. This dissemination contributed to the development of not only material and immaterial elements and practices shared by this expansive territory, but of the circuits of diffusion and networks of exchange themselves as well. The Islamicate territories, directly in contact with their surrounding European, African, and Asian neighbors, witnessed the simultaneous transmission and circulation of corporeal and incorporeal commodities and knowledge.

The objective here is to present on and examine how the Islamicate world is perceived and treated in current academic and educational materials as a global-historical phenomenon. I examine four bodies of literature throughout this work: (a) recent historiography, (b) Social Science and History Content Standards in the state of California, and, finally, (c) Upper Elementary and Middle School history/social science textbooks. As such, this work utilizes a discrepancy analysis of sorts, for lack of a better term, in order to examine the thematic similarities and differences between these bodies of literature.

The questions posed (and hopefully answered) throughout this presentation pertain to the global or hemispheric dimension of the rise and growth of the Islamicate world. As will be demonstrated below, recent historiography on the Islamicate world has emphasized its hemispheric expanse, influence, and integration. It has been focused on as a major event caused by and further facilitating the global history of the medieval world. Therefore, this study asks: is the Islamicate world treated similarly in Upper Elementary and Middle school textbooks as well as in the recent historiography? Is the Islamicate world treated as a hemispheric phenomenon in California Content Standards? How have religious and ethnic minorities and
influences been treated in textbooks, standards, and the historiography? Finally, according to the different bodies of literature, what factors are stressed as contributors to the rise of the Islamicate Age of Learning?

California State Standards

Because of their impact on curriculum development and educational materials, an examination of the California Content Standards provides a pragmatic point of departure for this analysis. The medieval history of the Islamicate world is primarily taught in seventh-grade World History. Standards 7.2.3-7.2.6 are perhaps the most relevant to the intentions of this study. The California Standards for public schools read:

7.2 Students analyze the geographic, political, economic, religious, and social structures of the civilizations of Islam in the Middle Ages.
1. Identify the physical features and describe the climate of the Arabian peninsula, its relationship to surrounding bodies of land and water, and nomadic and sedentary ways of life.
2. Trace the origins of Islam and the life and teachings of Muhammad, including Islamic teachings on the connection with Judaism and Christianity.
3. Explain the significance of the Qur'an and the Sunnah as the primary sources of Islamic beliefs, practice, and law, and their influence in Muslims’ daily life.
4. Discuss the expansion of Muslim rule through military conquests and treaties, emphasizing the cultural blending within Muslim civilization and the spread and acceptance of Islam and the Arabic language.
5. Describe the growth of cities and the establishment of trade routes among Asia, Africa, and Europe, the products and inventions that traveled along these routes (e.g., spices, textiles, paper, steel, new crops), and the role of merchants in Arab society.
6. Understand the intellectual exchanges among Muslim scholars of Eurasia and Africa and the contributions Muslim scholars made to later civilizations in the areas of science, geography, mathematics, philosophy, medicine, art, and literature.

A quick perusal of these content standards, primarily the final three, hint at a subtle affirmation of the hemispheric or global dimensions of the Islamicate world. Though these terms (hemispheric, global) are not used, the content standards emphasize themes of long-range interaction and exchange, diverse cultural integration across Africa, Asia, and Europe, and corporeal as well as incorporeal disseminations. Consistent with established facts in the historiography, these standards, primarily 7.2.5, emphasize the growth of commercial activity, facilitated by the expanse of the Islamicate world, as well as the critical role played by mercantilism in the Arabian Peninsula.

The California Content Standards, however, fall short on a critical matter. Though 7.2.2 identifies and refers to the theological connection between Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, the standards have little mention of the Islamicate world's minority religious groups, their integration, and interactions with Muslims. The standards perceive the history of Islamicate Science as a Muslim story, demanding little mention of the religious minorities under Muslim rule. This is a stark difference from the historiographical trend, as will be discussed below in the analysis of textbooks, which views Jews and Christians as crucial communities and actors throughout Islamicate history.
An Empire of Arabs or Muslims?

A major point of discrepancy between the various textbooks is their definition and labeling of the Islamicate Empire. Another textbook series, for all three levels surveyed in this study, all employ the term Islamic in reference to the civilization, empire, and imperial practices. Similarly, World History: Medieval and Early Modern Times identifies the Islamicate world as a Muslim empire and maintains this identification throughout the units on this topic. Likewise, To See a World treats the matter in a similar fashion. The Islamicate empire is referred to repeatedly as Muslim.

