

The Islamic World and the Latin West, 1350–1500

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The century and a half just before Western Europeans moved out into the wider world during the great age of discovery and expansion which began with Columbus and Vasco da Gama was crucial in the long-term relationship that developed between the Latin West and the Islamic world nearby. And it was in this period that these two great world civilizations formed attitudes towards each other that still govern much of how they interact today. It is in an attempt to clarify the importance of these years that I am addressing you medievalists today.

About the middle of the fourteenth century, when our story begins, the Moslem world had just ended a dismal period — perhaps its most dismal since it had moved east and west from Arabia in the early seventh century. Two forces had all but torn it asunder. One was the expansion of a crusading Latin Europe, which during these years had resulted in the conquest of most of Moslem Iberia except for Granada, opened the Straits of Gibraltar to northern European shipping, and had come to dominate the waters of the entire Mediterranean–Black Sea complex and its islands. Though by 1291 these Latins had lost Syria and Palestine to the Mamluks, Western Europeans were moving deep into North African territory and by way of a number of routes were penetrating the Islamic world to reach central Asia, India, and China.

Even more important, this century had seen the awesome power of the Mongols batter the world of Islam. About the middle of the thirteenth century Mongol armies had overrun Seljuk Asia Minor and under Ilkhan leadership seized Khorasan, Persia, and Iraq and launched attack after attack on Moslem Syria. In the course of this they had ended the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad, leaving the Moslems without traditional religious leadership. Still another set of Mongol armies from central Asia during most of this period regularly attacked northern India, where a new, powerful Islamic state, the sultanate of Delhi, was gradually emerging. Moslem intellectuals and others fleeing from horrors inflicted upon city after city by the Mongols brought to Egypt or India stories of rape and destruction. And at the same time others from Andalusia were leaving their homes to take refuge from the victorious Iberian Christian monarchs in North Africa. Even in Syria and

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Palestine, now reconquered from the Latin crusaders, the Moslem authorities were so fearful of potential crusader attacks that they tore down all seaport fortifications except at Beirut and Alexandria and retreated into the interior where, in cities like Cairo, Aleppo, and Damascus, they could feel secure. It was this kind of a sheltered, frightened Islamic world which in 1350 faced what it felt was an uncertain future.

In the light of all this, what was most important during the next hundred years was the revival of both Islamic strength and confidence. This revival had a number of bases: military, religious, economic, and cultural. Let us look at them in some detail. First, the military. By 1350, and even a bit earlier in both Egypt and India, the Islamic world had managed to create armies capable of defeating Mongols in battle. These forces were composed of slave troops recruited from southern Russia and brought to Egypt where they were trained as a fanatical and superb cavalry force. So successful were they in battle against both the Mongols and Christian crusaders that they soon took over the government itself and regularly selected the ruling sultan from among their own ranks. In India a similar system was set up as the sultanate of Delhi, except that the slave contingents who formed the armies were recruits from the races of central Asia. Not only were they able to hold off the Mongols, they were also able to expand south into the Deccan at the expense of Hindu rulers. Soon after 1350, for a brief moment, these armies of the Delhi sultans were even able to conquer the entire Indian subcontinent.

Still a third new type of armed force appeared at about this time in territory in Asia Minor controlled by Ottoman sultans. By 1346 these sultans had taken over northwestern Anatolia, where the empire of Nicaea had been located, and soon began to cross over into Europe. By 1368 they had conquered Bulgaria and set up their capital at Adrianople. Some twenty years later at Kosovo they defeated their rivals, the Serbs, and were in control of most of the Balkans. All that remained were mopping-up operations in southern Greece and Albania and the conquest of Byzantine Constantinople, which became theirs in 1453 and which their sultan, Mehmet the Conqueror, made his capital. A new Islamic military state had suddenly appeared in control of the Balkans and Asia Minor and posed a serious threat to Latin Europe on both land and sea.