The only work to insist on the phrase Arab Empire is the textbook World Cultures: a Global Mosaic. Entire sections in this work are framed around 'Arab' references. A Global Mosaic even extends this reference to the Age of Learning, referring to the processes the emerged as instances of “Arab learning.”

World History: Journey Across Time is unique in with regards to these discrepancies. The textbook deploys no labeling of the Islamicate empire. Nonetheless, the work is unclear in its reference to the constituents of this empire. The text repeatedly utilizes the terms Arab and Muslim interchangeably with regards to various practices, mercantilism, military expeditions, and proselytization.

The references and labels of many of these textbooks for the Islamicate empire are not consistent with the recent historiography. Many of the recently published works on the Islamicate empire have utilized the label 'Islamic' empire. This terminology has emphasized the fact that some of the Islamicate empire’s citizens were not Muslim, nor were many Arab. However, some continue to use the term 'Arabic', however, this is often in reference to literary and scientific realms of Islamicate history. Even more sources utilize the phrase 'Muslim empire' in referencing the imperial Islamicate domains. Fred Donner, in a most recent work, utilizes this phrase and questions the Arabness of the empire (a classical feature of Umayyad imagination). The term 'Islamicate', utilized throughout this essay and coined by Marshall Hodgson, has come to emphasize the “complex of attitudes and practices that pertain to culture and societies that live by various versions of the religion Islam.” This term has not spread itself throughout the historiography and makes no appearance in any of the surveyed textbooks.

Interreligious Diversity

A brief historiographical survey of Islamicate history shows that scholars are in agreement that Jewish and Christian communities were a critical aspect of Islamicate history. Their depicted roles in the realm of Islamicate history, however, differ amongst scholars by view and methodology. Two intertwined approaches exist throughout the historiography. The first emphasizes the role played by the similarities, differences, and exchanges of the religions theologically, represented in religious tracts, debates, jurisprudential rulings, and scriptural exegesis concerning different religions. The second approach highlights the everyday interactions, conflicts, and cooperation of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim individuals in the Islamicate empire.

James E. Lindsay, in his work series book Daily Life in the Medieval Islamic World, presents an incomplete assessment of Muslim-Jewish-Christian relations during Muslim role by stressing instances of persecution. Lindsay presents an Islamicate world rife with division and segregation between the three religions due to Muslim sentiment. Nearly his entire argument
relies upon juridical writings and other bodies of literature, such as manuals of market inspection (hasib), that condemned Jews and Christians.18 The authors argument privileges evidence from these jurisprudential texts over those from the actual practices of Muslims interacting in an interreligious capacity, which he understates throughout his discussion on the three Abrahamic communities.19

Contrary to Lindsay's work, many recent studies demonstrate that Islamicate historiography has come to emphasize the role played by Muslim, Christian, and Jewish individuals in their everyday interactions and exchanges. Conflicts primarily arose “over interpretation of shared topics, not over two mutually exclusive views of the world.”20 Reza Aslan, in a most recent work entitled No God but God: the Origins and Evolution of Islam, has argued that historians ought separate between polemics consisting of theological criticisms and disputes pertaining specifically to practitioners of the religion.21 Though Islam, through the Quran and the Prophet Muhammad, criticized Jews and Christians for their diversion from practicing their God-decreed religions, Aslan states that relations between Muslims, Jews, and Christians were mediated through and corresponded to the particular socio-political climate.22 Thus, he notes, while periods of intolerance existed throughout the history of Muslim Spain, Jews nonetheless experienced social mobility, providing the example of Hasdasi ibn Shaprut, “who for many decades served as the trusted vizier to the Caliph Abd al-Rahman III.”23

Much of the historiography on Islamicate history has emphasized the complex interactions between Muslims, Jews, and Christians on a daily basis. Under the Abbasid empire, Ira M. Ladipus argues, “existing Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian communities” were accepted, as well as “church elites, and cooperated with non-Muslim administrators, landowners, and bankers in the management of the empire.”24

The majority of the surveyed textbooks have stated the fact that Judaism, Christianity, and Islam met on common religious grounds. They do not extend their coverage of interreligious interactions to individuals, but rather confine them to a theological comparison. The three textbooks surveyed here from Islamic schools have neglected the inclusion of non-Muslims in Islamicate history.25 Their treatment of the development of Islamicate science (examined further below) is wholly concerned with Muslim scientists.26 In addition, in each of these textbooks, their examination of the interreligious relations between Muslims and Jews is confined to a chapter discussing the theological similarities and differences between the People of the Book (Jews, Christians, and Muslims).27

Other textbooks are also guilty of this shortcoming. To See a World, discusses, though only in quick passing, the presence of everyday interaction between Jewish, Christian, and Muslim residents of the Islamicate world. begins with a mention of these exchanges and interactions at the time of Muhammad, explaining, “As a trader, Muhammad doubtless had contact with Jews and Christians. Many Jews lived in Medina, and there were Christian Arabs living in southern Arabia and East Africa.”28 This particular mention, however, is subsumed in a discussion of the theological connections between the three Abrahamic religions. Journey Across Time also carries this shallow treatment of Muslim, Christian, and Jewish relations. The book dwells on the theological commonalities between the three religions and discusses interactions between members of the religions very slightly. The text explains that interreligious relations within the Islamicate context was confined to the Arab rule over Christians and Jews, allowing them to practice their religion and taxing them for military protection.29
*World History: Medieval and Early Modern Times* presents a remarkable departure from the shortcomings of the abovementioned works. Similar to other textbooks, *Medieval and Early Modern Times* contains a section relating Muslim, Jewish, and Christian practices and beliefs to one another, insisting that the three maintain a sense of divine affinity in goal and origin.30 This is furthermore extended into a discussion of religious tolerance and relations between the three interreligious groups under the rule of the Muslims.31 The remarkable departure is found in *Medieval and Early Modern Times*’ treatment of the Abbasid state, explaining that the Abbasids “encouraged Christians and Jews to serve in the government.”32 Concerning the Islamicate government ruling Spain, the textbook treats the context similarly, noting that Sephardic Jews rose to high positions in the western Umayyad caliphate.33 The text identifies two particular examples, Samuel ha-Nagid and Hasdai ben Shaprut, who acquired positions as first minister and personal physician, respectively, in the Umayyad caliphate.34

**Islamicate Age of Learning**

Virtually all of the surveyed textbooks have failed to take into account the interreligious efforts needed in producing the Golden Age of Learning. Another textbook series focuses their section on the Golden Age of Learning on the cliché medieval polymaths. Though left undiscussed, their books makes mention of al-Razi (Alrasis) and Ibn Sina (Avicenna) in the Level 4 text.35 The Level 5 textbook contains a dedicated chapter to the biographies of these two polymaths. Here, little is explained concerning the context of their scholarship. Rather, the textbook portrays al-Razi and Ibn Sina as if having emerged *ex nihilo*, making virtually no mention of the global/hemispheric processes involved in the development of the Islamicate Age of Learning. The case is similar, but to a lesser degree, in the their Level 6 text, which, instead of al-Razi and Ibn Sina, takes the biographies of al-Khawarizmi and al-Biruni as an example.36 Here, the reader finds mention, though in an unclear and cryptic manner, of a global Age of Learning - the textbook discusses, minimally, al-Biruni’s travels to India and its influence upon his scientific conceptions.37 The Level 6 text is unique, also, for its examination of the city of Baghdad as a center of knowledge. Here, we encounter a slight global dimension on the Islamicate Age of Learning, reading that “scholars from different lands came and studied” in Baghdad providing a blending of language and culture.38

Other textbooks are also at fault for portraying the Islamicate Age of Learning in a constrained and confined fashion. *To See a World*’s section dedicated to the Age of Learning presents another renaissance-*ex-nihilo* narrative, mentioning only peripherally that the Islamicate world was the recipient of the Greek and Roman philosophical traditions.39 A subsequent section on global cultural and material exchange throughout the Islamicate world is concerned primarily with commercial exchanges.40 *World Cultures: a Global Mosaic* also falls short on this point. This textbook focuses on al-Razi as an example of Islamicate science but makes little mention of the hemispheric context of the Age of Learning.41 Uniquely, however, *A Global Mosaic* discusses the polymath Ibn Sina and poet Omar al-Khayyam as examples of how the products of the Islamicate Age of Learning spread into and influenced Europe.42