The Ottomans succeeded because of their armies, and the key element in their forces were contingents of slave troops known as Janissaries. These Janissaries were formed by recruiting young boys from among the Christian population of the Balkans, who were converted to Islam and trained as a fanatical infantry force. To them were added a heavily armed cavalry known as Timariots, who were given land in return for military service. And finally Turkish tribesmen from Asia Minor formed a light cavalry force that spread out in advance of Ottoman troops. The more land conquered in the Balkans, the more Christian boys could be found to form Janissary regiments and the more Timariots could be rewarded with estates to support them for war. And since in their empire the Ottomans made no attempt to proselytize the mass of the Ottoman Greek and Slavic population and kept taxes low, the Christian population was relatively content with its lot.

This advance of the Ottomans alarmed Western Europe, and popes and others attempted to revive the crusades to deal with this menace. A number of small crusades attempted to check them, and finally in 1396 a major European effort resulted in large crusading armies penetrating Ottoman-held territory on the lower Danube only to be totally defeated later that year at Nicopolis. Some four decades later a second crusading force, largely Hungarian, was badly beaten at Varna.

Yet there still remained the Byzantine city of Constantinople, open to help by sea and protected by huge walls. Ottoman armies had no effective artillery, which was one reason why Constantinople and several other Byzantine enclaves like Salonica were able to resist so long. Now, however, the Ottoman sultan, Mehmet, hired a Latin Christian Hungarian artillery expert and cannon from the West, and with these guns he finally battered down Constantinople's walls and took over the city. In the new Ottoman Empire as well as in Mamluk Egypt and the sultanate of Delhi, new Islamic land armies appeared which were able to defend the Moslem world from Latin Western and nomadic attacks and lay the basis of effective government at home. Indeed, after 1350 the only armed forces capable of dealing with these three new military powers were nomadic ones briefly organized in central Asia by Tamerlane, who attempted to create a new Mongol-type empire in the Near East. His forces were briefly able to drive the Mamluks from Syria, check the Ottomans at Ankara in Asia Minor, sack the capital of the Golden Horde at Serai in southern Russia, and seize Delhi in northern India as well as devastate Baghdad and the irrigation system of Iraq. But the realm of Tamerlane did not long survive his death and dissolved altogether towards the middle of the fifteenth century. Almost immediately Mamluks and Ottomans recovered their strength and their ability to defend themselves from Latin Westerners and, in the case of the Ottomans, resumed their advances in the Balkans.

The Islamic world's armed forces were deficient in only two respects. They lacked a knowledge of artillery, and they lacked an ability to face the Latin Westerners on the sea. Such ships as they were able to maintain were pirate craft along North African and Anatolian shores, which were ineffective against the flotillas manufactured by the Knights of Rhodes in the Aegean or the Genoese, Venetians, and Aragonese operating from bases in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, during this period, Western Europeans had not only developed larger galleys which could be used along the Atlantic coast to Bruges and Southampton, but had also developed the remarkable full-rigged sailing ship known as the carrack which linked Western Europe's Atlantic shores with the Mediterranean. Latin European sailors were now equipped with compasses and portolan charts, which improved their ability to sail in the Mediterranean and beyond. Facing this Western European superiority on the sea, the Mamluks finally built a small fleet of their own, using renegade Italians — mainly from Venice — to man them and provide their artillery. This small fleet, however, though of some protection in the eastern Mediterranean and useful in overrunning Cyprus and eliminating the independence of Lesser Armenia about 1375, could not meet Europeans on an equal basis. Indeed, it was not until after the Ottomans had conquered

Constantinople, built a new fleet of their own in nearby dockyards, and found pirate renegades like Barbarossa to command their flotillas that the Islamic world had any real success in the eastern Mediterranean. In the West it was the lack of an effective Ottoman fleet and artillery that helped Ferdinand and Isabella finally conquer Granada in 1492. By 1500, except on the sea, the Islamic world had managed to defend itself successfully and even take the offensive in the Balkans with the Ottoman Turks.

Perhaps even more important than this new military strength of the Moslem world was a significant religious revival. Though it was impossible to revive an effective caliphate after the end of the Abbasids, despite Mamluk efforts to do so, two developments in the religious sphere turned out to be of supreme importance. One was a full development everywhere of Moslem religious law known as the *Shari'a*. This law, which was interpreted by legal scholars known as *ulema* in courts throughout the entire Islamic world, came to govern every aspect of the lives of the Moslem community: marriage, business arrangements, wills, and much else. Special religious interpretations — much like those of our own Supreme Court — known as *Fatwabs* were issued by major religious tribunals, like Al-Azhar in Cairo, and guided legal opinion throughout the Dar-al-Islam. These *ulema* also administered important pious trusts known as *waqfs*, which gave them great authority. During this period Moslems found the *Shari'a* prescribing most aspects of their lives, rather than secular rulers who, once they appointed *ulema* for life, had little more authority over them.