In my survey of textbooks, only two have presented the Islamicate Age of Learning in a global or hemispheric manner. To a lesser extent, *World History: Journey Across Time* presents the Age of Learning as one intertwining Muslims, Jews, and Christians. In the introduction to the section on this matter, the textbook explains that the Caliph Mamun (of Baghdad) “staffed his
center [House of Wisdom] with Christian, Jewish, and Muslim scholars. These scholars exchanged ideas and rewrote Greek, Persian, and Indian works in Arabic.”43 This is, however, the limit to which this text opens the Islamicate Age of Learning to its hemispheric extents. The rest of the section focuses on “Muslim Achievements” and the accomplishments of Muslim and Arab scholars, solely, with a return to al-Razi and Ibn Sina.44

World History: Medieval and Early Modern Times extends beyond these limits and demonstrates the global dimensions of the Islamicate Age of Learning. Within a section on Islamicate bookmaking, the textbook indicates the Chinese influence in the developments of the paper-making process.45 In its discussion on astronomy and mathematics, Medieval and Early Modern Times explains that “Muslim scholars of the Abbasid period borrowed and built upon the ideas of ancient Greeks, Egyptians, and Indians.”46 The section draws readers' attention further to the mathematicians al-Khawarizmi and Omar Khayyam, who relied on Indian and Greek mathematical knowledge for their advancements.47 In addition, an entire unit lesson is dedicated to the growth of the Islamicate empire in the Iberian Peninsula. The Islamicate Age of Learning present in al-Andalus was partly fueled, the textbook explains, by the state-sponsored relocation of scholars from Baghdad to the Iberian Peninsula. “These new arrivals,” it goes on to explain, “brought fresh ideas and different approaches to learning with them.”48 Furthermore, scholars in al-Andalus, like their counterparts in Abbasid Baghdad, “built on or extended the works of earlier mathematicians” from varying origins.49 As such, “Doctors in al-Andalus borrowed heavily from their counterparts in Baghdad” and, nonetheless, made their own important contributions.50

Unique to the Medieval and Early Modern Times textbook is a reference to Jewish scholarship that flourished in Umayyad al-Andalus. Focused particularly on the scholarly success of Maimonides (Musa ibn Maymun), the text indicates that al-Andalus was a destination for many Jews in the northern Mediterranean.51 Maimonides is presented in the text as an example of the global dimensions of the Islamicate world. The text traces his life, having left al-Andalus, Maimonides traveled across North Africa and the Levant, only to reside in Cairo for the rest of his life.52

Recent works have demonstrated the historiography's emphasis on the combined influences of Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians as cornerstone communities in the rise of scientific learning. Furthermore, the term “Arab science” has been discontinued in recent studies on the history of Islamicate science, owing to the fact that the historiography has grown to focus on the multi-ethnic scientific influences present in the Islamicate world. Amongst the surveyed works in this study, only one makes use of the antiquated terms “Arabic Thought” or “Arabic Science.” The terms are found in Aziz al-Azmeh’s Arabic Thought and Islamic Societies.53 Prefacing his work with an explanation of the terms, al-Azmeh writes that they denote, simply, that Islamicate works of science and philosophy were written primarily in the Arabic language and that this created a closed system. Nonetheless, he notes, these Arabic works came from diverse origins and were “generated by Christians, Jews, and Sabeans...One might also surmise that Syriac thought in the Middle Ages could not have been conceptually distinct...”54

G. M. Wickens, in a chapter entitled “The Middle East as World Centre of Science and Medicine,” extends al-Azmeh’s perspective into an affirmation of even greater diversity.55 Citing the origins of the Islamicate Age of Learning in the mid-to-late seventh century, Wicken's argues
that the process was, as al-Azmeh demonstrated, interreligious as well as multiethnic. This period in time, consequently, cannot be confined to Arabs nor Arabic writing. The author defines the process as a “complex tradition deriving from the Greeks, the Persians, the Indians, and even the Chinese.” Tracing the development of state-endorsed translation and learning, Wickens notes that the Umayyad’s, though neglecting the patronage of translation, sponsored the relocation of Christian and Jewish physicians from Jundishapur (Iran), the intellectual center of the Sassanid empire, to Damascus (Umayyad capital). Wickens’ chapter continues, emphasizing the role played by Christian translators sponsored by the state in the early Islamicate empire.