Still another development strengthened Islam, the growth of Sufi mysticism and institutions everywhere. Sufis were mystics who came to be revered as saints and who were venerated after their deaths by large followings often including women — who, it was felt, had direct contact with Allah. Like the cults of the saints in Latin Europe, these Sufis satisfied the emotional needs of Moslems everywhere. So if the strengthening of *Shari'a* dealt with the minds and social needs of Moslems, the Sufis dealt with the hearts and emotional needs. In areas like India where Islam made significant progress in proselytization, Sufis were the most effective missionaries.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that this period after 1350 was fortunate in seeing schisms, so powerful in earlier centuries as a divisive force, cease to have much importance. Pockets of schism still existed in the Yemen, in Syria, and eastern Anatolia — the last important as the seedbed of a later Iranian Shia movement in Safavid times — and the Maghreb was often religiously defiant, but, by and large, orthodox Sunni Islam triumphed from one side of the Islamic world to the other. It is true that this orthodoxy was narrow in its intellectual interests and hostile, except in Ottoman domains, in many ways to the local Christian population, which no longer was treated as well as had been the case in earlier times, but it was a bulwark for most Moslems and united them in religious opposition to the Christian Latin West.

When we turn to the matter of economic life, the picture is less impressive. In the Mediterranean area Latin Westerners still dominated the trade routes and the products carried for sale everywhere. Efforts were made to keep them at bay by not allowing European merchants to move into the interior

and by confining their trading activities to special ports like Alexandria, Beirut, Tunis, and Algiers, where they could be carefully watched. After Constantinople became Ottoman, the Italian and Catalan merchants were welcomed as traders in the revived metropolis, but they were now excluded from ports in the Black Sea like those in the Crimea and Trebizond, which for several centuries had been their gateways to the Indian Ocean and Far East.

These limitations on trade with the Latin Westerners in the Mediterranean—Black Sea area were somewhat compensated for by an extra emphasis upon caravan traffic in the Sahara and the Near and Middle East as well. Termini like Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo and many of the cities in Iran and central Asia flourished, as did the traffickers whose caravans linked them together.

And in one special area, the Indian Ocean, a positive trade renaissance took place — especially in India proper, where Moslem Gujeratis and Bengalis played an important role as traders. In part, also, the increase in trade was due to an increase of pilgrim traffic to Mecca via the Red Sea, especially from newly converted areas of Indonesia, India, and Africa's east coast. And soon after 1398, a new, important island trading center appeared in the East Indies at Malacca, where merchants congregated from India, the Spice Islands, and China. Indeed, if one examines the travels of Ibn Battuta throughout the length and breadth of the Islamic world from North Africa to China, one becomes aware how, during these years, despite a diminished role in Mediterranean commerce, the Islamic world remained, on the whole, remarkably prosperous. This remains true despite the ravages of the Black Death in western Asia, the lack of an internationally recognized money as a trading medium, and business arrangements that had not advanced beyond the *commenda* type of partnership we find at the time of the Geniza documentation in Fatimid Egypt.

What of the level of culture of this Moslem world? Here one must proceed with some care. The new religious emphasis of these years was essentially hostile to the body of philosophical and speculative thought that had been the glory of earlier medieval Islam. So, except briefly in Timurid Samarkand, we find little interest in science. And although it is clear that Moslem sailors in the Indian Ocean had a real skill in navigation using the stars, we have no evidence that this spilled over into any other pursuits.

Yet there is little doubt that there was a great age in culture in other respects. These years, for instance, were an age of great historians, of whom the greatest was Ibn Khaldūn, whose *Muqaddimah* anticipated modern social history in many ways, and equally impressive were a number of Mamluk chroniclers like Ibn Taghii Budi. In Cairo we find a wonderful version of *The Thousand and One Nights* as well. Persian literature — especially poetry like that of Saadi — flourished, and so did histories which chronicled in Urdu the years of the sultanate of Delhi.