Conclusion

In their chapter, “Textbook Islam, Nation Building, and the Question of Violence,” Gregory Starrett and Eleanor Abdella Doumato connect the role played by textbooks with the structuring of stereotypes, interreligious tension, and, consequently, violence. While the rest of the edited work, *Teaching Islam*, focuses on the treatment and depiction of Islamicate history in textbooks in the Middle East, the ethical conclusions reached are equally applicable in the American and, more specifically, Californian contexts. The Islamicate empire has been treated in recent historiography as a global or hemispheric phenomenon integrating and putting into a contact a great number of ethnic and religious minorities. The interactions and exchanges facilitated by the Islamicate empires led to the Age of Learning, which produced considerable advancements in the study of science. As this discrepancy analysis has shown, the majority of textbooks, intended for teaching this particular temporal slice of history, have fallen short of rearticulating this perception and narrative of the Islamicate empire and maintaining pace with the historiographical developments.

Bibliography


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1 This term is borrowed from the works of historian Marshall Hodgson. See Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: The Classical Age of Islam*, vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974). On page 59, Hodgson explains that the term “refer[s] not directly to the religion, Islam, itself, but to the social and cultural complex historically associated with Islam and the Muslims, both among Muslims themselves and even when found among non-Muslims.”


9 Ibid., 575.
10World History: Journey Across Time, 380-381.

11Ibid., 382-384.

12See, for example, the various chapters in The Oxford History of Islam, ed. John L. Esposito, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).


18Ibid., 119-121.

19Ibid., 122.

20Aslan, 115.

21Ibid., 120-121.

22Ibid, 122.

23Ibid., 123.


25Learning and Living Islam: Level 5, 179-181.

26Learning and Living Islam: Level 4, 119.

27Learning and Living Islam: Level 4
28 To See a World, 188.

29 Journey Across Time, 381.

30 World History: Medieval and Early Modern Times, 95.

31 Ibid., 96.

32 Ibid., 119.

33 Ibid., 136.

34 Ibid.

35 Learning and Living Islam: Level 4, 119.

36 Learning and Living Islam: Level 6, 162.

37 Ibid., 163.

38 Ibid., 170.

39 To See a World, 191.

40 Ibid., 192.

41 World History: A Global Mosaic, 574.

42 Ibid., 575.

43 World History: Journey Across Time, 390-391.

44 Ibid., 391-392. Though they are not Arab, both of these polymaths are referenced as such in the textbook.

45 World History: Medieval and Early Modern Times, 122.

46 Ibid., 123.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., 133.
49Ibid., 134.

50Ibid., 135.

51Ibid., 136.

52Ibid.


54Ibid., iv.


56Ibid., 112.

57Ibid.

58Ibid., 113.

In the mid-ninth century, a Christian of Greek lineage, Qusta bin Luqa (fl 860-900), was born nearly twenty miles off the eastern Mediterranean coast, in the Bekaa Valley (modern Lebanon). His hometown, Baalbek (Heliopolis), which had formerly been under Byzantine control, had recently fallen to an invading Muslim army. As a young man traveling to Baghdad for a translation program sponsored by the Abbasid ruler, al-Musta’in (862-866), bin Luqa crossed paths with another translator, Thabit ibn Qurra al-Harrani, a Sabian born in 826 in the city of Harran in today’s southern Turkey. Within only a few decades, the Greek medical treatises they translated into Arabic became an integral contribution to the growing corpus of medical knowledge across the Islamicate world, including along the southern, eastern, and western Mediterranean waters. The medicinal ingredients bin Luqa recommended in his own treatises were already commodities circulating across an intricate network from Spain and North Africa to Beirut and Aleppo in the Eastern Mediterranean. Towards the end of his life, bin Luqa wrote a short work concerning the health of itinerant bodies en route to Mecca. Focused specifically on prescribing medicinal remedies for the many diseases pervasive amongst the pilgrims and the routes, ultimately, bin Luqa was subtly affirming the nature of his Mediterranean world - a world of entangled connectivity interlacing vast, diverse areas.

Beginning in the seventh century, the Mediterranean witnessed the further integration of its many shores through the spread of Islam. By the time al-Musta’in rose to power in the mid-ninth century, the Muslim world had already expanded westwards through North Africa and into Spain and as far north as modern-day Georgia and Azerbaijan. Eastwards, on the frontiers of the Indian subcontinent, Rajput forces continued to defeat invading Muslims, who had recently penetrated Central Asia. The following centuries (ninth through twelfth) experienced flourishing developments in medicine, amongst other sciences, aided by the Abbasid (c. 750-1258 AD) Caliphate’s patronage of translations. Thus, the Islamicate shores of the Mediterranean provided fertile and active ground for widespread dissemination of commodity and culture. This dissemination contributed to the development of not only material and immaterial elements and practices shared by this expansive territory, but of the circuits of diffusion and networks of exchange themselves as well. The Islamicate territories, directly in contact with their surrounding European, African, and Asian neighbors, witnessed the simultaneous transmission and circulation of immaterial medical knowledge and corporeal materia medica, that is, materials and ingredients for treatment. In addition, physicians contributing to this corpus of Islamicate medical literature often traveled for the acquisition of this knowledge, establishing a network of urban centers.

Historiographic material on the Mediterranean Sea has demonstrated how the usage of maritime optics approach (a methodology centered on the history of bodies of water) which relates to connected history and the search for global dynamic integration. This literature demonstrates how aquatic bodies maintain an inherent affinity towards connectedness and, consequently, connected histories. Annales historian Fernand Braudel observes in his major work, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II, that the Mediterranean was already rife with connective possibilities and that it served simultaneously as an obstacle and bridge that stimulated both territorial and aquatic routes in surrounding land masses. In addition, he notes that the Islamic expansion across the Mediterranean Sea beginning in the eighth and ninth centuries allowed for considerable interaction between the
Western waters and the shores of the Fertile Crescent. Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, in *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, emphasize the connectivity across the Mediterranean world. They criticize Braudel for having reduced the complexity of sea and land routes to mere vectors rather than intricate and shifting webs. Other scholars have contributed to connected understandings of the Mediterranean world. Alain Bresson has demonstrated the efficiency of the Mediterranean basin in nourishing the circulation of ideas and practices, arguing that both actual and virtual connectivity, in the forms of mercantile activities and shared mentalities, respectively, existed across the basin. Miriam Cooke has reiterated Horden and Purcell's critique of Braudel, contending that the latter mistakenly exchanged instances of connectivity and fluidity for an emphasis on fixed, static points and paths.

Islamicate medicine's historiography has not shared an emphasis on the connectedness of the Mediterranean and, consequently, the complexity of the scientific development itself. A major, early work on Islamicate medicine, Donald Campbell's *Arabian Medicine and its Influence in the Middle Ages* (1926), presented an understanding of the science as entirely stagnant throughout the Islamicate world. Campbell manages to reduce its instances of connectivity and interaction to a linear, Eurocentric thesis in which the Islamicate world mostly served as a keeper and diffuser of Greek medical literature. According to Campbell, the Islamicate world can hardly be spoken of in any unity and must be understood as a dichotomous struggle between scholars on the Eastern and Western shores, later producing a bifurcated reception of Islamicate medical influence in the basin's northern, European shores. Over half a century later, Manfred Ullmann's work, *Islamic Medicine*, affirms Mediterranean unity with the existence of interaction across the basin. However, his work insists that the Islamicate medical tradition hardly progressed and was simply safeguarding a stagnant, disconnected Greek tradition, thus according it even fewer contributions than Campbell.

More recent literature on the medical traditions of the Islamicate world has explored the potential for connectedness. Zohar Amar and Efraim Lev, in a series of published articles, have emphasized the importance of the Cairo Genizah documents, nearly 300,000 fragments dating as far back as the ninth century, found in the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Fustat, modern-day Old Cairo, Egypt, in expanding the understanding of the medieval medical world. Amar and Lev have utilized Genizah fragments in order to explore myrobalan (Cherry plum) and saffron circulation, two ingredients used in a variety of digestive and diuretic remedies, demonstrating the extensive connectivity of Mediterranean trade. Marcus Milwright also utilizes the Genizah documents, along with pilgrimage accounts, in tracing the diffusion and circulation of Cairene balsam, an Islamicate medical simple, and the technical knowledge of its usage throughout the Mediterranean world.