Even more remarkable were achievements in art and architecture. Granada's courts were unusual in their beauty, as were those found across the straits in Moroccan cities like Fez, Marrakech, and Rabat. In Mamluk Egypt a wonderful urban style appeared, and in Asia Minor and Istanbul the

Ottomans began to erect distinctive mosques and public buildings that were to reach their apogee in Suleiman's time. In Iran and central Asia a fourth distinctive architectural style appeared, most fully expressed in later Isphahan; and a new-style miniature painting, which owed something to Chinese influences of Ilkhan times, made its appearance. Even in India, at Delhi and in the Bahman sultanates to the south, Persian influences mingled with those of Hindu India created superb buildings. At least five new styles of architecture appeared during these years: in Granada and Morocco, in Egypt, in the Ottoman Empire, in Iran, and in Moslem India. If speculative philosophy and science were relatively neglected, other aspects of culture were certainly highly prized and visible.

The picture presented by Latin Europe by the middle of the fourteenth century was quite different in a number of ways. For by this time Western Europe, which had been so successful, had fallen upon hard times. Perhaps one reason for this was the disappearance in many parts of Europe of the internal frontier of forest, fern, and swamp; thus Western Europe's rising population no longer had access to easily exploited resources. By the early fourteenth century we find some famine years as peasants put to the plow areas which were marginal and could only support a rising population in the best of times. Worse was to come. In 1346 the Black Death arrived in Western Europe from central Asia and during the next two years spread throughout most of the European continent. It and a subsequent serious recurrence in the 1360s wiped out at least one-third of the population in a number of regions and became endemic and recurring for the rest of the period we are dealing with. In city, town, and countryside the plague brought progress in every field to a standstill and filled Latin Europe's population with pessimism and foreboding.

At the same time Europe's new capitalistic initiatives proved inadequate to meet the needs of the period, as a financial crash, caused by the failure of Florence's great Bardi and Peruzzi banking houses, resulted in the first of modern Europe's depressions. And to make matters worse, the most powerful monarchs of the time, the rulers of France and England, became embroiled in that long conflict we know as the Hundred Years War, which devastated the countryside of France and spilled over into Spain as well. Rulers of Castile and Portugal during these years engaged in constant, debilitating warfare, while in Germany no general peace prevailed either — especially as religious dissent took a political form in the early fifteenth century in the Hussite wars. Warfare on the sea between Genoa, Venice, and a new Aragonese naval empire became common, and Renaissance Italy knew little peace at home. Indeed, one reason why Western Europe was unable to deal with the expansion of the Ottoman Turks was its inability to put its political and military rivalries on land and sea behind it. There was much talk of a new crusade against the Ottomans but no ability of Latin Europe to unite in such an effort.

Equally distressing, at a time when the Islamic world experienced a religious revival, was a failure of Western Europe's religious institutions. The papacy, which had earlier provided the Latin West with overall unity, fell on hard times. First, it moved to Avignon, where its lack of true independence

and its increasing corruption lost it the confidence of much of Europe's population. Worse was to come when the schism began in 1378 between papal Avignon and Rome, in which Europe as a whole was evenly divided in its allegiance. When, early in the fifteenth century, a great council ended the schism, it was followed by a new struggle between popes and councils, which did not end until the middle of the fifteenth century and left the papacy's authority and rule pretty much confined to Italy proper. No wonder during these years we find Renaissance hedonism and mysticism flourishing and heresies like those of Wycliff and Hus tearing asunder the unity that had been the glory of the Latin church during the high Middle Ages.

It would be wrong, however, to view these years of military and political conflict, religious division, economic crises, and cultural confusion as all bad — even though Western Europe's population did decline precipitously and at times its culture seemed less than glorious. For much that was hopeful also was at work in this same century and a half. The new capitalism, which seemed such a failure when Edward III's default on his loans helped bring about the collapse of the Bardi and Peruzzi banking system, did not disappear. By the end of the fourteenth century new banking houses had appeared in Italy, and indeed this capitalism spread even more widely into Iberia and northern Europe, where, by the end of the fifteenth century, Antwerp and London were setting a new business style for the future. Economic developments like the *mesta* in Spain, the raising of large amounts of grain for export in Poland and Baltic areas, and new mining techniques in central Europe and elsewhere were changing the face of Europe. It was no accident that in Mediterranean Europe textiles could now be produced so cheaply that the Moslem East's weavers found it impossible to compete against them as exports. And it is especially during these years that Europe developed the ability to handle bulk transport of raw materials over vast distances — salt and grain in the Mediterranean and timber and wheat and metals in the northern seas. Herring and cod fisheries in the North Sea and off Norway flourished, and fishermen in large numbers began to venture off Iceland in pursuit of these resources.

In one sphere, especially, the maritime, so important for the future of Europe, these years were especially significant. It was about the middle of the fourteenth century that we find developing somewhere along Atlantic shores that remarkable vessel, the full-rigged ship, which married technology of both the northern seas and the Mediterranean in one vessel. This ship, known as the carrack, soon became the vessel of the future and spread quickly into the Mediterranean; along with the *caravel*, developed along Portuguese coasts, it made possible the great explorations of the sixteenth century. Improvements in compass and portolan charts proceeded at the same time making possible the navigation techniques and maps which were superior to anything found elsewhere in the world. And, as has been noted earlier, larger and better galleys and skill in the use of artillery at sea revolutionized warfare in the Mediterranean itself. By 1450 Latin Europe had the tools to move into the wider world of the sixteenth century and was already moving down the coast of Africa in the first step of this expansion; a little later, other seamen

were already off the coast of Greenland and Labrador in anticipation of what the future was to bring. At the very moment when the Mings were abandoning the sea despite the superior technology of their ships, Western Europe was moving out into distant Atlantic waters which represented her future.

Equally important were political developments. The middle of the fourteenth century saw a lull in the development of the new type of medieval states which earlier had been so promising in England, France, and the Iberian Peninsula. This progress resumed for a time, however, in the France of Charles V, and by the late fifteenth century the national state as we were to know it had appeared in Tudor England, France, and the Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella. The slave states of the Ottomans or of the Mamluks and the sultanate of Delhi could not, did not experience this development. These secular national states were completely different from those of the Ottomans, Mamluks, and sultans of Delhi, who were to pass on their governmental systems to the great gunpowder empires of the Islamic world of the sixteenth century in Istanbul, Ispahan, and Moghul India.

During these same years it was clear that Latin Europe had developed some unique systems to control overseas colonial possessions. In Britain, English monarchs governed through viceroys distant overseas regions like Ireland and Gascony; in the Mediterranean, the Aragonese empire of this period, like the colonies of Venice from the Crimea, Constantinople, and Crete, showed how an island empire could be maintained. Even more remarkable was the way the Genoese in the *maone* and the Bank of St. George invented something like the chartered company of later times to control distant land and trade.

We find in this same period institutions appearing in Western Europe that were to have a great future. These include the medieval town, which was to be transported across the Atlantic to North and South America, and the ranch, which evolved in southern Spain in the late thirteenth century and became one of the basic institutions of the New World. We should be especially interested in the tropical plantation and the slavery that went with it, which originated in twelfth-century Syria and was spread to the islands of the Mediterranean by the Genoese and then on to southern Iberia and, long before Columbus sailed, had been introduced into islands off the coast of Africa by the Portuguese of the fifteenth century. In the political as in the economic sphere, Western Europe during these years was laying the basis for its worldwide expansion and domination of overseas areas.

In the intellectual sphere other developments were unique and important for the future. The late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were difficult ones in many respects for Western Europe, but one thing is noticeable — a positive explosion of universities. In 1300 there were about fifteen major centers of learning. By 1500 they had increased fivefold and were found in Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Scandinavia, Scotland, and elsewhere where they had been unknown. And progress in science, begun in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had taken place everywhere, with a basis now fully laid in quantum physics and modern astronomy, medicine, and much else. At a time when the Islamic world was eschewing the science it had once prized and was concentrating its attention on institutions like Al-Azhar on religious

law and theology, the Latin West was laying the basis for the secular intellectual world of modern times. It seems no accident that it was in Western Europe that the printing press first became important as a means of spreading ideas among a new educated public.