The study undertaken in this thesis extends these latter approaches by emphasizing the networks established in the circulation of physicians, *materia medica*, and medical knowledge and perspective. While it maintains affinity with the works of Amar, Lev and Milwright, it employs the thesis of connectivity by emphasizing the role of itinerant physicians and translators in the circulation and dissemination of medical knowledge beyond the confines of local urban centers. In doing so, it argues that, due to such connectivity, the Islamicate tradition was not simply a regurgitation of Greek medicine, but instead bore numerous influences from across newly integrated territories. Furthermore, this study investigates a neglected portion of the medical
literature by examining the non-insular perspectives expressed by the medical writers, arguing that their conception of and interest in medical application extended beyond their localities.

In this thesis, I explore connectedness as demonstrated in medieval Mediterranean history. In doing so, I attempt to answer the following questions: What form did connectedness in the medieval Mediterranean take? In what ways, if any, did the medieval Islamic empires sponsor and nourish such connectedness? Specifically, how did the development of Islamicate medicine rely on, contribute to, and relate to the growing connectedness of the Islamicate Mediterranean? How does the connectivity of the Mediterranean manifest itself in materia medica commerce? Finally, how is Mediterranean connectedness demonstrated in the writings of the Islamicate physicians? That is, is there evidence that physicians identified such connectedness and sought to address it?

This study will elucidate the networks of circulation established through the development of medieval Islamicate medicine. It follows three lines of inquiry in order to establish a connected history of the Islamicate world. First, it will examine the physicians and translators who traversed the Mediterranean region along with their contributions to the medical literature. Second, this study will trace the commodity chains of select simples popular in Islamicate medical remedies in order to demonstrate connectedness through the Mediterranean's mercantile networks, often extending into the Indian Ocean. Lastly, this study will explore the global perspectives assumed by physicians as they wrote their medical advices and addressed distant issues foreign to their localities.

In order to achieve these aims, this study adopts the methodological framework of connected histories, informed and influenced by recent scholarship in this field. Connected histories emphasize the diffusion and circulation of people, objects, and ideas. They traverse the boundaries of national and areal studies in an effort to establish connectedness on a hemispheric or global scale. Most recently, historians have elucidated the usefulness of connected histories by juxtaposing them with comparative histories. Sanjay Subrahmanyam has criticized the comparative approach as limiting the scope of exploration and connection by presupposing a specific spatial constraint placed upon the units of analysis.14 In addition, comparative studies depend on the assumed existence of larger units of analysis that make little room for the inclusion of detailed, micro-historical studies. Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann share and expand on Subrahmanyam's hesitations towards comparative approaches, emphasizing the oversimplification of historical reality.15 The authors also identify scalar difficulties, noting that the comparative methodology can hardly take into account the temporal and geographical shifts within the units. The connected histories approach shares significant affinity with “maritime optics,” another methodological framework adopted in this study. By focusing on the aqueous relations produced by aquatic bodies, maritime optics directly complements the methodological objectives of connected history. First coined by Jerry Bentley, the approach capitalizes on the manner in which oceans and sea basins elude reification, unlike nation-states and empires, by constantly challenging their encasement into static relations with the surrounding land mass.16 This approach helps "bring large-scale historical processes into clear focus" by providing a wider lens of analysis that is accessibly global and open-ended, while allowing regional and even local events to be depicted thoroughly in relation to a greater context.
The sources utilized throughout this study are, for the most part, primary sources in the Arabic language, specifically the works of Islamicate physicians from the ninth through thirteenth centuries. I examine the writings of physicians and translators like Qusta bin Luqa, al-Kindi (801-873), al-Rāzī (865-925), Ibn Sīna (Avicenna, 980-1037), Müsa Ibn Maīmūn (Maimonides, 1135-1204), and al-Samarqandi (1250-1310). Furthermore, I employ Cairo Genizah documents in Arabic and Judeo-Arabic, that is, Arabic written in the Hebrew script, as a major repository of primary sources, particularly pertaining to mercantile activity. I have also relied on Qusta bin Luqa's and Ibn Sīna's manuscripts, acquired abroad in the archives of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina in Alexandria, Egypt.17

In short, the goal of this thesis is to demonstrate, through an examination of primary sources from the world of Islamicate medicine, a connected history of the medieval Mediterranean. Its multifaceted approach emphasizes the circulation of translators, physicians, and materia medica, as well as the production of a non-insular, hemispheric medical discourse amongst physicians. I hope that, through this thesis, the reader will be able to envisage a medieval Islamicate Mediterranean world, characterized by interaction with the hemispheric world and composed of remote yet integrated regions.