In short, wherever we turn in the fields of maritime development, capitalistic institutions, technology, political institutions adapted for overseas governance, or secular intellectual life, Latin Europe was preparing itself during this final century and a half for its world role in a way that was to be more effective than that of its Islamic neighbors nearby. The revived Moslem world of this same period had some international successes to boast about. It was able to take over an orthodox Greek and Slavic world in the Balkans alienated by Latin attempts to impose papal control upon it. It proved able to expand successfully into a Hindu India quite alien from it in many ways by displaying a tolerance unknown in the Latin world. It showed it could spread its religion and culture over tribal peoples of Africa and central Asia and even begin the conversion of a Hinduized Indonesia. But none of this could match the way in which, by 1500, Western Europe was prepared for a truly world role.

Yet as Western Europe overcame the temporary setback of Black Death, financial crash, political strife, and religious dislocation to be ready by 1500 to take over a major world role, a certain tragedy took place in its relationships with its chief rival for world leadership, the Islamic world. It would seem that a real division or divorce between these two great cultures took place. Perhaps much of the blame for this rests on the Islamic side where, after 1350, all Western European influences, except military technologies, were rejected. Latin Christianity was banned; Western European merchants were restricted to certain ports where their goods were sold; and the secular science and learning or business practices of Western Europe had no influence at all.

But much of the blame, if blame it was, for this state of affairs rests with Western Europe itself. By 1350 the courts of Christian rulers, like Melisende, Roger II and Frederick II, or Alphonso el Sabio, no longer attracted Moslem intellectuals or Jewish interpreters of Islamic higher learning. Ramon Lull was the last Latin religious figure seriously interested in studying the Islamic religion. And it is worth noting that Ibn Khaldūn, the greatest Islamic historian, served for fourteen years at the court of Pedro the Cruel of Castile without anyone ever grasping the importance of his writings, which remained unknown in Europe for centuries. Indeed, this same Pedro the Cruel, who died in 1369, was the last Iberian monarch who had inscribed upon his coinage that he was the (fourteenth) "King of the Three Religions" (Moslem, Jewish, and Christian). Under his successor we find the first of those pogroms and forced conversions of Jews which were to disgrace both Spanish and Western European civilization in the future.

A kind of paradox is to be found here. At the very moment when Renaissance Italy was welcoming Greek scholars and coming to prize the classical Greek culture they brought with them, Italy and the rest of the Latin West had closed itself off from the same Islamic culture it had earlier found so stimulating to its artistic, literary, and intellectual development. The great Moorish architecture of this period, as well as that of Ottoman Istanbul,

Mamluk Cairo, or Iran, had no influence at all upon that of late-medieval and Renaissance Latin Europe. Only Gentile Bellini in Venice of all Italian Renaissance artists seems affected by the great Persian tradition of miniature painting. Western Europeans were to advance into the wider world, separated from and hostile to the culture of the great Islamic civilization nearby. And this was to remain so for centuries to come. Already the schism between Moslem East and European West was present in the world of late-fourteenth- and fifteenth-century civilizations.

APPENDIX

The sources for this study are found in archives and libraries across Europe and Asia. However, there are a number of secondary works which bring together collections of source materials or are studies drawn from those records. For the general framework of this paper, see Archibald R. Lewis, *Nomads and Crusaders, A.D. 1000–1368* (Bloomington, 1988). General surveys of the Islamic world include Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, vols. 1–2 (Chicago, 1974–78); and Bernard Lewis, ed., *Islam: From the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*, 2 vols. (New York, 1976). Islamic society and economics are discussed in Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1976) and *Studies on the Levantine Trade in the Middle Ages*, Collected Studies 74 (London, 1978); S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 5 vols. (Berkeley, 1967–88); Maurice Lombard, *The Golden Age of Islam*, trans. Joan Spencer (New York, 1975); Andrew M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: The Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques, 700–1100* (New York, 1983) and “The Arab Agricultural Revolution and Its Diffusion,” *Journal of Economic History* 34 (1974), 8–35; Charles Issawi, “The Decline in Middle Eastern Trade, 1100–1850,” in *Islam and the Trade of Asia: A Colloquium*, ed. D. S. Richards, *Papers on Islamic History* 2 (Oxford, 1970), pp. 245–66.

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